ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis

LUWIAN AND HITTITE STUDIES

PRESENTED TO J. DAVID HAWKINS

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

ITAMAR SINGER

Editor

John David Hawkins

Photograph by Takayuki Oshima, courtesy of the Middle East Cultural Centre of Japan.

("OCCIDENS") *i-pa-ma-ti-i* (DEUS.ORIENS) *ki-sá-ta-ma-ti-i* PRAE-*ia* AUDIRE+MI-*ma-ti-mi-i-sa*

"Far famed to West and East" (KARKAMIŠ A 6, 1; Yariri)

John David Hawkins

Photograph by Takayuki Oshima, courtesy of the Middle East Cultural Centre of Japan.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

John David Hawkins was born on September 11th 1940 in Exmouth, Devon, as the eldest of the three children of John Alexander Sneyd Hawkins and Audrey Joan Spencer. His parents had met and married in India, where John Hawkins served as an officer in the Royal Artillery, and came back to England shortly before David's birth. In 1948, John Hawkins, who had studied at Cambridge, bought a farm in Devon where David was brought up. It was an old and distinguished family which had a multiplicity of interests both cultural and practical. David's friends were impressed by the casual and tolerant atmosphere which prevailed at home. In the Hawkins household there was no snobbishness or insularity; all sorts of people mingled and the vagaries of the British upper classes were looked at with affectionate irony. These qualities have been perpetuated by David, as anyone who has known him even briefly can readily confirm. Cats were a great source of amusement in the family and David expanded on his father's eccentric way of talking to them. Probably David's first linguistic achievement was the composition of the *Official Cat Phonology*, which is still put to use when stray cats occasionally visit his village house. There was no television in the Hawkins home, so reading aloud in the evenings in front of a roaring fire was the norm, preferably Dickens, Tolkien and Agatha Christie. The latter was a not-too-distant neighbour and David used to visit her and her husband Sir Max Mallowan, the renowned Mesopotamian archaeologist, from time to time. Could these visits have sparked his first interest in the ancient Near East?

David was educated at a local private school, Upcott House, and at the age of 13 he went to Bradfield College, Berkshire, a renowned school with a good tradition of Greek and Latin teaching. He excelled in his studies and took an active part in the school plays, especially Greek drama, for which Bradfield was famous. One of his teachers was the classicist David Raeburn, who authored a number of translations of the classics and books on the performance of classical plays. David has remained in touch with him ever since.

From 1958 David studied, on a state scholarship, Classics and Philosophy (Literae Humaniores or 'Greats') at University College, Oxford. He was lucky in his tutors: A.E. (Freddie) Wells for classical languages and literature, George Cawkwell for ancient history and P.F. Strawson and G. Paul for philosophy. His natural inclination was clearly for the linguistic and textual subjects and he finished that part of the course (Honour Moderations) with a First. He received his BA in 1962 and his MA in 1965.

From 1962 he worked for a postgraduate diploma in Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London. He studied archaeology with Seton Lloyd, history with Peggy Drower, Ancient Hebrew with Raphael Loewe and Akkadian with Harry Saggs and Donald Wiseman. He obtained his diploma with distinction in 1964 and won the Gordon Child Prize. By this time he had already switched his interests from Classics to the Ancient Near East, apparently under the strong impression left on him by the Gilgamesh Epic.

In 1964 he became a Research Fellow in Akkadian at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and then remained in the Near and Middle East Department where he taught until his retirement in 2005. In 1993 he was appointed to a personal chair in Ancient Anatolian Languages. He also contributed courses in archaeology to the Institute of Archaeology where he became an Honorary Visiting Professor.

In 1993 David was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, and in 1998 a Foreign Member of the American Philosophical Society. Most recently (2009) his old Oxford college, University College, made him an Honorary Fellow. He served as the honorary secretary of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq from 1976 to 1986 and edited its journal *Iraq* from 1970 to 1995. Concomitantly he sat on the council and on the executive committees of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara.

In the 1960s David started to go regularly from London to Oxford to study Hittite with Oliver R. Gurney and there got involved in a seminar on the so-called Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions led by Leonard Palmer and attended, among others, by Anna Morpurgo Davies and Jill Hart; this is the subject on which he eventually focused and which he revolutionized. His friendship and scientific cooperation with Morpurgo Davies continues to play an important role in his life. In the country cottage at Minster Lovell near Oxford, which he shares with his life partner, Geoff Ryman, a well known writer, she and countless other friends and colleagues are always welcome for a good chat on professional matters and a hearty drink and meal. David's culinary capacities are only surpassed by his scholarship, and as a devoted gardener he proudly makes use of his self-grown freshly picked vegetables in his perfect cuisine, which puts pay to the myth that there is no independent British cooking.

From 1965 onwards David traveled regularly to Turkey, Syria and Iraq in order to inspect Hieroglyphic monuments in museums and open-air sites. He immediately realized how inaccurate and incomplete the available drawings and publications were and consequently initiated an ambitious project of copying and obtaining good photographs of the entire corpus of inscriptions. This Sisyphean enterprise was crowned by the publication in 2000 of the three parts of his monumental *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. I, The Iron Age Inscriptions*, exactly a hundred years after the pioneering enterprise of L. Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*. He also played an instrumental role in the definitive publication of the Hieroglyphic text of the Karatepe bilingual by Halet Çambel as *Volume II* of the Corpus. A third volume in preparation will include *Addenda* to the Iron Age material, the Empire period inscriptions, and a general Signary, Glossary and Grammar of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

David's enormous black briefcase containing the full documentation for the Corpus travelled with him everywhere and miraculously has never been lost or damaged even in dire situations (see H. Gonnet's contribution to this volume). His idiosyncratic handwriting and neat hand copies can be traced back to two of his greatest talents, drawing and close scrutiny: 1. From his early days he developed an interest in political cartoons and for a while even contemplated turning this skill into a profession. 2. His talent for drawing is enhanced by a remarkable ability to notice even the minutest details and changes in other peoples' appearance or outfit. Many a detail in an inscription or on a seal that went unnoticed by others has immediately been detected and recorded by David. His spectacular decipherment of the Karabel inscription, a western Anatolian monument which was previously visited by countless travellers and specialists, may serve as a notable example. He never gets tired of inspecting a worn down inscription in different lighting conditions, not even the hopeless Nişantaş rock in Boğazköy which he is about to publish shortly.

In tandem with his strenuous efforts to produce an accurate documentation of the Hieroglyphic materials, David is one of the greatest contributors to Anatolian philology, history and culture. Suffice it to mention here, as notable examples, the new interpretation of four wrongly deciphered signs in the early 1970s (in collaboration with Anna Morpurgo Davies and Günter Neumann) which brought about the elucidation of the language and the (re)unification of Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Hittite (now Hieroglyphic Luwian); the discovery in 1975 of the signs for the negatives which had been confused with the relatives and which suddenly made sense of countless texts; the demonstration in the 1980s of

the continuity of the royal house of Bronze Age Carchemish in the Iron Age genealogy at Malatya; the decipherment of the inscription at the sacred pool complex at Boğazköy in 1995 and its Underworld connections; the refinement of western Anatolian geography in 1998 through the identification of the figure depicted at Karabel as a king of Mira. Recently he has been working on the spectacular discovery of the Aleppo citadel inscriptions and their far-reaching historical implications. As anyone who has collaborated with David will readily confirm, he is a most generous colleague always ready to offer his expertise and cooperate in publication projects, e.g., his recent involvement in the publication of the enormous glyptic corpus from Nişantepe in Boğazköy.

As a token of our long friendship, I hope that this Festschrift presented to David by his students and friends, will serve as an appropriate tribute to this incomparable individual and scholar. A parallel Festschrift with non-Anatolian articles appears in the journal *Iraq* 2010, edited by Dominique Collon and Andrew George. I wish to express my gratitude to several persons who have provided assistance in the preparation of this volume: Sanna Aro, Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo, Donald Easton, Shirley Gassner, Graciela Gestoso-Singer, Sivan Kedar, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Denzil Verey and Mark Weeden.

The Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University is congratulated for exceptionally accepting this volume in its Monograph Series. This book was published with the support of the Israel Science Foundation.

ABoT	*Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri.* Istanbul 1948
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.* Wiesbaden 1958-1981
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy text (inventory number)
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.* Chicago Oriental Institute 1956 ff.
CHD	*Chicago Hittite Dictionary.* Chicago Oriental Institute 1980 ff.
CHLI 1	J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions Vol. 1: Inscriptions of the Iron Age.* Berlin/New York 2000
CL, CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
CLL	H.C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon.* Chapel Hill 1993
CTH	E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites.* Paris 1971
HED	J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary.* Berlin/New York/Amsterdam 1984 ff.
HEG	J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar.* Innsbruck 1977 ff.
Hit.	Hittite
HKM	S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük.* Ankara 1991
HL, HLuw	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hur.	Hurrian
HW	J. Friedrich, J. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg 1952-1966
HW2	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch,* 2nd ed. Heidelberg 1975 ff.
HZL	C. Rüster and E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon.* Wiesbaden 1989
IBoT	*Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri.* Istanbul/Ankara
IE	Indo-European
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.* Berlin
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.* Berlin
Lyc.	Lycian
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie.* Berlin
RS	Ras Shamra/Ugarit texts (inventory number)
SBo I-II	H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* I-II, Berlin 1940, 1942
VBoT	A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte.* Marburg 1930

PUBLICATIONS BY J. DAVID HAWKINS

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LUWIANS IN ALEPPO?

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In 2002, while finishing my chapter on art and architecture for the volume *The Luwians*, I had to make a difficult decision whether or not to deal with Aleppo as Luwian (Aro 2003, especially pp. 281-285). Despite the fact that a few Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions already long known were considered as having originated from Aleppo (Hawkins 2000:388-397) and some of the recently found orthostats from the temple of the Storm-God bear Hieroglyphic Luwian captions (Kohlmeyer 2000), I was well aware that to label Aleppo as Luwian would get a chequered reception. Traditionally, Bronze Age Aleppo is thought to have had mainly Semitic and Hurrian ruling classes and population, whereas only a few scholars have so far addressed the important issue of the physical presence of the Hittites in this city or elsewhere in north Syria. For the Early Iron Age and especially for the period from the 8th century BCE onwards, Aleppo is mostly considered to have been part of the Aramaic state of Bīt Agūsi/Arpad, thus emphasizing the Semitic element of the city (see for example Lebrun 1993:13; Klengel 2000:27; Lipiński 2000:207). In this article I return to the question of whether we can claim any presence of Luwians in Iron Age Aleppo. This contribution is dedicated to David Hawkins, who not only taught me Hieroglyphic Luwian but who infected me with a passion for ancient Anatolia and north Syria.

LUWIANS IN NORTH SYRIA DURING THE HITTITE RULE

When the Hittite Great King Suppiluliuma I conquered Carchemish and annexed north Syrian territories ca. 1340 BCE,[1] the Hittites already had long-standing political and cultural contacts with the area. Besides the tradition of cuneiform script, the Hittites adopted further cultural and religious elements from the north Syrian cultural spheres where Semitic and Hurrian elements were prevalent during the second millennium BCE (Hoffner 1992).[2] During the Hittite occupation of the area, the modes of interaction must have changed due to the arrival of Hittite administrative bodies at Carchemish and Aleppo as well as other Hittite outposts such as Emar (Cohen 2005) or Tall Bazi (Otto and Einwag 2007). The material remains of the Hittites in north Syria have been thoroughly surveyed by Eric Jean (1995) and again by Hermann Genz (2006). The corpus of Hittite finds, which consists mainly of cuneiform tablets and seals, gives us a slightly disappointing and distorted picture because the material remains of the two Late Bronze Age focal sites - Carchemish and Aleppo - are practically unknown to us.[3] Important landscape surveys have been conducted in the vicinity of Carchemish (Wilkinson *et al.* 2007) and Aleppo (Schwarz *et al.* 2000), but we still suffer greatly from the archaeological inaccessibility of both ancient sites. We cannot study the city-planning and urban structures of these cities, nor do the ceramic finds enable us to observe a possible change in the pottery assemblages as they do, for

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1. There are several different suggestions for the regnal years of Suppiluliuma I which cover a range of a few decades, see Wilhem 1991; Starke 2002:314-315.
2. See however Woudhuizen 2004, who suggests that for example Aplahanda, king of Carchemish from the 18th century BCE used seals with signs identified by Woudhuizen as early forms of Hieroglyphic Luwian script.
3. Recent finds of portal lions in Emar (Sakal 2007) and in Tall Bazi (Otto and Einwag 2007), however, make the complexity of the cross-cultural relationships even more clear.

example, in Kinet Hüyük in Cilicia, where the production of Hittite pottery ceases with the collapse of the empire (Gates 2006). Therefore, it is inadvisable to make estimates of the number of Hittites residing in north Syria. In other words, we can deduce from the historical documents available that people from Hittite Anatolia settled in several cities in north Syria even though the exact figure is uncertain and archaeological evidence still scanty.

However, is it possible to differentiate between Luwians and Hittites in Syria? The presence of Luwian population groups in Early Iron Age north Syria has been explained either by a migration after the break down of the Hittite central power (Hawkins 1995:1297; Wartke 2005:57) or by gradual infiltration into the area already during the Late Bronze Age. Horst Klengel has fittingly proposed that Luwians arrived in north Syria during both periods (2000:25). Whereas some scholars have assumed that the pressure of invading Phrygians made the Luwians move southward (Macqueen 1995:1099; Klengel 2000:25), there is currently not much evidence for such a reconstruction, as rightly emphasized by Guy Bunnens (2000:17). It is conceivable, however, that small groups of people belonging to the Hittite royal family and/or Hittite officials might have sought refuge in such places where Hittites still held control, as in Carchemish (Bryce 1998:384-385). Nevertheless, it is difficult to agree with the view of Bunnens (2000:17) that the spread of the Hieroglyphic Luwian script in north Syria was exclusively a cultural choice and not the effect of immigration, at least as far as the formative years of the Early Iron Age cultural phenomena are concerned.[4]

It is important to focus on the probable introducers of the Hieroglyphic Luwian tradition in north Syria. As pointed out in many handbooks and general works, the transmitters are primarily to be sought in Carchemish. Archaeologically the Bronze Age Luwians are still elusive (Aro 2003:285-288), but recent studies of the increasing number of Luwianisms in the Hittite (Nesite) language during the Late Bronze Age allow us to grasp speakers of Luwian co-existing in central Anatolia among the Hittite communities (Melchert 2005; Rieken 2006).[5] In a long and thorough study, Theo van den Hout advocates for Hattusa "a largely bilingual Hittite-Luwian society for the 13th century BCE where Hittites politically and militarily dominated an increasing Luwian-speaking or increasingly Luwian-speaking population" (2006:234). He merely leaves open the question as to which language was actually used by the Hittite royal family and their court circles. The fact that many of the later Hittite royals had two names (Hittite/Luwian and Hurrian) makes the picture even more complicated and produces no straightforward answer (Güterbock 1954; Heinhold-Krahmer 2001).[6] Nevertheless, there should be no doubt any more that Luwians and the Luwian language belong to the picture of the Hittite world. Speaking of Luwians in the Hittite capital we can, however, ask if all or even a part of these Luwian-speaking Hittite 'citizens' necessarily had a specific Luwian identity? How much did the Luwians understand themselves as cultural actors or as bearers of a distinct Luwian identity? Could it be possible that at least a part of the Hittite settlers in north Syria were actually Luwians? This could explain the sudden appearance of the Luwian element in the region, regarded as mysterious by Paul-Eugène Dion (1997:66-67).

What is tentatively proposed here is that towards the end of the Late Bronze Age period, there existed groups of people in Hattusa (and possibly elsewhere), who spoke Luwian but who otherwise had Hittite identity and who thus became bearers of the Hittite cultural traditions. For these 'Luwian-speaking

Hittites' a modern analogy – though of course not directly applicable – is irresistible. In modern Finland, Swedish is the second official language and the mother tongue of 5.5 % of the population. These 'Finland-Swedes' (Swedish *finsksvensk*) as they call themselves, have a clear Finnish identity (Beijar 1997). Their self-identification is 'Finnish' even if they speak Swedish. We can thus reflect the possibility that among those Hittites who settled in northern Syria in order to sustain Hittite power there were also people who could be described as 'Luwian-speaking Hittites'.

Additionally, Itamar Singer has recently suggested that the Hittite army probably had a great number of special combat units made up of Luwian soldiers (2006). Even if the Hittite administration does not seem to have maintained any large contingents of manpower in northern Syrian territories (Klengel 2001:267), it is still probable that some Luwians ended up in the south as military personnel (Klengel *et al.* 1999:162). Descendants of Luwian soldiers might have formed part of the non-elite, Luwian-speaking population groups that some scholars assume to have existed in the region during the Early Iron Age (Dion 1997:68). Furthermore, the introduction of the Indo-European/Anatolian custom of cremation burials to Syria could be connected to the arrival of the Luwians.[7]

LUWIANS IN LATE BRONZE AGE ALEPPO?

Aleppo, the former capital of the Amorite state of Yamhad, seems to have had special importance for the Hittites.[8] The Hittite viceroy with the political control over the area ruled from Carchemish, but Aleppo received its own prince from the royal family, whose role seems to have been both military and religious (Klengel 2001). The special status Aleppo gained in the Hittite power system was certainly due to the prominent position of the cult of its Storm-God (Schwemer 2001). The cult of the Aleppine Storm-God was established in Hattusa already after a military campaign of Hattusili I, i.e., in the 16th century BCE (Souček and Siegelová 1974; Popko 2002; Richter 2002). With the appointment of Telipinu as viceroy and priest in charge of the cult of the Storm-God, we have to expect that following him a fair number of personnel and military troops was stationed in Aleppo as well (Bryce 1992; Klengel *et al.* 1999:165-166). Before arriving in Aleppo Telipinu served as the priest of Teššub, Hepat and Šarruma in Kizzuwatna, indicating that his court probably consisted of Hittites, Luwians and Hurrians (Freu 2002:74-80). No Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of Telipinu himself are known but his son Talmi-Šarruma, who succeeded Telipinu on the throne of Aleppo, left one short inscription (Bossert 1954; Laroche 1956). It shows that the usage of Hieroglyphic Luwian script, probably introduced to Aleppo by Telipinu, was continued at least by his direct successor. The case of the last known viceroy of Aleppo, Halpaziti, is more complicated. He was not a direct descendant of Talmi-Šarruma and there is not much information about his curriculum before he was apparently banned from the Hittite court (van den Hout 1998).

LUWIANS IN NORTH SYRIA AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE

From the end of 1980's new findings and studies have replaced the old views that after the collapse of the Hittite Empire ca 1180 BCE, both Anatolia and north Syria experienced a political and cultural Dark Age that ended only after 1000-950 BCE. Inscriptions and monuments can now be dated to the 12th and 11th centuries and the first Early Iron Age rulers from Carchemish and Malatya were descendants of the Hittite Great Kings (Klengel *et al.* 1999: 318-319). Despite these new discoveries and reflections, we are still far from understanding what happened during the critical years before and after the fall of the

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4. The interaction and fusion of the Luwian/Late-Hittite and Aramean cultures from ca. 1000 BCE on led to the situation where personal names and the choice of script were probably often motivated by other reasons than a person's ethnic background. See for example Dalley 2000:80 for Til-Barsip/Masuwari and Lipiński 2000:233-234 for Samal.
5. The prehistoric contacts between the Hittite and Luwian languages are surveyed by Ilya Yakubovich (2006).
6. See also Hoffner 1992:97 stating that the Hittite royal family was of an ethnically Hurrian background.

7. This was pointed out by Singer 2006:440, where he makes the reference to the cremation burials from Hama and Carchemish. Further cremation burials have been found in Tell Shiukh Fawqani (Luciani 2000; Tenu–Bachelot 2005).
8. For a general overview of the history of Aleppo see for example Klengel 1997.

Hittite Empire. One of the most interesting phenomena is the continuity of certain Hittite artistic features combined with the exclusive use of the Hieroglyphic Luwian language and writing system instead of the digraphic system of Empire Period Hittites (van den Hout 2006:236). This afterglow of many imperial Hittite features in north Syrian city-states, widely designated as Late Hittite or Neo- Hittite, only becomes intelligible if we see the Luwian-speaking Hittites as the founders of this tradition. They carried on the Hittite heritage combining it not only with the Hieroglyphic scribal tradition but also with many features from the local Syrian and Hurrian artistic traditions. According to Clelia Mora the distinct 'Syro-Hittite' style mixing the Anatolian Hittite and Syro-Hurrian elements together, mainly discernible in glyptics, has its roots in Carchemish already at the end of 14th/beginning of 13th century BCE and it also influenced the inner Anatolian artistic works (Mora 1992; Mora 1998). Indeed, the Neo-Hittite city-states with their urban planning, buildings with portal figures, relief orthostats and Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions can be regarded as a continuation of this style further developed by the Luwian-speaking Hittites (Faist 2002:138-141). An unbroken lineage of large scale monuments in Carchemish itself is difficult to trace due to the research situation, but some pieces which were reused in later buildings undoubtedly belong to the period between ca. 1300-1000 BCE (Aro 2003:296; Mazzoni 1997; Özyar 1998). The redating of many of the Ain Dara findings to overlap the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age helps us to understand how this style looked (Mazzoni 2000). The extensive use of portal lions on city gates, temples and other monumental buildings – now attested also in Late Bronze Age north Syrian cities – seems to be one of the trademarks of this artistic tradition.[9] With this artistic style and the usage of the Hieroglyphic script, the kings of Carchemish and other Neo-Hittite states created a new kind of ideological system to express their sovereignty and legitimacy of rulership (Mazzoni 1997) which survived over centuries until the Assyrian occupation of the area at the end of the 8th century BCE. Their development into new forms during the 10th and 9th centuries BCE is a strong indication that these rulers actively continued to use the Luwian language. Equally possible is that the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions served propaganda purposes *vis-à-vis* the Luwian-speaking citizens so that the traditions were maintained in order to secure the status and hegemony of the ruling class over the Luwian-speaking population. In Carchemish, the rulers tried to keep up the appearance of the great past of their ancestors and took the role of transmitting the Hittite culture into the first millennium BCE.

LUWIANS IN ALEPPO AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE?

Returning to focus on Aleppo: How did its society reinvent itself after the collapse of the Hittite Empire? No direct information is available but we can again second Horst Klengel in assuming that Aleppo was not greatly affected by the general disturbance of the period (Klengel 1997:372). It is possible that smaller-scale administrative entities – similar to that in Carchemish – survived, but after ca. 1180 BCE we know nothing about the interrelations between Aleppo and Carchemish which once were the most influential regional centres of Hittite power. Jak Yakar is of the opinion that Carchemish failed to support Emar and its other dependencies of the Imperial Age during the decades of upheaval and this may also be true in the case of Aleppo (Yakar 2006:35). One of the earliest Iron Age inscriptions from Carchemish (KARKAMIŠ A4b) reports conflicts between the neighbouring lands and another early stele from the plain of Elbistan (KARAHÖYÜK) in turn claims that when Ir-Tešub entered the land, he found its city empty (Hawkins 2000:80-82, 288-295). It is thus conceivable to think that several fights to control the lands around the old cities took place filling the vacuum left by the Hittite army. If any of the Hittites stayed in Aleppo, they probably tried to protect the city and its temple institution.

9. New portal lions have been found at Emar (Sakal 2007) and Tall Bazi (Otto and Einwag 2007).

However, in contrast to Carchemish, there seems to be no evidence for the continuation of the Hittite royal family in Aleppo. After Halpa-ziti, only rulers of minor rank were in charge in Aleppo, which was additionally subordinated to Carchemish (Klengel 1997:371). According to the preliminary excavation reports, the striking Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the eastern wall of the cella of the temple in Aleppo citadel belongs to "Taitas, King and Hero, ruler of the land Palasatini" (Gonella, Khayatta and Kohlmeyer 2005:92), undoubtedly stating that he was not a native of Aleppo. Nevertheless, the figure of the Storm-God to which Taitas pays homage, gives a nearly perfect copy of the Hittite Imperial style Storm-God. This implies clearly that whatever the origin of Taitas, and regardless as to how much time had elapsed between the Hittite reign in Aleppo and his own, his efforts were at least to give the impression of belonging to the descendants of the Hittites. If Taitas can safely be linked with Unqi/Patina,[10] as suggested by David Hawkins (Gonnella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005:92), and if his reign is proved to have taken place ca. 1100 BCE, he might still have regarded the Hittite Great Kings as his ancestors.[11] Iron Age Unqi/Patina can roughly be equated with Late Bronze Age Mukish under Hittite control. The on-going research in the Plain of Amuq and especially in the two important centres of Alalakh and Tell Tayinat, might well shed light on the circumstances there during the relevant centuries between 1200-900 BCE.[12] With this background it is not unexpected that either Hittite Empire Period models existed in Early Iron Age Aleppo or/and there was a workshop of sculptors with knowledge and experience stretching back for several generations, as suggested by Kay Kohlmeyer (Gonnella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005:92). However, the style is not accidental but reflects the conscious transmission of the Hittite heritage by the Luwian-speaking elite.

At some point later, a shift of power from the Luwian dynasty/dynasties to Aramean rulership seems to have taken place in Aleppo. It is impossible to point to the exact date of the takeover and there are as yet no documents to enlighten the inner political circumstances and developments. Some scholars specializing on Aramean states suggest that Aleppo did not yet belong to Bīt Agūsi /Arpad in the 9th century BCE when the only source on the city is a short reference made by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (Dion 1997:113-136; Kahn 2007:68).[13] During the 8th century BCE Aleppo is mentioned in connection with the rulers of Bīt Agūsi /Arpad and after the conquest of Arpad by Tiglat-Pileser III the city became part of the Assyrian province with the same name (Hawkins 2000:390).

THE STYLE AND ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM OF THE ARTISTIC WORK OF THE ALEPPINE TEMPLE OF THE STORM-GOD

Considering the new material uncovered during recent years in the cella of the temple of the Storm-God, some general remarks on the motifs and the style of the orthostats can be made. The first slabs discovered and published by Kohlmeyer (2000) implied a strong Anatolian tone of the whole complex because this group of reliefs betrayed Hittite elements and the figures were partly labelled with Hieroglyphic signs. Today, when all the blocks *in situ* have been uncovered, the whole preserved complex conveys a much more heterogeneous image: a mass of stylistic and iconographical motifs creating a mixture of the repertoires

10. To the general history of the area see Hawkins 2000:361-365; Yener 2005.
11. Some known Iron Age rulers of Unqi/Patina bear Imperial Hittite style names, like Lubarna (= Labarnas) and Sapalulme (= Suppululiuma), for which see Hawkins 2000:363.
12. Alexander Pruss (2002) has examined the archaeological evidence available from the old excavations of the Chicago Oriental Institute in the Amuq Plain and presumes an immigration of western (Aegean and West Anatolian) population groups to the area during the earliest years of the Iron Age. Aslıhan Yener, the present director of the Amuq Valley Regional Projects (University of Chicago), on the other hand, stresses only a strong linkage of the Amuq area with Cilicia and Central Anatolia, this applying for all the periods of the Bronze Age (2005:113).
13. For the passage in the annals of Shalmaneser III and discussion with references see Hawkins 2000:389.

known from other artistic centres of north Mesopotamia, north Syria and Anatolia, both from Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The preliminary reports of Kohlmeyer already give a good idea of the richness of analogies which can be drawn from all the individual figures (Gonnella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005:94-110). The lack of arrangement and direction in location of the individual slabs on the northern wall of the temple can only be due to a restoration of the wall so that old and new blocks were mixed and placed in sequence in a curious nonchalant order. All these features indicate a far stronger continuity of the Late Bronze Age 'Syro-Hittite' elements in Aleppo than previously thought, with a clear connection to Carchemish even if the sculptural workshops in Aleppo seem to have created their own stylistic school.[14]

THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN STELA AND STONE BOWLS FROM BABYLON

When the iconographical concept of the temple orthostats can now be seen to derive from a concept created by the 'Luwian-speaking Hittites' in Carchemish and elsewhere, we have to still reconsider the findings from Babylon, for which the internal evidence of the inscriptions is seen to suggest an original provenance from Aleppo. The stela BABYLON 1 mentions the "Ruler-Prince" Laparazitis as the commissioner for the monument dedicated to Halabean Tarhunzas (Hawkins 2000:391-394). BABYLON 2 and BABYLON 3 are stone bowls bearing dedicatory inscriptions to the Storm-God, although the Halabean Tarhunzas is explicitly mentioned only on BABYLON 3.[15] The international character of the cult of Storm-God has been stressed by many and there is no doubt that the shrine in Aleppo was visited from far away. Offerings to the Halabean Storm-God were thus made also by outsiders. Because Laparazitis obviously does not possess a title 'king' or 'great king', he is likely to have been a ruler of some of the very many smaller city-states which existed in the area during that time.[16] Laparazitis may have visited the temple of Aleppo and brought a stele as an offering for the god. The style of the relief on the stela is quite different from that of the new orthostat reliefs in the temple of the Storm-God, but it is not unlike other stelae from Carchemish or Til Barsib/Masuwari, already considered to belong to the same artistic tradition even if not to the same workshop (Aro 2003:318; Bunnens 2006:39; 46-47 with further references). Thus, the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions found in Babylon do not directly support the theory of Luwian presence in Aleppo. A further point could also be made in asking if these inscriptions are referring to the cult of the temple in Aleppo. For the Late Bronze Age we know that the Hittites established the Aleppine Storm-God also in Hattusa, thus building the deity a temple and a cult statue. For the Iron Age, one Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (KARKAMIŠ A24a) tells of Assyrians carrying away a "Halabean Tarhunzas", but since the inscription is very fragmented it is not clear which town and which temple of the Halabean Storm-God the enemy is actually looting (Hawkins 2000:133-139).[17] If every city-state of importance had its own temple of the Halabean Storm-God, the original provenance of the stele found in Babylon does not seem as certain as has been thought.

CONCLUSIONS

Luwians in Aleppo? I suppose the answer should be "Yes" despite the fact that my argumentation of 2002 was partly based on reasoning different from the present. To recognize the Luwians as actors in

14. Stefania Mazzoni (2000) suggests, that a single itinerant workshop, perhaps trained in Hattusa, created the earliest (12th-11th century BCE) sculptural works in Ain Dara, Zincirli, Yesemek and Sikizlar.
15. Hawkins 2000:394-397. On BABYLON 2 the celestial Storm-God is mentioned. The forms of these bowls are not very similar to each other thus not forcing us to see them originating from the same place.
16. Already indicated by Hawkins 2000:390.
17. A fragmentary relief of the Assyrian king Tiglat-Pileser III (8th century BCE) shows how a figure of the Storm-God is deported together with other cult statues, see *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum From Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib* (London 1938) pl. X (BM 118934).

Aleppo or elsewhere in Early Iron Age north Syria and southern Anatolia opens up new possibilities for investigating the rich cultural dialogue in the ancient Near East. It is sometimes stated that the Luwians were politically not very prominent but nevertheless culturally they seem to have had an extraordinary ability to give and take – a fact that has so far gained too little attention. The role of these 'Luwian-speaking Hittites' as the transmitters of the Hittite heritage is worthy of reconsideration in a wider perspective than has so far been done.

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SITES, ROUTES AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA

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Few scholars have an intimate and detailed knowledge of the Turkish countryside rivalling that of David Hawkins. His work as an epigrapher, historian and archaeologist has taken him through virtually every part of the country, and has allowed him to produce some of the most important contributions to the study of Hittite historical geography to appear in recent decades (particularly Hawkins 1995a; 1995b; 1998a; 1998b; 2000). As a supplement to his work, this article presents some of the author's own impressions earned during travels in Central Anatolia, which focussed mainly on the identification of routes and sites frequented by Assyrian merchants during the Old Assyrian Colony Period. However, such observations plainly carry implications also for our understanding of the political layout of the later Hittite state. The main objective is to draw attention to a number of important, but not very well-known, archaeological sites visited during those travels, and to consider their potential significance for the understanding of the political landscape in the Old Assyrian period and the formative era of the Hittite Kingdom.

THE MOUNDS OF BOLVADIN ÜÇHÖYÜK

The site of Üçhöyük ('triple mound') covers an extensive area with a few points of high mounding in an otherwise relatively flat site situated on a level alluvial plain. The surface material dates to a number of periods, mainly the EB, MB and Iron Age, with some LB and later periods. The three mounds that gave the name to the site are grouped closely together at its northern end, at app. 38° 41' 34 N by 31° 2' 12 E and ca. 997 m above sea level, some 3 km south west of the modern town of Bolvadin. A fourth, large and almost square mound covered with classical and later pottery lies at the southeastern extension of the site.

Surrounding the three northern mounds is an almost indiscernible earthen slope that also shows up on satellite imagery and surely indicates the course of an ancient wall. However, in the past few decades the site has been heavily disturbed by modern activities, and intensive ploughing has all but obliterated the edges of the site and obscured the layout of the ancient settlement. Furthermore, two of the three northern mounds have had large electric pylons sunk into them, scattering large fragments of vitrified mud brick carrying impressions of wood and wickerwork similar to the type known from the sites of Acemhöyük and Kültepe in the process. Loose ashy patches of soil are ploughed out of burnt strata in several areas, and signs of a huge conflagration are ubiquitous. Although the warning that Üçhöyük has been "denuded to the level of the surrounding plain" seems somewhat overstated (Koçak 2004:31), the site is without doubt among the most important localities under immediate threat in Turkey.
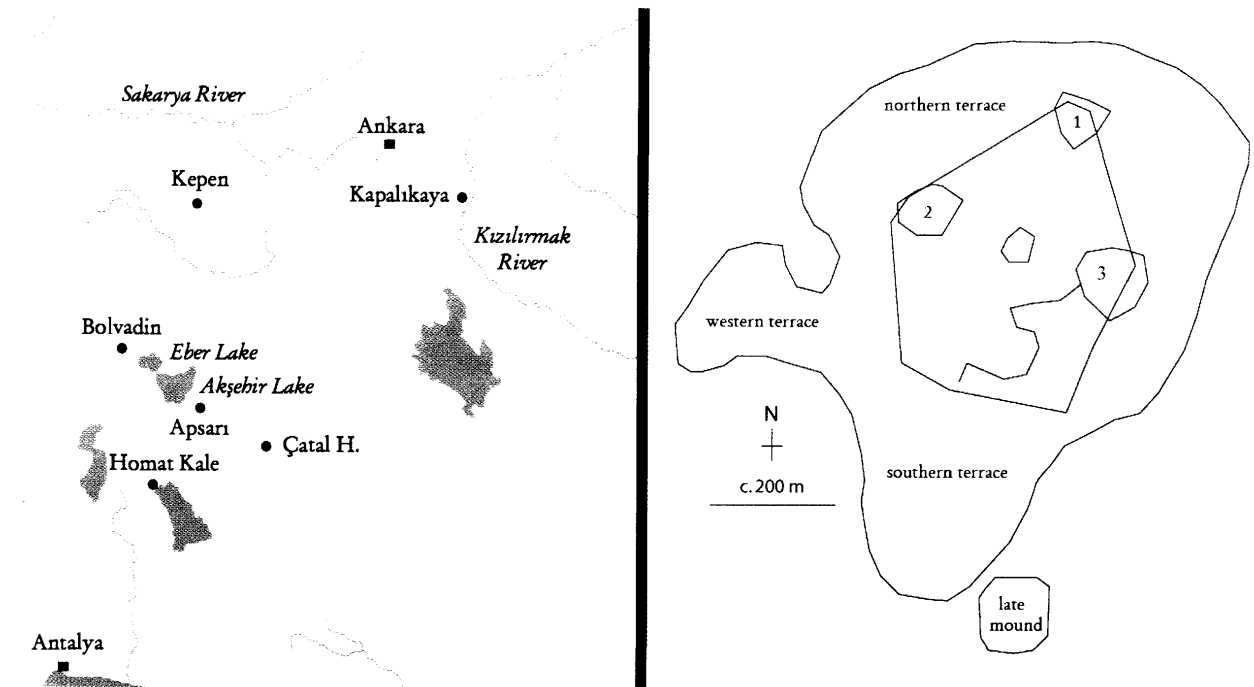
Fig. 1: Left: Map showing the principal toponyms discussed in the text (cartographic template by R. Kuzuoğlu). Right: A crude sketch of the main features of Bolvadin Üçhöyük, drawn on the basis of the satellite image available on GoogleEarth and photographs taken on site. The highest part of the mound (1-3) seems roughly pentagonal and measures ca. 400 m in diametre. Lower slopes extend north, south and east with no clearly defined perimetre. To the west the edge is defined by a steep fall of 2-3 m (Fig. 2b). The late mound is located on the south-eastern edge of the site (Fig. 2c).

The strategic position of Bolvadin on the Akar Çay, Greek Kaystros and Hittite Aštarpa, in a fertile plain and at the important intersection where the route from Eskişehir and Ankara meets the road from Kayseri to the Mediterranean, has assured its importance since very early times. Today the water from the Çay River is used for irrigation, and bypasses Bolvadin in a canal a few kilometres south of Üçhöyük. Less than a century ago, however, the area where the river entered the Eber Gölü was still a diffuse marshy wetland shifting imperceptibly from watercourse to lake, and the road leading south to Çay was a paved causeway, elevated above the marsh (see Hogarth 1890:152, as well as the *British Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series Turkey* (1943), *vol.* 2: 455). Strabo refers to the plain south of Bolvadin as the Phrygian *Paroreios* and defines it as a geographical unit that includes the two large lakes of Eber and Akşehir and a number of surrounding towns (Strabo XII 3:31; 6:4; 8:14). The fertile plain west of the city served as a campsite before the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. (Ramsay 1890:78, 140). Hogarth (1890:153) argues that the actual battle, although it took its name from the site, can not have taken place at Ipsos (modern Çayırbağ, formerly Sipsin): "... a great battle in which elephants, chariot and cavalry played a large part, must have been fought where the plain is both level and dry". He finds it more likely that the plains west of Bolvadin served the purpose, and most likely it was the place where Mursili II set up winter quarters during his Arzawa campaign (Garstang and Gurney 1959: 86 and Hawkins 1995a: n. 152 and 181. Note also the remarks in Forlanini 1998: 224 in relation to Walma). Nearby was also the Caystri Pedium of Xenophon, where the army of Cyrus the Younger camped (Waterfield 2006:91), and it seems the plain was always a preferred stopping point for armies, due to its command of the overland routes as well as its ability to feed a large surplus population.
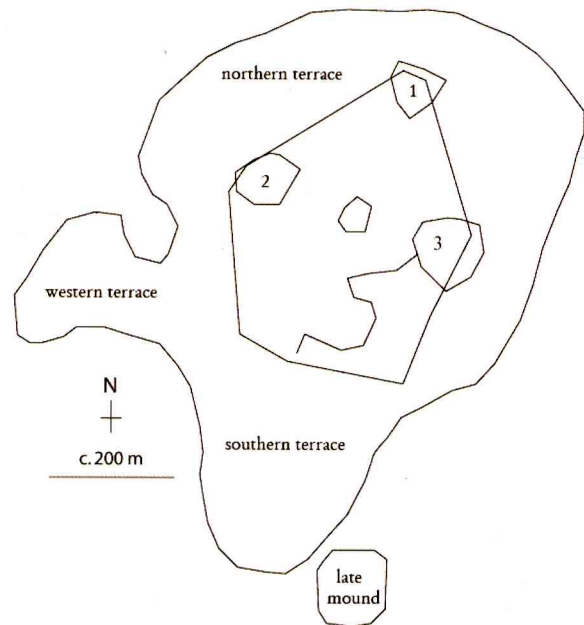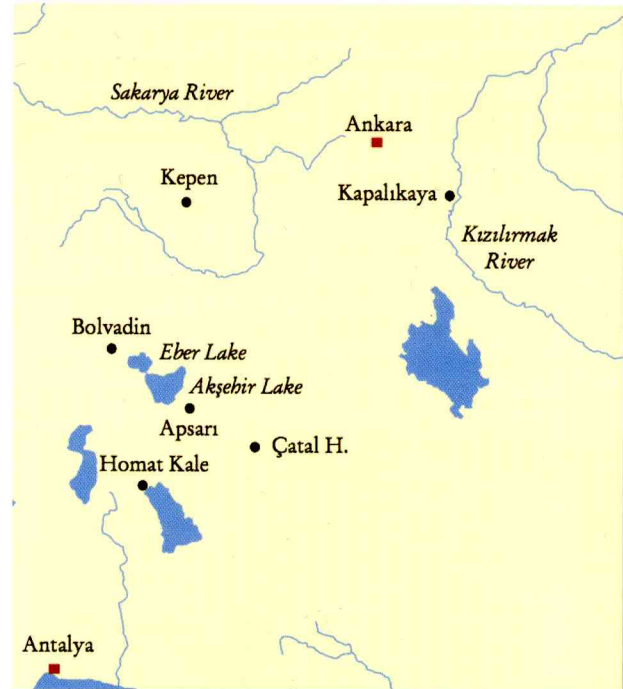
Fig. 1: Left: Map showing the principal toponyms discussed in the text (cartographic template by R. Kuzuoğlu). Right: A crude sketch of the main features of Bolvadin Üçhöyük, drawn on the basis of the satellite image available on GoogleEarth and photographs taken on site. The highest part of the mound (1-3) seems roughly pentagonal and measures ca. 400 m in diametre. Lower slopes extend north, south and east with no clearly defined perimetre. To the west the edge is defined by a steep fall of 2-3 m (Fig. 2b). The late mound is located on the south-eastern edge of the site (Fig. 2c).

The modern Turkish toponym of Bolvadin is derived from late classical Polybotos ('many-feeding'), with the Arabic and later derivations Bulwaṭin and Ottoman Bul(a)vadin and Boluwodun.[1] In Mediaeval times pilgrims and crusaders passed through the city from Constantinople to Jerusalem and Mecca (Taeschner 1924:101-102 and 126), and its strategic position meant that a number of large battles were fought here. In 695 the army of Byzantium stopped the invading Arab army at Bolvadin (Brooks 1898:190 and n. 1 for the battle on the *Marǧ aš-Šaḥm*, and Belke and Mersich 1990:363 for its identification with the plain of Bolvadin); in 1116 it was the site of a decisive battle between Byzantine and Seljuk forces (Cahen 1968:90); and in September 1605 an Ottoman army was defeated by rebel Celalis (Griswold 1983:52-53). Finally, Bolvadin occurs frequently in both Arabic and Ottoman itineraries as a major crossroad and stopping point for travellers between Istanbul and the Levant via Eskişehir and Konya.[2]
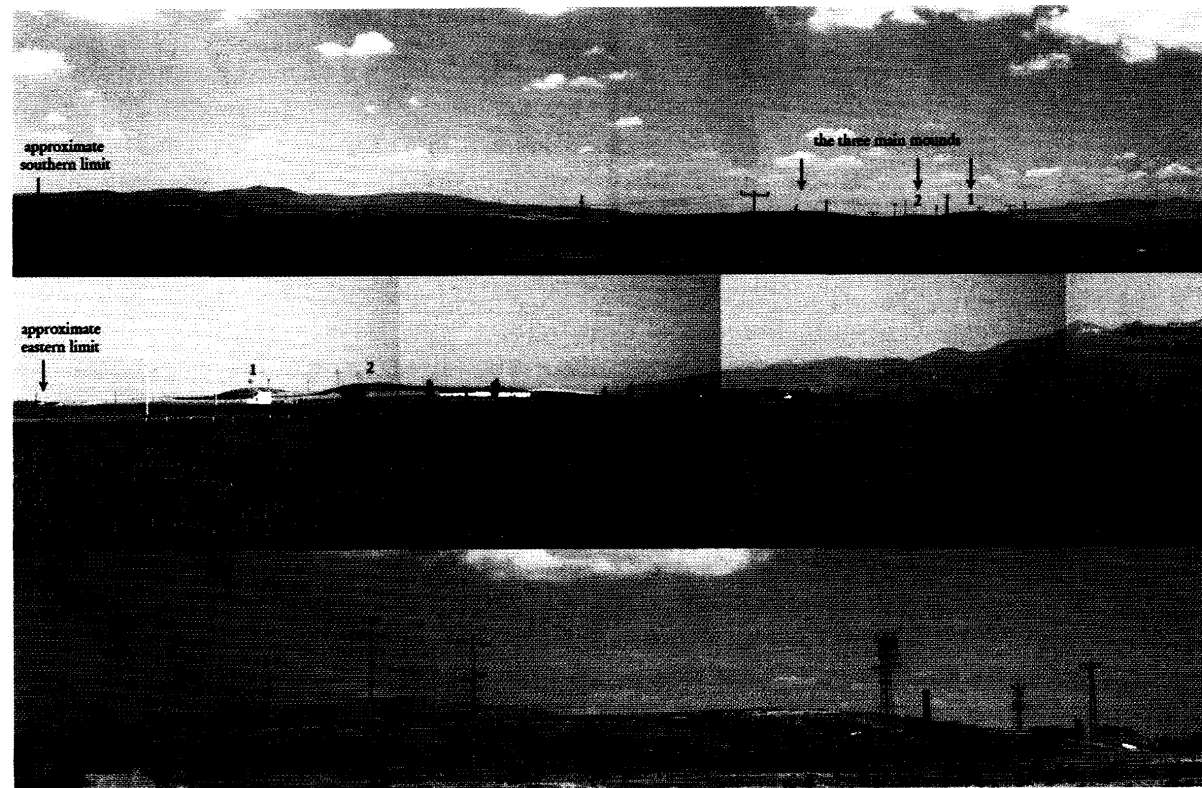

Fig. 2: a) The main mound of Bolvadin Üçhöyük, seen from the southeast. The upper city is seen to the right, the lower mound stretching out to the left. b) The mound seen from the northwest. Flat terraces strewn with pottery extend out to the north and west. c) The later southern mound.

The mound of Üçhöyük was first mentioned by Mellaart, and appears under the name of Bolvadin on his lists of sites with pottery dated to the EB II and MB periods (Lloyd and Mellaart 1962: 197, No. 141; Lloyd and Mellaart 1965:76). However, he describes neither the collected pottery nor the layout of the mound in any detail. The site was re-examined in a short survey report published by Mermerci where the large amount of collected pottery dated to the Assyrian Colony Period was specifically emphasized. Yet, once again no photos or drawings were provided to support this claim (Mermerci 1979:163). Üçhöyük also appears in the list of surveyed EB sites in the Afyon region conducted by Koçak in 2002-2004, and its EB II assemblage is linked to Mellaart's 'Sultan Dağ culture' (Koçak 2004). Both Bilgen and Koçak also stress the importance of the site in the MB period, but details are lacking (Bilgen 2005, Koçak and Bilgen 2005; Arısoy *et al.* 2007). Finally, Tahsin Özgüç has published a vessel that allegedly came from the site and which he dates to the later phase of the Assyrian Colony Period (1974:150-151). Contemporary finds from the area include additional vessels,[3] graves,[4] and even two cylinder seals.[5]

Sometime in early antiquity the settlement at Bolvadin moved from the ancient mounded site, and the late classical site lies west of the modern city centre at Durayeri ('stopping point') along the old road to Çobanlar (Belke and Mersich 1990:364).[6] Gönçer discussed the classical and later remains found there (Gönçer 1971:177 and Belke and Mersich *op. cit.* with further references), and although there appears to be some confusion between the Byzantine town and the more ancient site in the archaeological literature,[7] the mound of Üçhöyük cannot have formed a central part of the late classical settlement, even if it may have remained partially inhabited. There is little or no sign of fired brick, roof tiles or classical pottery except at the southern late mound (Fig. 2).

Whatever ancient site may have been located at Üçhöyük, its mere size seems to suggest that it would have been important enough to warrant its mention in the extant written sources. In his discussion of the Südburg-inscription, Hawkins argued against the commonly accepted identification of the important ancient city of Parsuhanda with the archaeological site of Acemhöyük at the southeastern corner of the

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1. With variant Greek spellings: *Polybatos, Polybytos* (Belke and Mersich 1990:363-364). As so often happens, the Turkish toponym has been derived from the Greek accusative form rather than the nominative, see Wittek 1935:50.
2. E.g. the travels of al-Idrisi VII, 811-812 in the 12th century, and the campaigns of Selim I (1514), Suleyman (1535, 1548), Murad IV (1635, 1637), the journeys of Çelebi (1648), Makarius (1653) and Otter (1748), and the pilgrim itinerary (*manāsik ul Hadjdj*) by Edib (1774), see Taeschner 1924: pl. 7-8. Later travellers with important descriptions of the area include Ainsworth 1842:492-494; Hamilton 1842:i 456-457 (passing NW of the Akar plain) and Hogarth 1890:152.

3. *ibid.* Finds of *kārum* Ib-type pottery come from Hisar Köyü and Tezköy Höyük at Emirdağ, Devederesi south of Çay and Bademli near Dinar. Interestingly, Özgüç (on p. 153) concludes that: "*at the beginning of the first quarter of the Second Millennium B. C. the district of Afyon had established strong ties with the Central Plateau, the merchants having extended their routes this far.*"
4. The results of the excavations at the MB necropolis of Yanarlar near Afyon were published in Emre 1978. For the preliminary results from the investigations at Bozyer and Çavlum close to Bolvadin, see Bilgen 2005. Excavations are currently ongoing at the MB cemetrey of Dedemezari, see Koçak 2007: esp. 830-831. Calibrated ^{14}C dates of the finds fall between 1910 and 1700. The related hilltop site of Köy Kalesi has not yet been excavated, but undoubtedly it marks a local stronghold controlling the valley at Yuakrı Çaybelen, west of the main road.
5. A seal in Old Syrian style allegedly came from Şuhut, 24 km south of Afyon. Another, with close parallels in Alalakh VII, was found at Geneli in the Çay district (N. Özgüç 1966).
6. The place may be identical to their "Çengenoğlu Çiftliği" *ibid.* at 220, although the description is rather vague. The dimensions of this large urban site, where a magnificently preserved statue of the Roman Emperor Hadrian appears to have been recovered in 1907 (Gönçer 1971:178), are ca. 3 to 4 km from east to west and ca. 1 km north to south. Leaving Bolvadin in the direction of Çobanlar one passes a large expanse of rolling ground bisected by the road with a hilly ridge (the southern slopes of the Paşa Dağ) to the north. From a car the archaeological site is discernible on a background of the surrounding flat alluvial plain only by its resemblance to a rolling moonscape caused by modern looting. Pottery, tiles and Roman glass is seen everywhere on the surface.
7. The mound is commonly referred to as Üçhöyük, the later classical settlement as Durayeri. However, T. Özgüç 1974 calls the mound "Dura", and Mermerci 1979 uses both Üçhöyük and Dura Yeri as alternative names for the ancient site.
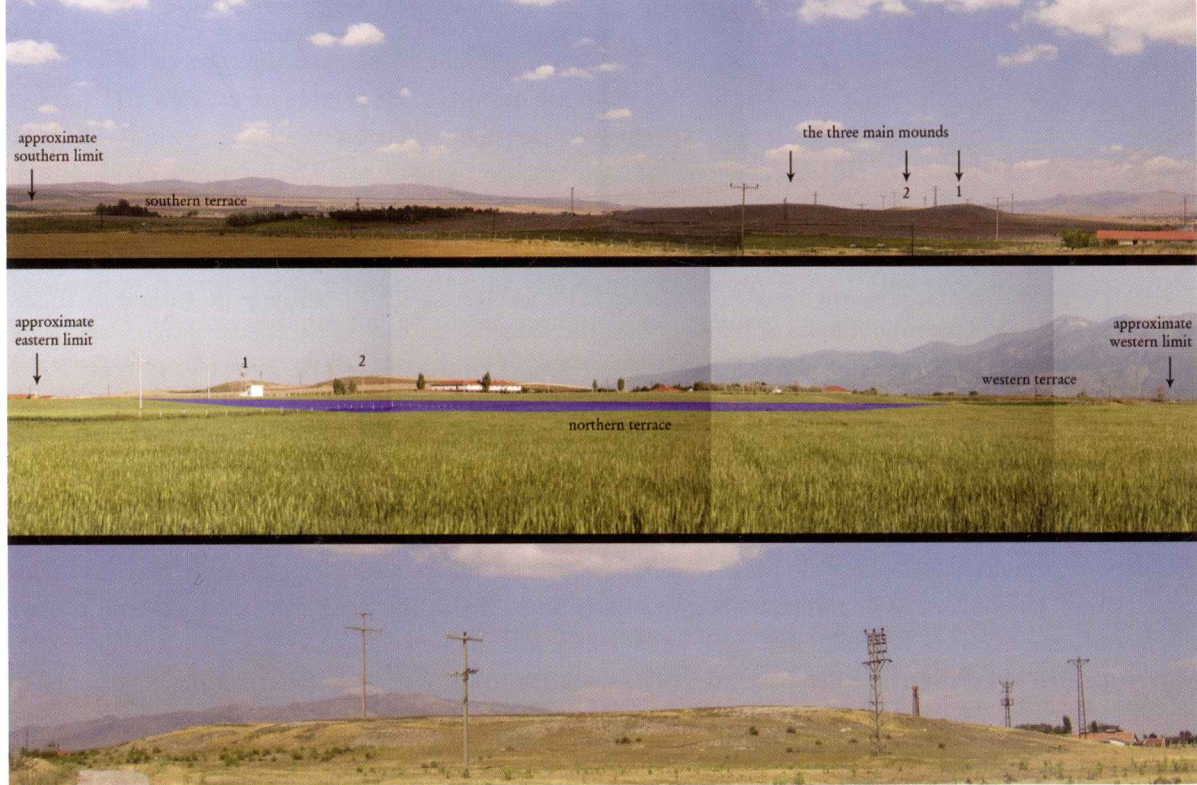
Fig. 2: a) The main mound of Bolvadin Üçhöyük, seen from the southeast. The upper city is seen to the right, the lower mound stretching out to the left. b) The mound seen from the northwest. Flat terraces strewn with pottery extend out to the north and west. c) The later southern mound.

Tuz Gölü (Hawkins 1995a:51 and n. 176).[8] Instead, the association between Parsuhanda and Ussa as a part of the Lower Land in the Muwatalli Prayer (CTH 381 ii 38; Singer 1996), and between Ussa and Tarhuntassa in the Südburg-inscription, led him to the conclusion that Parsuhanda should be sought further to the west – perhaps at Karahöyük-Konya. For reasons argued in my recent dissertation on the historical geography of the Old Assyrian Colony Period, an analysis of the Old Assyrian evidence also points to a more westerly position for Parsuhanda than Acemhöyük (Barjamovic 2005). However, a location of Parsuhanda in the region of Akşehir seems to fit the Old Assyrian evidence better, and in reference to other possible candidates in the area, it is tempting to suggest its identification with Üçhöyük.

The strategic location of the site on a crucial road knot fits the role of Purušhaddum/Parsuhanda as a trading emporium striding the frontier between Central Anatolia and the west evidenced in the Assyrian sources (Barjamovic 2008). Furthermore, the apparent archaeological profile of the site as an important settlement in the EB and MB that appears to dwindle in LB goes along well with the changing political fortunes of Parsuhanda as known from the time of Anitta into the late OHitt kingdom.[9] Finally, the fact that the ancient Anatolian name for the nearby lake of Eber Gölü was Būsuranda, as attested in the 12th century A.D. works of the geographer al-Idrisi (VII 811-812: Buḥairat Būsuranda),[10] may be taken as a further argument in support of this identification.[11]

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8. The idea that Parsuhanda was located at a distance of four days from Kaneš was first stated in Bilgiç 1945-51:20, who nevertheless located the city at Konya ca. 325 km west of Kültepe. See also Dercksen 1996:10-11, 13, where he argues against the identification of Parsuhanda with Karahöyük Konya. Forlanini 1998:226, n. 24 used the text CCT 2, 1 to refute the doubts raised by Hawkins, but note already Larsen 1967:94, n. 47 and Veenhof 1989:654, n. 35, who both contest the interpretation of this text as a simple itinerary. They also raise serious doubt about the understanding of TC 3, 165 and its implications for the location of the city. Kempinski and Košak 1982 also refute the interpretation of the latter text, but seemingly accept the identification of Acemhöyük with Parsuhanda.

9. See Kempinski and Košak 1982 for a discussion of the eventful history of Parsuhanda in the OHitt period.

10. I am indebted to June Dahy for reading and discussing the relevant passages of the Arabic text with me. The toponym occurs in two itineraries between 'Ammūriya (Ammorion, Hisar) and Fālūmi (Philomelion at Akşehir), half a day distant from Bolvadin and one day from Akşehir. The same distance is covered in 8 hours by Çelebi (Tübinger Atlas der Vorderen Orients, map B IX 6). Al-Idrisi notes that the lake is large and contains a considerable variety of fish. The lake of al-Basilyūn mentioned during a journey between Ammorion and Konya by Ibn Ḥurdādhbīh (transl. de Goeje 1967: 74) might then be taken to refer to the neighbouring Lake Akşehir, although an identification with Çavuşçu Gölü further east seems equally possible. The Greek names of the Eber and Akşehir lakes are unattested in the early classical sources, but a Byzantine text from the 12th century refers to the two as a single body of water, the "Lake of the Forty Martyrs" (Anna Comnena's Alexiad XV 4-5: "Tessarakonta Martyrōn Limnē", Belke and Mersich 1990:402). Even today, the shallow and marshy fresh-water swamp at the western end of the drainage basin of the Akar Çay at Eber Gölü and the deeper eastern Akşehir Gölü form a single lake throughout large parts of the year, and when Hogarth travelled the area in the late 19th century the dry direct route from Afyon to Konya still had to turn east at Bolvadin and pass north of the lakes to Akşehir instead of going south via the post-road between Afyon and Çay. Hogarth 1890: 152 remarks that: "The plain between the Aksheher and Eber Lakes is at all times very marshy and to a great extent under water in winter". As late as in 1943, the British Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series Turkey (1943), vol. 1: 163 states that the two lakes "form a continuous sheet of water stretching almost to Çobanlar". The maximum water depth of Lake Eber is currently only ca. 1 m (summer) and 2.5 m (winter), while its area fluctuates between 5,200 and 17,000 hectares, but until very recent times the water level in the basin was likely much deeper and it seems the two lakes formed a single body of water throughout the year (Erol 1978: 115-116). Thus, al-Idrisi's Buḥairat Būsuranda may well refer to both lakes rather than just the Eber Gölü.

11. Būsuranda in al-Idrisi's text may be derived from an earlier form of the toponym:*bur(u)ssanda, perhaps via a pseudo-etymology from Arabic busr: 'unripe dates'. Both metathesis and folk etymologies in the transition from Anatolian to Arabic and Turkish toponyms occur quite commonly, note e.g. Greek Ablastha (Arab. Ablasṭa, al-Idrisi ii, 311), which through metathesis becomes Elbistan in Turkish and is interpreted as an Arabic toponym derived from al-bustān: 'the garden'. See Wittek 1935: 47-53 for numerous other examples.

APSARI, HOMAT KALE AND THE SITE AT ILGIN THAT WASN'T THERE

A number of additional sites in the Akşehir region are of considerable size and might be considered as possible candidates for the ancient city of Parsuhanda. However, all can be disqualified for various reasons. One is the site of Apsarı, which is located near the village of Yazla / Söğütlü some 12 km northeast of Akşehir as the crow flies (Fig. 3).[12] Meriggi (1969:148-150) first described the main mound of this site in his travelogues of Central Anatolia, and emphasized its size as well as its abundant classical remains.[13] Once again the site consists of several mounds: one large oval höyük measuring ca. 450 m NW to SE, a smaller circular mound of less than 80 m in diametre 100m to the south, and a third low mound ca. 450m to the northwest of that.[14] In addition to my own visit to the site, Dr. Hasan Bahar and his team from Konya Selçuk University kindly conducted a short survey on the spot to ascertain whether its archaeological profile could fit with what one would expect of Parsuhanda.

Fig. 3: The main mound of Apsarı seen from the east.

The team found pottery mainly dating to the Early Bronze Age and Classical periods, and next to nothing at the site seems to relate to the later phases of the Bronze Age.[15] On the main mound a recent cemetery has reused classical marble bases and columns, and elaborately decorated architectural fragments, basins and roof tiles abound on the surface of the mound. A wall of some sort presumably enclosed the settlement, and what seem to have been gates are still visible as contours along the edges of the mound. Its size, which rivals that of nearby Ammorion, the wealth of ornate marble architecture and its close proximity to Akşehir, which is commonly identified with the Hellenistic foundation of Philomēlion (see e.g. Hamilton 1842, vol. 2:186-187; Ramsay 1890 passim; Belke and Mersich 1990:359-360; Talbert 2000:962),[16] suggests that Apsarı was either an important outlying settlement, or perhaps even the site of the city itself.

Another little-known site of potential importance for the understanding of Hittite historical geography in the region is Homat Kale, located on the shores of Lake Beyşehir at 37° 56' 0 N by 31° 19' 40 E. The site was identified with ancient Parsuhanda by Gordon on linguistic as well as geographical and geological

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12. Apsarı is located at ca. 38° 23, 52' N, 31° 32, 33' E, h. 990 m.

13. Though perhaps the site ("considerable traces of foundations ... a little modern cemetery") described by Hogarth op. cit. may have been Apsarı.

14. Measurements kindly provided by Prof. H. Bahar and later confirmed by GoogleEarth.

15. Personal communication, H. Bahar. I am truly grateful to Prof. Bahar and his team for taking the time to investigate this issue for me.

16. One may compare the size of the mound of Apsarı to that of the important nearby Byzantine regional capital of Amorium (Hisarköy). The latter measures ca. 320 m by 220 m.

Fig. 3: The main mound of Apsarı seen from the east.

grounds,[17] and is surely identical to the place listed by Mellaart as 'Hozat Höyük' (1958: Site No. 9). The sizeable mound forms a peninsula surrounded by the lake on three sides, while large fortification walls and what seems to be a Phrygian stone altar crown the uppermost hill rising from the lake almost a kilometre from the shore. According to Mellaart, the mound had pottery dated to the Middle Bronze Age on it (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965:76), yet in spite of Gordon's compelling argumentation, the position of Parsuhanda in the Old Assyrian trade network seems to argue against its location in a somewhat isolated position in a valley on the southern slopes of the Sultan Dağ without easy access to the main routes from Central Anatolia. Regardless, this magnificent site certainly calls for closer investigation.

A third possible candidate for the site of Parsuhanda in the area is found in the catalogue of the TAY-project website that monitors threatened and destroyed examples of Turkish cultural heritage.[18] This is Çatal Höyük, which is listed as having Bronze Age remains and to measure some 750 m in diametre. The intriguing photographs, the alleged size of the site, and its apparent strategic location near the main route between Konya and Afyon led to two days of searching the plains south of Ilgın in vain. Finally, with help from local authorities and a couple of old-timers the site was located. It is in fact not 750 m in diametre, but is rather located on a flat natural hill of roughly that size. As stated in the TAY catalogue, the site is heavily disturbed by agricultural activities, yet it has surely never exceeded ca. 100 m in diameter.

THE FINAL SACK OF KEPEN

The site of Kepen, located at 39° 23' 5 N by 31° 29' 33 E, was described, measured and photographed as early as 1926 during Von der Osten's explorations of Central Anatolia (Von der Osten 1929:55-58), but has seen little archaeological work since that time. In 1926 the oval mound measured approximately 350 m by 200 m and stood to a height of more than 14 m. The pottery collected was found to be comparable to similar wares known at the time from Boğazköy and Kültepe, and on top of the mound Byzantine stone architecture was still visible *in situ*.

Regrettably, the modern main highway leading from Afyon to Ankara has recently cut the eastern slope of the mound, and large park-like installations as well as an artificial waterfall were sunk into its northern slope less than a decade ago when a roadside restaurant and a parking lot were constructed.[19] According to the local proprietor, considerable amounts of soil were removed from the mound to serve as material for the construction, and extensive terracing was done with the intention of planting trees. Fragments of ancient pottery now litter the site, and reveal an assemblage dating mainly to the Bronze and Iron Age. The construction performed in relation to the road also revealed that the artificial mound seems to stand on a natural hill a few metres high and guarding the natural road descending from the north. A lower extension of the mound stretches a few hundred metres to the south and east, but agricultural activities, a modern aqueduct, and the village dump obscure the exact dimensions of the site.

The location of Kepen in a corridor descending from the Sivrihisar Dağı, on the route to the Mediterranean via Eskişehir, Dinar or Afyon, has undoubtedly been decisive for its size and importance in ancient times. However, the growing significance of the nearby centres of Pessinus (Ballıhisar) and Amorion during the classical period meant that the main road connecting Ankara to the Mediterranean bypassed Kepen by some 10 km to the east, and since the Middle Ages the fortress town of Sivrihisar has held the position of local road-knot.[20] Yet, in the Bronze Age Kepen would surely have been located on the main road and controlled passing traffic as it does today. Its strategic position and its apparent dominant status in the settlement hierarchy inside the bend of the Sakarya River makes it a likely candidate for the ancient site of Salatiwara.[21] This was the chief station between Parsuhanda and Wahšušana on the copper road from the Pontic Region from the early part of the Assyrian Colony Period until the city fell victim to Anitta's expansionist ambitions (*KBo* 2.22 rev. 74 and 77; cf. Neu 1974:35; Singer 1981:130-131 n. 7). In spite of the sad state of the site, Kepen remains the largest known mound inside of the Sakarya bend, and a lot could still be done to salvage the remains of this undoubtedly important historical place.

Fig. 4: Above left: The mound at Kepen with Sivrihisar in the background. Above right: A sketch plan of the mound based on the image shown on Google Earth. Below left: The lower mound extending southwest from the recently terraced slopes of Kepen. Below right: the narrow northern end of the mound, complete with terracing, a cut for the road, coloured lamps, a parking lot and an artificial waterfall.

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17. *Contra* Kawakami 2006:61, Gordon 1967:81 suggested the possible linguistic development *parshunt* = **pasgount* = *pasgousa* for the Greek name of Lake Beyşehir and based his identification upon that. He backed up his argument with hydrographical, historical and even ethnographical observations. Unfortunately, the work in progress that was to substantiate his claim was not completed before his untimely death.
18. See http://www.tayproject.org *s.v.*: Konya, Ilgın.
19. At my first visit to the site in 2005, the restaurant and waterfall were still functioning, but by 2006 all facilities had been abandoned due to a lack of customers and remain closed. Measurements taken from the image of the site currently shown on GoogleEarth deviate slightly from those provided by Von der Osten. The size of the mound itself is ca. 400 m by 230 m. If one includes the lower mound, not measured by Von der Osten, the entire site measures ca. 560 m. NE – SW.

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20. For the concept of road-knots, see Ramsay 1890: 49 ff.; French 1974; French 1993.
21. The reasons for locating Salatiwara (Assyrian Šalatuwar) west of the Sakarya are discussed in detail in Barjamovic 2005:348-353 and 424-431.
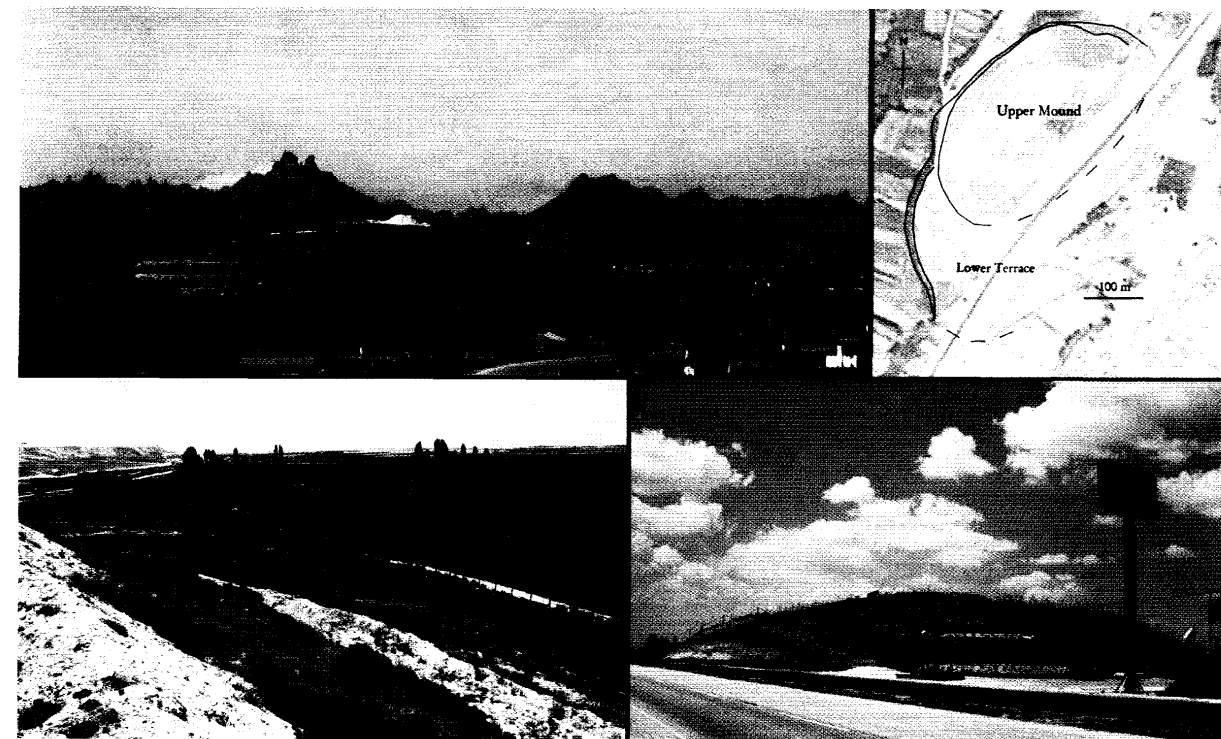
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THE FERRY AT THE ROCK – KAPALIKAYA

The spectacular site of Kapalıkaya (Fig. 5) is situated on the western bank of the Kızılırmak River opposite the modern village of Köprüköy on the Bâla-Kırşehir road (D260).[22] Considering its commanding position and extensive size, Kapalıkaya has received astonishingly little mention in the archaeological literature. Except for a short note by Forrer (1927:37, Pl. 29) and a brief communication by Omura and his team exclusively concerned with the Upper Kale (Omura 1993:368, s.v. Büyükkaletepe; 2007:50, s.v. Büklükale),[23] the rock and its stunning topography, which is more reminiscent of that at Boğazkale than Kültepe, have so far gone unrecognized.[24]

In addition to a large natural rock with several terraces, the site of Kapalıkaya consists of an extensive lower mound that seems to surround the rock on all sides except the east. The site overlooks the Kızılırmak River at a place where it runs out of a large, wide and fertile valley and cuts into a steep and narrow gorge, and a beautiful and still functioning Seljuk bridge (Çeşnigir Köprüsü, 13th century CE, 112 m long) connects the two banks of the river at its narrowest point. On the eastern slope, narrow terraces with discernable traces of heavy stone masonry, dry walls and a rock-cut chamber (Fig. 7) look down upon the river gorge.

A clear trace of an ancient paved road, exactly 3 m wide, descends from the north between the rock and the lower mound down to the bridge (Fig. 7). A steep slope that clearly marks the course of an ancient wall is visible along the northern and western boundaries of the site, and at places large square foundation stones can be seen on the surface. On the southern side of the site all signs of its perimeter have been obliterated by later activities.

In addition to the pottery collected and analysed by Omura and his team on the Upper Kale, both the lower river terraces (Fig. 8) and the large western extension of the site are strewn with ancient ceramics. Particularly on the lower river terraces, highly burnished red-slipped ware, fragments of beak-spouted pitchers, bead-rim bowls, triangular handles and string-cut bases, which are all commonly associated with the kārum levels III-Ib at Kültepe, cover the surface. On the western lower mound the assemblage is less uniform and appears to include EB, MB, IA and later pottery.

Also, soil colour helps to define the site boundaries with clear contrasts between fields in natural red ochre and grey patches of soil marking ancient settlement. Traces of an extensive conflagration are particularly visible on the western lower mound, whereas thick grassy turf and large patches of exposed bedrock cover the kale and limit visibility. As noted by Omura, minor traces of illicit diggings are visible on the summit of the Upper Kale, but apart from that the site appears to be in excellent condition. A rock-cut ramp (Fig. 5) connects the lower river terrace to the Upper Terrace, above which – astonishingly – a weathered, but still clearly visible, rock relief of what may be a Kybele-figure has escaped previous notice (Fig. 8).[25]

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22. Kapalıkaya is located at 39° 35' 0 N by 33° 25' 42 E.

23 According to Omura, the Kale measures 280 m N – S and stands 32 m above the surrounding plain. Published pottery includes EB, OHitt (pl. 5, nos. 2-6) and painted Phrygian ware similar to the assemblage recorded at Kaman-Kalehöyük IIc (pl. 5, no. 7). One of his published examples, (pl. 5, no. 5) is clearly a string-cut base, which at Kültepe is taken as a diagnostic specimen of the early kārum III-II period (K. Emre, personal communication), and is associated with the EB-MB transitional period also in Western Anatolia, see Efe and Türkteki 2005: 127. The terraces and the extensive lower town were not recorded in the report.

24 It was N. P. Skøtt Jørgensen (Århus) who first drew my attention to Kapalıkaya and I am deeply indebted to him for doing so. He visited the site on several occasions, producing ample photographic documentation of the hilltop and its walls, commanding views and upper terrace. He himself had been introduced to the site by Edmund Gordon, who regrettably never got to publish his views on the site.

25 The relief was first noticed by M. Trolle Larsen during a walk on the site on July 5th, 2006.

Fig. 5: Above: The site of Kapalıkaya seen from the west. The northern and western perimeters of the site are defined by a low slope that surely marks the course of an ancient city wall. An ancient paved road follows the modern track and divides the site. Below: The rock of Kapalıkaya seen from the east with arrows to important points mentioned in the text.

Fig. 6: Satellite image from GoogleEarth (left) and rough sketch (right) of the site of Kapalıkaya.

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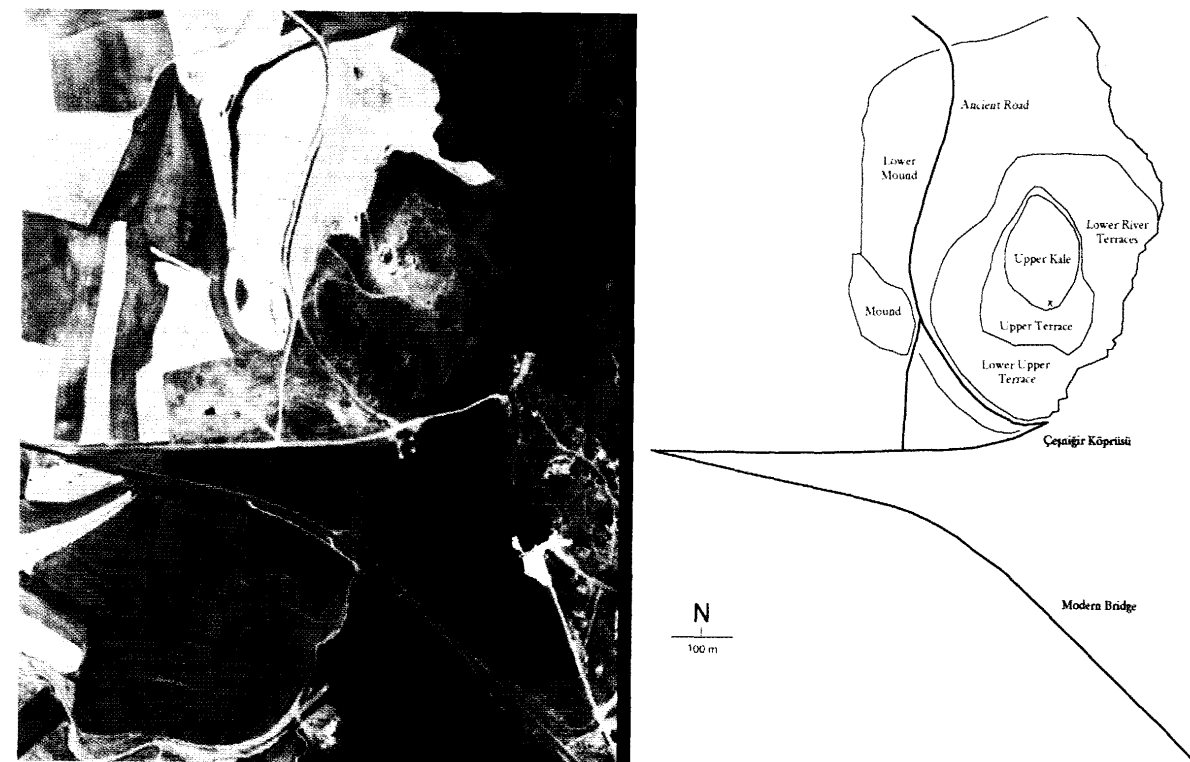

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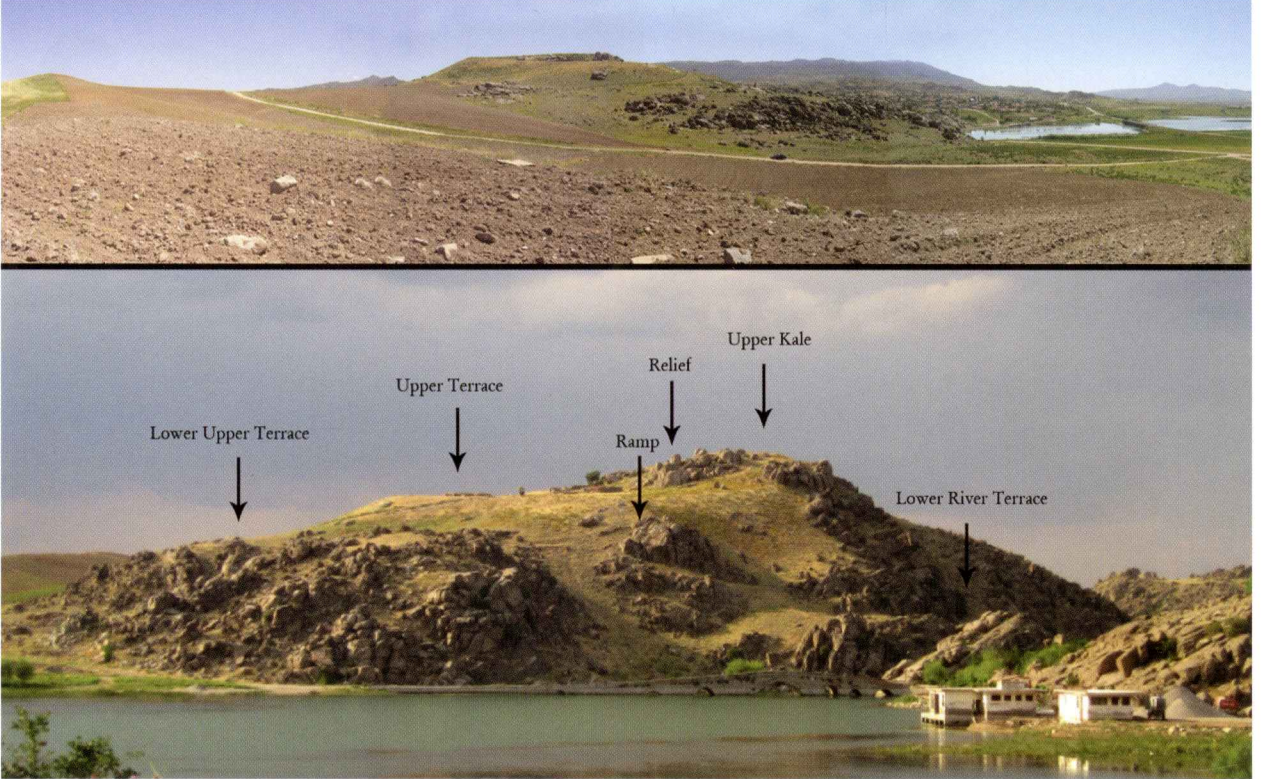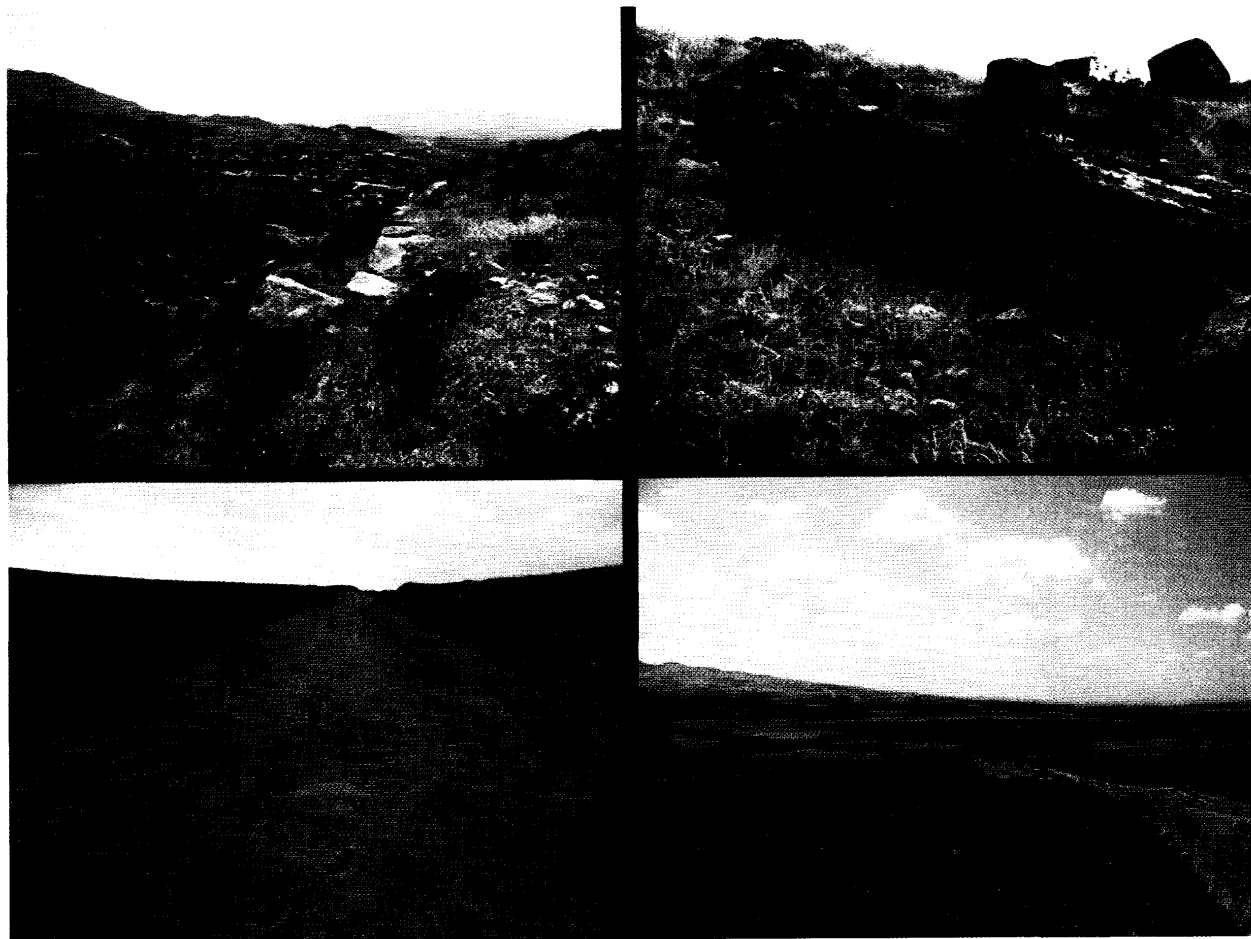
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Fig. 7: Above: The heavy foundation stones of an ancient wall are visible on the eastern side of the rock above the river gorge (left). A rock-cut chamber is located close to the summit of the Upper Kale (right). Below: An ancient paved road, presumably from the Seljuk period, bisects the site (left). Large foundation stones have been ploughed out of the western wall of the site (right).

The rock at Kapalıkaya guards one of the few points where it is possible to cross the Kızılırmak relatively easily. To the north, the river enters a long, steep and nearly inaccessible gorge, and the next convenient crossing is located 50 km north at Irmak, where the railway line and the E88 today connect Ankara to Central and Eastern Turkey. Similarly, the natural crossing south of Kapalıkaya lies more than 100 km upstream at Kesikköprü. Throughout history the importance of the individual river crossings seem to have varied considerably. In Roman and Byzantine times the main route between east and west went via Kesikköprü, or passed south of the river through Cappadocia. Today Irmak sees the most traffic, although in Seljuk times the crossing at Kapalıkaya was of considerable importance.

In the Assyrian Colony Period, the shortest route between the copper-producing areas in the Pontic region and the west would have crossed the river at Kapalıkaya. Indeed, the intensive surveys conducted by Omura and his team in the area have revealed a string of large sites dated to the MB period along the Kılıçözü Çay leading south from Delice to Köprüköy.[26] Upon crossing the Kızılırmak, a route would have led west via Afşar,[27] Boyalı Külhöyük and Polatlı to the Sakarya River and Kepen. In all likelihood,

26. From north to south, in particular the sites of Büyükkale/Küçükkale, Kadı, Acı Ağız and Efendi, cf. Omura 2002.
27. For the identification of Afşar with ancient Aliašša, see Forlanini 2005.

this was the 'Copper Road' plied by the Assyrian traders between Durmitta and Parsuhanda, and it seems highly likely that Kapalıkaya represents the main stopping point on that route, namely the city of Wahšušana.

Wahšušana is the most commonly attested toponym in the Assyrian sources after Aššur and Kaneš, and is known to have been a reloading point for goods travelling from Durhumit/Durmitta to the west.[28] A ferry is mentioned in the texts in relation to Wahšušana, and a bridge may have crossed the river at the city as well.[29] In Hittite times the crossing at Wahšušana may have fallen out of use, as only a single passage in what appears to be a fragment of the 'Joint Annals' refers to the place on a route connecting it to the Sakarya River and Arzawa.[30] Presumably, this itinerary follows the ancient Assyrian trade route, although the road systems in Hittite times may have favoured the crossing at Kesikköprü and aimed for the route south of the Tuz Gölü.

The site of Kapalıkaya fits well with what we know about the MB city of Wahšušana. Its location, prominent size (ca. 700 by 500 m) and ceramic assemblage all point to its importance during the Colony Period and corresponds to what is known about the place and its topography in the Assyrian sources: Wahšušana was a large walled city with a sizeable Assyrian population that controlled a ferry on the 'Copper Road' connecting the eastern and western parts of Central Anatolia. It was destroyed, apparently only a few years prior to the destruction of kārum Kaneš level II (Dercksen 2001:61; Veenhof 2008:136-140; Barjamovic et al. forthcoming). Although it was rebuilt and continued to house an Assyrian colony,

Fig. 8: The Lower River Terrace that is strewn with early MB pottery (left). A weathered relief, presumably a figure of the Goddess Kybele, is visible on a rock outcrop near the summit of the rock (right). An 'x' on the plan (Fig. 6) and an arrow on the overview (Fig. 5) mark the location of the relief.

28. For the textual sources on Wahšušana, its location and topography, see Barjamovic 2005.
29. cf. kt t/k 1 and kt t/k 25, discussed in Dercksen 1996: 10-12.
30. KUB 23.116 ii 7.

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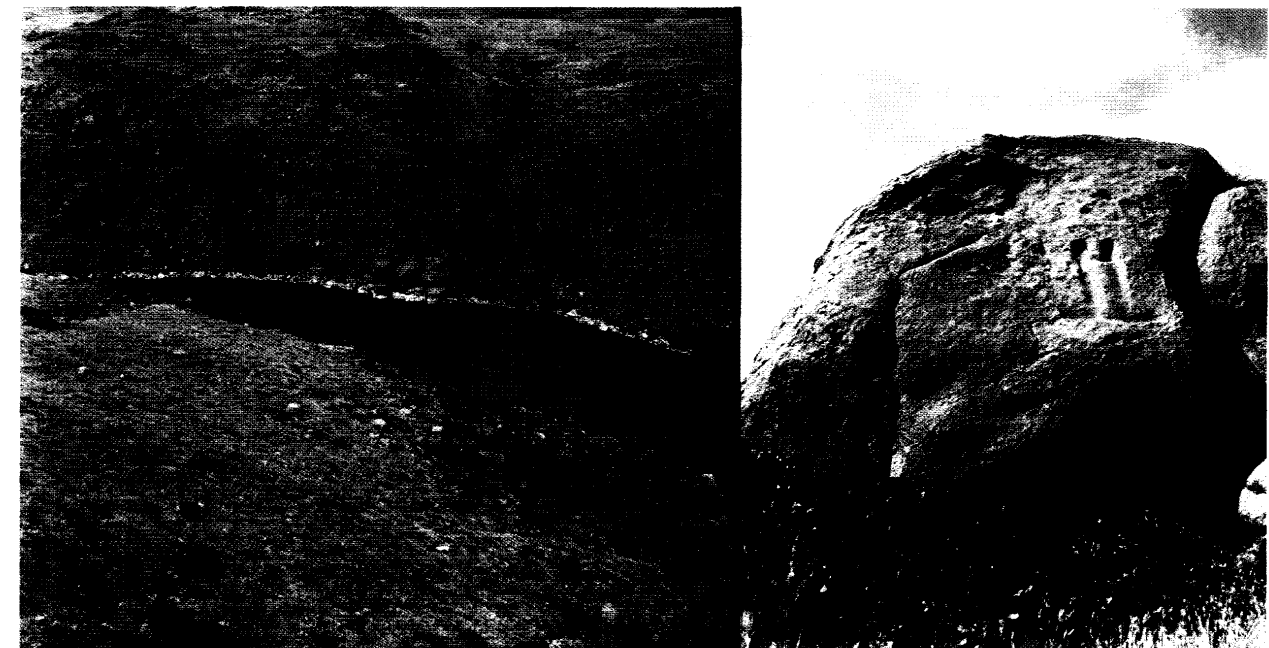
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Wahšušana, unlike most of the other politically prominent polities in Anatolia attested in the Assyrian sources, never gets mentioned by Anitta or Hattusili I. Presumably it played no significant political role and did not stand in the way of their expansionist ambitions. An Assyrian letter refers to the initial destruction of the trading colony in Wahšušana and the resulting loss of the merchant archives kept there. This makes the site a highly promising candidate for future excavations. Plainly, the idea of a settlement comparable to that at Kültepe, where intact houses, workshops and archives were buried under the rubble of a fallen city offers a tempting prospect.

TRAVELLING IN TURKEY

Unlike the Syro-Mesopotamian area where numerous excavations and a profound continuity in the local toponomy allow for a detailed understanding of the political and historical geography, significant political and cultural breaks in Anatolian history mean that scholars can still disagree about even the most fundamental aspects of how to interpret the early political developments in the region. By travelling through the landscape, and by relating archaeological remains to their setting, David Hawkins changed the study of Anatolian historical geography in fundamental ways. Arguably, the most important examples are his interpretations of the monuments at Karabel and Karadağ. The Old Assyrian evidence differs in character from the Hittite sources and requires a somewhat different approach. There are no commemorative inscriptions tying landscape to history, and information is much less dense. Instead, a thorough understanding of the commercial mechanics and the bias of the trade are imperative for a full interpretation, and the power of markets and the importance of resource extraction and infrastructural constraints are crucial parametres in the discussion (Barjamovic 2008). Yet, the same combination of a text-based approach and a topographical and archaeological analysis can contribute to a wider understanding of the historical geography of the Anatolian Bronze Age. Although a detailed geographical analysis of the Assyrian textual sources can not be contained within the boundaries of this article, it does suggest how such results can help identify sites that were likely of importance during the Assyrian Colony Period and would add a few much needed points of reference for the political map of the Hittite empire.

ADDENDUM, May 2009

A visit to Kapalıkaya has shown that the site is now under direct threat from the widening of the Bâla-Kaman road into four lanes. Its southern part may be directly affected by the construction, while the collecting of materials, the movement of heavy machinery and the construction of associated service buildings endangers the entire ancient site.

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ON HITTITE DREAMS

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Because dreaming is a biological function of the human brain (Zgoll:507-510), all men and women participate in this activity; it is a universal of human existence. Understanding of the experience of dreaming, however, differs in various cultures. Today most Westerners consider dreams to be the product of the mind of the dreamer him- or herself, conditioned by life experiences both immediate and long past, and perhaps, following Freud (1954), expressing conflicts hidden from the conscious mind. But this view is not typical of pre-modern societies, which tend to regard dreams rather as visions received by a sleeping individual from an external source. Indeed, given that the sleeper may well dream of persons who have died, or of deities with whom contact in a waking state is exceptional, dreams are held in many cultures to be a mode of contact with realms of existence beyond the ordinary human sphere. This was most certainly the general conception of dreams in the ancient Near East, a phenomenon that was masterfully treated by Oppenheim (1956) and has attracted renewed interest recently (Zgoll 2006; Noegel 2007; Mouton 2007). Here I will be concerned solely with the role of dreams in the civilization of the Hittites.

A Hittite sleeper is not said 'to dream' or 'to have a dream,' but rather 'to see a dream' (*tešhan/zašhain auš-*), 'to see in a dream' (*tešhi/zašhiya auš-*), or 'to see by means of a dream' (*tešhit/tešhaz/zašhiyaz auš-*). He or she might also 'make a vow' (*-za tešhi/zašhiya ANA DN KARĀBU*), 'present a gift' (*tešhaz pāi-*), or 'deliver a defence for his or her conduct' (*tešhi/zašhiya arkuwar iya-*) to a god in a dream.

More frequently in Hittite discourse, the dreamer is indicated in the dative case, while a deity 'appears in a dream' (*tešhaniya-*), 'presents him/her with a dream' (*tešhan ANA PN parā ep-*), or communicates in various ways 'in or by means of a dream' (*tešhi/zašhiya/tešhit/tešhaz/zašhiyaz mema-, kaneš-, wek-*). Rarely, a matter or concern itself may be the subject of the sentence and thus 'appear in a dream' (*memiaš tešhaniškiuwan dāi*). (For details, see Mouton 2007:8-9.)

Well over 100 dreams are recorded in Hittite texts, not including those contained in literary sources such as the Tale of Appu or the Epic of Gilgameš (Stefanini 1969), but the attested dreamers themselves represent only a rather narrow stratum of the society of Ḫatti, namely the king and queen, the wider royal family, and members of the court. This reflects the general character of the Hittite documentation: Almost all cuneiform texts left by this civilization were produced by the royal bureaucracy with the aim of facilitating the activities of the monarch, who was the high priest of all the gods, chief judge and administrator of human society on behalf of its divine masters, and commander-in-chief of the military forces. Therefore, among the many aspects of the lives of ordinary Hittites of which we remain sadly ignorant are their dreams. But we may assume, I think, that neither the night visions of commoners in Ḫatti, nor the interpretation of their significance, differed in any major way from those of their betters.

Since, as I have just mentioned, the Hittite Great King was responsible for worshipping the gods as well as governing the population of Ḫatti, he occupied a crucial position in the Hittite universe: He was the linchpin who joined the divine and human levels of the cosmos. He represented the human community before the gods and the pantheon before the Hittite people. In order properly to fulfil his functions, the king needed to receive and transmit information and commands both within the human sphere and between the world of men and that of the gods. This was simple enough within human society. Letters in the Hittite archives present reports to the ruler from the members of the extensive Hittite administrative bureaucracy as well as orders dispatched by His Majesty for the regulation of local affairs. Instruction texts set forth the duties and responsibilities of such officials as the mayor of the capital (*CTH* 257), provincial governors (*CTH* 261), and religious functionaries (*CTH* 264).

When it was necessary for the king to convey information or represent his subjects to the gods, he spoke directly to them in the course of worship. We possess the texts of numerous artfully composed prayers documenting this communication. By the very nature of things, however, deities rarely spoke directly to any human being. Discerning divine complaints and desires normally involved the application of special techniques. This situation may be illustrated by an excerpt from a prayer addressed to the gods by king Muršili II after an epidemic had been raging for years in Ḫatti (*CTH* 378.II). Recognizing that the disease must have been inflicted on the Hittites by their gods as punishment for some serious infraction, the king adduces several possible offences committed by the community and relates the compensation that his people has made for each of them. But in case he and his advisors have not come upon the true causes of the plague, he implores his divine masters:

> [Or] if people have been dying because of some other matter, let me either see it in a dream, or [let] it [be discovered] by means of an oracle, or let a prophet speak of it. Or the priests will sleep long and purely (in an incubation rite) in regard to that which I convey to all of them. (*KUB* 14.8 rev. 41'-44' and dupl.; for full translation, see my contribution to Hallo 1997:157-159)

The means suggested for divine-human communication in this passage fall into two basic categories: first, there are techniques by which humans actively seek information from the gods. We may refer to this group collectively as oracles. Types of oracle attested in Hittite texts include, among others, extispicy (the examination of the entrails of sacrificed animals), augury (the observation of the flight and other behaviour of birds), the so-called KIN ("implement")-oracle (an obscure procedure in which lots—or perhaps some small animals—personifying various personages, qualities, and activities interact with one another), and incubation.

The second group of techniques features an unsolicited message from the divine world, a type of communication we may call omens. In Hittite sources we encounter ominous celestial events such as lunar eclipses as well as meteorological phenomena such as lightning strikes. Here too belongs the direct appearance—and frequently even the speech—of a god or goddess through a human medium. These visitations might come to persons in a waking, if altered, state, that is, to a person whom I have referred to in my translation above as "prophet," but whose literal designation is 'man of god' (LÚ.DINGIR^{LIM}-*niyant-*). We know disappointingly little about the activities of such figures in Hittite society. Much more often, a deity might send a dream, perhaps even appearing in it him- or herself, in order to convey a message.

Note that dreams may thus belong to either genre of divine communication: If they are actively sought through instructing an individual to sleep in a temple or other sanctified location and to await a night vision, they constitute incubation, a type of oracle. If dreams come 'out of the blue' to the monarch or other responsible person, then they must be categorized as omens.

Let us first consider incubation. The Arzawan woman Paškuwatti composed a ritual to cure a man who 'has no reproductive power or who is not a man *vis-à-vis* a woman' (*CTH* 406). In the course of this

ceremony, the patient exchanges symbols of femininity (spindle and distaff) for those of masculinity (bow and arrows), and the goddess Uliliyašši is addressed with incantations and offerings. Then the efficacy of the procedure is verified. A bed is made before the offering table, and

> [t]he patient lies down (to experience) if in a dream he will see the goddess in her body, (if) she will go to him and sleep with him. Throughout the three days in which [I (Paškuwatti)] entr[eat] the goddess, he reports whatever dreams he sees, whether the goddess shows her eyes to him, (or) whether the goddess sleeps with him. (*KUB* 7.5 iv 1-10, ed. Hoffner 1987: 276, 279)

Thus if the patient has an erotic dream, he has been cured. This procedure is reminiscent of the practice known from the classical world in which a sufferer sleeps in a sanctuary of a deity, most often the god Asklepius, hoping to be healed as a consequence of a visit from the deity in a dream (Näf 2004: 114-123).

But as mentioned earlier in Muršili's prayer, the usual form of incubation oracle practiced among the Hittites involved instructing one or more priests about a question and then having them ´sleep purely´ (*šuppa šeš-*) in anticipation of a dream that would convey from the gods information useful in resolving the matter at hand.

Much more frequent in the Hittite sources, however, are unsolicited, or ominous, dreams. Perhaps the best known nocturnal visions from Ḫatti are those related by king Ḫattušili III in his so-called 'Apology' (*CTH* 81). This text, which is formally a dedication to his patron goddess of spoils confiscated from a defeated enemy, serves to justify Ḫattušili's usurpation of the Hittite throne from his nephew Urḫi-Teššup (Muršili III). Crucial to Ḫattušili's argument are manifestations of divine support for his cause, and prominent among these manifestations are dreams sent by his patron goddess Šaušga. So, already in his youth,

> Šaušga, My Lady, sent Muwattalli, my brother, to Muršili, my father, through a dream (saying): 'Ḫattušili's years are short; he doesn't have long to live. Hand him over to me so that he will be my priest and will live.' (Otten 1981: 4, i 13-17)

Of course, the deity's wishes were respected, and Ḫattušili began his beautiful career in her service and under her protection. When as an adult he has been subjected to slanderous accusations,

> Šaušga, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream, and through the dream she said this to me: 'I will entrust you to (a favourable) deity. Do not be afraid!' And through the deity I was acquitted. (Otten 1981: 6, i 36-39)

Upon his marriage to Puduḫepa,

> Then the goddess, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream (saying): 'Become my servant [along with] (your) household,' so I did become the [ser]vant of the goddess, along with my household. (Otten 1981: 16, iii 4-6)

When Ḫattušili raises his revolt,

> [a]t that moment, Šaušga, My Lady, appeared to my wife in a dream (saying): 'I will march before your husband and all of Ḫattuša will go over to your husband's party. Since I have elevated him, I have never exposed him to an unfavourable trial or an evil deity. Now too I will take him up and install him in priesthood for the Sun-goddess of Arinna (that is, I will make him Great King).' (Otten 1981: 24, iv 8-15)

Finally, the goddess also

> appeared in a dream to the nobles whom Urḫi-Teššup had sent off somewhere (saying): 'You are summoned in the strongest terms, (for) I have turned all of the lands of Ḫatti over to Ḫattušili.' (Otten 1981: 24, iv 19-23)

These dreams demonstrate that Ḫattušili's ultimate triumph corresponded to the divine will. Justification of the ruler and his actions as divinely ordained is indeed the primary function of dreams in Hittite historical texts.

In Ḫattušili's 'Apology' dreams are visited upon sundry persons. Throughout the Hittite sources the most frequently named recipients of dreams are the monarch, the queen, and other individuals close to them. Figures appearing in dreams include gods or goddesses, human relatives of the dreamer, and ancestral ghosts. The messages conveyed through nocturnal visions are most various: A deity expresses his anger at an offence, or demands a new temple, sumptuous gifts, or rites. A future ruler is told whom he should marry, and a king is warned against travelling to a particular town. A queen receives advice as to how her husband might be cured of various afflictions.

A special type of dream found, to my knowledge, only in Hittite sources is the vow of splendid gifts made to a deity by an important person while dreaming (de Roos 1984; 1998; 2008). We know of such promises primarily from administrative records documenting the fulfilment of—or the reneging upon—these benefactions. (See Otten and Souček 1965).

At least as they are reported in the texts, some dreams, like those of Ḫattušili discussed above, seem to have been sent 'in clear,' that is, they are 'in plain Hittite' and do not require decoding or interpretation. More frequently, however, insufficient detail has been provided to the dreamer, or the burden of the vision has been conveyed through symbols.

Clarification of ambiguous or overly laconic dreams might be sought through oracles. Indeed, our single most generous source for Hittite dreams is the corpus of reports delivered to the administration by divination experts. In such texts, a series of yes-or-no questions is posed to a deity, who indicates a response through the results of extispicy, augury, KIN-oracle, etc. For example,

> Was it the Storm-God of (the city of) Nerik who [presented] the queen with this dream? If so, let the extispicy be unfavourable. [There follow the details of the examination of the exta.] Result: favourable. (That is, the answer is 'no.')
> Was it (the god) Zawalli who presented the queen with [this dream]? If so, let the extispicy be [un]favourable. [Details of the examination of the exta.] Result: unfavourable. (That is, the answer is 'yes.')
> Was it only Zawalli who presented the queen with [this] dream? If so, let the extispicy be favourable. [Details of the examination of the exta.] Result: unfavourable. (That is, the answer is 'no.')
> [If] it was (also) [Šaušga] of (the city of) Lawazantiya, let the extispicy be unfavourable. [Details of the examination of the exta.] Result: unfavourable. (That is, the answer is 'yes.')
> [If] it was only Zawalli and Šaušga of Lawazantiya who presented the queen with this dream, let [the extispicy] be favourable. [Details of the examination.] Result: favourable. (That is, the answer is 'yes,' and the identity of the divine authors of the dream is thereby established.) (*KUB* 52.72 obv. 5-12)

Additional questions addressed through this procedure include: Is the deity who sent a dream angry, and if so, what measures will mollify this anger? What are the particulars of the ceremonies requested by a god in a dream? Will His Majesty recover from an illness announced in a dream, and what are the best means with which to treat this malady? Will an individual whom a dream has revealed to be the victim of witchcraft die? And so on.

Symbolic dreams are normally recounted in records of their own. That is, they are not included within texts of another genre—historical narrative, oracle report, letter, etc. Presumably these visions were set down so that they might be presented to expert interpreters for analysis. Although we have discovered a couple of fragments of oneiromantic texts among the Hittite tablets at Boğazköy (*KUB* 29.9, dupl. *KUB* 29.10 [*CTH* 536.1]; *KUB* 43.11 (+) *KUB* 43.12 [*CTH* 558]), these seem to be translations of Mesopotamian works and not portions of handbooks utilized by Hittite dream interpreters. Note that interpretive manuals are also lacking in the Boğazköy texts for other types of Hittite divination—augury, KIN-oracles, and so on.

In any event, no symbolic dream is ever provided with an exegesis in Hittite sources. It remains a remote possibility, however, that dreams whose import is described in a straightforward fashion, such as those concerning Ḫattušili in his 'Apology,' had originally come to their recipients in symbolic form, but that only the results of their interpretation have been presented to the reader.

I now translate a symbolic dream reported by a Hittite queen. Unfortunately, the beginning has been lost. The queen herself, probably Puduḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III, is speaking:

> [...] Perhaps the horses would trample me. I, the Queen, seated myself on the ground and began to cry. The charioteers laughed at me, and then they led those horses away from me, so that none of them trampled on me or urinated on me. As I then got ready to go, I said as follows: 'Won't the personnel of the ass stables flee? The grooms will (certainly) run away!' Then [(so-and-so)] said to me: 'Because the gods recognize your voice, you ought not to curse so wholeheartedly!' I, the Queen, answered: 'I only talk about that which I know and him whom I [...] May the gods not turn them (the horses?) over to him!' In the palace someone like (the woman) Zamuwatti asked for some horses, and a team of horses was given to Zamuwatti. A team of horses was also given to (the woman) Uwa. One of the horses given to Uwa was white on his croup. (*KUB* 60.97 +? *KUB* 31.71 ii 1'-34', ed. van den Hout 1994: 309-310).

Here the account ends. I have no idea what this dream might have meant, although I suspect that it had more to do with a desire for prestigious modes of travel than with repressed sexual urges. What is immediately apparent, however, is the attention given to detail—even the colour of the rear end of the horse is registered. Presumably the queen and the scribe who recorded her vision, being uncertain as to what details might be of importance, included anything she happened to retain in her memory. This suggests that the science of Hittite dream analysis was as complex as that of the later Hellenistic and medieval worlds (Artemidorus 1975; Oberhelman 1991). Unfortunately, we shall probably never be able to confirm this suspicion.

In any event, I believe that I have demonstrated that dreams and their interpretation were—as we might have expected—most serious matters to the Hittites.

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SHORTENED NAMES IN EMAR AND ELSEWHERE

ON THE BASIS OF CUNEIFORM AND HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC EVIDENCE[1]

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This article collects and analyses shortened name forms found in the onomastic data from Emar. It discusses why this phenomenon is encountered in the Emar texts, as well as in other texts arriving from near-by sites. A short prosopographical investigation of persons bearing shortened name forms is offered, followed by a comparison between the cuneiform and the hieroglyphic data.

A DEFINITION OF SHORTENED NAMES IN EMAR

Among the rich onomastic data of Emar, there are many names that are shortened forms of longer names. These shortened name forms, although recognised as such (Arnaud 1991; Pruzsinszky 2003:141-145), have neither been analysed in depth nor has the phenomenon of shortening names been sufficiently explained. This article intends to collect and analyse the shortened name forms and suggest why this phenomenon is encountered in the Emar texts, as well as in other texts arriving from near-by sites, such as Munbāqa / Ekalte (Mayer 1998) and Tell-Hadidi / Asû (Whiting 2007). Following this, the identification of some of the people bearing shortened name forms will be secured. The comparison of the cuneiform data with some names found on the Emar Hittite Hieroglyphic seals will suggest by whom were these artefacts produced.

The shortened names treated here can be defined as follows: these are names whose end has been truncated at the end of the first syllable of their second element.[2] Let us illustrate: Dagan-ka for Dagan-kabar, Ikūn-Ra for Ikūn-Rašap, or Baʿal-ma for Baʿal-mālik. Note however that hypocoristic names, such as Ibnia for Ibni-Dagan, Zimrī for Zimrī-Dagan, or Ari for Ari-Kušuḫ, are not of our concern and therefore will not be dealt with.[3] Neither is our concern with one-word names such as Ayyalu, Burāqu, Dādu, Ḫuriṣu, Rībatu, and so on.

THE SHORTENED NAME FORMS IN THE EMAR CUNEIFORM DOCUMENTS

Following the definition of shortened names, we give below those encountered in the Emar cuneiform documents. Which were the names that were shortened remains unclear. For example, it is not known why the name Igmil-Dagan was not shortened to *Igmil-Da or Ḫimaši-Dagan to *Ḫimaši-Da. It can be assumed that hypocoristic forms, like Igmullu or Ḫimaši (both attested), would have sufficed to identify the person intended, as is the case in other corpora.

2. Ran Zadok informs me that shortened compound names are very rare in Semitic onomastica before the Hellenistic period.
3. Such hypocoristic names, following the definition of Huffmon (1965:130), keep only one of the original elements, and then may or may not add endings such as -ia, -u, -ānu, -una, and so on; for these names in Emar, see Pruzsinszky 2003:71-72 and 148-150.

	Full Name	Shortened Form	Spelling	Reference in Pruzsinszky 2003	Remarks
1.	Abdu-Dagan	Abdu-Da	ab-du/dú-da	182, n. 325	
2.	Abī-Dagan	Abī-Da	a-bi-da	189, nn. 383-384	
3.	Abī-ḫāmī / *Abī-Ḥamadi	Abī-ḫa	a-bi-ḫa	189, nn. 389-390	
4.	Abī-Iršappa	Abī-Irša	a-bi-ir-sa	189, nn. 391-392	The shortened form equated with Abī-Iršappa is not certain.
5.	Abī-kāpī / Abī-kabar	Abī-ka	a-bi-ka	112, n. 435	
6.	Abī-mālik	Abī-ma	a-bi-ma	113, n. 441	The correspondence is not certain; the short form could be hypocoristic. For the element -mālik, see Fleming 2004:598.
7.	Abī-Rašap	Abī-Ra	a-bi-ra		
8.	Abu-Dagan	Abu-Da	a-bu-da a-bu-ud-da		
9.	*Aḫa-ḫāmī / *Aḫa-Ḥamadi	Aḫa-ḫa	a-ḫa-ḫa		
10.	Aḫī-Ḥamadi	Aḫī-Ḥa	a-ḫi-ḫa	190, nn. 401-402	
11.	Aḫī-ḫamiṣ	Aḫī-ḫe / Aḫī-ḫeia	a-ḫi-ḫé a-ḫi-ḫé-i a-ḫi-ḫé-ia	112, n. 430 and 115, n. 467	
12.	Aḫī-mālik	Aḫī-ma	a-ḫi-ma	115, n. 469	The full form is not for certain Aḫī-mālik; see below.
13.	Aḫī-mālik	Aḫī-me	a-ḫi-me a-ḫi-mi		The majority of entries are with -me (ten cases) and not -mi (two cases). Pruzsinszky's transliteration *A-hi-mì* and subsequent translation as 'Es ist mein bruder' is not justified. See the discussion on page 39.
14.	*Aḫu-mālik	Aḫu-ma	a-ḫu-ma	116	The correspondence is not certain.
15.	Aḫu-waqaru	Aḫu-wa	a-ḫu-PI	200, n. 490	*waqaru* is probably attested on a Hittite Hieroglyphic seal: (i)a-ka-ra/i-ta-ti (Beyer 2001:79, A 53). The name on the seal does not correspond to its bearer, Aḫī-Dagan, son of Kuttabu.
16.	*Aka-Teššub	Aka-Te	a-ka-te	232	*Te* for Teššub is assigned to other names as well; see below for those considered secure. In doubt are, however, ᵐba-i-te (Iraq 54 3:5); see Pruzsinszky 2003:229 and ᶠᵈUtu-te (RE 37:21, 22). The shortening of -ᵈTeššup to -te is well-attested among Nuzi names; see Cassin and Glassner 1997 and Gelb 1947.
17.	*Ammu-Rašap	Ammu-Ra	am-mu-ra	188	
18.	*Anan-Teššub	Anan-Te	a-na-an-ti a-na-at-te	230	
19.	*Ar-Teššub	Ar(a)-Te	a-ra-te	230-231, n. 74	The full-form name is not certain.
20.	*Azmi-Teššub	Azmi-Te	az-me-te	227	The full-form name is not certain.
21.	Baʿal-mālik	Baʿal-ma	ᵈim-ma		For reading ᵈim, see *ibid.*:118. The cuneiform caption ᵈim-ma-lik corresponds to seals inscribed with pa-li-ma-li (e.g., Beyer 2001:125, B 12). The reconstruction of the name is, therefore, Baʿal/Baʿli-mālik.

	Full Name	Shortened Form	Spelling	Reference in Pruzsinszky 2003	Remarks
22.	Bēlī-/Baʿlī-Dagan	Bēlī-/Baʿlī-Da	(d)en-li-da		
23.	Bēlu-kabar	Bēlu-ka	en-(lu)-ka	119-120, nn. 506-508	The seal of ᵐen-ᵈkur (AuOrS1 20:18; Beyer 2001:133, B 38) reads pa-li-tà-ka, for Baʿal/Baʿli-Dagan.
24.	*Bēlu-Teššub	Bēlu-Te	en-(ut)-te	120, n. 514	The full-name form is not certain.
25.	Dagan-kabar	Dagan-ka	ᵈda-gan-ka		
26.	Dagan-mālik	Dagan-ma	ᵈda-gan-ma	121, n. 521	The correspondence to the full-name form is not certain. The -ma could well be an emphatic in a hypocoristic form. Note AuOrS1 57:34 (with Arnaud and the copy) should read ᵈDa-gan-ma-likˡ.
27.	Dagan-milkī	Dagan-mi	ᶠᵈda-gan-mi	194, n. 439	Probably short for Dagan-milkī.; both the short and long forms are women's names.
28.	Dagan-niwārī/niwārū	Dagan-ni	ᶠᵈda-gan-ni	122, nn. 528-529	Both forms are women's names.
29.	Dagan-tariʾ/Dagan-taliʾ	Dagan-ta	ᵈda-gan-ta ᵈkur-ta	195, n. 444	
30.	*Dagan-zimrī	Dagan-zi	ᶠᵈda-gan-zi	122, n. 532	It is not clear if this is a shortened form; the context is corrupt. The full name is found only on a Hittite Hieroglyphic seal: tá-ka-zi-mi-ra/i (Beyer 2001:156, C 8); its original bearer was a woman (i.e., BONUS. FEMINA). All Dagan- names of women have the god as the first element. Women's names are usually constructed 'GN is my so-and-so'. Compare Aštar-bītu, Baʿla-ummī, and Šaggar-kimī. Out of the ca. 230 women's names, only a few are genitive-compound, i.e., 'My so-and-so is GN' (e.g., Ṣillī-ᵈ[X]). See Pruzsinszky 2002. The reversal of women's names in Mari was noted by Durand, cited in Stol 1991:208.
31.	Eḫli-Dagan	Eḫli-Da	kar-da	227, n. 47	Eḫli-Dagan can be written Eḫ-li-ᵈkur and (probably) kar-ᵈkur.
32.	Eḫli-Teššub	Eḫli-Te	eḫ-li-it-te		In *Emar* 472:6', a fragment of an 'Anatolian' ritual.
33.	GN-baʿli	GN-ba	ᵈim-ba	195, n. 449	
34.	Ḫinna-Dagan Ḫinnu-Dagan	Ḫinna-Da Ḫinnu-Da	ḫi-ˡinˡ-na-ˡdaˡ ḫi-in-nu-da		
35.	Yaṣi-/Yaḫṣi-Baʿal	Yaṣi-/Yaḫṣi-Ba	ia-zi-ba	208, n. 556	The prosopographic identification between Yaṣi-Baʿal and Yaṣi-Ba, as suggested by Pruzsinszky, is probable but difficult. In ASJ 12 16 (= HCCT-E 21):26 it is Imliku, son of Yaṣi-Ba, but in ASJ 13 34 (= HCCT-E 12):4-5 it is Yaḫṣi-ᵈEN, son of Imliku. Either we are facing a scribal mistake confusing the family relationship of Yaṣi-Baʿal/Yaṣi-Ba and Imliku, or that Imliku bore the name of his grandfather. In Munbāqa / Ekalte -ba for Baʿal could also appear in shortened forms; consider Aḫī-Ba and Ṣilla-Ba.

	Full Name	Shortened Form	Spelling	Reference in Pruzsinszky 2003	Remarks
36.	Yaṣi-/Yaḫṣi-Dagan	Yaṣi-/Yaḫṣi-Da	ia-zi-da	209	
37.	*Yaṣi-/Yaḫṣi-mālik	Yaṣi-/Yaḫṣi-ma	ia-aḫ-zi-ma		The correspondence to the full-name form is not certain.
38.	*Yakūn-Rašap	Yakūn-Ra	ia-ku-un-ra ia-ku-ur-ra	209, nn. 567-568	
39.	*Yamūt-Ḫamadi	Yamūt-Ḫa	ia-mu-ut-ḫa	210, n. 570	
40.	*Yaqūm-Dagan	Yaqūm-Da	[ia]-ˡqùˡ-um-da ˡiaˡ-qù-um-da	210, n. 572	
41.	Yarīb-Dagan	Yarīb-Da	ia-ri-ib-da		
42.	*Ibbi-Dagan	Ibbi-Da	ib-bi-da	133	
43.	*Ibbi-mālik	Ibbi-ma	ib-bi-ma		The correspondence is less than certain.
44.	*Ibbi-Rašap	Ibbi-Ra	i-bi-ra	133	
45.	Ibni-Dagan	Ibni-Da	ib-ni-da	212, n. 593	The Hittite Hieroglyphic seals give two writings: i(a)-pa-ni-tà-[ka] (Beyer 2001:124, B 9) and i(a)-pi-ni-tà-ka (Beyer 2001:99, A 87).
46.	*Iddaʿ-Dagan	Iddaʿ-Da	i-da-da	212-213, n. 595	
47.	Iddiʿ- / Iddin-Dagan	Iddiʿ- / Iddin-Da	id-di-id-da		id-di-id-da could stand for Iddiʿ-Dagan or for Iddin-Dagan. Cf. id-di-ᵈda-gan and id-di-iḫ-ra (with iddi-ʿ as the first element) versus id-dì-na-da and i-din-ᵈda-gan (with iddin(a)- as the first element). See also ASJ 12:186, n. 1.
48.	*Iddina-Dagan	Iddina-Da	id-dì-na-da	133	
49.	*Iddin-Rašap	Iddin-Ra	i-din-ra	133	
50.	*Iddiʿ-Rašap	Iddiʿ-Ra	id-di-iḫ-ra id-di-iʾ-ra		
51.	Ikki-Dagan	Ikki-Da	ik-ki-da ik-ki-di	228, nn. 52-54	It is not clear what the meaning of either the full or shortened name is, ikki- being obscure.
52.	Ikki-Rašap	Ikki-Ra	ik-ki-ra i-ik-ki-ri		Correspondence not certain; the forms are perhaps hypocoristic names based on the root w/y-q-r.
53.	Ikūn-Dagan	Ikūn-Da	i-ku-ud-da i-ku-un-da	134, nn. 637-638	Syro-Hittite spelling: i-ku-ᵈkur (→ *Ikūd-Dagan); Syrian spelling: i-ku-un-ᵈda-gan
54.	Ikūn-Rašap	Ikūn-Ra	i-ku-ra i-ku-un-ra		Syro-Hittite spelling: (i-ku-ra-ša-ap or i-kur-ra-šap). It does not appear in the Syrian tablets.
55.	Ilī-Dagan	Ilī-Da	dingir-li-da i-li-da	124, n. 553	
56.	*Ilī-kabar	Ilī-ka	i-li-ka		
57.	*Ilī-Teššub	Ilī-Tc	i-li-te		
58.	Ilum-mālik	Ilum-ma	dingir-lum-ma		The correspondence is not certain; the -ma could be an emphatic.
59.	Imūt-Ḫamadi	Imūt-Ḫa	i-mu-ut-ḫa	214, nn. 611-612	
60.	*Ipḫur-Rašap	Ipḫur-Ra	ip-ḫu-ur-ra		The shortened form could be a hypocoristic, like the many Ipḫuru names in the corpus.
61.	Ipqi-Dagan	Ipqi-Da	ip-qi-da	104, nn. 356-360	
62.	Irʾam-Dagan	Irʾam-Da	ir-am-da	135	

	Full Name	Shortened Form	Spelling	Reference in Pruzsinszky 2003	Remarks
63.	Irīb-Dagan	Irīb-Da	*i-ri-ib-da*	215	
64.	*Išru-mālik	Išru-ma	*iš-rum-ma*	125, n. 568	The short form could be a hypocoristic; [d]*Išru-mālik* is attested in Munbāqa / Ekalte.
65.	*Išur-Baʿal	Išur-Ba	*i-šur-ba*	216, n. 623	
66.	*Itta-Rašap	Itta-Ra	*it-ta-ra*	137	
67.	Itti-Dagan	Itti-Da	*it-ti-da* *it-ti-id-da*	137	*it-ti-id-da* could perhaps stand for *Iddin-Dagan, with *ti = dì*; see Seminara 1998:189-190.
68.	Itūr-Dagan	Itūr-Da	*i-túr-da*	216, n. 626	
69.	Liʾmi-Dagan	Liʾmi-Da	*li-mi-da* *li-me-da* ⸢*li*⸣*-im-da* *li-mi-i-da-a*	184, n. 351	See page 39.
70.	*Mādi/Mādu-kabar	Mādi/Mādu-ka	*ma-tik-ka* *ma-duk-ka* *ma-dú-ka*	126, n. 575	The correspondence is not certain.
71.	*Mama-kabar	Mama-ka	*ma-ma-ak-ka*	126	
72.	Mašru-ḫamiṣ	Mašru-ḫe	*maš-ru-ḫé*	127	
73.	*Mati-Teššub	Mati-Te	*ma-di-te* *ma-di-di*	236, n. 118	
74.	*Pai-Teššub	Pai-Te	*pa-i-te*	229	
75.	Peri-Dagan	Peri-Da	*pé-er-i-da*	105, nn. 370-372	
76.	Ṣilla/u-Dagan	Ṣilla/u-Da	*ṣil-la-da* *ṣil-lu-ud-da*	128, nn. 592-594	
77.	Šadī-Dagan	Šadī-Da	*sa-di-da* *sa-di-da*	128, nn. 592-594	
78.	Šēʾûm-kabar	Šēʾûm-ka	*še-um-ka*	129	
79.	Šēʾûm-mālik	Šēʾûm-ma/me	*še-um-ma* *še-um-me*!	129, n. 603	It is not certain that *še-um-ma* stands for *Šēʾûm-mālik*; *-ma* could be emphatic. There is one case of *še-um-me* (ASJ 12 6:8).
80.	Šurši-Dagan	Šurši-Da	*šur-ši-da*	106	
81.	Tūra-Dagan	Tūra-Da	gur-*da* gur-*di*	53 and 139, nn. 692-694	There is only one spelling gur-*di*, the rest are gur-*da*. *Qur-da* in Arnaud 1985-1987 and Beckman 1996 should be transliterated as gur-*da* → Tūra-Dagan, following Pruzsinszky 2003.
82.	Mutri-Teššub	⟨M⟩utri-Te	⟨*mu*⟩-*ut-ri-it-te*	229	See Cohen 2005a. *Utri-Teššub is a ghost name. Mutri-Teššub's seal gives us: mu-tar(a)-TONITRUS (Beyer 2001:136, B 46 and 162, C 20).
83.	Zimrī-Dagan	Zimrī-Da	*li-da*	54 and 198, nn. 478-479	
84.	*Zū-Ḫepat / Zū-Ḫalma	Zū-Ḫe	*zu-ḫé*		*Zū-Ḫepat is not attested. The theophoric element Ḫepat does not appear in Syrian documents but once ([f]Ḫebate). Ḫepat appears exclusively in women's names, which would make *Zū-Ḫepat an exception to the rule. Perhaps the shortened form is for Zū-Ḫalma, very much attested. See page 39.
85.	*Zū-Rašap	Zū-Ra	*zu-ra*	187, 374	The short form is very uncertain. There are no *Zū-Rašap names, as there are, interestingly enough, no Zū-Dagan in Emar, although the latter is a name encountered in Munbāqa / Ekalte.

SHORTENED NAME FORMS WITH -BE IN THE EMAR CUNEIFORM DOCUMENTS

In addition to the names listed above, shortened names whose second element is written with the sign BE also merit our attention. The sign BE is used in Emar names as a stand-in for the second element Baʿal or bēlu.[4] Like other signs which are stand-ins for theophoric elements, the sign BE is never written with the dingir determinative. Its use is restricted to the second element only, unlike what can be seen elsewhere: in Ebla, for example, BE can be employed either as the first or second element.[5] It is probable that the phonetic value of BE was taken into account for the shortening of Baʿal-bēlu, but its logographic usage is obvious. When BE is employed in a woman's name, the feminine is marked with -a. This explains that, for example, the spelling [f]*aš-tar*-BE-*a* stands for (the reconstructed) *Aštar-baʿala(t) and not for *Aštar-bea.[6]

	Full Name	Shortened Form	Spelling
1.	*Aštar-baʿala(t)	Aštar-BE-a	[f]*aš-tar*-BE-*a* [f]*aš-tár*-BE-*a*
2.	*Baʿla-baʿala(t)	Baʿla-BE-a	[f]*ba-a'-la*-BE-*a* [fd]NIN-BE-*a*
3.	*Dagan-baʿlu	Dagan-BE	[d]*da-gan*-BE [d]kur-BE
4.	*Dūru-baʿlu	Dūru-BE	bàd-BE
5.	*Ḫimaši-baʿlu	Ḫimaši-BE	*ḫi-ma-ši*-BE
6.	*Iaʿnū-Baʿal	Iaʿnū-BE	*ia-aḫ-nu*-BE
7.	*Ibni-Baʿal	Ibni-BE	*ib-ni*-BE
8.	*Šalaš-baʿala(t)	Šalaš-BE	*ša-la-aš*-BE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SHORTENED NAME FORMS

Let us move to the analysis of the shortened forms and first look at some statistics. As noticed by Pruzsinszky (2003:143), the shortened forms are by far more common in the Syrian type of documents.[7] The number of occurrences of shortened names in the Syrian tablets is 256 as opposed to 85 in the Syro-Hittite tablets. The discrepancy is all the more striking if we realize that there are 270 Syro-Hittite tablets, but only 165 Syrian tablets (according to Di Filippo 2004). On the face of it, there are two good reasons for this discrepancy. First, the witness lists found in the Syrian documents are generally longer than those of the Syro-Hittite tablets, hence more names and name-types are recorded in them. Secondly, the Syro-Hittite scribal tradition records by far fewer shortened names because many names are written with logograms, unlike the wholly or partially syllabic names of the Syrian tablets. One sees, for example, how in the Syro-Hittite documents the logographic en-gal appears unequally more than the (partially) syllabic en-*ka* for writing the name Baʿal-kabar. Notwithstanding these factors, we need to assume that writing shortened names originated in the Syrian tablets. This is because, as is now generally recognised, the Syrian tablets are older than the Syro-Hittite tablets (see Skaist 1998; Di Filippo 2004; Cohen and d'Alfonso 2008). Tablets from Ekalte and Asû, which are very similar in formatting and scribal habits to the Emar Syrian tablets, also show analogous shortened forms and by so strengthen the argument that this writing originated with the Syrian tablets, because these two

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4. The theophoric element could also be shortened to -ba in Syrian tablets; see nos. 33, 35 and 65.
5. See the recent discussion with literature by Keetman 2007.
6. See Pruzsinszky 2003:142-143 with literature; Arnaud 1991:30 differently.
7. For a summary of the difference between the Syrian and Syro-Hittite tablets, see Cohen 2005b. A detailed discussion of the differences between the two scribal traditions is to be found in d'Alfonso *et al.* 2008.

sites, as far as can be assessed, had no contact with the Syro-Hittite scribal tradition.[8] It is not likely that this phenomenon developed independently in both formats.

If the origin of the shortened forms lies with the Syrian tablets, we may seek to explain what prompted their writing. In comparison with the Syro-Hittite tablet, which is compressed in its height but wider to the sides, the Syrian tablet is long and narrow, and hence offers less writing space per line. Because in the witness list the patronym came as close to as one can write on the right-edge, and scribes were generally reluctant to supply the patronym in a new line, a solution was writing shortened forms.[9] Indeed, it is not by accident that over half of the shortened names (190 out of approximately 340 cases) are patronyms. This scribal convention was generalized probably first in Syrian tablets, not only for paternal names, but wherever space was lacking for writing full-form given names,[10] after which it spread to the Syro-Hittite tablets, but with less intensity.[11]

THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE SHORTENED FORMS

The question we turn to now is how these names were pronounced. Arnaud (1991:30) says that "*...il est un trait de l'onomastique vernaculaire qui n'apparaît pas dans le reste du lexique: la suppression de la dernière syllabe, ouverte ou fermée. Cet étrange trait phonétique m'est inexplicable mais sa réalité ne fait aucun doute...*" For Arnaud then, it seems, the realization of the names was exactly as they were written, in spite of the fact that this phonetic reality appears only in the personal names. There is some evidence that speaks in favour of his idea. With the lack of the dingir determinative in any of the shortened forms, put almost consistently in the fully written forms, it seems evident that these names were written as heard. Spelling with a consonantal doubling such as *a-bu-ud-da* (→ Abu-Dagan), *it-ti-id-da* (→ Itti-Dagan), *eḫ-li-it-te* (→ Eḫli-Teššub), or *ma-duk-ka* (→ Madu/i-kabar) or plene spellings such as *li-mi-i-da-a* (→ Liʿmi-Dagan), are also good indications of the phonetic rendering of the names.

Morphological and phonological features show how these forms could be re-analyzed. Hypocoristic elements were added (e.g., Aḫī-ḫamiṣ → *a-ḫi-ḫé* → *a-ḫi-ḫé-i* or *a-ḫi-ḫé-ia*) or names were inflected (e.g., Ikki-Dagan → *ik-ki-da* → *ik-ki-di*; Ikki-Rašap → *ik-ki-ra* → *i-ik-ki-ri*; and Tūra-Dagan → gur-*da* → gur-*di*). A noticeable phonological change can be detected in a few names:

Aḫī-mālik → Aḫī-ma → Aḫī-me
Šēʾûm-mālik → Šēʾûm-ma → Šēʾûm-me
Aḫī-ḫamiṣ → *Aḫī-ḫa → Aḫī-ḫe
Mašru-ḫamiṣ → *Mašru-ḫa → Mašru-ḫe
Zū-Ḫalma → *Zū-Ḫa → Zū-Ḫe

These five shortened forms ending with /e/, are written (almost consistently) with Ce signs: me, hé, and te. The fronting of /a/ → /e/ does not occur in any other of the shortened forms, and neither in the Emar hypocoristic names. The quality of the vowel may have been the result of an accented open syllable; unaccented syllables retained the original vowel. Indeed, the doubling of the last consonant in many of the shortened forms (v-Cv → vCCv) may demonstrate a shift in the stress of the name.

8. Shortened names from Munbāqa / Ekalte are such as Abī-ḫe, Abī-ka, Aḫa-Da, Aḫī-Ba, Aḫi-me, Dagan-ka, Dagan-ma, Ḫinna-Da, Ilī-Da, Ipqi-Da, Yaṣi-Da, and Ṣilla-Ba; see Mayer 2001:39-68. From Asû / Tell Hadidi shortened names are such as Aḫu-Te, Baʿlī-Da, Baʿlu-Te, Ibni-Da, Ikki-Da, Ilī-Te, Namī-Te, Taki-Te, and Yarib-Te; see Whiting 2007.

9. Consider these two examples of names written just up to the very right edge of the tablets: ASJ 12 16:26 (igi *im-li-ku* dumu *Ya-ṣi-ba* → Yaṣi-Baʿal) and 23 (igi *Ir-ti-ia* dumu ^d*Da-gan-ka* → Dagan-kabar) and RE 20, in which the names of the fathers of the main parties and witnesses, being at the right-edge of the tablet, are almost consistently shortened.

10. Consider, how, for example, in *Emar* 52, a long and narrow (14.3 x 7.8 cm) tablet of a list of personal names, both the first names and their patronym appear many times truncated.

11. For whatever reason, some names are found in their shortened forms only in the Syrian documents, while their long forms only in the Syro-Hittite tablets. For example, consider Imūt-Ḫa only in the Syrian tablets versus Imūt-Ḫamadi only in the Syro-Hittite tablets; see Pruzsinszky 2003:214, n. 611.

To conclude this point, the changes detected in the shortened forms indicate that they were written as pronounced, some re-analyzed as proper names. Just for the sake of comparison, Spanish appellatives, such as Maritere or Marité for María Teresa, Maribel for María Isabel, and Josema for José María show us how shortened forms can be articulated as fully pronounced names. How fashionable the shortened names were upon the lips of the citizens of the city remains unknown of course.

PROSOPOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATION OF SOME PERSONS BEARING SHORTENED NAME FORMS

It can be demonstrated that at least for some cases, the shortened forms refer to people who were also recorded under their full name. This allows us to understand that both full and shortened names could be used invariably. Consider the following cases:

There is some possibility to see in Rašap-abu, son of Abī-kāpī (e.g., CM 13 9:18 and *Emar* 144:29) the same person as Rašap-abu, son of Abī-ka (AuOrS1 1:29). Bēlia, son of Ḫinnu-Dagan (*Emar* 144:16-17) is the same as Bēlia, son of Ḫinnu-Da (AuOrS1 50:31 and 51:28).[12] The person Illati is the father of Iram-Da (RE 5:24) and of Iram-Dagan (*Emar* 146:25; see also Beckman 1996:9 for a few other texts). Tūra-Dagan, father of Šaggar-abu (*Emar* 86:18), is the same person as Tūra-Da (RE 73:17 and 31, RE 80:17 and *Emar* 83:18).[13] Ikūn-Da (RE 2:26) and Ikūn-Dagan (RE 34:32) were the same person: the son of Ḫinnu-Dagan. Mašru-ḫamiṣ and Mašru-ḫe were, no doubt, one and the same: a scribe whose father was Baʿal-bārû (*Emar* 146:14 and ASJ 12 7:14; see Durand 1989:84; Ikeda 1995:245-246; Pruzsinszky 2003:127, n. 579). Lastly, while no clear prosopographic link can be made between Aḫī-mālik and Aḫī-me names, nonetheless there is a good chance that the scribe Aḫī-mālik (who wrote *Emar* 130, probably *Emar* 110, and SMEA 30 18) was the same person as the scribe Aḫī-me (who wrote ASJ 13 23).

THE EVIDENCE OF THE HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC SEALS

Among the inscribed Hittite Hieroglyphic seals carried by the citizens of Emar no shortened forms are found. Consider the following cases where we would have expected the final element to shorten.[14]

-Dagan (short form -da)

Abī-Dagan	i(a)-pi-tá-ka	(Beyer 2001:51, A 6)
Baʿal-Dagan	pa-li-tà-ka	(*ibid.*:133, B 38)
Dagan-abu	tà-ka-á-[pu]	(*ibid.*:54-55, A 11; Gonnet 1991:205)

-kabar (short form -ka)

Baʿal-kabar	pa-lu-ka-pa	(*ibid.*:162, C 21)
Dagan-kabar	tà-ka-ba-ra/i	(*ibid.*:56, A 13, 138, B 50; Gonnet 1991:220; the -ka sign holds a double duty: once for Daga(n), once for kabar(a/i)).

-mālik (short form -me or -ma)

Aḫī-mālik	à-ḫi-ma-li	(*ibid.*:123, B 7, 127, B 18)
Baʿal-mālik	pa-li-ma-li	(*ibid.*: 125, B 12)

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12. Note that AuOrS1 50:31 is to be read: ^m*be-li-ia* dumu Ḫi-nu-<<*na*>>-*Da*; *Ḫinnuna-Da* in Pruzsinszky 2003, CD Index, p. 356 is a ghost name. There is no large, if any, chronological gap between the three documents. The first two were written by the scribe Mašru-ḫe/ḫamiṣ and the third by Abī-kāpī, both working in the times of the king Pilsu-Dagan.

13. All the documents come from the Ḫima archive.

14. For a comparison between fully written names in cuneiform and their rendering in Hittite Hieroglyphics, see d'Alfonso 2004:53-56.

-tali(ḫ) (short form -ta)

| Dagan-tali(ḫ) | ta-ka-tal-i(a) | (*ibid.*:135, B 42) |
| | ta-ka-tà-li | (*ibid.*:126, B 15; d'Alfonso 2004: 55-56) |

-damiq

| Aya-damiq | á-tá-mi-ki | (*ibid.*:133, B 37) |

-qarrād

| Baʿal-qarrād | pa-lu-ka-ra/i-tà | (*ibid.*:122, B 4) |

In all cases where the element was shortened in cuneiform it was fully written upon the seal. The only shortening we find is the dropping of the final consonant in either the first (e.g., ta-ka-tà-li → Dagan-taliʾ),[15] or the second element in some names (e.g., à-ḫi-ma-li → Aḫī-mālik).[16] When the name ends vocally, all elements are preserved, again a condition which is not met in cuneiform writing conventions of the shortened names. Note that hypocoristic names are found in the Hieroglyphic seals, showing us that other kinds of 'short' names were easily documented.[17] The shortened form of names on the seals, we can conclude, was not dependent on the spelling habits and pronunciation at Emar, but on the conventions or phonological constraints of those who produced the seals.[18] Indeed, this kind of shortened form is found also in the Hittite letter, SMEA 45 1 (see also Singer 1999 and Hagenbuchner 1989:40-44). Sent from Ḫattuša to Carchemish, only later to reach Emar, it spells in cuneiform the name Adda-mālik as an-da-ma-li.[19] This nasalized form (i.e., Adda → Anda) presents the dropping of the final consonant in the second element, exactly as was seen in the seals (see above under –mālik). Although it has been argued by Laroche (1981 and 1983), who was followed by Beyer (2001:452), that the Emar seals were locally produced, the complete difference between the truncated names in cuneiform and Hittite Hieroglyphs complicates the picture. It becomes difficult to believe that the Hittite Hieroglyphic script was mastered by the 'local' Emarites; rather, it is more plausible to suppose that the seals were inscribed, whether in Carchemish or in Emar, by 'Hittite-speaking' scribes according to their own conventions and their innovations introduced in order to express Semitic names more accurately.[20]

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15. Names such as tà-ka-ba-ra/i or ta-ka-tà-li might seem to represent either assimilated forms, i.e., *Daga(k)-kabar, or *Daga(t)-taliʾ or the omission of /n/ in a consonantal cluster /nC/. However, a writing like tà-ka-á-[pu] (→ Dagan-abu) shows us that this is not the case in Emar name writing.

16. Laroche 1981:8 and subsequently, Mora 1998: 198-199. As Ilya Yakubovich points out to me, the Hittite Hieroglyphic writing system of CV signs, just like Linear B, is reluctant to express final consonants. However, they could be expressed in names with presumably the vowel of the final CV syllable 'empty'; consider writings such as tá-mi-ki → damiq and ka-ra/i-tà→ qarrād.

17. Consider Ibnia = i(a)-pi-ni-i(a) (Beyer 2001:137, B 48) or Turia = tu-ra/i-i(a) (Gonnet 1991:202). See also Laroche 1981:8 and Hawkins 2003:136.

18. The claim that the dropping of the final consonant is limited to Semitic names, as Mora 1998:198, on the basis of Laroche 1981, argues, is difficult to verify against other data. This is because in Emar, and also most commonly elsewhere, Anatolian names all have vocalic endings (written in the absolute case in both Hittite Hieroglyphics and cuneiform). In this respect, however, consider the name Alalime(š) found on a Nişantepe seal. The Hittite Hieroglyphics give TA₅-liₓ-mi, but in the cuneiform digraph we see ᵐa-laˡ-li-me-eš. This name, probably Luwian, but definitely not Semitic, is represented with its consonantal ending in the cuneiform, which is dropped, however, in its Hieroglyphic rendering; see Hawkins in Herbordt 2005: 248, and 289-290. Professional designations written wholly or partly syllabically on the seals lose their nominative ending; see, for example, Hawkins in Herbordt 2005: 304-305.

19. See Yamada 1998:326. The same person, spelled ᵈim-ma-lik, is mentioned in *Emar* 201 and 202.

20. For Hittite officials in Emar, see Mora 2004:433-443 and d'Alfonso 2005:72-75. For innovations introduced to the Hittite Hieroglyphic script, see Laroche 1981 and Mora 1998; for the difficulty in expressing West Semitic gutturals in Hittite Hieroglyphic, see d'Alfonso 2004.

CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of shortening names does not seem to be phonologically conditioned, but derives from a scribal habit, limited to sites along the mid-Euphrates. Because this phenomenon was not found in other proper nouns (such as divine or place names), but only in the onomastics, and because such shortened name forms characterize Emar, Munbāqa / Ekalte, and Tell-Ḥadidi / Asû, but not other contemporary cuneiform centres, it appears that the shortened forms arose from a scribal convention typical of the Syrian tablet format, which then spread to the Syro-Hittite tablets. However, it was never wholly adopted among the Syro-Hittite scribes, as much as it was among the Syrian scribes, because 1.) the Syro-Hittite tablet format allowed the employment of the long form names and 2.) the Syro-Hittite scribal conventions favoured writing names logographically. We have demonstrated that there is almost no doubt that the shortened names were articulated as written, and, indeed, could have been used invariably for the same individuals.

In contrast to the shortened forms in the cuneiform documents, the Hittite Hieroglyphic seals show a different set of truncated names, characterised by the loss of the final consonant of the first or the second element. Because this feature represents overall spelling conventions typical of Ḫattuša and Carchemish, in spite of innovations meant to ease the writing of Semitic names, we concluded that the Emar seals, although representing perhaps a local atelier, were not the product of the local scribes of the city.

"It is less easy to grasp the reasons which caused 'Elizabeth' to be replaced, now by 'Lili', now by 'Bebeth', just as another world swarmed with 'Kikis'. One can understand how people, idle and frivolous though they in general were, should have come to adopt 'Quiou' in order not to waste the precious time that it would have taken them to pronounce 'Montesquiou'. But it is less easy to see what they gained by nicknaming one of their cousins 'Dinand' instead of 'Ferdinand'. It must not be thought, however, that in the invention of nicknames the Guermantes invariably proceeded by curtailing or duplicating syllables. Thus two sisters, the Comtesse de Montpeyroux and the Vicomtesse de Vélude, who were both of them enormously stout, invariably heard themselves addressed, with the least trace of annoyance on their part or of amusement on other people's, so long established was the custom, as 'Petite' and 'Mignonne'."

Proust, The Guermantes Way (vol. Ill) 499.

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KURUNTA E L'ANATOLIA OCCIDENTALE

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A person named Kurunta is mentioned in two Hittite letters: the so-called 'Tawagalawa Letter' and the so-called 'Milawata Letter'. It is argued that both references are to Kurunta, King of Tarḫuntašša, who was apparently charged with some important diplomatic mission in Western Anatolia on behalf of the Great King of Hatti.

Le ricerche e l'attività scientifica che David Hawkins ha condotto nel corso della sua carriera hanno prodotto risultati importanti e innovativi in molti campi degli studi sul Vicino Oriente antico; un contributo fondamentale questo studioso lo ha dato anche nell'analisi della documentazione sull'Anatolia occidentale in età ittita. Queste poche pagine, che trattano di un tema connesso con questa regione, sono dedicate a David con grande ammirazione per il suo lavoro, la sua intelligenza e la sua simpatia.

Kurunta, re di Tarḫuntašša, è uno dei personaggi più indagati dagli Ittitologi; in questo breve saggio desidero soffermarmi sulla menzione di Kurunta in due testi: la 'Lettera di Tawagalawa' e la 'Lettera di Milawanda'.

Come è noto la 'Lettera di Tawagalawa', verosimilmente un dettagliato promemoria argomentativo per l'inviato ittita che si sarebbe recato nel paese di Aḫḫiyawa (v. Heinhold-Krahmer 2003:203; 2007: 194 e n. 28), contiene molte notizie sulla situazione politica dell'Anatolia occidentale della tarda età imperiale. La datazione di questo documento è ancora oggetto di discussione tra gli studiosi; alcuni ipotizzano che esso sia stato scritto al tempo di Muwattalli II, mentre altri preferiscono attribuirlo al regno di Ḫattušili III.[1]

A mio parere alcuni elementi contribuiscono a confermare la datazione della 'Lettera di Tawagalawa' a Ḫattušili III, quali il confronto tra gli eventi descritti in questo documento e quelli del testo storiografico KUB XXI 6 e 6a,[2] l'enfasi che viene data alla parentela di Dabala-Tarḫunta con la famiglia della regina (cosa che si giustifica bene alla luce del ruolo tenuto da Puduḫepa a corte[3]), lo stile che trova paralleli in altri testi del tempo di questo sovrano, ma soprattutto nella lettera KUB XXI 38 (v. Singer 1983:209).

Anche la menzione di Kurunta, come vedremo, costituisce un ulteriore elemento a sostegno della datazione di questo testo a Ḫattušili III. Il passo dove troviamo citato Kurunta si trova alla fine della prima colonna, alle rr. 71-74:

71 (Piyamaradu) disse: "No!", quando lo stesso Tawagalawa, Gran Re,
72 venne a Milawanda;
73 [ ] . . Kurunta era qua e un Gran Re (= Tawagalawa) a te (= il destinatario della lettera)
74 [di front]e si diresse; quello non era un re potente?

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1. V. ad esempio in ultimo Hawkins 1998: 17 n. 73; Heinhold-Krahmer 1991/92:143 e n. 47; Gurney 2002: 133-141 tutti con bibliografia precedente. Tra i sostenitori della datazione a Muwattalli II v. ora Freu 2004:318-319.
2. Come è stato messo in luce da Heinhold Krahmer 1983: 96-97, da Popko 1984: 202-203 e da Forlanini 1988:157-159.
3. Come è stato rilevato da Hawkins 1998:17 n. 73.

Questo passo è stato oggetto di molte e differenti interpretazioni; oltre a quelle di E. Forrer (1928: 108-109) e di F. Sommer (1932:6-7), si menzionano qui i lavori di I. Singer (1983:212), S. Heinhold-Krahmer (1986:54-55), H.G. Güterbock (1990:157-165), V. Parker (1999:75), O. Gurney (2002:137-138) e, infine, la recente edizione di J. Miller (2007:243-244). La traduzione delle rr. 71-72 segue l'interpretazione proposta da E. Rieken nel corso del seminario che si è tenuto a Berlino nei giorni 7-9 maggio 2007; diversamente da quanto la gran parte degli studiosi avevano precedentemente ipotizzato, mi sembra che si debba concordare con E. Rieken nel ritenere che la subordinata temporale introdotta dalla congiunzione kuwapi (r. 71) si riferisca grammaticalmente e logicamente alla frase precedente e cioè alla risposta negativa data da Piyamaradu.[4] Il passo, dunque, ricorderebbe un evento del passato, accaduto al tempo di Tawagalawa; a quel tempo questi era re di Aḫḫiyawa, come era già stato ipotizzato da alcuni studiosi (V. Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:54-55; Güterbock 1990:157-165; Freu 2004:283; Alparslan 2005:35-38; Miller 2007:244 n. 31). A lui si riferisce l'espressione LUGAL.GAL "Gran Re" alle rr. 71 e 73.

L'incontro tra Piyamaradu e Tawagalawa sarebbe avvenuto a Milawanda; in questa occasione sarebbe stato presente anche il destinatario della lettera, non ancora re, ma forse attivo quale erede al trono, o governatore accanto al sovrano Tawagalawa, come propone J. Miller nel suo saggio in questo stesso volume. Inoltre ci sarebbe stato anche Kurunta. Questo personaggio è stato identificato già da molti studiosi con il ben noto re del paese di Tarḫuntašša (v. ad esempio Houwink ten Cate 1974:150-151; Singer 1983:208; Güterbock 1990:162; Bryce 2007:122).

Ciò non significa, però, che sia Kurunta il TARTĒNU e tuhkanti che sono menzionati in alcuni passi della "Lettera di Tawagalawa". L'identità di Kurunta con il TARTĒNU / tuhkanti è stata ipotizzata da alcuni studiosi (v. Houwink ten Cate 1983:37-38 n. 17; Güterbock 1990: 162; van den Hout 1995:88-89; Gurney 2002:138-141; Freu 2004:319-321); coloro tra questi che sostengono la datazione del documento in questione a Ḫattušili III, nell'affermare che Kurunta fosse il figlio adottivo di tale sovrano e il suo erede nel momento in cui la 'Lettera di Tawagalawa' fu redatta, si scontrano con insormontabili difficoltà. Nessuna fonte, infatti, menziona Kurunta, re di Tarḫuntašša, quale tuhkanti di Ḫattušili III (v. le osservazioni di Freu 2004: 319) e, inoltre, come è stato rilevato in maniera chiara e decisa da F. Imparati (1995:151) e da S. Heinhold-Krahmer (1991/1992:144), ciò è in pieno contrasto con quanto si legge nella ‚Tavola bronzea' (§ 13), là dove si ricorda il giuramento che Kurunta e Tutḫaliya avevano prestato prima che quest'ultimo diventasse re. Qui assolutamente niente fa supporre che Kurunta sia mai stato il ‚fratello maggiore' designato come erede al trono. A coloro, invece, i quali ipotizzano che Kurunta fosse il tuhkanti di Muwattalli II, morto prematuramente e poi rimpiazzato da Urḫi-tešub (v. Gurney 2002:138-141), possiamo controbattere che ciò comporta supporre l'esistenza di due Kurunta pressoché contemporanei, uno dei quali sarebbe stato, però, stranamente del tutto ignorato dalle fonti, compresa l' ‚Autobiografia' di Ḫattušili III.

A mio parere, Kurunta presenzia all'incontro avvenuto tra Piyamaradu e Tawagalawa soltanto come inviato del re ittita, in quanto sovrano di Tarḫuntašša. J. Freu (2004:318) rileva l'assenza nella 'Lettera di Tawagalwa' di qualsiasi titolo che definisca il rango di Kurunta. Si deve tenere presente, però, che questo documento, verosimilmente, non era destinato ad essere consegnato o letto al sovrano di Aḫḫiyawa nello forma in cui esso si presenta, ma – come si è già detto – esso sembra essere piuttosto un articolato promemoria per il dignitario ittita che avrebbe dovuto interagire con la corte di questo paese. Dunque, a tale dignitario ittita il rango e il ruolo di Kurunta erano certo ben chiari e non occorreva alcuna specificazione in tal senso.

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4. Questo era già stato ipotizzato da Güterbock 1990:161, 163, anche se però a tale soluzione è stata poi preferita l'interpretazione che collega la temporale alla frase della r. 73, v. p. 165.

Mi sembra che si debba concordare con T. Bryce (2007:122) nel ritenere che nella tarda età imperiale Tarḫuntašša potesse aver assunto la funzione di collegamento tra l'amministrazione di Ḫattuša e i regni subordinati dell'Anatolia occidentale. Tale ipotesi è supportata non solo dal passo in questione della 'Lettera di Tawagalawa' e da quello della 'Lettera di Milawata' di cui parleremo tra poco, ma anche dal fatto che la 'Tavola bronzea', § 18 (come anche, in maniera meno decisa, la r. 37 della prima colonna di KBo IV 10+) stabilisce la parità tra il re di Karkemiš e il re di Tarḫuntašša e la loro superiorità rispetto a tutti gli altri re subordinati a Ḫatti.

L'uguale rango del re di Tarḫuntašša e del re di Karkemiš appare anche dal fatto che i sovrani di questi due regni sono menzionati l'uno accanto all'altro come testimoni nell'atto emanato da Tutḫaliya IV in favore degli eredi di Šaḫurunuwa CTH 225 (§ 14 Vo 29'; v. Imparati 1974:36-37).

Questa parità di rango poteva corrispondere anche ad un analogo ruolo politico che Karkemiš e Tarḫuntašša avrebbero dovuto svolgere, rispettivamente, in Siria e in Anatolia occidentale.

E' indubbio che l'impegno profuso dal re di Karkemiš, quale rappresentante del sovrano di Ḫatti, in molte e complesse situazioni politiche relative all'area siriana emerge dai documenti pervenutici in maniera molto chiara; diversamente per il re di Tarḫuntašša una funzione analoga può essere solo inferita grazie ai due testi qui presi in esame, la 'Lettera di Tawagalawa' e la 'Lettera di Milawanda'. Ciò, però, appare comprensibile se consideriamo che, almeno fino ad ora, non sono stati rinvenuti archivi né del regno di Tarḫuntašša, né dei regni dell'Anatolia occidentale subordinati agli Ittiti.

Accettando l'identità di Kurunta menzionato nel passo in esame della 'Lettera di Tawagalawa' con il re di Tarḫuntašša e accogliendo l'ipotesi che la sua presenza a Milawanda fosse conseguente al ruolo che Ḫattušili III gli aveva assegnato quale suo rappresentante in delicate questioni politiche dell'Anatolia occidentale, ne consegue, ovviamente, una datazione della lettera in questione al regno di questo sovrano.

Kurunta conserva questo stesso ruolo anche al tempo di Tutḫaliya IV come si evince da un passo della 'Lettera di Milawanda'. Questa lettera frammentaria, nella quale mancano sia il nome del mittente, sia quello del destinatario, viene datata oggi da molti studiosi al tempo di Tutḫaliya IV che ne sarebbe il mittente[5].

Per quanto riguarda, invece, il destinatario della lettera, sono state proposte differenti identificazioni. T. Bryce (1985:19) e J. Freu (1990:43) hanno ribadito l'ipotesi che il destinatario di questa lettera sia il signore di Milawanda. Come osserva, però, D. Hawkins (1998:19 n. 92), il destinatario della lettera in questione è un sovrano, mentre sappiamo che Milawanda non era sede di un re. I. Singer (1983:215) riteneva che la 'Lettera di Milawanda' fosse stata inviata o al re del paese di Mira o a quello del paese di Šeḫa (v. a questo proposito Starke 1997:454). Recentemente D. Hawkins (1998:19) ha mostrato in maniera assai convincente che il destinatario di questa missiva potrebbe essere Targašnawa, re di Mira. La lettera sarebbe stata scritta, allora, in un momento successivo alla stipulazione del trattato concluso da Tutḫaliya IV con Kurunta che è conservato dalla 'Tavola bronzea'; infatti in questo trattato compare nella lista dei testimoni Alantalli re di Mira (§ 27, IV 36), cioè il predecessore di Targašnawa[6].

Come è noto, nella 'Lettera di Milawanda' si parla anche del fatto che il re di Wiluša, Walmu, è stato spodestato e si è rifugiato presso il destinatario della lettera (cioè il re di Mira). Il sovrano ittita vuole riportare Walmu sul trono di Wiluša e chiede, in questa operazione, il sostegno del destinatario della missiva, che dovrà inviare Walmu dal re di Ḫatti. In questo contesto si inserisce la menzione di Kurunta (Vo 38'-39'):

38' Quelle tavole[tte] di legno, che io (= il re ittita) [ho fatto] (scrivere) per Walmu,
    Kuwalanaziti (le) aveva;
39' e Kurunta le porta a (te), mio figlio (= il re di Mira); adesso guardale tu, mio figlio.

La lettura, alla r. 39', del nome di persona Kurunta, parzialmente danneggiato, si deve a Th. van den Hout (1984:91); essa è stata confermata recentemente da D. Hawkins (1998:19).

Come questo testo ci dice, Kurunta viene incaricato dal re ittita di portare al signore di Mira i documenti che, verosimilmente, attestano il pieno diritto di Walmu a sedere sul trono di Wiluša; queste tavolette erano allora conservate da un dignitario ittita di nome Kuwalaniziti.[7] L'incarico affidato a Kurunta deve essere stata non solo quello di assicurare che le tavolette arrivassero a destinazione, ma forse, data l'importanza politica che questi documenti avevano, anche quello di esplicitarne il contenuto al re di Mira e di far sì che egli eseguisse il volere di Tutḫaliya IV.

Anche al tempo di Tutḫaliya IV, dunque, Kurunta opera in pieno accordo con il sovrano ittita; egli viene coinvolto dal re di Ḫatti in una questione politica riguardante l'area dell'Anatolia occidentale e agisce come emissario dello stesso Tutḫaliya IV.

L'ipotesi di un rapporto di collaborazione di Kurunta con Tutḫaliya IV è in contrasto con la teoria sostenuta da alcuni studiosi di un aperto conflitto verificatosi tra questi due sovrani, con addirittura un colpo di stato compiuto da Kurunta ai danni del cugino. La prova di questo supposto conflitto e del colpo di stato sarebbe da riconoscere nel fatto che Kurunta assume il titolo di 'Gran Re', come testimoniano alcune impronte di sigillo (Neve 1993:401-403; Hawkins 1995:62, con altre indicazioni bibliografiche) e il ben noto rilievo di Hatip (su cui v. ora Ehringhaus 2005:101-106).

Già I. Singer (1996:63-71), tuttavia, ha messo in luce che ciò non comporta necessariamente una presa del potere da parte di Kurunta quale re di Ḫatti; infatti Tutḫaliya IV - conscio della necessità di conservare un rapporto politico di cooperazione con Tarḫuntašša e forse non sicuro di un esito favorevole in caso di uno scontro militare - potrebbe aver tollerato l'adozione del titolo di 'Gran Re' da parte di Kurunta nella documentazione interna al paese da lui governato.

Recentemente C. Mora (2003:289-296) ha avanzato l'ipotesi che il titolo di 'Gran Re' portato da Kurunta potesse essergli stato conferito dallo stesso re ittita quale riconoscimento del suo effettivo rango e del suo ruolo politico.

Questa ipotesi, a mio parere, è pienamente sostenibile non solo alla luce del confronto con l'importanza politica assunta dal re di Karkemiš nella tarda età imperiale e del tutto riconosciuta da Ḫatti, come la stessa Mora scrive, ma anche alla luce del progressivo depauperamento del significato e dell'esclusività del titolo 'Gran Re' al tempo della tarda età imperiale ittita.

Si deve ricordare a questo proposito quanto già D. Hawkins ha osservato, e cioè che il titolo 'Gran Re' viene riconosciuto da un sovrano ittita della tarda età imperiale, forse Šuppiluliuma II, anche a Maš/Parḫuitta, verosimilmente re di Mira, come documenta la lettera KBo 18.18 (Hawkins 1998:20, 21).

L'assunzione del titolo 'Gran Re' da parte di sovrani minori va di pari passo con l'appropriazione, ad opera di questi, di un linguaggio iconografico che all'origine era riservato ai membri della dinastia regia di Ḫatti (come ad esempio il copricapo a corna, portato per la prima volta da Urḫi-tešub e poi adottato anche dai suoi successori): Kurunta, Targašnawa di Mira, Ini-tešub di Karkemiš in rilievi rupestri o nella

5. V. Starke 1997: 454 e n. 73 con bibliografia precedente; Hawkins 1998:19; de Martino 2006:171 e n. 25; v. anche Freu 2004:316.
6. V. Hawkins 1998:18, per la lettura *Alantalli* nell'iscrizione di Karabel.

7. Forse si tratta dello stesso personaggio il cui nome compare in caratteri luvio geroglifici nei rilievi di Ìmamkulu e Hanyeri, per cui v. ora Ehringhaus 2005:70-80. Per una datazione di questi rilievi alla tarda età imperiale v. Güterbock 1993:114; Mora 1992:244. Accogliendo questa datazione, chiaramente, Kuwalanaziti non può essere identificato con l'omonimo personaggio degli Annali di Muršili II.

glittica appaiono con l' abbigliamento e con il copricapo cornuto con cui sono raffigurate le divinità e i re ittiti. Questi stessi attributi vengono mutuati addirittura da alcuni dignitari, come testimoniano i rilievi di Hanyeri e İmamkulu[8].

La concessione del titolo 'Gran Re' a sovrani di entità statali subordinate a Ḫatti potrebbe essere conseguenza di una nuova realtà politica e di una diversa modalità di gestione dell'impero. Alcune delle cause di queste trasformazioni potrebbero essere rintracciate, ad esempio, nelle sempre maggiori tendenze autonomistiche delle regioni più lontane, nel potere ormai acquisito da alcune di queste, come Karkemiš in Siria o Mira in Anatolia occidentale, nel rango di Kurunta, quale figlio di Muwattalli II. Si deve rilevare, però, che Tutḫaliya IV, se deve cedere alle necessità imposte dalla situazione politica contingente, al tempo stesso cerca di riaffermare in altro modo la sua superiorità rispetto a tutti i re a lui subordinati. Questo potrebbe essere, a mio parere, il significato politico dell'essersi attribuito un culto fino ad allora riservato alle divinità, quale è testimoniato dai §§ 33-37 dell'altare B di Emirgazi[9].

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8. Per l'iconografia dei sovrani ittiti nella tarda età imperiale, in rapporto a quella dei re subordinati e dei dignitari, v. de Martino in corso di stampa.
9. V. van den Hout 1995: 561-564. Su questa ipotesi v. de Martino in corso di stampa.

THE WOODEN HORSE: SOME POSSIBLE BRONZE AGE ORIGINS[1]

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London

It is well known that the motif of the wooden horse was already present in Greek saga when the story of the Trojan War first emerged in Homer (*Odyssey* IV:271-89; VIII:492-520; XI:523-32). It is also attested in artistic representations from as early as the 8th and 7th centuries BCE (Ervin 1963:37-75; Schefold 1966:pl.6a, 34, 35 - BM 3205). J. V. Luce has called it a "crucial feature" of the saga, arguing that it is unlikely to have been introduced only in Homer's day (Luce 1975:139), an opinion with which Faraone seems to agree (1992:95). As some energetic arguments have recently been advanced for tracing back other essential elements of the story of the Trojan War to the Late Bronze Age (Latacz 2004), it may be appropriate to consider whether the same can be done for the motif of the wooden horse. In this paper I should like first to review three modern explanations of the motif which might take its origins back to the Late Bronze Age. Then, in the light of current archaeological and historical research in the Late Bronze Age of Anatolia, I shall offer a new possibility. It is a great pleasure to dedicate this discussion to Professor David Hawkins who has been a generous teacher and friend for thirty-five years.

THE SIEGE-ENGINE HYPOTHESIS

Perhaps the most common of modern explanations is that going back to Pliny, Pausanias and Servius: that it was originally a siege-engine (Pliny, *Natural History* VII:202; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I: xxiii. 8-10. For Servius see Jones 1970:241). The ancient writers meant this quite literally – that a battering-ram had breached the walls of Troy and had been known, or remembered in Greek legend, as a wooden horse. Modern commentators however, when they have adopted the siege-engine explanation, have generally done so in the belief that siege-engines were an invention of the Assyrians and were, in Lorimer's phrase, "a thing unknown in the Bronze Age" (Lorimer 1950:522). They have therefore tended to view the wooden horse as an anachronism that can have been introduced into the epic only in the 9th or 8th centuries BCE (Anderson 1970:24-5; Page 1963:296 n.119; Rose 1958:252 n.50; West 1997:487-8). This assumption is incorrect (as noted by Gallucci, undated; Mellink 1986:99-100; Wood 1984:230).

More than fifty years ago Yigael Yadin traced the history of the battering-ram in the Ancient Near East, and was able to show that there were simple rams already in use in the early second millennium BCE (Yadin 1955; 1963:16-7, 70, 96-7, 314-5). Recently Hamblin has argued that their history extends back into the third millennium BCE, citing depictions on a late Early Dynastic cylinder seal in Brussels (Fig. 1) and on the impression of an Akkadian cylinder seal (Fig. 2) from Tell Beydar in northeast Syria (Hamblin 2006:216, 219f, g). It is questionable whether the two seals do in fact show the wheeled battering-rams he assumes. His interpretation of the Beydar impression is not shared by Jans and Bretschneider who published it and who,
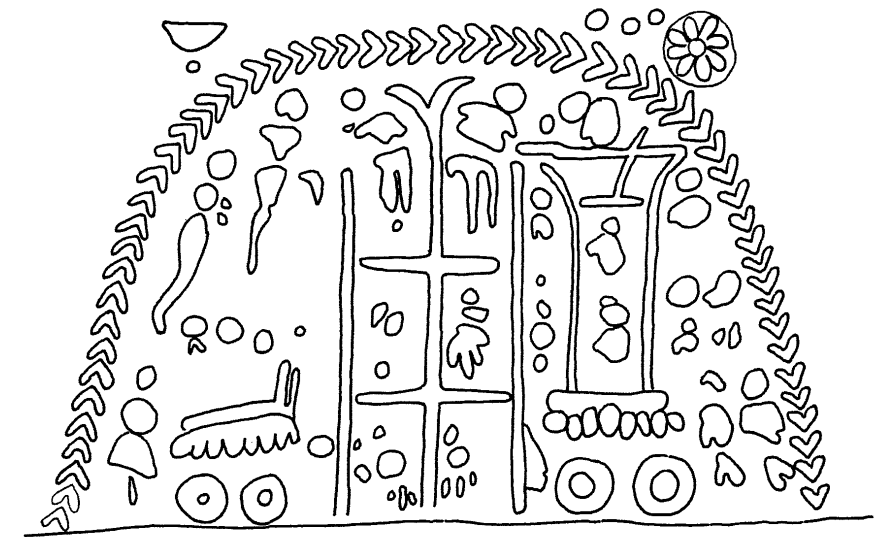
Fig. 1: Early Dynastic cylinder seal depicting siege tower and battering-ram. After Hamblin 2006:219f; Collon 1987: no.749.

Fig. 2. Akkadian cylinder seal from Tell Beydar depicting siege tower and battering-ram. After Hamblin 2006:219g; Jans and Bretschneider 1998: Bey 7.

having considered the comparanda, see simply a four-wheeled wagon (Jans and Bretschneider 1998:179, Bey.7; further examples in Rova 2008). Likewise the smaller vehicle shown on the (very worn) Brussels seal looks as though it could be no more than a wagon.

If we set aside Hamblin's third millennium examples as doubtful, our two earliest depictions of battering-rams appear still to be those noted by Yadin: one in the wall-paintings from Beni Hasan, ca. 1900 BCE (Yadin 1963:159), and the other in the 9th century BCE reliefs from the palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud (Yadin 1963:388, 391-3). The Beni Hasan ram has a simple canopy covering the men who operate it; there are no wheels. The Nimrud relief a millennium later shows a much more sophisticated machine. Here the canopy has been elongated, and the forward part has been developed into a tower, so that the beam can be suspended on a
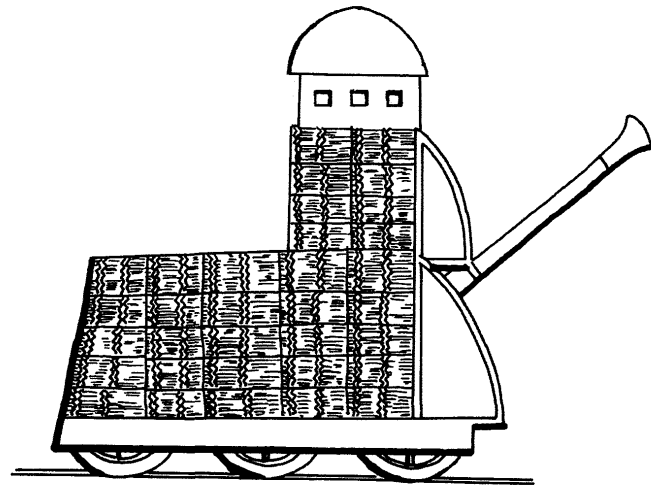
Fig. 3: Assyrian battering-ram as shown in a
relief from the palace of Aššurnasirpal
at Nimrud. After Yadin 1962:391.

rope and swung backwards and forwards more easily (Fig. 3). The ram has now become a massive contraption six metres long, six metres high and moving on six wheels.

Between the Beni Hasan paintings and the Assyrian reliefs there are unfortunately no further depictions to illustrate the steps by which the battering-ram was developed. But there is some written evidence which bears on the subject. The Mari texts give a clear indication that battering-rams were used in the Near East in the 18th century BCE, and some indication how (*CAD: ašibu;* Hamblin 2006:221-36; Sasson 1969:33-4). "I laid siege to that city and set up against it a siege tower and a battering-ram;" "As soon as they have brought the siege towers and the battering-ram upstream to Mari [they should load them on wagons]." Such quotations show that the ram (*iašibum, ašibu, ašubu*) was generally used in conjunction with a siege tower (*dimtum*) from which archers could give covering fire. The two were often brought up to the walls of the besieged city on a specially built earth ramp (*šipik eperi*) and are likely to have run on wheels. Oil for the ram is sometimes mentioned, perhaps for axles carrying a heavy load or, as Sasson suggests, to ease the ram over wooden tracks (Sasson 1969:33-4). At Mari, it seems, the ram was already heavier and more mechanical than the sort illustrated at Beni Hasan.

One stage in the wider acceptance of a more developed machine seems to be illustrated by a text from Boğazköy. This text, available since 1938, recounts in Akkadian an occasion in Hittite history, probably in the reign of Hattusilis I (c.1650-1620 BCE)[2], when a ram was used in besieging the city of Uršu in north Syria (*KBo* 1:11; Gurney 1990:148; Güterbock 1938:114-39; Hamblin 2006:298-300; Houwink ten Cate 1984:67-9) According to the text a first battering-ram broke. Then

"the king became angry......................... 'They constantly bring me bad news; may the Storm God carry you away in a flood!' The king continued, 'Be not idle! Make a battering-ram (like that) of the Hurrians and let it be brought into place. Make a "mountain" [*huršanu*, probably meaning an earth ramp] and let it also be set in its place!'" (*KBo* 1.11 obv.13'-15'-adapted from Gurney).

2. Following the chronology in Gurney 1990:181. A different scheme is proposed in Starke 2002.

Although we are given no detail, the passage seems to show a simpler type of ram being abandoned and a more advanced model being adopted. The more advanced type is credited to the Hurrians.

In other words, although the evidence is not plentiful, battering-rams have perfectly good Bronze Age credentials, along with the siege towers, earth ramps and – it may be added - ladders, shields and other items that were used in conjunction with them. We must therefore consider again the possibility that, as Pliny, Pausanias and Servius thought, the wooden horse really was in historical origin a battering-ram which broke into the defences of Late Bronze Age Troy; or alternatively that, while no such historical event may have occurred, the poetic motif was nevertheless inspired by siege-engines of the Late Bronze Age.

Apart from the Siege of Uršu text there is, so far as I know, no further direct evidence for the use of battering-rams in Late Bronze Age Anatolia. But other texts such as the letter from the general Kassu to the Hittite king (KBo XVIII.54; Singer 2008:257-65) indicate that the usual range of siege techniques continued to be used, and it would therefore be surprising if battering-rams were neglected. By contrast there is no present evidence for their use in the Mycenaean world (Papadopoulos 2006). Indeed siege-craft as practised in the Near East seems to have remained alien to the Greek world until the end of the 5th century BCE (Sage 1996:157-61). It might be expected that at Troy, poised between the Mycenaean and the Hittite worlds, such a machine would be a rarity and, when it appeared, an object of remark. But it is not at all inconceivable that a Bronze Age poet – whether west Anatolian or Greek – might have heard of a siege engine, or that a Mycenaean general might have seen one on his travels and decided to build one himself. And although Akkadian speakers apparently thought of battering-rams as wooden oxen (the terms GIŠ.GU$_4$, GIŠ.GU$_4$.MAH, GIŠ.GU$_4$.SI.AŠ are used[3]), it is not impossible that to other observers they might have suggested horses (Leaf 1915:32).

The archaeological evidence from Troy itself allows some room for the idea that the walls were breached by a ram. The Troy VI-VII citadel walls have been documented in full, for the first time, by Professor Manfred Klinkott (Klinkott 2004). Although various repairs of Iron Age and Archaic date can be identified, there is a very noticeable repair on the northwest side of Gate VIU which certainly goes back to the Late Bronze Age. It appears that, at the same time as Gate VIU was blocked up, a three-metre-wide hole in the adjoining wall also had to be filled in (*ibid.* Taf. 23 at VI 33a – Fig.4). Klinkott emphasises that the whole operation was hastily carried out, and even utilised a stela which may previously have stood by the gate, and he places these repairs at a date later than the building of Tower VIi (*ibid.*64). Since the latter is now thought not to have been constructed until VIIa (Korfmann 2004:14), the repair in the wall should have occurred during, or more probably at the end of, the same phase. In any case it was blocked before VIIb. The gate was approached from the outside by a roughly paved stone road, and Klinkott suggests that it may have been the principal gate into the Late Bronze Age citadel (Klinkott 2004:64). Supposing that a besieging army had been able to penetrate the defences of the lower town, which probably included at least a ditch and a heavy palisade (Easton *et al.* 2002:87-91; Jablonka 1995; 1996; 2006; Jablonka *et al.* 1994), it is possible to imagine that a battering-ram was brought up to Gate VIU and broke down both the gate and a part of the adjacent wall.[4]

3. "Battering-bull" would be an appropriate translation (Singer 2008:251).

4. This assumes that the ditch and palisade of the Troy VI lower town were defensive structures, which makes most sense. A defensive palisade is also attested for the town of Samuha at the time of Urhiteshub's conflict with Hattusili III (*KBo* VI.29.ii.32-3, see Otten 1976:301.n.5; Boysan-Dietrich 1987:18). But it should not be forgotten that a combination of ditch and palisade was sometimes used as a siege device by an attacking army, as in the siege of Megiddo by Tuthmosis III and, later, of Hazrach by Bar-Hadad (Hoffmeier in Hallo 2000 II:12 lines 90-4; Millard in Hallo 2000 II:155, A 1-17). The configuration of ditch and palisade in such cases would depend in part on whether the besieging army had at the same time to defend itself from allies of the besieged town. The building of encircling constructions *(arahzanda uete-)* of some kind is attested as a Hittite siege technique (Houwink ten Cate 1984:67-9). Circumvallation was a common practice in later siege-craft (e.g. Sage 1996:110-2; Josephus, *Jewish War* VII: 275-9). Impressive examples of a siege-ramp and of circumvallation are preserved at Masada (Avi-Yonah *et al.* 1957: Fig.2; Netzer 1991:xvi plan A; 641f; Figs.936-7).
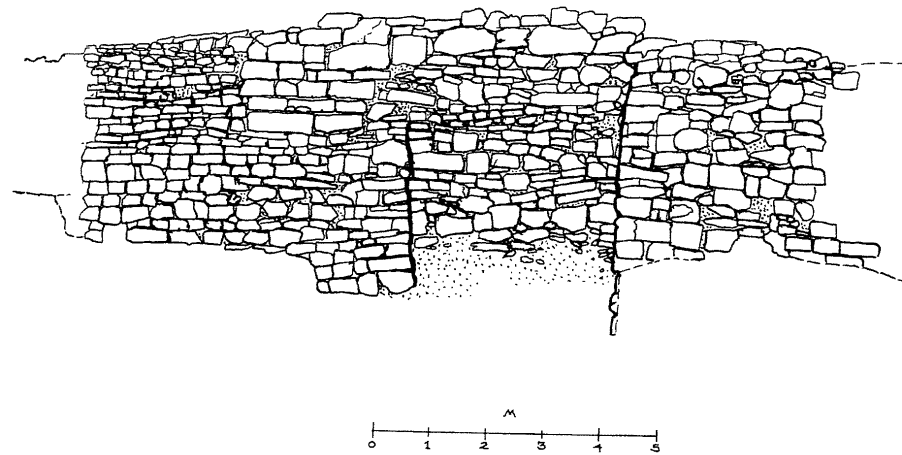
Fig. 4: Sketch of Gate VIU and adjoining walls of Troy VI-VIIa, showing how the gate and a broken area of the wall were filled in at the same time. After Klinkott 2004:Taf.23.

On purely archaeological grounds, then, the siege-engine hypothesis could be tenable. But whether we take it historically or poetically, a difficulty with this hypothesis is, and always has been, that it fails to supply that element of trickery which seems so central to the story. As Luce says, "the whole point of the horse is that it is a vehicle of deception not violence" (Luce 1975:139). This hypothesis also fails to supply any reason for the religious character given to the horse by tradition. As things stand, it is perhaps easier to suppose that a wooden horse in the epic tradition came to be rationalised by later classical authors into a siege-engine – a two-step process – than that an original siege-engine was transmuted by the tradition into a wooden horse and then later rationalised back again – a three-step process. So this hypothesis, taken on its own, falls some way short of providing a sufficient origin for the motif as it appears in Homer.

THE FLOATING FOLK-TALE HYPOTHESIS

Since the first publication by Petrie of his *Egyptian Tales from the Papyri* (Petrie 1895; Wilson 1969 for a more recent translation), it has become common to compare the story of the wooden horse with that of the Taking of Joppa (Bethe 1927:190; Faraone 1992:96-7; Heubeck *et al.* 1988:379; Jones 1970:245-7; Luce 1975:139; Nilsson 1933:256; West 1997:487-8). The latter tale recounts a trick pulled off by a general of Tuthmosis III (1479/59-1426 BCE) who captured the besieged city of Joppa by sending into it two hundred baskets which were said to contain tribute but which actually contained Egyptian warriors. The contention is that the two stories might be variant versions of a widely circulating folk-tale, or that one might be a variant of the other. This, if correct, would again anchor the origins of the wooden horse in the Late Bronze Age, since the tale of the Taking of Joppa first appears on the Ramesside *Papyrus Harris 500* (BM 10060, *verso* i-iii) dating from the period Seti I – Ramses II. It would also detach the motif from the Trojan War, and so avoid the historical embarrassment felt by Pausanias – that the Trojans would have had to be unbelievably stupid to take the horse into their city (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I:xxiii. 8-10). But it fails entirely to address the questions what the wooden horse actually was, or was conceived to be, or where and when the motif might have originated. All these questions are simply displaced. In itself, therefore, this hypothesis is no solution at all.

THE EARTHQUAKE HYPOTHESIS

Fritz Schachermeyr (Schachermeyr 1950:189-203; 1982:98-9) sought the origins of the wooden horse in the earthquake which Blegen believed to have destroyed Troy VI (Blegen *et al.*1953: esp.262, 282f, 318, 331; Blegen 1964:143-4; Rapp 1982:53-8). His hypothesis was that there was a genuine pan-hellenic expedition against Troy in the time of Troy VI; that by chance Troy VI was, at the same time, destroyed by an earthquake which the Greeks saw as a vindication of their cause; that the earthquake was ascribed to Poseidon; and that the figure of the horse came into the story because that was the form under which Poseidon was worshipped in Mycenaean religion. He further argued that, in the course of later transmission among the Greeks of Asia Minor, Poseidon and the earthquake dropped out of the saga and only the figure of the horse remained. That figure then became demythologised so that, in the 7th century BCE, a poet was finally able to invent the attractive idea that it had been a ruse for covertly introducing warriors into the besieged city.

The strength of this hypothesis is that it both takes the horse's character as a cult object seriously and also attempts to make a real connection with the Bronze Age ruins. Schachermeyr himself admitted that it was all hypothetical. But its weakness lies not only in its heaping up of one speculation on another, but also in the way in which the link between the siege of Troy and its eventual destruction is reduced to the level of pure coincidence. It should perhaps be added that the destruction of Troy VI by an earthquake may not be as certain as Schachermeyr supposed. For while the presence of fallen masonry at the end of Troy VI is beyond question, its connection by Blegen with the tilting of the citadel wall and the cracking of the towers – the clearest indications of a seismic shift – is open to doubt (Easton 1985:190-1).

Of the three hypotheses discussed so far – and these are the explanations which are most current – that of the siege engine is the least unsatisfactory and might commend itself were there nothing else from the Anatolian Late Bronze Age which offered a closer comparison. Yet there is, I believe, a further possibility.

A LIFE-SIZED LIBATION-VESSEL?

According to one strand within the epic tradition, the Achaeans left the horse at the gates of Troy intending it to be understood as an offering to the gods (Apollodorus: *Epitome* 5.15). The earliest representations show it standing on all fours with a wheel at each foot (Ervin 1963; Schäfer 1957:84, T15; Schefold 1966: pl.6a, 34, 35 - BM 3205). In the Anatolian LBA we should therefore be looking for a life-sized, horse-shaped cultic vehicle, preferably hollow.

Animal-shaped vessels were quite common in Bronze Age Anatolia, and some at least had cultic uses. In pottery they exist in many forms: as stags, bulls, rams, lions, falcons, ducks, hedgehogs to name but the most common (e.g. Bittel 1976: figs.156, 160, 166, 169, 178; Özgüç 1978: pl.46; 1982:110f, pl.52-4; 1988 Taf.E).[5] Often they have short, cylindrical spouts set vertically on the animal's back so that they could be filled with liquid which could then be poured out through the mouth. In the Hittite texts such vessels are designated by the Akkadian term *BIBRU*, and it is clear that they were often used for pouring libations to the gods or for ceremonial drinking (Carruba 1967; Güterbock 1983; Haas 1994:520-38; Otten 1989), although some appear to have been non-functional (Güterbock 1983:211-4). Descriptions of *BIBRŪ* show that quadrupeds could be depicted in a variety of postures: standing on all fours, kneeling, or reduced to a protome. Valuable examples were made from stone, silver or gold. In the Metropolitan Museum in New York there are two magnificent examples in silver from the Norbert Schimmel collection (Muscarella 1974: nos.123, 124). But wooden figures are also attested, sometimes

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5.   There is a wide display of such vessels in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara.

overlaid with silver or gold (Carruba 1967:92; Rost 1963:179; von Brandenstein 1943:12f, Text 2.i.29ff; cf. 16f, Text 3.i.1ff). One text refers to a bull protome of wood (*KUB* XXXVIII:100.iii.12; Güterbock 1983:213). Horse-shaped *BIBRŪ* are attested in Hittite texts as well (*KUB* XV: 5.ii.36; XXXVIII:4.i.8 = von Brandenstein 1943, Text 4; Carruba 1967, 89; Güterbock 1983, 208), and a small collection of terracotta models of horse-shaped libation-vessels has been discovered at the Hittite site of Kayalıpınar (Müller-Karpe 2006[6]. Fig.5). The horse occupied an important place in the culture, economy and military affairs of LBA Anatolia (Starke 1995). Aside from this, however, it had a cultic role as the animal associated with the god Pirwa, the goddess Pirinkir and, as widely in the Ancient Near East, with Ishtar (Haas 1994:412-8; von Brandenstein 1943:22, 58-60).
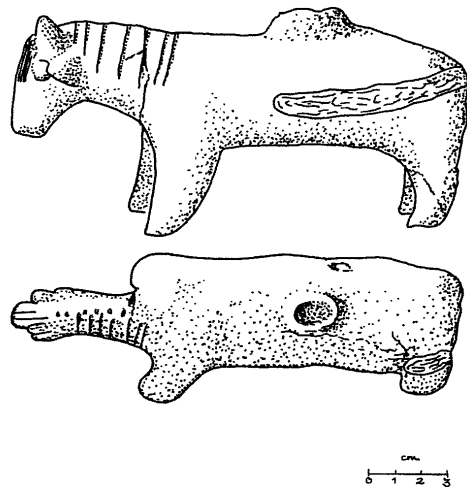

Fig. 5. A miniature horse-shaped libation-vessel (*BIBRU)* of terracotta, found at the Hittite site of Kayalıpınar. After Müller-Karpe 2006:Abb.10.

The Trojans certainly knew of animal-shaped vessels: a fine painted example in the shape of a bull has been reconstructed from fragments found in the lower town of Troy VIIa (Rigter and Thumm-Doğrayan 2004), and numerous other examples have been recovered from earlier periods (Easton 2002: Figs. 135, 72-191; 137, 73-45; 144, 72-741; 146, 72-582; 165, 72-1609, 72-1802; 167, 72-1945; 178, At.174-3380; 187, 73-744; 192, At.188-3450b; Schliemann 1881: nos.333-40; 1884: nos. 55, 67, 68f; Schmidt 1902:272f). From Schliemann's excavations in Troy VI there is a very crude example of a small spouted terracotta vessel which may possibly depict a horse, although Virchow thought a dog more likely (Schliemann 1881:594 no.1385). Perhaps of more significance is a number of horse-head finials or handles from Troy VI ceramic cups or bowls (Blegen 1964:231, pl.57; Schliemann 1881:598 nos.1399-1401). These are unusual in Anatolia,[7] and could suggest that the Trojans took some particular interest in the horse.

All such vessels, of course, are on a relatively small scale. Is there any evidence that in Late Bronze Age Anatolia there existed animal-shaped libation vessels on a larger, perhaps life-sized, scale? In fact there is.

Excavations at Alaca Höyük, ten miles north of the Hittite capital at Boğazköy, have revealed the existence of a Hittite centre, perhaps a cult centre, surrounded by a heavy defensive stone wall (Koşay

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6. I am very grateful to Professor Starke for bringing this discovery to my attention.
7. Although comparable pieces were found in Level II at Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982: pl.52, 4, 5). Horse figures are occasionally depicted in relief on Old Hittite pottery from Alişar Hüyük and 13th century pottery from Boğazköy (Boehmer 1963:45 Abb.36; 60-1, Taf.B: XXVIII-XLII). I am very grateful to Dr Ulf Schoop for reminding me of the latter references.

and Akok 1966: pl.78). The principal gate, on the south side, was flanked by two towers built of basalt blocks. On these blocks was a series of reliefs which are among the most important monuments of Hittite art. The gateway when first discovered was largely collapsed, and the sculptured blocks were found scattered. It has not been possible to establish with certainty the original arrangement of all of them, but the broad outline is clear and can be seen in a partial reconstruction on the site. It is the exterior face of the west tower that concerns us.

Here the sculptors carved, but failed to complete, a narrative scene in three tiers (Mellink 1970; 1974). The entire composition seems to relate to a religious ceremony, possibly a festival of the indigenous, pre-Hittite deity Teteshapi (Ünal 1994). The top two registers, not included in the on-site reconstruction, showed hunting scenes. The bottom register, which is also the largest, depicts a procession (Fig.6). At the extreme right one can see a bull on a pedestal – a conventional depiction of the Hittite Storm God. In front of him is an altar before which stand the Hittite king (recognisable by the *lituus* in his right hand) and a female figure, evidently the queen. Behind the queen a gap must be allowed for a missing block. Then, on the next two blocks, we see a group of priests bringing sheep and a goat for sacrifice. In turn behind them are two small figures with a ladder and then a sword-swallower. It is not clear whether the figures with the ladder represent children, acrobats or perhaps the masons who carved the reliefs (Gurney 1994; Ünal 1994). Next come two musicians, one holding a stringed instrument. The sword-swallower and the musicians are facing in the opposite direction from the procession ahead of them. They appear to be accompanying, or welcoming the arrival of, the final item which is very incompletely carved: a massive libation-vessel on wheels, in the shape of the head and shoulders of a bull (Fig.7). Despite a break in the upper surface of the block, the head and horns can be clearly made out, and so can the spout on its back.

Were such objects common in Bronze Age Anatolia? We have no idea. Maybe Alaca Höyük was a unique case; or maybe every cult centre – even every self-respecting city – had a comparable vehicle. Nor can we say what it may have been made of – whether leather, wood, pottery or metal. What we can say is that giant, animal-shaped libation vessels on wheels were known in Anatolia before the presumed date of the Trojan War, and were conceivably even a familiar sight.

Thus while no such thing as a life-sized, hollow, wooden cultic vehicle in the form of a horse is directly attested, we can say that all the necessary elements are. There is a life-sized, animal-shaped libation-vessel depicted on wheels at Alaca Höyük; horse-shaped libation-vessels are known from texts and from

Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the reliefs on the exterior face of the west tower of the south gate at Alaca Höyük. After Mellink 1970:Fig.2.

miniatures; and there were *BIBRŪ* made of wood. It is therefore quite within the realms of possibility that a vehicle corresponding to the wooden horse of Greek tradition could have been made or imagined in LBA Anatolia. Whether it could successfully have been used in a real siege is another question.
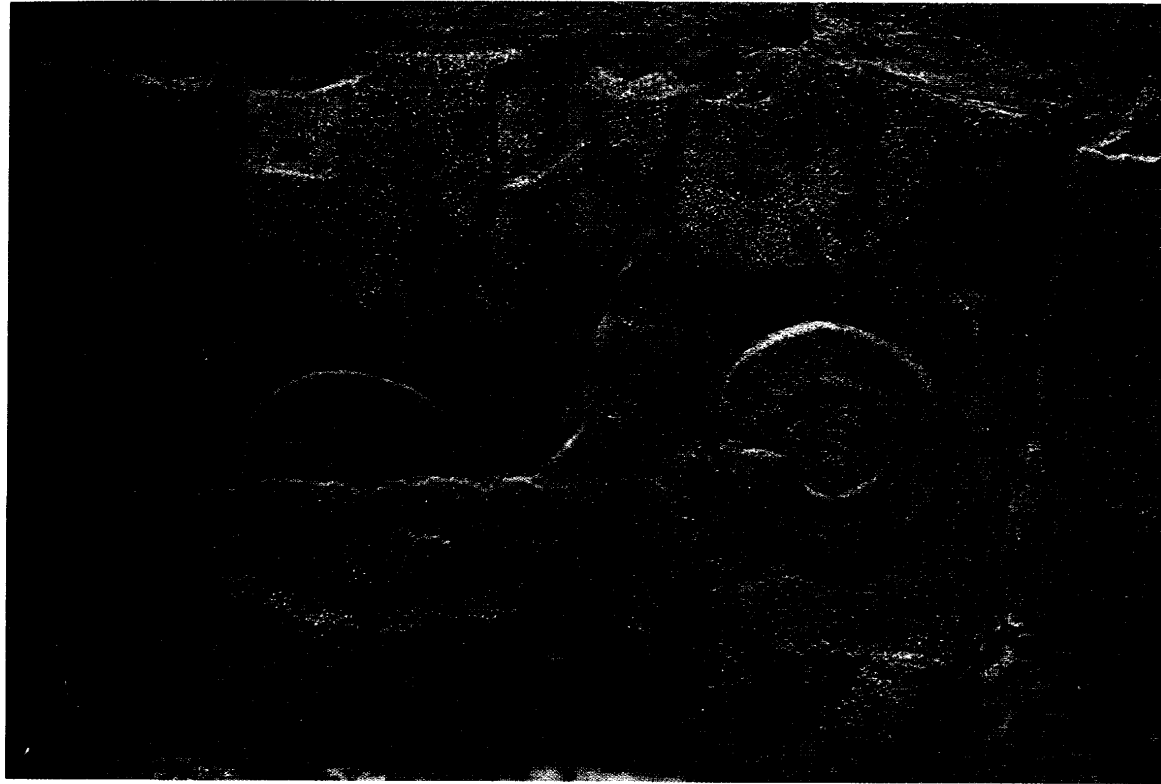

Fig. 7: Relief of a cult vehicle in the form of a bull-shaped libation-vessel, Alaca Höyük. Photo of on-site reconstruction, D.F. Easton.

CONCLUSIONS

In the Late Bronze Age, then, we can find a number of possible origins for the motif of the wooden horse, whether we suppose it to have started out as a real object in an actual siege or as a poetic invention. Of the hypotheses discussed we may perhaps set aside those of the folk-tale and the earthquake. The former simply displaces the question, while the latter is too complex and, in its frame of reference, too hellenocentric. This leaves us with the siege-engine and the libation-vessel.

It is well established that battering-rams, and probably wheeled battering-rams, can be traced back in the Near East to at least the early second millennium BCE. This makes the siege-engine hypothesis look much more plausible than has often been supposed by classical scholars. The appearance of a wheeled battering-ram in western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age might have been surprising to the inhabitants but is historically not impossible. Such an origin offers no explanation, however, for the cultic associations of the horse or for the element of trickery that we find in the epic tradition.

No such reservations attach to the libation-vessel hypothesis. The recognition that the cultic apparatus of Late Bronze Age Anatolia included horse-shaped *BIBRŪ* and at least one wheeled vehicle in the form of a life-sized, animal-shaped libation-vessel must, I think, affect future discussion of the

subject. An explanation on these lines seems almost complete, in that it is possible to imagine either a Bronze Age poet drawing on such an image or a real, historical siege in which a vehicle of this sort was used more or less as Greek epic relates. The only qualification to this is the level of gullibility which it might presuppose on the part of the besieged citizens.

EXCURSUS: A LUWIAN PUN ON THE NAMES TARWISA AND ASSUWA?

A further possibility may exist which however, because of the numerous difficulties involved, can be stated only in the most tentative manner. It is that the idea of the wooden horse might derive from a Luwian pun on, or misunderstanding of, the place-names *Tarwisa* and *Assuwa*. Luwian comes into consideration because it was the language most widely spoken in west Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age (Gurney 1990:106-8) and probably in the Troad as well (Starke 1997:456-9; Watkins 1986). The Luwian for "wooden horse" was some such phrase as *taruwi- asuwi-* (for *taruwi-*: Hawkins 2000: I.99, 108, 630; Starke 1990:428f, n.1555; for *asuwi-*: Hawkins *op.cit.* 515, 625; cf. Puhvel 1984:222f. but see further below. The Hittite for "horse" remains unknown). Comparable Hittite punning on two place-names, Lalanda and Watarwa, is known from KUB XII.96.i.14f (Neu 1968:105-6. I am indebted to Professor Singer for this parallel). It has in fact been suggested that the toponyms *Tarwisa* and *Assuwa* might actually derive from the Luwian words for "wood" and "horse" (Neumann 1993:290; Starke 1997:475 n.93), but both suggestions have also been dismissed as improbable (Melchert 2003:7 n.10; Starke 1997:474 n.86).

The proposal of a pun (or misunderstanding) hangs on the fact that the two place-names occur in the same text in the account of a known, historical war in the Troad, while two similar Luwian words would denote the object so firmly connected with a legendary one. It does not depend on establishing any direct philological or etymological links between the two pairs of words. It simply requires that the two pairs should have sounded similar enough for an ordinary Luwian (or Luwian speaker) to have seen in them the possibility of a play on words. A condition of this is, however, that the two place-names should have been closely enough associated to be capable of suggesting themselves as a pair.

Although nowhere immediately juxtaposed, the two place-names do occur in quite close proximity in the Annals of Tudhaliyas, where Tarwisa is named as one of the twenty-two lands defeated by Tudhaliyas I/II, and where Assuwa appears to be the over-arching power to which they all owed allegiance (KUB XXIII.11.ii.13-39; Garstang and Gurney 1959:105). Tarwisa certainly lay in the Troad, and it has been argued with some plausibility that Assuwa did as well (Starke 1997:455f). Further, the same two place-names seem to occur on metal objects dedicated after the end of the same campaign: Assuwa on the bronze sword from Boğazköy, Tarwisa (*Tarwiza*) on the silver bowl in the Ankara museum (Ertekin and Ediz 1993; Hawkins 2005; Ünal 1993). This may at least indicate that in the Hittite mind the two places could evoke similarly potent memories of that victorious campaign.

In Hittite texts both names fell out of current use after the reign of Tudhaliyas. The supposition then would be that, if a deliberate pun were involved, it should have originated no later than the time of Tudhaliyas, and could conceivably have done so in the course of his north-western campaign. Commanders in the field are known to resort to sometimes feeble puns to raise the morale of their troops.

The hypothesis of a word play as an origin for the idea of the wooden horse would not necessarily exclude that of the libation vessel. A pun originating in the time of Tudhaliyas (c.1390 BCE) and passing into oral memory could have been understood at a later date by reference to the sort of cultic vehicle which is attested at Alaca Höyük and which no doubt continued in use until 1200 BCE and conceivably beyond.

Fig. 7: Relief of a cult vehicle in the form of a bull-shaped libation-vessel, Alaca Höyük. Photo of on-site reconstruction, D.F. Easton.

However several uncertainties need to be noted. (1) The place-name *Tarwisa* may have been pronounced *Truwisa,* for the spelling KUR^URU*T]A-RU-U-I-Š[A* occurs (KUB XXIII.12.ii.13'). (2) The (hieroglyphic) place-name on the silver bowl is spelt *Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a.* While this can certainly be read as *Tarwiza,* it may or may not denote the same place as (cuneiform) Tarwisa (Hawkins 2005:199 and n.45; Starke 1997:474 n.86a). (3) The dating of the silver bowl to Tudhaliyas I/II, rather than to a late Tudhaliyas, is uncertain, although cautiously preferred by Hawkins (Hawkins 2005:200). (4) It is disputed whether the Luwian for "horse" was *asuwi-* or *assu-* or *atsu-* (Hawkins 2000: I. 515, 625; Melchert: pers.comm.; Starke 1995:117-21). (5) It can be argued that Assuwa is more naturally to be placed in west central Anatolia than in the Troad (Melchert 2003:7).

The uncertainties are thus too many for the hypothesis to be advanced in any firm or detailed shape, at least by this writer. It is put forward here merely as a suggestion for more informed consideration by those, such as David Hawkins, who have a real expertise in the field.

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IL FRAMMENTO DI LETTERA KBo 8.14: UN NUOVO TENTATIVO DI INTERPRETAZIONE

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The fragment KBo 8.14, which belongs to the correspondence between two Great Kings, is reconsidered. In contrast to Edel's view that the letter was sent by Ramses II to Ḫattušili III, with a reference to the latter's recognition as a "Substitute of a Great King" by Salmanassar I, it is suggested that the missive was sent by Ḫattušili to Ramses and probably deals with Urḫi-Teššup's stay in Egypt.

0. Oggetto del presente contributo è il frammento di lettera in lingua accadica KBo 8.14 (87/m). L'elaborazione più recente di questo testo, ad opera di E. Edel, che ritiene trattarsi di una lettera spedita da Ramses II a Ḫattušili III (Edel 1994a:24 s.; 1994b:28 s., 41 ss.), si fonda su letture, integrazioni ed interpretazioni incerte e discutibili, se non addirittura errate, tali da rendere necessaria una rianalisi di questo interessante, quanto frammentario documento[1]. In questo breve saggio, che ho il grande piacere ed onore di poter offrire a David Hawkins, uno dei massimi studiosi di civiltà dell'Anatolia e della Siria preclassiche, propongo una nuova trascrizione ed interpretazione del testo[2], che pur non scevra da incertezze, ritengo essere più plausibile di quella offerta da E. Edel.

1. La prima trattazione di KBo 8.14, riconosciuto essere un frammento di lettera tra Grandi Re già dall'editore H. Otten[3], è quella di A. Hagenbuchner (1989:349 s.), che offre la traslitterazione del testo ed un breve commento sul suo contenuto. Secondo Hagenbuchner la formula di saluto con cui si apre la lettera è quella tipica della corrispondenza internazionale, anche se non ricostruibile con sicurezza, ed uno dei due partner dovrebbe essere il re di Ḫatti. Sulla base dell'espressione contenuta a r. 10' e da lei tradotta con "ein Großkönig bist Du" e sulla base dell'interpretazione di r. 8' secondo cui "der Absender an die Großen (des anderen Landes?) geschrieben hat", Hagenbuchner conclude (p. 350): "Sowohl die Erwähnung 'du bist Großkönig' als auch der Hinweis darauf, daß der Absender den Großen geschrieben habe, erinnert an die Korrespondenz mit Assur. Sollte es ebenfalls zu KUB XXIII 92 / 103 / KUB XL 77 (als Teil der Übersetzung) gehören?".

2. L'edizione di E. Edel, sebbene pubblicata nel 1994, risale in realtà al 1986 e non poteva dunque tener conto dell'edizione di A. Hagenbuchner[4]. Come accennato all'inizio, Edel considera KBo 8.14 (= *ÄHK* nr. 5), nonostante alcune particolarità ortografiche estranee alla tradizione scribale egiziana,

come una lettera spedita da Ramses II a Ḫattušili III[5], appartenente alla corrispondenza scambiata dai due sovrani "kurz vor und nach dem Vertragsabschluß" (Edel 1994b:27 ss.). In particolare, secondo la ricostruzione di Edel, la lettera risalirebbe al periodo immediatamente seguente la stipula del patto, quando Ramses aveva appena inviato a Ḫattuša la tavoletta d'argento con la versione di parte egiziana del trattato[6] e i due sovrani erano in trattative per organizzare un incontro che celebrasse solennemente la pace raggiunta tra i due paesi, evento che tuttavia non avrà mai luogo[7]. KBo 8.14 si collocherebbe dunque cronologicamente tra KBo 28.1 (= *ÄHK* nr. 4) e KUB 3.43+ (= *ÄHK* nr. 6). Sulla base di integrazioni e letture assai ardite ed incerte, che saranno discusse più avanti in dettaglio, Edel ritiene che KBo 8.14 contenga nella prima parte (rr. 3'-8') le manifestazioni di gioia di Ramses circa l'ormai imminente venuta di Ḫattušili in Egitto[8] e una serie di espressioni beneauguranti circa l'assenza di ostilità nei due paesi, con alle rr. 8'-9' l'annuncio dell'invio di alti dignitari ad accogliere il Gran Re ittita nel Paese di Upi[9]. Nella seconda parte (rr. 10'-13') sarebbe invece contenuto il riferimento che Ramses fa ad una precedente missiva di Ḫattušili, in cui il sovrano ittita avrebbe informato il faraone d'aver ricevuto una lettera di Salmanassar I, in cui il sovrano assiro definiva il re ittita "sostituto di un Gran Re"[10]. Edel

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1. Senza voler sminuire il valore scientifico dell'opera di E. Edel sulla corrispondenza tra le corti ittita ed egiziana, non si può d'altro canto non riconoscere come troppo spesso lo studioso tedesco abbia ecceduto in interpretazioni ardite basate su integrazioni testuali assai incerte, quando non addirittura arbitrarie ed infondate. Cfr. a tal proposito quanto esplicitamente osservato da Zaccagnini 2000:439 s. o da Singer 2006:29 s.

2. Per il permesso di collazionare, nel marzo 2004, la fotografia del frammento presso l'Accademia di Mainz ringrazio sentitamente il prof. G. Wilhelm. La fotografia è ora disponibile anche nella *Konkordanz online* ad opera di S. Košak sul sito "Hethitologie Portal Mainz" (http://www.hethiter.net) ed è qui riprodotta come Fig. 1.

3. KBo 8, Inhaltsübersicht: "Briefwechsel zweier Großkönige anläßlich von Thronwirren".

4. Come si evince da Edel 1994a:4 e 1994b:4 il manoscritto dell'opera fu consegnato nell'aprile 1986, e d'altra parte nel libro di Edel non si trova riferimento alcuno all'edizione delle lettere ittite da parte di A. Hagenbuchner.

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5. Edel 1994b:41 ("Die Schreibung *ú-ul* (Z. 5') statt *ul* 'nicht' ist für Ramsesbriefe untypisch, ebenso wie der Ausdruck der Vokallänge in geschlossener Silbe bei *ú-kà-a-al* (Z. 4') und *šu-pa-a-al* (Z. 12'). Trotzdem ist kein vernünftiger Zweifel an Ramses als Absender möglich").

6. Ciò in base alla lettura che Edel fornisce della r. 12' del testo, secondo cui la tavoletta d'argento sarebbe stata collocata da Ḫattušili "zu Füßen des Wettergottes". Tale interpretazione risulta però assai discutibile; v. *infra* commento a r. 12'.

7. Sul presunto progetto di un incontro tra Ramses e Ḫattušili in occasione della stipula del trattato v. ora ampiamente Edel 1994b:27 s., 39 ss., secondo il quale l'incontro tra il re ittita e il faraone doveva avvenire nel paese di Kinaḫḫi (= Kanaan), dunque in territorio egiziano. Lì Ramses si doveva recare per attendere Ḫattušili, e di lì i due sovrani sarebbero poi partiti alla volta dell'Egitto, dove il re ittita sarebbe stato ospite nella residenza del faraone. L'ipotesi di una visita di Ḫattušili in Egitto, già formulata dallo stesso Edel anni addietro (Edel 1960), si fonda sulla testimonianza della lettera KBo 28.1 (= *ÄHK* nr. 4: 166/b + 1199/c + 216/e (+) 577/b), che secondo la ricostruzione di Edel conterrebbe in Vo 1 ss. la citazione delle parole con cui Ḫattušili comunicò a Ramses la sua volontà di recarsi in Egitto (Edel 1994a:24; 1994b:39, 41). A proposito dell'incontro tra i due sovrani e della progettata visita di Ḫattušili in Egitto cfr. anche le osservazioni di Liverani 1990a:63 n. 24 e 1990b:215 s. (ancora con datazione della visita all'epoca del primo matrimonio tra una figlia di Ḫattušili e Ramses); Archi 1997:1 n. 1; Zaccagnini 2000:440 s.; Klengel 2002:92 s.; Bryce 2003:86 s. L'intera ricostruzione di questo episodio offerta da Edel, e accettata da altri studiosi, risulta a mio parere assai incerta, soprattutto per quel che concerne l'ipotesi di una presunta visita di Ḫattušili in Egitto (esplicitamente critico al riguardo invece giustamente Archi 1997:1 n. 1). A ben vedere infatti l'assunto di Edel si basa su integrazioni assolutamente prive di fondamento, condotte sui pochi segni rimasti in KBo 28.1 Vo 1 ss., corrispondente al frammento 577/b, che non costituisce nemmeno un *join* diretto con gli altri frammenti attribuiti a questa tavoletta. Tra l'altro il desiderio espresso da Ramses di "vedere" (*amāru*) il proprio alleato (cfr. per es. KBo 28.1 Ro 19') può a mio avviso venir interpretato non necessariamente alla lettera (i viaggi di Grandi Re in paesi stranieri non dovevano rappresentare la norma!), bensì piuttosto come una sorta di *topos*, altrove attestato nella corrispondenza tra i sovrani dell'epoca. Cfr. per es. EA 20 rr. 11-12 (da Tušratta ad Amenophi III) *u ṭābā danniš-ma amāti-šu ša ŠEŠ-ya kī ša ŠEŠ-ya-ma āmuru u aḫtadú ina ūmi šāši ma'da danniš* "le parole di mio fratello erano buone assai, ed io quel giorno mi son rallegrato oltremisura, come se avessi visto mio fratello di persona", oppure, di contro, il passo della lettera EA 3 rr. 19 ss. (da Kadašman-Ellil I ad Amenophi III), in cui il re babilonese si lamenta (certo fittiziamente!) di non essere stato invitato dal faraone ad una grande festa; su questi motivi cfr. le osservazioni di Liverani 1999:316; Zaccagnini 2000:440 s.; Bryce 2003:86. In questo contesto può essere ricordato anche l'interessante passo contenuto in una lettera recentemente trovata a Tell Sabi Abyad (T 02-32; da Ubru a Mannu-kî-Adad) e edita da Wiggermann 2006, in cui si parla della presenza di LUGAL[MEŠ]-*nu ša KUR-te ša-ni-it-te* a Aššur in occasione dei funerali del sovrano Tukultī-Ninurta I. Secondo Wiggermann 2006:93 i "re di un altro paese" sarebbero i sovrani dipendenti dal Gran Re di Ḫatti (Karkemiš, Emar, Ugarit), ma a mio avviso non è da escludere che tra essi vada annoverato anche lo stesso Gran Re di Ḫatti, da identificarsi in Šuppiluliuma II, venuto a rendere di persona l'estremo saluto al partner assiro.

8. Questa opinione si fonda sulla lettura *da-ag-la-ku* ("ich erwarte") a r. 3'. Per una discussione di questa interpretazione ed una differente lettura v. *infra* commento a r. 3'.

9. Il toponimo Upi è integrato da Edel nella lacuna all'inizio di r. 8'. Ritengo che questa integrazione sia però assolutamente priva di fondamento.

10. Questa interpretazione si basa sulla lettura *pu-uḫ-šu <ša>* LUGAL.GAL a r. 10' di KBo 8.14. Per una critica a questa intepretazione v. dettagliatamente *infra* commento a r. 10'.

(1994b:42 s.) arriva addirittura ad ipotizzare che, nonstante le rassicurazioni fatte da Ramses a Ḫattušili circa la loro parità di rango, proprio questo incidente diplomatico tra il sovrano ittita e quello assiro possa essere stata la causa della rinuncia da parte di Ḫattušili ad intraprendere il viaggio in Egitto: rendere visita al faraone era percipito in ambito di politica internazionale come un atto di sottomissione nei suoi confronti, che certo non si addiceva ad un Gran Re.

3. Questa in sintesi la ricostruzione che Edel ha offerto di KBo 8.14 nella sua edizione della corrispondenza tra Ittiti ed Egiziani. Nella loro recensione ai due volumi di Edel, sia Sh. Izre'el, sia C. Zaccagnini hanno tuttavia contestato, a ragion veduta, l'interpretazione fornita da Edel riguardo a KBo 8.14. Basandosi su particolarità di tipo ortografico già individuate peraltro dallo stesso Edel in KBo 8.14, Izre'el (1997:145) avanza la proposta che "the scribe of this letter was not Egyptian". Zaccagnini (2000:441) considera invece la ricostruzione di Edel come "by no means persuasive, either on a philological or historical level". In particolare, definisce "untenable and misleading" la traduzione che Edel dà di r. 10' ("Du bist (nur) der Ersatz eines Großkönigs") e considera "a sheer fanciful speculation" la ricostruzione che Edel fa del "background that would have prompted Ramses' letter". Di contro, Zaccagnini propone un'assegnazione di KBo 8.14 alla corrispondenza tra Ittiti e Assiri, più precisamente al carteggio tra Ḫattušili e Salmanassar I, "where the delicate topic of being acknowledged as a 'great king' vs. a 'king of second rank' is a matter of particular concern and debate (see e.g. KUB XXIII 102 I 4-5; KBo XVIII 24 I 10; cf. KUB XXIII 92 Obv. 5' // KUB XXIII 103 Obv. 27')"[11].

4. Purtroppo, nonostante il più che giustificato scetticismo dei due studiosi ora menzionati, la ricostruzione operata da Edel riguardo a KBo 8.14 ha trovato ampia diffusione nella letteratura secondaria, dove questo testo viene frequentemente citato riprendendo acriticamente l'edizione di Edel proprio a proposito della supposta frase "Tu sei il sostituto di un Gran Re" che Salmanassar avrebbe rivolto a Ḫattusili[12].

5. Durante la preparazione del volume sulla corrispondenza tra Assiri e Ittiti insieme a C. Mora, ho avuto modo di analizzare KBo 8.14 in vista di una sua possibile inclusione nel *corpus* delle lettere assiro-ittite. Subito è parso evidente, da un lato, come numerose letture ed integrazioni di Edel non fossero accettabili, dall'altro, come non sussistessero elementi oggettivi tali da giustificare l'appartenenza di questa lettera al dossier assiro-ittita. Sulla base dell'espressione "tu sei un Gran Re" (LUGAL.GAL *at-ta*) di r. 10', che ricorda da vicino quella contenuta nella lettera spedita da Ḫattušili III a Kadašman-Ellil II KBo 1.10+ Ro 49 (ŠEŠ-*ú-a* LUGAL.GAL *at-ta*), si è proposto in quella sede una possibile attribuzione di KBo 8.14 alla corrispondenza tra Ḫatti e Babilonia (Mora – Giorgieri 2004:9 con n. 31), rimandando tuttavia ad un lavoro successivo un'analisi più approfondita del testo. Sebbene l'attribuzione alla corrispondenza con Babilonia non si possa escludere *a priori*, una rianalisi più attenta del frammento mi porta ora a proporre una diversa interpretazione, che mi sembra più plausibile e che qui di seguito verrà discussa, non senza aver prima fornito una nuova trascrizione del testo ed un breve commento filologico che ne giustifichi le letture.

11. Su questa problematica e sui passi indicati da Zaccagnini v. ora, con datazioni dei testi ed interpretazioni in parte differenti, Mora – Giorgieri 2004 (in particolare pp. 87 ss., 157, 184 ss., 193).
12. V. per es. Archi 1997:10 n. 30; Klengel 1999:242; Bryce 2003:88; Bryce 2005:276, 466 n.49 (che ritiene che il re assiro possa essere Adad-Nērārī I invece di Salmanassar I); de Roos 2005:51; Roth 2005:185 con n. 21; Jakob 2006:15; Collins 2007:60 (che pure ipotizza che il re assiro in questione sia Adad-Nērārī).
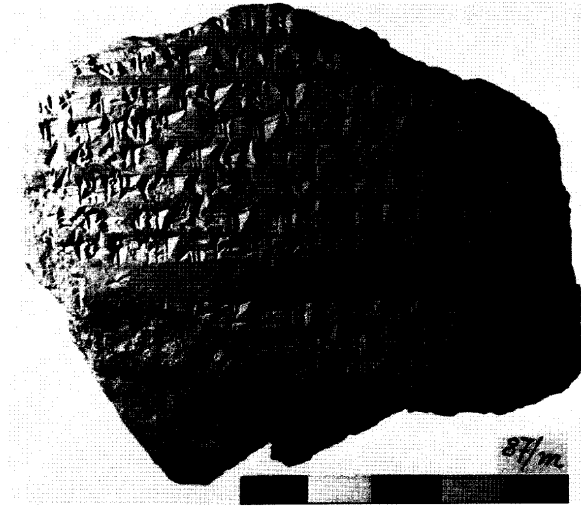

Fig. 1: KBo 8.14 (da http://www.hethiter.net).

6. *KBo 8.14: TRASCRIZIONE E TRADUZIONE* (H = Hagenbuchner 1989; E = Edel 1994a; *...* = rasura)

1' ᴳᴵˢGIGIR^MEŠ-*i*]*a ù a-na* Š[À-*bi*
E [*a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na* ÉRIN^MEŠ-*ia* ANŠE.KUR.RA^MEŠ-*ia* ᴳᴵˢGIGIR^MEŠ-*i*]*a ù a-na* Š[À *gab-bi* KUR.KUR^MEŠ-*ia šul-mu*]

2' AN]ŠE.ᴦKUR.RA^MEŠ-*ka* ᴳᴵˢGIGIR^MEŠ-*ka* ᴦù¹ [
E [*a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu a-na* ÉRIN^MEŠ-*ka* AN]ŠE.ᴦKUR.RA^MEŠ-*ka* ᴳᴵˢGIGIR^MEŠ-*ka* ᴦù¹ [*a-na* ŠÀ *gab-bi* KUR.KUR^MEŠ-*ka lu-ú šul-mu*]

3']x *pa-ni-ka a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia* *tá-ak*-*la*-ᴦku¹ [
H [X *a-n*]*a pa-ni-ka a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia da-ag-la-ku* [...]
E [*um-ma-a a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia-ma a-mur a-ma-r*]*i pa-ni-ka a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia da-ag-la-ku* [

4' -*i*]*a ú-kà-a-al um-ma-a šum-ma i-na* ZAG^MEŠ   [
H [X *a-na* ŠEŠ-*i*]*a ú-ka*(sic)-*a-al um-ma-a-šum-ma i-na* ZAG^MEŠ [...]
E [*i-na* KUR *Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi ù* ŠEŠ-*ia i-na* KUR-*ti-i*]*a ú-kà-a-al um-ma-a šum-ma i-na* ZAG^MEŠ [

5']-*bi mi-im-ma ú-ul um-ma-aš*-*šar*[13]
H [X -]*pi mi-im-ma ú-ul um-ma-aš-šar* [ ]
E [*ša* KUR-*ti-ia* ᴸᶜKÚR *i-ba-aš-ši a-na a-ša-*]*bi mi-im-ma ú-ul um-ma-aš-šar*

6' *i*]-*tu-ur-ra* *ù* *nu-kúr-tu₄ ul-tù* ŠÀ É.ŠÀ-*ia ú*-[
H [X]*tu-ur-ra ù nu- kúr-tum ul-tù* ŠÀ É.ŠÀ-*ia ú*-[*ul*]
E [*a-mur* 2 KUR^MEŠ-*ni* GAL-*tù a-na* 1-*et* KUR-*ti it*]*tu-ur-ra ù nu-kúr-tu₄ ul-tù* ŠÀ É.ŠÀ-*ia ú*-[*na-as-sa-aḫ*]

7']x(-)*it-tar ù* ŠEŠ-*ia ṭa-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti* *canc.* x[
H [X]x-*it-tar ù* ŠEŠ-*ia ṭa-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti* x [X]
E [*a-di da-ri-ti ù* ŠEŠ-*ia a-na be-el sa-la-m*]*a it-tar ù* ŠEŠ-*ia ṭa-a-bu a-na le-mut-ti* ᴦú¹-[*ul it-tar*]

8' -*t*]*a-aḫ*-ZA *ù ᴸᶜ·ᴹᴱˢGAL^MEŠ-*ti-ia** *al-ta-pár*
H [X -*t*]*a-aḫ-za ù* ᴸᶜ·ᴹᴱˢGAL^MEŠ-*ti-ia al-ta-par*(sic)
E [*ù* KUR^MEŠ-*ni* GAL-*tù a-di da-ri-ti a-i im-t*]*a-aḫ₄-ṣa ù* ᴸᶜ·ᴹᴱˢGAL^MEŠ-*ti-ia al-ta-pár* [

13. Dopo SAR sembra visibile un piccolo orizzontale, forse resto di un segno eraso.
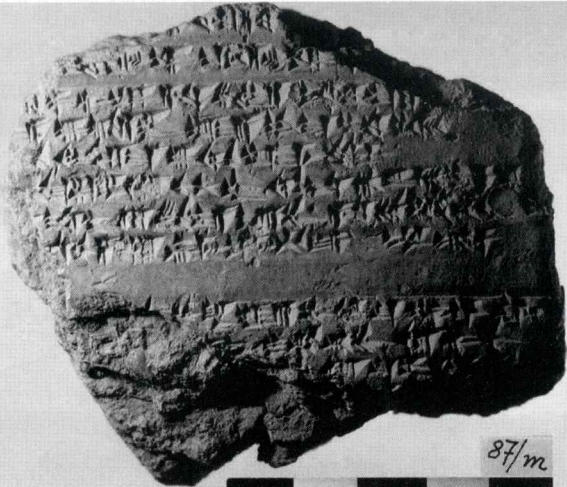
9'] (non scritta)

E   [*a-na ma-ḫa-ri* ŠEŠ-*ia i-na* KUR *U-pí*]

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10'   *i*]*š-pu-ra um-ma-a bu-'i-šu* LUGAL.GAL *at-ta*

H   [X *aš/iš/taš-*]*pu-ra um-ma-a pu-u'-šu* LUGAL.GAL *at-ta*

E   [*um-ma-a a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia-ma ù ša* LUGAL KUR ᴰ*A-šur i*]*š-pu-ra um-ma-a pu-uḫ-šu* <*ša*> LUGAL.GAL *at-ta*

11'   ]x-x-x *i-qè-ri-bu ù ni-nu* LUGALᴹᴱˢ.GAL-*tù*

H   [X]x *i-zi-ri-pu ù ni-nu* LUGALᴹᴱˢ GAL-*tù*

E   [*a*]*n-ni-*[*t*]*i i-ik-ri-bu ù ni-nu* LUGALᴹᴱˢ GAL-*tù*

12'   ]x *ù šu-pa-ᵓa-al* x x *it⁷-ta⁷-š*[*i⁷*

H   [X] x *ù šu-pa-al* (sic) x x x *it⁷-ta-ši*

E   [*ni-ir-ta-ku-uš ri-ki-il-ta ù* ŠEŠ-*ia ṭup-pi ša* KÙ.BABBAR *iḫ-ta-ši-i*]*ḫ₄ ù šu-pa-ᵓa-al* ᴰIŠKUR *it-ta⁷-d*[*in*]

13'   ] x x[

E   [*ù a-na-ku ṭup-pa-ka aḫ-ta-ši-iḫ₄ ù šu-pa-a-al* ᴰUTU *at-ta-din šu-nu im-m*]*a-r*[*u ma-mi-ta ša ni-pu-šu*]

1' i mi]ei [carri] e l'in[terno del mio paese ... stanno bene]

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2']ai tuoi [c]avalli, ai tuoi carri e [... ... salute!]

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3']... davanti/presso(?) di te. Io sono fiducioso in mio fratello!

4']... egli (trat)tiene/(trat)terrà[14]. Così (dico): Se entro i confini [

5']... per nessun motivo egli lascia/lascerà andare[15]

6' egli ri]torna/ritornerà e ostilità dall'interno della mia stanza ...[

7']... ritorna/ritornerà(?) e il mio buon fratello alla malvagità ... [

8']... e io ho inviato i miei Grandi

9' (non scritta)

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10' cio' che mio fratello] mi [h]a scritto, (dicendo) così: "Cercalo! Tu sei il Gran Re!

11']... ... si avvicinano[16] e noi siamo Grandi Re

12']... e la parte inferiore ... ha sollev[ato(?)]

7. COMMENTO FILOLOGICO

1'-2' La ricostruzione dell'*incipit* con l'indicazione di mittente e destinatario e della formula augurale di saluto fornita da Edel 1994a:24 e 1994b:41 è assolutamente arbitraria. Edel omette, prima di ÉRINᴹᴱˢ, l'indicazione di É⁽ᴹᴱˢ⁾, DAM⁽ᴹᴱˢ⁾ e DUMUᴹᴱˢ, che invece ricorrono spesso nelle formule di augurio. Più cauta Hagenbuchner 1989:349. Se si considera dunque che la formula di saluto contenesse anche É⁽ᴹᴱˢ⁾, DAM⁽ᴹᴱˢ⁾ e DUMUᴹᴱˢ, ne consegue che nella lacuna ad inizio di riga 1' può esserci spazio per un numero di segni che va da 19 a 25 circa, mentre a r. 2' da 15 a 21 circa. Questa variabile compromette di conseguenza la ricostruzione che Edel fa delle parti in lacuna all'inizio delle righe successive.

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14. Oppure "io (trat)tengo/(trat)terrò".

15. Oppure "io lascio/lascerò andare".

16. Oppure 3 pers. sg. soggiuntivo: "si avvicina".

3' Il primo segno dopo la lacuna e prima di *pa-ni* è di lettura incerta. Né *a-n*]*a* di Hagenbuchner 1989, né *a-ma-r*]*i* di Edel 1994a risultano soddisfacenti. Non escluderei, in base alla foto, una possibile lettura *š*]*a*. Sia Hagenbuchner che Edel leggono la forma di stativo in fine di riga come *da-ag-la-ku*. La ricostruzione e l'interpretazione fornita da Edel dell'intero passo mi sembra un po' forzata dal punto di vista sintattico, soprattutto per la presenza della forma di stativo ("um] dein Anlitz [zu seh]en, erwarte ich meinen Bruder")[17]. Essa si fonda, inoltre, su un'integrazione della parte inziale della riga assai incerta e su un preteso parallelismo con KBo 28.1 (= *ÄHK* nr. 4) Ro 19'-21', dove tuttavia il verbo *dagālu(m)* è integrato. Una soluzione migliore mi sembra invece leggere la forma come *tá-ak-la-ku* e derivarla dal verbo *takālu(m)*. Qui lo stativo non desta infatti alcun problema[18]. Per DA = *tá* nei testi accadici da Boğazköy v. *AkkSyll*⁴ nr. 191 e Durham 1976:262, 365 ss.; cfr. in KBo 8.14 anche anche l'uso di DU = *tù* a r. 11' e GA = *kà* a r. 4' (su cui v. rispettivamente *AkkSyll*⁴ nr. 135 e nr. 170 e Durham 1976:266, 365 ss.), entrambe grafie frequentemente attestate nei testi accadici redatti a Boğazköy.

4' La lettura *um-ma-a-šum-ma* e la conseguente analisi *umma=šu=ma* di Hagenbuchner 1989 sono errate. Si legga con Edel *um-ma-a šum-ma*.

5' L'osservazione di Hagenbuchner 1989:350 riguardo alla forma *um-ma-aš-šar*, secondo cui "die Schreibung [...] entspricht nicht den üblichen Schreibgepflogenheiten der Hethiter", mi sembra infondata. Izre'el 1997:145, con cui non si può che concordare, ritiene invece che tale forma di "incorrect consonant doubling" rientri tra le caratteristiche dell'accadico di Boğazköy ("Similar consonant doubling in initial syllables is a salient feature of the Akkadian of Boğazköy"); cfr. su questo tipo di grafia Durham 1976:381 s. § 29.*e* ("Initial Closed Spelling") e, in particolare da *w/muššuru*, la forma *um-ma-aš-še-er-šú* in KBo 1.4+ III 58 (*CTH* 53)[19]. Un altro esempio analogo di raddoppiamento iniziale si avrebbe in KBo 8.14 anche con *it-tar* di r. 7' (per *itâr*, pres. G di *târu(m)*), se veramente la forma è da leggere e da interpretare in questo modo.

7' Per la *scriptio plena* in *ṭa-a-bu* (*ṭābu*) cfr. *ṭa-a-ab* (*ṭāb*) in KUB 3.24+ Ro 9' (=*ÄHK* nr. 53, lettera di Pudu-Ḫepa a Ramses; v. Edel 1994b:216). Lo scriba di KBo 8.14 mostra una certa predilezione per la resa delle vocali lunghe non contratte: oltre a *ṭābu* v. anche *ú-kà-a-al* a r. 4' (*ukāl*, pres. D *kullu(m)*) e *šu-pa-a-al* a r. 12' (*šupāl*). Su questo tipo di grafia nei testi accadici da Boğazköy cfr. Durham 1976:388 s.

8' La lettura *im-t*]*a-aḫ₄-ṣa* di Edel 1994a è incerta e dipende in larga parte dalla sua integrazione dell'intera lacuna ad inizio riga. Il segno che Edel considera come Vᵓ, e al quale egli assegna valore sillabico *aḫ₄*, è in realtà il segno VḪ nella forma tipicamente "ittita". Su questo segno v. *infra* e commento a r. 10'.

10' La lettura *pu-uḫ-šu* di Edel 1994a è errata, poiché il secondo segno, come si vede chiaramente dalla fotografia, non è VḪ (*AkkSyll*⁴ nr. 234; *MZL* nr. 636), bensì Vᵓ (*AkkSyll*⁴ nr. 233; *MZL* nr. 635) nella forma introdotta in epoca mediobabilonese, come copiato giustamente da Otten. Il segno VḪ compare in questo testo invece nella forma "ittita" a r. 8' e, in parte danneggiato, forse a r. 12', segno che Edel trascrive rispettivamente come *aḫ₄* e *iḫ₄*. Su questo segno v. più diffusamente *infra*. Hagenbuchner 1989, che pure riconosce correttamente il segno, legge *pu-u'-šu*, forma a mio avviso priva di senso. Zaccagnini 1990:441, invece, pur riconoscendo giustamente l'infondatezza della lettura di Edel, tuttavia non propone alcuna soluzione alternativa. Suggerisco pertanto di leggere la forma come *bu-'i-šu*, 2ª pers. sg. dell'imperativo di *bu''û(m)* "cercare" + acc. encl. -*šu* (*bu''ī-šu*), che mi sembra l'unica soluzione possibile.

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17. Sui costrutti del verbo *dagālu(m)* nel senso di "attendere" con *ana* (più raro) o con *pānī* e *ana pān* v. *AHw* I:149 s.; *CAD* D:23.

18. Per il costrutto *takālu(m)* + *ana* "avere fiducia, confidare in q.cno" v. *AHw* III:1304 s. e *CAD* T:63 s.

19. Si noti tuttavia che questo esempio è tratto da un testo, KBo 1.4+ (trattato di Šuppiluliuma I con Tette di Nuḫašše), che presenta un *ductus* particolare, con forme di segno estranee alla tradizione ittita, tanto che Klinger 2003:242 ritiene che "der Tafel zumindest eine Fassung zugrunde gelegen haben muß, die ursprünglich nicht im Bo-Duktus geschrieben war". Inoltre, sulle particolarità ortografiche di KBo 1.4+ cfr. Durham 1976:75 s.

11' Le prime tracce di segno dopo la lacuna non sembrano corrispondere, sulla foto, alla lettura *a*]*n-ni-*[*t*]*i* proposta da Edel 1994a. Soprattutto non vi sarebbe spazio sufficiente per il supposto segno -[*t*]*i*. La parola seguente, che Hagenbuchner 1989 legge come *i-zi-ri-pu* e Edel 1994a come *i-ik-ri-bu*, è invece, a mio avviso, da leggere in base alla foto come *i-qè-ri-bu*. Il secondo segno infatti, che nella copia autografica di Otten non è reso in maniera corretta, non è né IG né ZI, ma sembra piuttosto GI, in una forma particolare che ricorda la variante mittanica attestata in VS XI 10 = EA 21:37 e segnalata da Schwemer 1998:21, quella attestata in alcuni documenti di Emar in *ductus* "siro-ittita" riportati nella tabella di Wilcke 1992:132 ss. (per es. testi nr. 206 e 213) e quella ittita indicata come *HZL* nr. 30/5. In tal modo si ottiene la forma *iqerribū*/*iqerribu*, pres. G di *qerēbu(m)* "avvicinarsi", che è senza dubbio preferibile a *i-zi-ri-pu* di Hagenbuchner, che non sembra aver senso, e a *i-ik-ri-bu* di Edel, che lo studioso interpreta come *ikribū* "Segenswunsch", ma che in tal caso presenterebbe il problema della grafia iniziale V-VC- (*i-ik-*) invece dell'atteso *ik-*. Purtroppo il contesto è frammentario e non si può ricostruire con esattezza il significato della forma verbale *iqerribū*/*iqerribu*, né stabilire se si tratta di una 3 pers. pl. o di un soggiuntivo.

12' La lettura ᴰISKUR di Edel 1994a, con conseguente interpretazione di *šupāl* ᴰIŠKUR come "zu Füßen des Wettergottes", è assai incerta e presenta alcuni problemi che lo stesso Edel sottolinea nel suo commento al passo (Edel 1994b: 43). La fotografia in questo punto è purtroppo poco chiara. Anche *it-ta-d*[*in* in fine di riga integrato da Edel è incerto; preferibile risulta, a mio avviso, *it-ta-š*[*i* di Hagenbuchner, ma sulla foto a mia disposizione questa parte di testo non è visibile. In ogni caso non è per nulla sicuro che in questo passo sia contenuto il riferimento alla deposizione della tavoletta d'argento col testo egizio del trattato di fronte al dio della Tempesta, come Edel pensa di poter ricostruire.

8. Come si è accennato in precedenza (§ 3), la provenienza egizia di KBo 8.14, proposta da Edel 1994a:24 s. e 1994b:41 ss. sulla base di integrazioni ed interpretazioni difficilmente accettabili, è stata giustamente messa in dubbio sia da Izre'el 1997:145 che da Zaccagnini 2000:441. Entrambi, con argomentazioni diverse (di tipo ortografico-linguistico Izre'el, di tipo contenutistico Zaccagnini), hanno avanzato l'ipotesi che il frammento sia stato redatto invece a Ḫattuša. Questa proposta mi sembra corretta e gli argomenti a favore di una redazione ittita del testo sono molteplici, di tipo sia paleografico che ortografico.

8.1. Dal punto di vista ortografico si è già notato come il testo contenga diverse caratteristiche che lo accumunano più ai testi di redazione ittita che non a quelli di tradizione egiziana. In particolare si tratta delle seguenti forme[20]: *um-ma-aš-šar* per *umaššar* (r. 5') e, forse, *it-tar* per *itâr* (r. 7') con raddoppiamento grafico della consonante in sillaba iniziale[21]; *ú-ul* invece di *ul* (r. 5'); *scriptio plena* della vocale lunga in *ṭa-a-bu* (*ṭābu*, r. 7'), *ú-kà-a-al* (*ukāl*, r. 4') e *šu-pa-a-al* (*šupāl*, r. 12'); l'uso dell'ideogramma É.ŠÀ (r. 6'; cfr. Edel 1994b:42).

8.2. Dal punto di vista paleografico il testo non presenta forme di segno tipiche del *ductus* usato dagli scribi egiziani nelle lettere dell'epoca di Ramses II[22]. Al contrario, ricorrono segni, in particolare AL (r. 4', 8'), GI (r. 11'), LI (r. 7'), SAR (r. 5'), TAR (r. 7') e Ù (r. 1', 6', 7', 8', 11', 12'), che hanno una forma estranea o solo raramente attestata nel repertorio egiziano. La forma di questi segni è invece quella tipica del *ductus* usato dagli scribi ittiti per redigere testi in lingua accadica di ambito diplomatico, che in qualche caso corrisponde alla forma di segno cosiddetta "più recente" nel repertorio di segni utilizzati per i testi in lingua ittita (per es.

AL, LI, SAR, TAR)[23]. In generale si può affermare che il *ductus* di KBo 8.14 presenta analogie con quello di alcune lettere ittite in accadico, come per es. KBo 1.10+ (lettera di Ḫattušili III a Kadašman-Ellil II) o KBo 1.14 (lettera di un sovrano ittita a un sovrano assiro), di ascendenza (assiro-)mittanica, caratterizzato, da un lato, da forme di segno corrispondenti a quelle cosiddette "più recenti" del repertorio ittita, dall'altro, da forme di segno estranee invece al normale repertorio ittita, che tuttavia talvolta alternano con le usuali forme ittite[24]. In KBo 8.14 i segni che presentano una forma diversa da quella ittita canonica sono GA (r. 4'), LA (r. 3'), LÚ (r. 8'), LUGAL (r. 10', 11'), Ù (r. 1', 6', 7', 8', 11', 12') e UM (r. 4', 10'). Anche il segno GI (r. 11') presenta una forma particolare (v. *supra* commento a r. 11'). Il segno DA compare invece nella forma tipicamente ittita a r. 7', mentre a r. 3' probabilmente compare in una forma estranea al repertorio ittita canonico, con due verticali finali (cfr. la forma assiro-mittanica in Schwemer 1998:30, nr. 335, testo A II 46). Il segno è tuttavia, in questo caso, scritto su cancellatura e dunque non è da escludere che uno dei due verticali appartenga in realtà al segno eraso sottostante. Interessante è il caso dei segni per V' (*AkkSyll*[4] nr. 233; *MZL* nr. 635) e VḪ (*AkkSyll*[4] nr. 234; *MZL* nr. 636). Mentre a r. 10' il segno V' ha la forma introdotta in epoca mediobabilonese per distinguerlo dal segno VḪ[25], a r. 8' (e forse anche r. 12') si utilizza la forma canonica ittita del segno VḪ (*HZL* nr. 332)[26]. La compresenza di queste due forme di segno, l'una di origine straniera, l'altra genuinamente ittita[27], è un ulteriore indice, a mio avviso, di una redazione ittita del testo.

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20. Alcune di queste forme sono state riconosciute dallo stesso Edel 1994b:41 come estranee alla tradizione scribale egiziana (v. *supra* n. 5).

21. Cfr. analogamente, per es., *it-tù-úr-ru* per *iturrū* in KBo 3.24+ Ro 4' (=*ÄHK* nr. 53, lettera di Pudu-Ḫepa a Ramses); v. Edel 1994b:42 e 216 e cfr. commento a r. 5' per ulteriore bibliografia.

22. Sul *ductus* delle lettere accadiche scritte dagli scribi egiziani resta fondamentale Wilhelm 1984 (v. in particolare p. 651 ss. sulle forme dei segni nelle lettere dell'epoca di Ramses II). Una nuova analisi sistematica del *ductus* delle lettere egiziane dell'epoca di Ramses II non sarebbe tuttavia priva di interesse, ora che tutto il materiale è stato edito da Edel.

23. Sulle differenze tra le forme dei segni del *ductus* usato dagli Ittiti e dagli Egiziani all'epoca della corrispondenza tra Ramses II e Ḫattušili III v. la tabella in Wilhelm 1984:646 s. e oltre p. 651.

24. Su questo fenomeno di *ductus* misto cfr. Mora – Giorgieri 2004:38 con n. 178 e ulteriore bibliografia. A mio avviso la presenza di segni "ittiti" in testi epistolari scritti in un *ductus* che utilizza in prevalenza segni estranei al normale repertorio "ittita" (con repertorio "ittita" intendo i segni che venivano "normalmente" usati per redigere documenti in lingua ittita) indica che questi testi erano il prodotto di scribi ittiti addestrati all'uso anche di un segnario diverso da quello ittita canonico, piuttosto che copie fatte da scribi ittiti di testi redatti da specialisti stranieri. Differente, ma secondo me poco condivisibile, l'opinione di Klinger 2003:247, secondo cui per questi testi "ganz bestimmte Spezialisten verantwortlich waren, von denen man wird annehmen dürfen, daß sie mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit keine Hethiter waren, ja vielleicht nicht einmal in Ḫattuša arbeiteten".

25. Sulle differenti forme dei segni V' e VḪ per l'epoca post-paleobabilonese cfr. da ultimo *MZL*:169, 388 s., 671 (nr. 635 e 636) e soprattutto lo studio di Wilcke 1992 relativo ai testi di Emar (in particolare p. 119).

26. Questa forma del segno VḪ è una variante corsiva che risale all'epoca paleobabilonese; essa coincide con la forma del segno VḪ/V' usata dagli scribi egiziani dell'epoca di el Amarna (cfr. Wilhelm 1984) ed è *grosso modo* simile alla forma in uso anche in area siriana, per es. nella maggior parte dei testi di Alalaḫ IV, in quelli di Ekalte e nei testi in *ductus* di tipo cosiddetto "siriano" a Emar, dove serviva a rendere VḪ e V' (v. Wilcke 1992:118 s.). I testi accadici da Boğazköy mostrano una certa oscillazione nell'uso dei segni per la resa di V' e VḪ, ed è probabile che ciò sia riflesso delle diverse tradizioni scribali cui risale la redazione di questi testi. Cfr. già Labat 1932:8 e Durham 1976:121 n. 23. Nei testi in accadico il cui *ductus* presenta forme di segno estranee al normale repertorio ittita si utilizzano in genere le due nuove varianti di segno (v. per es. KBo 1.2; KBo 1.14; KBo 1.10+). Vi sono tuttavia casi particolari come il già citato testo KBo 1.4+ (v. *supra* n. 19), in cui è sempre utilizzata la variante "ittita" tradizionale per rendere sia V' che VḪ (v. per es. KBo 1.4+ I 3 *ub-te-'e-e* vs. I 6 *ú-us-sà-aḫ-ḫi-is-si-sú*), eccetto che in IV 20' ᵁᴿᵁ*Ka-ra-aḫ-*[*na*, dove compare la nuova forma non ittita del segno VḪ. O si veda ancora il caso di KBo 8.12, una lettera di Ḫattušili III a Ramses II (= *ÄHK* nr. 66), in cui si utilizza solo il segno ittita tradizionale per rendere sia V' che VḪ (Roˀ 4' *ta-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ra-ma* vs. Roˀ 7' *ra-'i-i-m*[*i*, anche se il *ductus* presenta forme di segno sia tradizionali ittite (per es. ŠA in Voˀ 8') sia estranee al normale repertorio ittita (per es. ŠA in Roˀ 5).

27. Come già osservato nel commento a r. 8' e 10', Edel 1994a attribuisce a questo segno il valore sillabico *aḫ*₄ (r. 8') e *iḫ*₄ (r. 12') poiché parte dal presupposto che si tratti del segno V' utilizzato per rendere il valore sillabico /*vḫ*/. In realtà in KBo 8.14, come si è visto, il segno per V' è attestato a r. 10' nella forma recenziore, ma Edel lo interpreta erratamente come il segno per VḪ. La posizione di Edel dipende verosimilmente, in ultima analisi, dalla sua interpretazione di KBo 8.14 come lettera di provenienza egiziana. Nel *corpus* delle lettere egiziane dell'epoca di Ramses II la forma "ittita" del segno VḪ/V', che sopra s'è detta essere la forma tipica del segno nei testi egiziani dell'epoca di el Amarna, è attestata, a quanto mi risulta, solo in KBo 28.6(+) (= *ÄHK* nr. 45) Vo 15' con valore sillabico /*vḫ*/ nel termine che Edel 1994a:114 legge *m*]*é-éḫ-ri-šu-nu* sulla base del parallelismo con KBo 28.4 (=*ÄHK* nr. 46) Vo 8' *g*[*a-ab-r*]*i*. È interessante osservare come alla fine della stessa riga sia invece usato il segno VḪ nella nuova forma (in *súm-mu-uḫ* KBo 28.6(+) Vo 15'). Nel *ductus*

Sempre a livello epigrafico, a favore di una redazione ittita del testo parlano anche le numerose cancellature presenti sulla tavoletta, difficilmente spiegabili se si trattasse di uno scritto diplomatico ufficiale proveniente dall'esterno, e la riga 9' lasciata vuota. Queste caratteristiche indicano invece, con ogni verosimiglianza, il carattere di minuta di KBo 8.14.

8.3. Venendo al contenuto del testo, per quel poco che si può dire dato il suo stato di conservazione assai frammentario, sia Hagenbuchner 1989:350 che Zaccagnini 2000:441 hanno avanzato l'ipotesi che la lettera vada assegnata, sulla base dell'espressione "tu sei un Gran Re" di r. 10', al carteggio tra sovrani ittiti ed assiri, come s'è già detto sopra (v. §§ 1 e 3). Sebbene la proposta non possa venir esclusa in maniera definitiva a causa della frammentarietà del testo, tuttavia mi sembra che vi sia un elemento che può contraddire con una certa verosimiglianza tale attribuzione, e cioè il fatto che la lettera mostri chiari tratti linguistici babilonesi, laddove invece la lingua delle lettere inviate dai re ittiti a quelli assiri risulta ricca di assirismi[28]. Si noti, per es., l'uso della negazione *ul* a r. 5' (invece di assiro *lā*), oppure la forma verbale *bu''i* a r. 10' (invece di assiro *ba''i*), o ancora la forma verbale *iqerribū/u* a r. 11' (invece di assiro *iqarribū/u*). Di qui l'attribuzione di KBo 8.14 alla corrispondenza tra Hatti e Babilonia da me proposta in Mora – Giorgieri 2004:9 sulla base dell'analogia tra l'espressione "tu sei un Gran Re" di r. 10' e quella contenuta nella lettera spedita da Hattušili III a Kadašman-Ellil II KBo 1.10+ Ro 49 ("fratello mio, tu sei un Gran Re!"; v. *supra* § 5).

Sebbene anche l'attribuzione di KBo 8.14 alla corrispondenza tra sovrani ittiti e babilonesi non possa essere né provata né esclusa in maniera certa, tuttavia, ad una rilettura più attenta del frammento, mi sembra emergere una nuova e più soddisfacente possibilità di interpretazione del testo come facente parte della corrispondenza tra Ittiti ed Egiziani, e precisamente come lettera di Hattušili III a Ramses II, ribaltando quindi l'ipotesi di attribuzione formulata da Edel.

Attenendoci strettamente a quanto è conservato sulla tavoletta, nella prima parte del testo troviamo le due forme verbali *ukāl* (r. 4') e *umaššar* (r. 5'). Secondo la ricostruzione di Edel, il contesto in cui compaiono questi due verbi è quello della supposta visita di Hattušili in Egitto (v. *supra* § 2)[29]. Alle righe successive si trovano i sostantivi *nukurtu* (r. 6') e *lemuttu* (r. 7') e le forme verbali *i]turra* (r. 6') e *itâr* (r. 8'). Qui, secondo Edel, avremmo una serie di espressioni beneauguriali relative ai buoni rapporti che devono intercorrere tra i due sovrani e i loro paesi e all'assenza di ostilità. L'ultima riga del primo paragrafo si chiude col riferimento all'invio di alti dignitari (*u* [LÚ.MEŠ]GAL[MEŠ]-*tī-ya altapar* "ho inviato i miei Grandi")[30], che secondo l'integrazione di Edel a r. 9' si sarebbero recati nel paese di Upi per accogliere il sovrano ittita (v. *supra* § 2 con n. 9).

A mio avviso, il poco testo conservato difficilmente si addice alla ricostruzione fornita da Edel. Piuttosto, bisogna notare come i verbi *kullu(m)* "tenere, trattenere" e *w/muššuru* "lasciare, rilasciare, lasciar andare" ben si adattano ad un contesto in cui si parla di un fuggiasco, più precisamente di qualcuno che il mittente della lettera desidera che il destinatario trattenga presso di sé (*ukāl*; cfr. in particolare *CAD* K, 511 "to hold

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egiziano dell'epoca di Ramses II si riscontra in genere l'uso dei due nuovi segni distinti per V' e VH (VH *passim*; V' per es. in KUB 3.28 = *ÄHK* nr. 69 Ro 4; KUB 3.44 = *ÄHK* nr. 74 Ro 21'), tuttavia non senza qualche confusione (v. per es. l'uso del segno VH con valore sillabico /v'/ in KBo 28.30 = *ÄHK* nr. 75 Vo 10, 11 *le-a-á'-a* e KUB 3.31 = *ÄHK* nr. 25 Vo 7'*nu-ba-á'-a-šu*). In generale sull'uso dei segni per VH e V' nelle lettere di Ramses II cfr. Edel 1994b:272.

28. In particolare mi riferisco alle lettere KBo 1.14 e KUB 3.125, per la cui analisi linguistica rimando a Mora – Giorgieri 2004:68, 148 (con elenco degli assirismi).

29. Edel basa questa interpretazione sulle letture *a-ma-r]i* e *da-ag-la-ku* di r. 3', che tuttavia, come si è sottolineato nel commento, sono assai incerte. Oggetto di *ukāl* sarebbe, secondo l'integrazione di Edel, l'appellativo ŠEŠ-*ia* riferito a Hattušili, mentre *umaššar* reggerebbe l'infinito *a-ša]-bi* e il termine [LÚ]KÚR integrato all'inizio di r. 5'. Secondo Edel, Ramses vorrebbe cioè "tenere" presso di sé l'amico Hattušili, e invece "non lasciar risiedere" presso di sé un nemico.

30. L'interpretazione fornita da Hagenbuchner 1989:349 di questa frase (nel senso di "der Absender an die Großen (des anderen Landes²) geschrieben hat") non convince.

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back, to detain a person") e non lasci andare (*mimma ul umaššar*)[31]. Affinché ciò si realizzi, il mittente confida nell'appoggio del destinatario (r. 3' *ana* ŠEŠ-*ya taklāku* "io sono fiducioso in mio fratello"). A r. 6' la sequenza *i]turra u nukurtu* lascia supporre che in qualche modo l'eventuale ritorno (*iturra* "egli tornerà/ torna qui da me") della persona che si desidera venga invece tenuta lontana sia collegato ad uno stato di ostilità (cfr. anche a r. 7' *itâr ... ana lemutti*). Propongo pertanto di vedere in Urhi-Teššup la persona che il mittente, in tal caso Hattušili III, chiede al destinatario, Ramses II, di trattenere presso di sé[32]. L'inizio della lettera a r. 3' è perso in lacuna. Nella porzione di testo andata perduta doveva essere contenuto il riferimento a Urhi-Teššup e forse al fatto che Hattušili non sapeva dove egli si trovasse[33]. Con la dovuta cautela, a causa dei problemi di lettura dell'inizio di r. 3' (v. commento), suggerisco di intendere *pānī-ka* nel senso di "davanti/presso di te". Hattušili esordirebbe cioè domandando a Ramses se Urhi-Teššup sia presso di lui (*š]a' pānī-ka*) e, di conseguenza, gli dice che confida in lui (*taklāku*) affinché trattenga presso di sé (*ukāl*) il fuggiasco e non lo lasci andare per nessun motivo (*mimma ul umaššar*)[34]. Se Urhi-Teššup dovesse far ritorno (*i]turra*), ciò significherebbe per Hattušili uno stato di ostilità (*nukurtu*) e di negatività (*lemuttu*)[35]. È possibile che l'affermazione di r. 8' "ho inviato i miei Grandi" significhi che il re ittita ha mandato alcuni dei suoi più alti dignitari a verificare se il pericoloso rivale fosse effettivamente in territorio egiziano, sotto il controllo del faraone.

In questo contesto, diviene comprensibile anche la citazione che a r. 10' il mittente fa di un passo da una precedente epistola inviatagli (*i]špura*) dal destinatario e che suona: "Cercalo! Tu sei il Gran Re!". Come ipotizza giustamente I. Singer, riguardo a Urhi-Teššup Hattušili "kept writing incriminating letters to Bentešina and to Ramses, both of whom repeatedly exculpated themselves"[36]. Inoltre, come nota sempre Singer (2006:32), Ramses sembra più volte affermare di non essere in grado di trovare dove sia Urhi-Teššup. Evidentemente spazientito dalle pressanti richieste di Hattušili, Ramses gli risponde di cercarselo da sé Urhi-Teššup. Ed aggiunge: in fondo sei tu il Gran Re. Questa frase si giustifica alla luce di altri passi contenuti nella corrispondenza intercorsa tra Hattušili e Ramses relativamente a Urhi-Teššup, nei quali il sovrano ittita dice di sentirsi trattato dal faraone "come un servo". In particolare si vedano le lettere, inviate da Ramses a Hattušili III, KUB 3.22(+) (= *ÄHK* nr. 20) Ro 6 s. e NBC 3934 (= *ÄHK* nr. 22) Ro 6' ss.[37]. Ramses ha dunque voluto, in una sua precedente epistola inviata a Hattušili e citata qui in KBo

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31. Seguendo Edel, attribuisco a *mimma ul* il significato avverbiale di "per nessun motivo" (v. *AHw* II:653b § 5c): "per nessun motivo egli (*scil.* mio fratello) dovrà lasciar andare".

32. Sul problema della corrispondenza tra Hattušili e Ramses relativa a Urhi-Teššup v. ora l'accurato studio di Singer 2006 (con bibliografia precedente), dove si discute in maniera critica il materiale edito da Edel. V. anche Houwink ten Cate 2006 e, sul problema della fuga di Urhi-Teššup in generale, la recente panoramica offerta in Bryce 2003:213-222 e Bryce 2007:120f.

33. cfr. quanto osservato da Singer 2006:34.

34. Naturalmente è possibile anche un'interpretazione delle forme verbali *ukāl* e *umaššar* come 1 pers. sg. In tal caso saranno da intendere come facenti parte di affermazioni fatte dal destinatario in una precedente epistola e qui riportate dal mittente.

35. Concordo pienamente con quanto osserva Singer 2006:34 (con rimandi a bibliografia precedente): "Hattušili himself was not really interested in the extradition of Urhi-Teššub to Hatti, but rather preferred to keep him as far away from his homeland as possible, preferably under the vigilant eyes of Ramses". La situazione da me ricostruita per la prima parte di KBo 8.14 si adatta perfettamente a questa ipotesi, ed anzi la avvalora.

36 Singer 2006:34. È assai verosimile che KBo 8.14 sia da mettere in relazione con due lettere che appartengono alla corrispondenza tra Hattušili e Bentešina di Amurru, KUB 3.56 (da Hattušili a Bentešina) e KBo 28.86 (probabilmente da Bentešina a Hattušili), e che riguardano il problema della esatta localizzazione di Urhi-Teššup, in un momento in cui il sovrano ittita non sapeva dove si trovasse il pericoloso rivale. Su questi due testi v. Singer 2006:33 s. e Singer 1988.

37. Riguardo a questa lettera Singer 2006:34 s. è scettico circa una sua appartenenza al carteggio relativo a Urhi-Teššup.

8.14, rassicurarlo sul fatto che egli riconosce in lui il legittimo Gran Re di Ḫatti[38], e questo viene ribadito con l'espressione di r. 11' *nīnu* LUGAL^MEŠ.GAL-*tu* ("noi siamo Grandi Re")[39]. Il resto di KBo 8.14 è invece in condizioni troppo lacunose per poter avanzare ipotesi che non siano azzardate, e per questo preferisco interrompere qui la mia analisi, per non lasciare ulteriore spazio alle speculazioni.

In conclusione, dunque, mi sembra di poter affermare con una certa sicurezza che KBo 8.14 non è una lettera inviata da Ramses II a Ḫattušili III e che non contiene alcun riferimento al fatto che Salmanassar I abbia definito il sovrano ittita "sostituto di un Gran Re", ipotesi, questa, priva di fondamento, sebbene spesso ripetuta nella letteratura secondaria. Al contrario, KBo 8.14 risulta essere la minuta di una lettera ittita, probabilmente indirizzata da Ḫattušili a Ramses e riguardante forse il problema di Urḫi-Teššup, in una fase in cui il sovrano ittita non era a conoscenza del luogo esatto in cui si trovava il pericoloso rivale da lui spodestato e confidava nell'appoggio del faraone per poterlo tenere lontano da Ḫatti.

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38. In particolare si confronti l'espressione "tu sei il Gran Re" di KBo 8.14 con quella di NBC 3934 (= *ÄHK* nr. 22) Ro 11' *ù at-ta* GAL-*ta* "tu sei grande".

39. Cfr. su questa tematica Archi 1997:10, che giustamente osserva: "Hattusili, however, fears that he will not be considered a legitimate king, that he is burdened by the fact that he usurped power from his nephew, now in exile, to whom Ramesses wishes to show every respect".

THE LUWIAN DEMONSTRATIVES OF PLACE AND MANNER[1]

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That David Hawkins has contributed much to Hieroglyphic Luwian studies is an understatement. One does not often encounter a scholar who almost single-handedly has made a whole discipline accessible to his colleagues. The result is evident: the field of Hieroglyphic Luwian has witnessed an upsurge in publications that could never have occurred without David Hawkins's work. I hope that my contribution here is a proper demonstration of my gratitude towards the honorand.

1. RHOTACISM IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

Elisabeth Rieken (2008a) has shown that the dental of the signs L 100 (*ta*) and L 29 (*tá*) is unvoiced, whereas the dental of L 41 (*tà*) is voiced (and therefore in this article transliterated as *da*). By contrast, the regular syllabary (Hawkins 2000:29, Table 3) only contains one sign for *ti* (L 90). This means that Rieken's achievement cannot be duplicated; only rhotacism of intervocalic /d/ will help decide which dental hides behind *ti*. In this article I will concentrate on the demonstrative forms of *za-* "this (one)" and *apa-* "that (one)" that contain *ti*, attested both rhotacised and non-rhotacised in inscriptions from the end of the Hittite Empire period until the end of the Iron Age Luwian city-states. It has been claimed that rhotacism starts already very early, and since this might have a bearing on the forms under investigation, I will first address the issue of the onset of this phenomenon.

Rhotacism of intervocalic /d/ is attested for the nominal ablative-instrumental ending *-ati*, the third person singular verbal endings, a few sentence initial enclitics, and some lexical items (Morpurgo Davies 1982/83:249f.). The texts from each Luwian (city-)state with the earliest attestations of this phenomenon are:

- Maraş: MARAŞ 1 (late 9th century BCE). Rhotacism is attested in the lexeme ("PANIS")*ma-li-ri+i-mi-i-sá* < /mallidimis/ (§ 1i) and with one ablative-instrumental (("IUSTITIA")*tara/i-wa/i-na+ra/i*, § 7), otherwise intervocalic /d/ is preserved;
- Malatya: ŞIRZI (early-mid 8th century BCE). Rhotacism is attested in one lexeme ((*464)*ha+ra/i-ma* in § 6, attested as ("*464")*ha-da-ma* in KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 11) and the enclitic pronoun /-ada/ (*á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i+ra/i-ta* § 6), otherwise intervocalic /d/ is preserved;
- Tabal: ÇİFTLİK (mid 8th century BCE), with only ("EDERE")*á-ru-na* (§ 16), otherwise intervocalic /d/ is preserved;
- Cilicia: KARATEPE (early 7th century BCE). Besides the regular forms with /d/, rhotacism is attested with the ablative-instrumental /-adi/, the enclitic pronoun /-ada/, the verb ending /-di/, and a few lexemes;
- Karkamiš: KARKAMIŠ A6 (late 9th-early 8th century BCE). Rhotacism is attested in the enclitic pronoun /-ada/ (*zi-pa-wa/i+ra/i* § 5, *wa/i-ara/i* § 26), otherwise intervocalic /d/ is preserved;
- Hama: SHEIZAR (date unclear: 900-700 BCE). Rhotacism is only attested in the ablative-instrumental *a-mi-ia+ra/i* (§ 2).
- Aššur: AŠŠUR letters (late 8th century BCE); many instances of rhotacism in lexemes, the ablative-instrumental, the enclitic pronoun /-ada/, the verb ending /-di/.

The earliest attestations of rhotacism are found in MARAŞ 1 and KARKAMIŠ A6, at the end of the 9th century BCE. That this date is probably also the *terminus post quem* can be deduced from the fact that in none of the (city-)states with inscriptions from as early as the late 12th century BCE, —Karkamiš, Tabal, Malatya and Maraş,— rhotacism is attested before that date. It is therefore not surprising that the Tell Ahmar texts are absent from the list. All Tell Ahmar inscriptions but one, ARSLANTAŞ (8th century BCE), belong to the late 10th-early 9th century BCE, so rhotacism is not yet expected to occur. Most inscriptions from Hama hover around the mid-9th century (between 860-830 BCE), none of which show rhotacism. Only SHEIZAR, of uncertain date, shows it once.

Also absent from the list are the inscriptions from Commagene, Amuq and Aleppo. Almost all texts[2] fall within the appropriate time frame, but none of them shows rhotacism even though there is ample evidence for intervocalic /d/ (see for example BOYBEYPINARI, MALPINAR, TELL TAYINAT 2). The absence of rhotacism points at a dialectal difference (*contra* Plöchl 2003:25): there seems to be a dialectal continuum stretching from the Aleppo-Amuq area along the western borders of Karkamiš towards Commagene to the north of Karkamiš. The missing link is Sam'al. It will be interesting to see whether the inscriptions that will possibly be uncovered in the excavations of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago at Zincirli show rhotacism or not.

The well-attested rhotacism of intervocalic /l/ (Melchert 2003:180) should be kept separate, for now. This type of rhotacism starts much earlier, perhaps already in the Empire period. One regularly adduced case of early rhotacism of intervocalic /d/ is the personal name *Astuwaramanza-*, attested as a genitive singular *á-sa-tu-wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-si* in MARAŞ 8 § 1 (1000-950 BCE, Hawkins 2000:253)[3], with rhotacism of the element *-atamanza* "name" (Melchert 2003:172, Plöchl 2003:25). However, †*ataman-* is always spelled with *ta₄* or *ta₅* and, as we know now, these two signs stand for *lá* and *là* (see Rieken and Yakubovich, this volume). The name *Astuwaramanza-* is therefore derived from *Astuwalamanza-*[4]. Another alleged case of early dental rhotacism is *á-pa-ara/i* in MARAŞ 4 § 15 (mid-9th century BCE), which I now read as /apari/ "afterwards" (see section 4).

The Cuneiform Luwian attestation *tiwariya-* "of the Sun(-god)" (Melchert 1993:229) or "(im Ritual verwendete Pflanze)" (Plöchl 2003:25) seems to alternate with *tiwaliya-* "of the Sun(-god)" (Melchert 1993:229). It is therefore impossible to determine whether the rhotacised form derives directly from *tiwadiya-* (Melchert 2003:173) or from *tiwaliya-* < *tiwadiya-*, as suggested by Melchert (2003:181) and Plöchl (2003:25).

The occurrence of [*t*]*u-pi+ra/i* in the 12th (?) century BCE inscription BURUNKAYA § 3? (Hawkins 2000:438) is admittedly a problem. If it is taken as the verb /tubiri/ < /tubidi/[5] "he will/shall strike/

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1. I would like to thank Craig Melchert and Olav Hackstein for their remarks during the formative stage of this paper, and Theo van den Hout and Elisabeth Rieken for their comments on the final draft. The responsibility for the views expressed here lies with me.

2. The exceptions are BABYLON 1 (late 10th-early 9th century BCE, from Aleppo) and TELL TAYINAT 1 (probably mid-9th century BCE, Amuq).

3. Another instance of /l/ rhotacism in MARAŞ 8 is the verb *ARHA* MALLEUS-x+*ra/i-i* "he will erase" in § 12 instead of MALLEUS-*la-i* as in for example BOROWSKI 3 § 10 (Hawkins 2000: 255).

4. Attested as ᵐ*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la-ma-za-* in KARKAMIŠ A27u l. 2, as ᵐ*á-sa-tú-wa/i-lá-ma-za-* in KELEKLİ § 1, KARKAMIŠ A11a § 1, and as ᵐ*á-sa-tú-wa/i-là-ma-za-* in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 1.

5. On the use of the verb *tupi-* in curse formulae, see Reichardt (1998:120).

smite" (Hawkins 2000:442, Melchert 2003:172) or /tubira/ < /tubida/ "he smote" (Hawkins 2000:442), we have to accept /d/-rhotacism already for this very early period, but we also have to accept that this phenomenon then completely disappears (or becomes unattested), only to resurface in the late 9th-early 8th century BCE. An alternative solution is to analyze [t]u-pi+ra/i as a 3rd person singular medio-passive /tubiri/ < /tubiyari/ "he will/shall be smitten", with syncope of /-iya-/. Though most curse and blessing formulae contain an active verb form, we sometimes find a medio-passive, as in EMİRGAZİ altars § 12 (Hawkins 1995:88) and KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 24 (Hawkins 2000:110).

To conclude, there is no conclusive evidence for /d/-rhotacism before the end of the 9th century BCE.

2. THE DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERB ZATI/ZARI "HERE, THUS"

It seems to be generally accepted that zati, the dative-locative singular of the proximal demonstrative za- "this", can be used as a locational deictic adverb "here" (Plöchl 2003:70, 84; Payne 2004:27) and as an adverb of manner "thus" (Plöchl 2003:70, 84). In addition, this form is sometimes rhotacised as zari (Plöchl 2003:69, 70; Kloekhorst 2008:191). A review of all occurrences of zati and zari, however, shows that these two forms occur in syntactically different environments. Figure 1 presents a chronological overview of the occurrences of zati, zari and the dative-locative plural zata(n)za and zatiya(n)za[6] as drawn from Bunnens 2006 (TELL AHMAR 6), Hawkins 2000, Tekoğlu & Lemaire 2000 (ÇINEKÖY), with the addition of the 2nd millennium Hieroglyphic Luwian texts as presented in Hawkins 1995. Appendix 1 lists each separate attestation.

FIGURE 1 - ZATI / ZATAZA / ZATIAZA / ZARI IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

Period	Pronoun/Adjective dat.sg.	dat.pl.	Adverb	
Tudhaliya IV	zi/a-ti-i(a) (1)	zi/a-tá-zi/a (1)	ø	ø
Suppiluliuma II	ø	ø	zi/a+a-ti (1)	ø
Mid 12th century BCE	zi/a-ti (2)	ø	ø	ø
10th-mid 9th century BCE	za(-a)-ti-i (5) za(-a)-ti (10)	za(-a)-ti-ia-za (7)	ø	ø
Late 9th- beginning 8th century BCE	za(-a)-ti-i (2) za(-a)-ti (6) zá-ti-i (1)	za-ti-ia-za (1)	za-ti (4) zá-ti (1)	ø
Mid-end 8th century BCE	za-ti-i (3) za-ti (7) zi/a-ti (1)	za-ti-za (1)	za-ti-i (1) za-ti (4)	za-ri+i (5) za+ra/i-i (1) zi/a-ara/i (1)
Beginning 7th century BCE	za-ti (2)	ø	ø	za-ri+i (1)
Totals	40	10	11	8

The table shows that only the adverb may be rhotacised, whereas the secured attestations of the dative-locative singular and plural never show rhotacism. This distribution points at a voiceless dental for the dative-locative singular and plural and at a voiced dental for the adverb.[7] In sections 5 and 6 I will refine this suggestion and provide evidence from Cuneiform Luwian.

That this distribution is not simply a matter of coincidence is shown by those texts where rhotacism and non-rhotacism occur side by side. In SULTANHAN and BOHÇA the proximal adverb always shows rhotacism ((1)-(4)). The dative-locative singular on the other hand is consistently written with a dental (5)-(6).

1 |("VITIS")wa/i-ia-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-' |za-ri+i || |sa-na-wa/i-ia-ta-'
    "And the vine was good **here**." (SULTANHAN § 7, mid-8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:466)

2 |wa/i-ta |á-pa-sa-ha |á-pa-sa-za |sa-na-wa/i-ia-za |za-ri+i |a-ta |LITUUS.LITUUS-na-i
    "He too shall behold his benefit(s) **here**." (SULTANHAN § 18, mid-8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:466)

3 |wa/i-ta |(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-ti |za-ri+i |(BONUS)wa/i-su-wa/i-i
    "**Here** I am good to Tarhunza." (BOHÇA § 2, late 8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:479. Probably similar BOHÇA § 4)

4 |wa/i-mu |za-ri+i |sà-ma-ia ||("ANIMAL.BESTIA")HWI-sa₅+ra/i |pi-pa-sa-ia
    "**Here** he grants to me beasts for shooting/shot beasts." (BOHÇA § 5, late 8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:479, with commentary on pp. 479-480)

5 |a-wa/i |za-ti-i |tu-wa/i+ra/i-si-i |MALUS-za |REL-sa |á-pa+ra/i-ta |á-sa₅-za-i
    "He who hereafter shall utter evil **against this vineyard**," (SULTANHAN § 34, mid-8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:467)

6 |aʾ-wa/i |za-ti-i |"TERRA"-sa-REL+ra/i-i |za-ti-i |LOCUS-là/i⁸-ti-i 1 x CENTUM (ANIMAL) GAZELLA la-ha "UNUS"-ta |REL-za
    "(Indeed Runtiya did not help (them) at all as he helps me,) because I took 100 gazelles **in this territory, in this place** (all) at one time." (BOHÇA § 13, late 8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:479 "since (?) in this territory, in this place, I took 100 gazelles ...", with commentary on p. 480)

In the next example the intervocalic /d/ of the dative-locative singular of wanid- "stele" is rhotacised but the accompanying dative-locative singular zati is not:

7   **za-ti-pa-wa/i** (STELE)**wa/i-ni-ri+i**[9] REL-sà ("CORNU")tara/i-pi-wa/i CRUS-i
    "He who stands **tarpi- against this stele**," (TİLSEVET § 6, 8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:179).

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6. The dative plural zatiya(n)za is not directly built on the stem za-, but on a derived adjective zatiya- (Carruba 1982:41f., Melchert 2003:190).

7. The only exception could be KÜRTÜL § 3. This clause reads wa/i-ma-sa **DOMUS?-niˀ-i za-riˀ+i** á-wa/iˀ-ti, and is translated by Hawkins (2000:272) as "and for me he will come to **this house**". Even though the proximal demonstrative adjective is usually preposed to its noun, we may not exclude the possibility that KÜRTÜL § 3 contains postposed adjectival za-. However, assuming that the readings proposed by Hawkins are correct, I would like to suggest an alternative translation "and he will come **here** to my house". This ambiguity requires that I exclude this example from the discussion. Anticipating the results of this study however, the evidence from Cuneiform Luwian shows that the dative-locative indeed contains a /t/, not /d/, thus preventing rhotacism.

8. For this new reading of the sign L 172 instead of ta₅, see Rieken and Yakubovich, this volume..

9. Also see za-ti STELE-ri+i in CEKKE § 22 and [za]-ti-pa-wa/i STELE-ni-ri+i in KARKAMIŠ A5a § 12.

Finally, there is one case where *zari* is used as an adverb of manner "in this (following) way, thus" (Plöchl 2003:70):

8 |*a-wa/i* **za-ri+i** |*á-sa₅-za-ia*

"and he proclaims **thus**[10] (: I shall make the gates my own, and I shall incise my name for myself)" (KARATEPE § LXVIII, early 7th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:57)

3. THE DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERB *ZITI/ZIRI* "HERE"

There are two cases where the proximal locative adverb appears as *ziti* and *ziri*:

9 |*za-ia-pa-wa/i* DOMUS-*na* **zi-ti**

"(But when *I* shall go away into the presence of the gods by the justice of Tuwati,) these *houses*[11] (shall still be) **here**." (KULULU 1 § 16, mid-8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:443, with commentary on p. 444)

10 […]x |(SCALPRUM) [*k*]*u-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi* |**zi-ri+i** *pa-sa-na* LO[CUS]-*lá/i*[12]-*ti* [*ARHA*] || REL-*sa* "MALLEUS"-*i*

"He who shall efface [these] [o]rthostats **here** in their place," (KARKAMIŠ A27e fragm. 2 § 4, mid-8th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:166, who translates *zi-ri+i* as "this", but also suggests "here" (p. 167))

The uncertainty that exists around the correct syntactic analysis of *ziri* in (10) as noted by Hawkins (2000:167) can now be resolved. Whether the forms *ziti* and *ziri* are true variant forms for *zati* and *zari* respectively (see section 5), or mistakes (Plöchl 2003:69), the rhotacism in KARKAMIŠ A27e fragm. 2 § 4 shows that *ziri* is not the dative-locative singular, but the adverb (*pace* Hawkins 2000:166 and Plöchl 2003:69).

4. THE DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERB *APATI/APARI* "THERE" AND THE TEMPORAL ADVERB POST-*RI/APARI* "AFTERWARDS"

The adverb *zati/zari* "here" is used to indicate that the event or situation expressed by its host clause takes place near the deictic centre. By contrast, the adverb *apati/apari* "there" (Plöchl 2003:70, 84; Payne 2004:27) either refers to a location at a certain distance from the deictic centre (11) or is used anaphorically (12). In the latter case it is not clear where the craft-houses built by king Astirus were located, so the distance to the deictic centre remains unknown:

11 REL-*pa*[13]-*wa/i* |*á-TANA-wa/i-ni-zi*(URBS) |*zi-da*[14] |*á-pa-ti-i* (|*a-pa-ri+i* in Ho.) INFRA-*ta* |(SOLIUM)*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha*

"(And I settled them[15] down towards the east, on my frontiers). For sure/So!, I next settled the Adanaweans down **there** (i.e., in the west)." (KARATEPE § XXXI (Hu.), early 7th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:52)

12 |*a-wa/i* |*za-na* |*HALPA-pa*||-|*wa/i-ni-sá* |(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za* **á-pa-ti** |(SOLIUM+*MI*)*i-sà-nu-ha*

"(While King Astirus was building himself *craft*-houses), I seated this Halabean Tarhunza **over there**." (KÖRKÜN § 5, late 9th century BCE; Hawkins 2000:172)

The adverb *apati* only occurs in the examples just cited and possibly in BULGARMADEN § 7, which either contains *pa-ti-i* "there" or an unexplained *pa+ra/i-ti-i* (Hawkins 2000:524). The rhotacised form is only attested in KARATEPE § XXXI (Ho.). On the other hand, not one of the 34 instances of the dative-locative singular *apati* and plural *apata(n)za* shows rhotacism (see Figure 2). This was already noted by Hajnal (1995:116 n. 125)[16].

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10. Because the Phoenician text does not switch from a third person narrative to a first person reported speech, there is no Phoenician clause that could correspond to this Hieroglyphic Luwian phrase (Hawkins 2000:66). However, for comparison we might adduce the statue of the Storm-God, with PhSt/C IV 17 *wy'mr* "and says, (I will make another statue and put my own name on it)" (Çambel 1999:66f.). In Phoenician, reported speech is either introduced by means of *l'mr*, the infinitive of *'mr* "speak, say", or it is not introduced at all, as in PhSt/C IV 17 (Krahmalkov 2001:287). In the Anatolian languages on the other hand, reported speech is in the majority of cases introduced by a form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun, be it the nominative-accusative neuter sg. *kī* (Hittite) or *za* (Luwian, see KARATEPE § LXII), or the adverb of manner *kiššan* (Hittite), or *za-ri+i* as in the current example.

11. As I have tried to indicate with italics, the subjects of § 15 and § 16 are contrastive. This contrast is expressed by means of the use of the accented first person pronoun *amu* in initial position in § 15 (|*á-mu-pa-wa/i*) and the use of the enclitic conjunction -*pa* in § 15 and § 16. On the contrastive value of -*pa* see Melchert (2003:209) and Plöchl (2003: 93).

12. For this new reading of the sign L 319 instead of *ta₄*, see Rieken-Yakubovich, this volume.

13. For the isolation of REL-*(i)-pa* /kwipa/ as a separate lexeme that serves to bring the truth-value of the proposition in Focus, see Goedegebuure 1998. For an improved taxonomy of this lexeme as an asseverative adverb "indeed, in fact, certainly, really, why so it is!, for sure, so!" and its etymology see Melchert 2002. However, I cannot follow Melchert in his analysis of a couple of instances of REL-*i-pa* as the subordinating conjunction REL-*i* /kwi/ followed by the particle -*pa*. Although I fully agree with his understanding of KARATEPE § XXXI as describing the re-settlement technique of exchanging conquered peoples (2002:227), his translation of REL-*i-pa* as "while (on the other hand)" seems merely to convey a contrast. While it is true that temporal "while" may be used in English in the sense of contrasting "whereas", there is no evidence that temporal "while, as" > temporal "while" > contrasting "while" meaning "whereas" '. The only cases where Melchert uses this translation (KARATEPE § XI, XXXI and SULTANHAN § 13) are better served with REL-*ipa* as the unitary adverb. I never claimed that this adverb somehow reinforces or emphasizes the contents of the preceding clause (*contra* Melchert 2002:227). On the contrary, REL-*ipa* only has scope over its host clause, emphasizing the truth-value of its propositional content. As a result, the REL-*ipa* clause indeed also serves a discourse purpose: in KARATEPE it usually appears at the end of a sequence of content-wise related clauses, marking a climax. The adverb REL-*ipa* highlights the major achievement in each discourse unit, or marks that which is most wished for. This works both for KARATEPE § XXXI, KARATEPE § XI (as Van den Hout shows in this volume) and SULTANHAN § 13-15 ("Tarhunzas really (REL-*pa*) granted these aids to Sarwatiwara, Wasusarma's servant: much *rain* will come down from the sky, while *corn-stem(s)* will come up from the earth, and the vine").

Besides the unlikely shift in semantics from temporal "when, as" to contrasting "while, whereas", initial REL-*i* with contrastive -*pa* seems also to have changed its syntactic status from subordinating to coordinating conjunction, as I infer from Melchert's translations. Not coincidentally, the only instance of truly fronted REL-*i(-pa)* ->REL-*i (=pa)* in TOPADA § 37 (which I indeed overlooked), is clearly a subordinating conjunction ("But/while in the case he is a lesser person (let them punish him thus)", Melchert 2002:228). Clear subordination is notably absent in the clauses discussed by Melchert. To conclude, there are semantic and syntactic reasons to reject Melchert's rejection of unitary REL-*ipa* in the clauses mentioned above. The only instance of possibly subordinating REL-*i* is KARATEPE § XL, where it is matched in Phoenician by the subordinating conjunction *ky*. This conjunction is usually taken as causal "because". Recently however, the use of the cognate particle *ky* in Hebrew has been the subject of a monograph by Follingstad 2001. Follingstad (2001:42ff.) describes how the causal function of *ky* is highly controversial. The real function of the particle *ky* is that it serves as an *assertive polar Focus particle*, especially in adversative and in certain asseverative, causal and temporal uses (2001:568): the particle is used to strengthen an assertion because the speaker/narrator expects that his assertion *might* not be accepted easily, assuming that the reader/hearer has some other expectations. This comes very close to the use of REL-*ipa* as an asseverative adverb "certainly, verily, indeed" focusing on the truth of its proposition. I therefore also read this adverb in KARATEPE § XL.

14. The adverb *zi-da*, formerly *zi-tà*, is a hyper-corrected writing of *zila* "next, subsequently, thereupon" (Rieken, 2008a; Rieken and Yakubovich, this volume). For further discussion of *zila* see Hawkins (1995:37).

15. "Them" refers to the inhabitants of the once hostile fortresses in the west, now conquered by Azatiwada.

16. His remark is to my knowledge overlooked by everyone including myself. I only came across this reference when finishing this paper.

FIGURE 2 - *APATI / APATANZA / APARI* IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

Period	Pronoun/adjective dat. sg.	dat. pl.	Adverb	
Suppiluliuma II	*a-pa-ti* (1)	ø	ø	ø
Late 12th century BCE	*a-pa-ti* (2)	ø	ø	ø
10th - mid 9th century BCE	*a-pa-ti* (6) *a-pa-ti-i* (4) *pa-ti* (1) *pa-ti-i* (1)	*a-pa-tá-za* (2)	ø	ø
Late 9th - early 8th century BCE	*á-pa-ti* (3) *pa-ti* (3)	ø	*á-pa-ti* (1)	ø
Mid - end 8th century BCE	*á-pa-ti* (6) *pa-ti* (2)	*á-[pa]-tá-za*ₓ (1)	ø	ø
Early 7th century BCE	ø	*á-pa-ta-za* (2)	*á-pa-ti-i* (1)	*a-pa-ri+i* (1)
Totals	29	5	2	1

As noted in section 1, Rieken (2008a) has shown that the dental of the signs *ta* and *tá* is unvoiced, whereas the dental of the sign *tà* is voiced. The consistent spelling of the dative-locative plural of *apa-* with the signs *tá* or *ta* shows that its dental was /t/, further supporting the claim that the dental of the dative-locative singular of *apa-* is also /t/. The single instance of the rhotacised form of the adverb on the other hand proves that the adverb *apati* contained a /d/. Therefore, the pattern discerned for *zati* "to this (one)", and *zati/zari* "here, thus" is not disrupted.

The following example, MARAŞ 4 § 15, contains *á-pa-ara/i*. As the rhotacised variant of *apati* "thus" (so Hawkins 2000:258) this form is problematic because the date of this inscription, the mid-9th century BCE, seems to be somewhat too early for rhotacism of intervocalic dental stops (see section 1), but it could of course be the first example. The issue is avoided if we take *á-pa-ara/i* as /apari/ "afterwards", already attested as *a-pa+ra/i* in the Empire period (Hawkins 2003:160, EMİRGAZİ § 3 (ed. Hawkins 1995:88f.))[17]:

13 |*wa/i-mi-i* |*á-mi-na* ("VAS")*á-tara/i-i-na* **á-pa-ara/i** |BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wa/i-ha*

"([When(?)] I captured the city Iluwasi, I cut off the feet of the men, whereas I made the children eunuchs for us.) **Afterwards** I exalted my image for myself" (MARAŞ 4 § 15, mid-9th century BCE; versus Hawkins' "and **thereby** I exalted my image for myself." (2000:257))

There are a few texts that seem to contain the local adverb *pari* "forth"[18]. This adverb is usually written PRAE-*i*, but presumably it also occurs in full syllabic writing in KARKAMIŠ Ala § 7 (|*pa+ra/i-(ha-')*), 10 (|*pa+ra/i-i-(ha-')*) and § 16 (|*pa+ra/i-i-'*) (Hawkins 2000:88-89). What casts doubts on these readings is, first of all, that in this text the sign L 450 = *a* is regularly used as the 'initial-a-final' (for this phenomenon see Hawkins 2003:159ff.), but secondly, that in the same text we also find the logographic

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17. The adverb *apari* is the syllabic writing of POST+*ra/i* in TOPADA § 16 (Hawkins 2000:453), if that attestation is real. Otherwise, read POST+*ra/i-ti* /aparanti/ (Hawkins 2000:457) and compare this form with Cuneiform Luwian *apparant(i)-* "future" (Melchert 1993:22). For the related adverb POST+*ra/i-ta* = *á-pa+ra/i-ta* /aparanta/ "hereafter", see Plöchl (2003:84).

18. For *pari* as "forth" see Melchert (2004a:372 with n. 10), instead of "before, in front of" (as *per* Plöchl (2003:79)).

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writing PRAE-*i* (§§ 19, 20). In view of these two observations, I propose to reanalyze these forms as *apari* "afterwards", which perhaps fits each context even better than *pari* "forth":

14 |(*349)*á-la-ta-ha-na-ha-wa/i*(URBS) |*ARHA* |DELERE-*nú-wa/i-ha*
    |*a-wa/i-tú* |*a-pa+ra/i-i-ha* (SCALPRUM.CAPERE₂)*u-pa-ní-na* |(CAPERE₂)*u-pa-ha*
    |9-*za-ha-wa/i-tú* |*pi-ia-ha*

"And I completely destroyed the city Alatahana. **Afterwards** I brought the *spoils* to him as well, and I gave him a ninth (share)" (KARKAMIŠ Ala § 9-11, 10th century BCE; *pace* Hawkins' "and before him I brought a *trophy*" (2000:88), and Melchert's "and I brought forth the *spoils* to him" (2004a:372). KARKAMIŠ Ala § 7 occurs in a similar context)

15 [...]-*na-si-ha-wa/i-ta* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*za-na* |*a-pa+ra/i-i* SUPER+*ra/i-a* (SOLIUM+MI)*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha*

"And **afterwards** I seated Tarhunzas of the [...]*na* above" (KARKAMIŠ Ala § 16, 10th century BCE; Hawkins (2000:88): "and Tarhunzas of the [...]NA I seated up in front")

5. THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN DATIVE-LOCATIVE SINGULAR ENDING *-ATI* AND THE ADVERBIAL ABLATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL ON *-ATI/-ARI, -ITI/-IRI*

The pronominal dative-locative singular on *-ati* is sometimes considered formally identical to the (pro)nominal ablative-instrumental on *-ati* /-adi/ (Morpurgo Davies 1980:135; Plöchl 2003:70). Starting at the end of the 9th century BCE (see section 1), the intervocalic voiced dental stop /d/ could be rhotacised. One should therefore expect rhotacism in the dative-locative *-ati* given the assumed identity with the ablative-instrumental, but the consistent lack thereof now shows that the formal identity of these two endings cannot be upheld. Only the adverbial forms on *-ati* share their rhotacism with the nominal ablative-instrumental *-ati*.

Elsewhere I showed how Hieroglyphic Luwian *zin* and *apin* filled the ablative-instrumental slots in the paradigms of the demonstratives *za-* "this (one)" and *apa-* "that (one)" (Goedegebuure 2007). I suggested that the ending *-(i)n* derived from an adverbial PIE ending *-(i)m*[19], and that the inclusion of this ending in the pronominal paradigm still left room for vestigial remains of an originally pronominal ablative-instrumental *-ati*, as recognized by Melchert (2003:191 n. 19) in REL-*a-ti* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 4a-b). At that time I was not yet aware of the distribution presented in this paper, but the results now fully confirm the equation of the adverbial ending *-ati/-ari* with the expected ablative-instrumental ending *-ati*.

The fact that we are dealing with the ablative-instrumental ending *-ati* in the adverb may also explain the rare variant *ziti/ziri* (see section 3). Because the nominal ablative-instrumental is also attested as *-iti*[20], we do not need to treat *ziti/ziri* as a mistake for *zati/zari* (*pace* Hawkins & Morpurgo Davies 1986:81; Plöchl 2003:69, 85).

I did not separately discuss the Hieroglyphic Luwian relative because the relative adverb of place REL(-*i*)-*ta-(na)* /kwita(n)/[21] "where" is different from both the dative-locative singular REL(-*a*)-*ti*(-*i*) /kwati/[22],

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19. Olav Hackstein (pers.comm.) kindly showed me that the PIE adverbial ending *-m* as discussed by Dunkel (1997:69ff.) is not necessarily an instrumental but could also be a frozen accusative.

20. That not only *-i*-stems are attested with *-iti* < *-iyati*, show forms like DEUS-*ni-ti* in KARKAMIŠ A23 § 1. For *-iya-* > *-i-*, see Plöchl (2003:20).

21. With *-n* only attested in KARATEPE (REL-*ta-na* in Hu. § XX, REL-*i-ta-na* in Ho. § XX, Hu. § XXXIV). For REL-*i-ta*, see for example KARKAMIŠ Ala § 5, BABYLON 1 § 8.

22. See for example KARKAMIŠ A11 b-c § 7 (late 10th-early 9th c., REL-*a-ti-i* (ANNUS)*u-si-i*), KARKAMIŠ A6 § 25 (late 9th-early 8th c., REL-*ti-i-ha* REX-*ti*), KULULU 1 § 14 (mid-8th c., REL-*ti-i-ha*).

which is never found rhotacised, and the relative adverb/conjunction of manner /kwari/[23] "just as, how", attested as REL+ra/i in BOHÇA § 8 and 12, and as REL-ri+i in KARATEPE § LXXV (Hu.). Ideally we would like to have a non-rhotacised form of the adverb, but the only candidate occurs in an opaque context that allows both an adverbial reading as a conjunction "how"[24] or a pronominal ablative-instrumental reading[25]. Nevertheless, nothing contradicts the earlier findings.

To conclude, due to the consistent absence of rhotacism in the dative-locatives zati, apati and REL-ati we can now definitively determine the phonemic value of the dental stop as /t/ (pace Kloekhorst 2008:191, 426, 489; Melchert 2003:190, 191). This is further supported by the orthography of the dative-locative plurals zataza /tˢatantˢ/, apataza /abatantˢ/ and REL-taza /kwatantˢ/ (REL-tá-zi/a in EMİRGAZİ altars § 19) with either -ta- or -tá-. The adverbial ablatives zati and apati on the other hand must contain a /d/. Still, we only have indirect evidence for a /t/ in the dative-locative singular before the mid-8th century BCE.

6. THE CUNEIFORM LUWIAN EVIDENCE

In order to shed more light on the phonological shape of the dentals in the pre-mid 8th century BCE dative-locative singular and the adverbs we need to turn to Cuneiform Luwian. The well-known series of correspondences (see Morpurgo-Davies 1982/83)

16   unvoiced /t/: CunLuw. -tt- : HierLuw. -t- : Lyc. -t-;
      inherited and secondary /d/: CunLuw. -t-, HierLuw. -t- and -r-, Lyc. -d-.

lead to the predictions, first, that Hieroglyphic Luwian non-rhotacising /t/ of the dative-locative singular and plural should be matched by geminate -tt- in the corresponding Cuneiform Luwian forms, and secondly, that Hieroglyphic Luwian /d/ in the adverbial formations should correspond with single -t- in Cuneiform Luwian. I expect the following forms for Cuneiform Luwian, disregarding vowel length and accent placement:

FIGURE 3 - THE PREDICTED DATIVE-LOCATIVES SINGULAR AND ADVERBS OF ZA-, APA- AND KU- IN CUNEIFORM LUWIAN

	Dative-locative singular pronoun/adjective	Adverb
apa-	*apatti /abati/	*apati /abadi/
za-	*zatti /tˢati/	*zati /tˢadi/
ku-	*kuwatti /kwati/	*kuwati /kwadi/

The dative-locative singular apatti (see Melchert 1993:20, Hajnal 1995:116 n. 125) is attested in a relatively well preserved context in KBo 9.141 i 15 (MS, translit. Starke 1985:126f.), where we find a-pát-ti a-a-ri-i "at that time". The other possible but not certain attestation of apatti occurs in broken context:] a-pa-a-at-ti a-a-an-n[i(-) (MS, KBo 29.56:3, translit. Starke 1985:391).

The adverb apati(n) "thus, in that manner, like that" is according to Melchert (1993:22) also the dative-locative singular of apa-, without taking into account that the dental of apati(n) is never a geminate

23. This late form must be kept separate from the 2nd millennium temporal conjunction REL-ra/i "when" (Plöchl 2003:88f.).
24. BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 4a-b (a-wa/i LITUUS+na-ti-sa hu-pi-da-ta-da-ti-wa/i REL-a-ti sà-ka-tá-li-sà-wa/i). Hawkins (2000:336) translates these lines as "You do see (??), how I shall SAKATALISA- with/from the HUPITATATA-(?)".
25. Melchert (2003:191 n. 19): "Do you see with what hupitatata- I am saka(n)tali-ing?".

as opposed to the unvoiced dental of the true dative-locative apatti (see Van den Hout 1995:136 n. 106). The phonological shape of the dental in the adverb apati(n) is therefore /d/, strengthening the claim that the demonstrative adverbs in Luwian displayed the ablative-instrumental ending. The Cuneiform Luwian evidence has the additional benefit that the semantics of the adverb apati(n) are fully compatible with the ablative-instrumental. One of the functions of the adverbial ablatives and instrumentals is to denote manner (Melchert 1977:219, 303, 368, 374f., 418). This gives us "thus, so, in this/that way" for the demonstrative adverbial ablative-instrumentals. When these adverbs are paired with adverbs of manner in subordinate clauses, we arrive at the familiar correlative construction of comparison "just as/how" ... thus/so/like that" (Melchert 2003:207)[26]:

17   ⁴ zam=pa=ku=wa DUMU-nin wallindu ⁵ šannaīndu pa=wa=an=tar ānni ⁶ tītani dūwandu pa=aš pūwa ⁷ [ku-w]a-ti[27] ášta nanun=ha=aš a-pa-ti[28] āšdu
      "But furthermore let them lift this child (and) hold (it) upside down, let them place him at (his) mother's breast." As she was formerly, so let her be also now! (MS, KUB 35.103 iii 4-7, translit. Starke 1985:222, ed. Beckman 1983:228 (with references to older literature), ed. Starke 1990:551)

The adverb apati(n) is consistently written without plene a, and in only two cases out of eleven the -i is written plene (counts are based on Melchert 1993:22). Of the two forms of the dative-locative singular, one shows plene a, and neither one has plene -i. Distinguishing short from long vowels in these two words was phonemically not necessary: the different treatment of the dentals kept the two forms apart. This of course does not exclude the phonetic reality of long vowels, especially since accented short vowels in both closed and open syllables are lengthened in Luwian (Melchert 1994:247, 261). Assuming that the accent fell on the root-final vowel, we may represent the dative-locative sg. apatti/apātti as /abá:ti/ and the adverbial ablative apati(n)/apatī(n) as /abá:di(:)(n)/ (or /abadi(:)n/?)

The evidence for the demonstrative za- "this (one)" is difficult to evaluate. Most occurrences of za-(a-)ti-i occur in broken context[29] or are almost fully restored[30], thus preventing any syntactic analysis. The only case where a non-restored za-a-ti-i occurs in context is in KUB 32.8+5 iv 22 (17), and in the parallel KUB 35.14 i 9 (18). The meaning of the passage allows for two different analyses for zātī, as dative-locative (option a.) and adverb of manner (option b.):

18   ²¹ [kui]š=du=r[31] aduwa[l (?)]piya<tti??> a=du=tta ²² [ta]niminzi DINGIR.MEŠ-z[(i) ...]x šarra za-a-ti-i ²³ [(p)]ūwandu a=ata=tar za[nta] tarmaindu URUDU-yati ²⁴ [tar]mati
      Whoever give<s> evi[l (?)] to him,

26. Hittite has taken a different path with respect to both the conjunction and the resumption in sentences of comparison. Instead of the relative stem we find mahhan in the subordinate clause, and instead of the ablative-instrumental apēz we find the manner adverb apeniššan (older apiniššan).
27. The restoration kuwati is based on the parallel line KUB 35.102 iv 6 (indirect join to KUB 35.103).
28. The parallel line KUB 35.102 iv 7 has [a-pa-t]i-in.
29. We find za-a-ti-i in KUB 35.16 iii 10' with duplicate KUB 35.17 iii 6'; za-ti-i in KUB 35.59 (+) KBo 29.13 ii 9'; za-a-ti[- in KUB 35.85:3'; possibly belonging here za-t[i- in KBo 8.17: 1'.
30. The dative-locative phrase za-a[-ti-i] pár-ni in KUB 35.54 iii 23, so restored by Starke (1985:69) and Melchert (1993:274), could as well be read as za-a[-aš-ti] pár-ni, with zāšta/i- "this (very)" (Melchert 1993:281), or with the not (yet) attested za-a[-at-ti(-i)]. The same is of course possible for [za-a-ti-]iʾ DUMU-ni in KUB 35.88 ii 11.
31. Following Melchert (2001:39) instead of Starke (1985:120), who reads [tar-mi-i]š-.

a. let [a]ll the gods pound [something] upon **this one** for him[32],

b. let [a]ll the gods pound [something] upon him **in this (following) way:**

let them nail it down (*zanta*)[33] by means of a bronze [p]eg. (NS, KUB 32.8+5 iv 21-24, with duplicate KUB 35.117 iv 1'-5', translit. Starke 1985:120, partial ed. Starke 1990:379 (with *šarra zātī* "auf diesem")

19 [ku]īš=tar mal[haššaššan EN-ya (āddu)wā(l)] ⁸ ānnīti a=du[(=tta D)INGIR.MEŠ-inzi ....]
   ⁹ [ša]rra **za-a-ti-i** [(pūwa)nd(u a=ttar zanta)] ¹⁰ [l]āīmman [tarmaindu URUDU-(ya)ti tarma(ti)]
   [Wh]oever performs (some) e[vi]l on the rit[ual patron], may the g[ods] pound [......] upon him **in this way:** [may they nail] down by means of [a bronze peg] that which was taken. (KUB 35.14 i 7-10, dupl. KBo 29.9 obv. 10'-12', translit. Starke 1985:123-124)

I prefer option b., for the following two reasons. First, and most importantly, option a. would present the only instance known to me of the demonstrative *za-* as a resumptive *anaphoric* pronoun. In all instances with reasonably clear context, *za-* refers to an entity that is present in the speech situation, that is, *za-* is a *deictic* demonstrative. By definition *za-* should not refer to an unspecific evildoer as mentioned in line 21 (18) or line 7 (19). Secondly, option a. requires that the dative-locative *-du* "to him" functions as a *dativus commodi*. While this is not impossible, divine actions like those described here are always on behalf of someone, so *-du* seems to be redundant[34].

As a result, there is no evidence left for a dative-locative *zati*. This role is probably assumed by *zāšti*, dative-locative singular of *zāšta/i-* "this (very)" (Melchert 1993:281).

In view of the differences in orthography one also needs to switch the analysis of Cuneiform Luwian *kuwatti* as the old ablative-instrumental of the interrogative stem "from which/whom" (Melchert 1993:118, Plöchl 2003:71) and Cuneiform Luwian *kuwati(n)* as the old dative-locative singular (Melchert 1993:117). With Van den Hout (1995:136 n. 106), adverbial *kuwati(n)* "how, just as" runs parallel to *apati(n)* "thus, like that, so" instead of being a dative-locative "for/to whom" (see (16)). The only reliable attestation of *kuwatti* in KUB 9.31 ii 31 (with duplicate HT 1 ii 7) is most likely a dative-locative singular:

20 ³⁰ uraz<zaš> ᵈUTU-az tatinzi DINGIR.MEŠ-inzi ³¹ ᵈÉ.A-aš=ha parnanza=ta **ku-wa-at-ti** anda
   hūinaiman ³² lalanti pā uzaš adaritan
   O great Sun-god, fatherly gods and Ea: **for whom** do they take (that which is) *anda hūinai*-ed to the houses (= temples?)? Now, feed yourselves! (NS, KUB 9.31 ii 30-32, translit. Starke 1985:53)

The other two attestations of *kuwatti*, KUB 35.54 ii 2 and 3, are without context. Again the dative-locative singular is without plene writing of the final *-i*. That means that there is no evidence left for a long final *-i* in secured pronominal dative-locatives since this was based on *apatī* (Melchert 1994:241, 265) and *zātī* (Melchert 2003:190-191). On the other hand, the adverbial formations once in a while do show plene *-i* in the final syllable. Asides from *apatī(n)* and *zātī/zatī* we also have two instances of *kuwatīn* on a total of 14 (Melchert 1993:117). For Hajnal (1995:116 n. 125) this points at a final accent, so perhaps we are witnessing an accent shift from the penultimate to the ultimate syllable? The ending

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-atin in the adverbs may be explained as stacking of the ablative ending *-in* attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian onto the ablative ending *-ati*.

The attested forms are listed in Figure 4. Comparison with Figure 3 shows that all predictions were realized with the exception of the dative-locative of *za-*. It seems that we only have *zašti* instead of the expected form **zatti*:

FIGURE 4: THE ATTESTED DATIVE-LOCATIVES SINGULAR AND ADVERBS OF *ZA-*, *APA-* AND *KU-* IN CUNEIFORM LUWIAN

	Dative-locative singular pronoun/adjective[35]	Adverb
apa-	apatti, apātti /abá:ti/	apati(n) /abádi(n)/, apatī(n) /abadí:(n)(?)/
za-	(zāšti /tˢá:sti/)	zatī /tˢadi:/, zātī /tˢá:di(?)/
ku-	kuwatti /kwá:ti/	kuwati(n), kuwāti(n) /kwá:di(n)/, kuwatīn /kwadí:n(?)/

7. CONNECTING THE EVIDENCE

Turning to the other Anatolian languages, we have to compare the Hittite dative-locatives singular *kēti/kēdi*[36], possibly *apētī* and *kuiti*[37] and Lycian *tdi*[38] with the Cuneiform Luwian dative-locatives *apatti* and *kuwatti* and the Hieroglyphic Luwian forms /tˢati/, /abati/ and /kwati/, whereas Lydian falls outside the equation with the dative-locative singular ending *-λ*.

The Lycian dative-locative *tdi* seems at first sight to present counter-evidence to the /t/ of Common Luwian, because the set of correspondences mentioned in (16) (CunLuw. *-tt-* : HierLuw. *-t-* : Lyc. *-t-*) requires a Lycian *-t-* in the dative-locative, not *-d-*. However, these correspondences only apply to inherited /t/. If we take either the PA locatives **ké-dʰi*, **obé-dʰi* and **kʷé-dʰi*[39] or **kéd-i*, **obéd-i* and **kʷéd-i* (all with accented short *e*) as starting point, and show how a secondary /t/ could develop in Luwian, the alleged incongruity can be resolved.

The regular outcomes of these PA forms in Hittite[40] are /ké:di/[41] = *ke-(e-)d/ti*, /abé:di/ = *a-pé-(e-)t/di*, and /kʷé:di/ = *ku-e-t/di*, all attested. The dative-locative singular of Lycian *ebe-* "this (one)" is not attested[42], but the relative **kʷé-dʰi / *kʷéd-i* leads to Lycian **/tédi/*, then with shift of accent to the final syllable (Melchert 1994:319) to **/teði/* and finally to /tði/ = *tdi* after elision of the unaccented vowel (Hajnal 1995:183[43]).

What distinguishes Common Luwian from the other languages is Çop's Law, according to which accented short *e* followed by a single intervocalic consonant results in short accented *a* and doubling of the consonant (**/éC₁V/ > /áC₁V/*). Çop's Law together with the other regular sound laws[44] should result

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32. Reichardt (1998:80) rejects the connection of *puwai-* with *puššai-*, but see now CHD P/3:368f. The required accusative-object is most likely found in the break. The local adverb *šarra* either governs the dative sg. *-du* "him" (option b.) or the demonstrative *zātī* (option a.). Admittedly such a construction is not otherwise attested for *puwai-*, but this verb is that sparsely found that I cannot assume that CHD P/3:368f. covers all syntactic environments possible for this verb.

33. I will discuss *zanda* "down" elsewhere (Goedegebuure, forthcoming).

34. The only issue with option b. is that the position of the place word *šarra* "upon" is slightly odd.

35. The pronominal dative-locative plural is only attested in *zaštanza*.

36. Attested as *ke-e-ti* in KUB 43.23 obv. 4, 17, KUB 33.65 iii 3, KUB 32.138: 4, KBo 4.2 i 26, KBo 38.185 right col. 8'; as *ke-e-di* in KUB 43.55 ii 17.

37. *apeti* is attested in KUB 9.19: 7'; *kuiti* is attested in Bo 6943 obv. 3' (Fuscagni 2007:155, with refs.)

38. Attested in TL 75:2, 58.3, N324.27, and in *tdike* in 112.4.

39. For an oblique stem *ape-* etc., see for example Kloekhorst 2008:192.

40. With PA **/é/* in open and closed syllables > /e:/ (Melchert 1994:107, 133).

41. The Hittite form /ké:di/ for example can also be derived from PA **ké:di* < PA **ké:ti* (after lenition of intervocalic /t/ after long accented vowel), but this would never explain the attested Luwian forms.

42. The local adverb *ebei* "here" might be the missing dative-locative singular of *ebe-* (Melchert 2004b:11).

43. Hajnal (1995:183) compares *tdi*, which he derives from **/kⁱidí/*, with Cuneiform Luwian *za-a-ti-i*. As I hope to have shown, the latter form is an ablative-instrumental, and is therefore not cognate with dative-locative *tdi*.

44. With synchronic lengthening of short accented vowel in a closed syllable (Melchert 1994:247).

in /tˢá:ddi/, /abá:ddi/ and /kwá:ddi/. As we have seen we indeed find Cuneiform Luwian *a-pa-a-at-ti / a-pát-ti* and *ku-wa-at-ti*[45], besides Hieroglyphic Luwian non-rhotacising *zati, apati* and REL-*ati*.

All attempts to reconstruct another vowel than accented short *e* in the oblique stem can be discarded: the short *e* is necessary in order to invoke Çop's Law to arrive at the Luwian forms with *a*. The long vowel in the Hittite forms is simply the result of secondary lengthening.

Hackstein has recently demonstrated how ablatival semantics easily shift to local semantics as a language-internal development (2007:138f.). This explains how the Luwian adverbial ablatives came to be used as locatival adverbs. Hittite and Lycian are different in this respect. Instead of using the pronominal ablative-instrumental ending, each of these languages had a different means to form the demonstrative and relative adverbs of place and manner. The Hittite demonstrative adverbs of place are *ka(ni)* "here", *apiya* "there (/then)", and *kuwapi* "where (/when)", and the adverbs of manner are *kiššan* "in this (following) manner", *apeniššan* "in that manner" and *eniššan* "in this/that manner (as just mentioned)". The subordinating conjunctions expressing manner are *mān, mahhan* "how, just as". In Lycian we only find locative demonstrative adverbs that are based on the stem *ebe-* "this". These are *ebei, ebeli*[46], and *ebeila*, all meaning "here". Besides that, there is the relative adverb of place *teli* "where" (Melchert 2004b:62), which, as opposed to the situation in Hittite, is distinct from the relative adverb of time *teri* "when" (Melchert 2004b:63). The adverb *mē* is attested both as the conjunction "as", and as adverb of manner "so, likewise" (Melchert 2004b:39).

Lydian on the other hand seems to have followed the same road as Luwian and independently used the ablative-instrumental for marking location, as shown by the locative adverb *ebad* "(t)here" (Gusmani 1964:100), even though the ablative-instrumental case itself disappeared from the nominal and pronominal paradigms (Melchert 1994:338). The form of the stem however is problematic. Taking Cuneiform Luwian *apati* and Hieroglyphic Luwian /abadi/, /abari/ into account, the PA reconstruction should be **obódi* (< **obóti*[47]), but this should have led to Lydian †*bad* and does not explain the Hittite forms either. The Hittite ablatives *kēz, apēz* and *kuēz* are probably innovations in historical Hittite (Melchert 1977:457). If not, they can only be explained from PA **ké-ti, *obé-ti* and **kʷé-ti* (see Hackstein (2007:143) for PIE **kʷéti* > Hittite *kuēz*). After application of Çop's Law the Luwian forms should have become /tˢá:tti/, /abá:tti/ and /kwá:tti/, which, in accordance with Sturtevant's Law, are orthographically similar to the dative-locative. Instead, the endings of the Common Luwian forms are the same as the ending of the nominal ablative.

Given these difficulties the simplest solution is to assume that the pronominal paradigm in Proto-Anatolian did not contain an ablative case. In Hittite we originally find the instrumental forms filling the ablative slot (*kēt*, the enclitic possessives in *-et/-it*, Melchert 1977:263) before *kēz, apēz* and *kuēz* adopted the nominal ablative ending *-z*. In Common Luwian the nominal ablative-instrumental ending /-adi/ was adopted in the pronominal paradigm, and still in prehistoric times with respect to the demonstratives restricted to the adverbs. Instead, the true adverbial forms /tˢin/ and /abin/ were incorporated in the Hieroglyphic pronominal paradigm. We might expect the same for Cuneiform Luwian based on an *argumentum ex silentio*, because there are no attestations of ablatival noun phrases with a demonstrative adnominal.

8. SUMMARY

Based on the differential treatment of the dentals, the Common Luwian dative-locative singular of the demonstratives (*za-* and *apa-*) and relatives (*ku-*) needs to be distinguished from the demonstrative and relative adverbs of place and manner. Starting in the late 9th century BCE, only the latter can be rhotacised in Hieroglyphic Luwian. In addition, the Cuneiform Luwian dative-locatives are always written with a geminate dental, whereas the adverbs always show non-geminate orthography. This undoubtedly points at a /t/ for the dative-locative, and a /d/ for the adverbial form. In view of the fact that ablatives can have both locative and modal semantics, I suggest to equate the adverbial ending /-adi/ with the Common Luwian nominal ablative ending.

The use of the nominal ablative ending in the demonstrative and relative pronouns and adverbs is most likely an independent innovation in Hittite, Common Luwian and Lydian but not in Lycian (for Carian there is no evidence). For the dative-locative singular on the other hand, a PA form can be reconstructed as **obé-dʰi / *obéd-i* etc. This explains the Hittite forms with /e/ and /d/, Lycian *tdi* /tði/, and after application of Çop's Law also the Common Luwian forms with /a/ and /t/:

FIGURE 5: THE DATIVE-LOCATIVES SINGULAR AND ADVERBS OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES

	Hittite	Lycian	Lydian	Cuneiform Luwian	Hieroglyphic Luwian	
dative-locative sg.						
< PA **kédi*	ke:di	—	—	(zašti)	/tˢati/	
< PA **obédi*	ape:ti:	(ebei (?))	(bλ)	apa(:)tti	/abati/	
< PA **kʷédi*	kui:ti	tdi	(qλ)	kuwatti	/kwati/	
adverbial abl.	ke:z	—	—	za(:)ti:	/tˢadi/	> /tˢari/
					/tˢidi/	> /tˢiri/
	ape:z	—	ebad	apati(:)(n)	/abadi/	> /abari/
	kue:z	—	—	kuwa(:)ti(:)(n)	/kwadi/(?)	> /kwari/

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45. Although Sturtevant's Law would allow for a writing with DI, the writings *a-pád-di* and *ku-wa-ad-di* are not expected given the absence of the sign DI in the Cuneiform Luwian syllabary (based on a search in Melchert 1993).

46. For a discussion of *ebeli* and *teli*, see Rieken 2008b.

47. The environments for lenition of inherited /t/ are absent. The proto-form should not have lead to /d/, but since the /d/ was generalized in all other ablatives, it was taken over by analogy.

APPENDIX 1

Tudhaliya IV

dat.-loc.sg.
zi/a-ti-i(a) *zi/a-ti-i(a)* STELE (EMIRGAZI § 6)

dat.pl.
zi/a-tá-zi/a *zi/a-tá-zi/a-pa-wa/i* REGIO-*ni-zi/a* (YALBURT BLOCK 4 § 2)

Suppiluliuma II

adverb
zi/a+a-ti SÜDBURG § 18

Mid 12th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
zi/a-ti *zi/a-ti* TERRA-*i(a)* (KARADAĞ 1 § 1), *zi/a[-ti?]* LOCUS-*i(a)* (BURUNKAYA § 1)

10th-mid 9th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
za-a-ti-i *za-a-ti-i* |POST-*ni* (TELL AHMAR 5 § 4); *za-a-ti-i* STATUA-*ru-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A1a § 31); *za-a-ti-i* ᵈTONITRUS-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 20)

za-a-ti *za-a-ti-'* "CAELUM"-*sa-na* [ᵈ]TONITRUS-*hu-ti* (TELL AHMAR 1 § 21); *za-a-ti* ("SCALPRUM")*ku-ta-saₛ+ra/i-i* (KARKAMIŠ A13d § 5); *za-a-ti* CAELUM ᵈTONITRUS-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A13d § 10)

za-a-ti-... *za-a-ti-wa/i* CAELUM ᵈTONITRUS [(TELL AHMAR 2 § 22); |*za-a-ti-pa-wa/i* |EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-sa-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti-i* (TELL AHMAR 6 § 28)

za-ti-i *za-ti-i* |SUPER+*ra/i-a* (TELL AHMAR 2 § 20); *za-ti-i* ("PODIUM")*hu-ma-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 17)

za-ti... *za-ti-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-i* (ALEPPO 2 § 24); *za-[ti]-pa-wa/i* (DEUS)*á-tara/i-su-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A4d § 1); *za-ti-pa-wa/i kar-ka-mi-si-za*(URBS) ᵈTONITRUS-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 16); *za-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* SOLIUM-*sa-'* (HAMA 4 § 8); *za-ti-pa-wa/i-'* "SOLIUM"-*sa* (HAMA 5 § 5)

dat.-loc.pl.
za-a-ti-ia-za |*za-a-ti-ia-za*[(TELL AHMAR fr. 5 l. 3); *za-a-ti-ia-za* ("SCALPRUM")*ku-ta-saₛ+ra/i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 24); *za-a-ti-ia-za* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sá-tá-na-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 33); *z[a]-a-ti-i[a]-za* ("SCALPRUM")*ku-ta-saₛ+ra/i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A20a1 § 3)

za-ti-ia-za *za-ti-ia-za* PORTA-*na-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11a § 20); *z[a-ti]-ia-za* [DEUS-*n*]*i?-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 19); *za-ti-ia-za* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-na-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 20)

adverb not attested

Late 9th - beginning 8th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
za-a-ti *za-a-ti* (MENSA)*wa/i-si* (ANCOZ 1 § 1); *za-a-ti á-là/ì* DEUS.AVIS PRAE-*na* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 8a)

za-a-ti-i [|*z*]*a-a-ti-i* ᵐ*á-sa-ti-wa/i-su-sá-na* |("STATUA")*ta-ru-ti* (MARAŞ 14 § 7)
za-ti-i *za-ti-i* (MONS)*hu+ra/i-tu-la* MONS-*wa/i-ti-i* (ANCOZ 8 § 4)
zá-ti-i *zá-ti-i-'* |DEUS-*ní* (KARKAMIŠ A29 f 1.1)
za-ti *za-ti* LOCUS-*lá/i-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 9); *za-ti* LOCUS-*lá/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 23); *za-ti* |DEUS-*ni* (KÖRKÜN § 7)
za-ti-... *za-ti-pa-wa/i* ... STATUA-*ru-ti-i* (MALPINAR § 26)

dat.-loc.pl.
za-ti-ia-za *za-ti-ia-za* URBS+*Ml-na-za* (ANCOZ 7 § 7)

adverb
za-ti *za-ti* (KARKAMIŠ Stone bowl § 2, ANDAVAL § 4); |*za-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A7 § 3)

za-ti-... *za-ti-pa/ha-wa/i* (KARKAMIŠ Stone bowl § 3)
zá-ti ÇALAPVERDİ 1 § 4

Mid - end 8th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
za-ti-i *za-ti-i tu-wa/i+ra/i-si-i* (SULTANHAN § 34); *za-ti-i* |"TERRA"-*sa*-REL+*ra/i-i* (BOHÇA § 13); *za-ti-i* |LOCUS-*là/i-ti-i* (BOHÇA § 13)
za-ti *za-ti* STELE-*ri+i* (CEKKE § 22)
za-ti-... *za-ti-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni* (KARKAMIŠ A31+ §10); *za-ti-pa* CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS (CEKKE § 4); *za-ti-pa-wa/i* URBS+*Ml-ni* (CEKKE § 20); *za-ti-pa-wa/i* (STELE)*wa/i-ni-ri+i* (TİLSEVET § 6); [*za*]-*ti-pa-wa/i* STELE-*ni-ri+i* (KARKAMIŠ A5a § 12); *za-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* URBS-*ni* (AKSARAY § 6)
zi/a-ti *zi/a-ti* LOCUS?-*ti* (KARKAMIŠ A21 § 8)

dat.-loc.pl.
za-ti-za *za-ti-za-pa* DOMUS-*na-zá* (KULULU 5 § 4)

adverb
za-ti |*za-ti* (AKSARAY § 5); *za-ti* (KARABURUN § 5, KULULU 5 § 3)
za-ti-i KULULU 2 § 2
za-ti-... [*z*]*a-ti-pa* (KARKAMIŠ A18e § 2)
za-ri+i |*za-ri+i* (SULTANHAN § 7, 18; BOHÇA § 2, 4, 5)
za+ra/i-i BOR § 6
zi/a-ara/i TOPADA § 8
zi-ti KULULU 1 § 16
zi-ri+i KARKAMIŠ A27e fragm. 2 § 4

Beginning 7th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
za-ti *za-ti* 'CASTRUM'-*si* (KARATEPE § XL); CASTRUM-*ní-si za-ti* (KARATEPE § LXV)

dat.-loc.pl.
adverb not attested
za-ri+i KARATEPE § LXVIII

Unclear date
|*za-a-ti* |(STELE)*ta-ni-si* (MEHARDE § 6; SHEIZAR § 7, both 900-700 BCE[48]

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48. Hawkins 2000:416. However, the presence of initial-*a*-final points to an early date for both MEHARDE and SHEIZAR.

APPENDIX 2

	Suppiluliuma II
dat.-loc.sg. *a-pa-ti	*a-pa-ti ANNUS (SÜDBURG § 18)
	Late 12th century BCE
dat.-loc.sg. *a-pa-ti	*a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (GÜRÜN § 7, GÜRÜN lower § 7)
	10th-mid 9th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
*a-pa-ti

*a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (KARKAMIŠ A14a §9, TELL AHMAR 6 § 31); *a[-pa]-ti-pa-wa/i (BABYLON 1 § 15); *a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta (ALEPPO 2 § 21; KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 11); *a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tá (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 25)

*a-pa-ti-i

*a-pa-ti-i ("ANNUS")u-si (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 15, 34, KARKAMIŠ A25a § 7); *a-pa-ti-i |(ANNUS)u-si-i (TELL AHMAR 6 § 26)

pa-ti
pa-ti-i

pa-ti-ha-wa/i (KARKAMIŠ A1a § 38)
pa-ti-i ("ANNUS")u-si (MARAŞ 4 § 3)

dat.-loc.pl.
*a-pa-tá-za

*a-pa-tá-za-pa-wa/i-ta (TERRA+LA+LA)wa/i-li-li-li-da-za (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 8); *a-pa-tá-za-pa-wa/i TERRA+LA+LA-da-za (KARKAMIŠ A25a § 2)

Late 9th-early 8th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
á-pa-ti

|á-pa-ti-pa (KÖRKÜN § 9); á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 20, MALPINAR § 11)

pa-ti

pa-ti-pa-wa/i (BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 10, ANCOZ 7 § 14); LOCUS-lá/i-ti-i-' |pa-ti (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr. 1a § i)

adverb
á-pa-ti

KÖRKÜN § 5

Mid 8th-end 8th century BCE

dat.-loc.sg.
á-pa-ti

á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i+ra/i-ta (ŞIRZI § 6); |á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta (KARKAMIŠ A31+ § 15); á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (CEKKE § 24); á-pa-ti-wa/i-ta-' || REX?-[ti] (ANKARA § 9); á-pa-ti-pa (KARABURUN § 11); [|]á-pa-ti |INFANS-ni-i (AŠŠUR f+g § 16)

pa-ti

pa-ti-pa-wa/i (KARKAMIŠ A25b § 3); pa-ti-pa (KARKAMIŠ A18e § 6)

dat.-loc.pl.
á-[pa]-tá-za_x

á-[pa]-tá-za_x ("ANNUS")u-sá-za (AKSARAY § 4a)

Early 7th century BCE

dat.-loc.pl.
á-pa-ta-za

|TERRA-lá/i-ta-za-' |á-pa-ta-za (KARATEPE § XXIII); |á-pa-ta-za-pa-wa/i-ta [|]"LOCUS"-lá/i-ta-za-ha-«pa-wa/i» (KARATEPE § XXXIII)

adverb
á-pa-ti-i
a-pa-ri+i

KARATEPE Hu. § XXXI
KARATEPE Ho. § XXXI

Unclear date

pa-ti-pa-wa/i (BEIRUT § 3; 9th?); *a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (MEHARDE § 6; SHEIZAR § 7, both 900-700 BCE); |á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (TULEIL 2 § d; mid 9th - early 7th); á-pa-ti-i (SAMSAT fr. 1, 9th-8th centuries); pa-ti-i-[pa/ha]-wa/i (MARAŞ 11 § 3; ?)

Unclear attestation

paᵃ-ti-pa-wa/iᵃ-tá (IZGIN § 17, 11th-10th centuries)

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SOUVENIRS ANATOLIENS

Hatice Gonnet

Paris

The author describes in vivid language some of the more exciting and humorous moments during her journeys in Turkey in the company of David Hawkins over the past 25 years.

Lorsque Itamar Singer m'a demandé de participer aux Mélanges en l'honneur de J.D. Hawkins (ci-après David), je n'ai pas hésité à choisir ce titre et ce sujet, ayant eu la chance d'accompagner David un peu partout en Anatolie depuis plus de 25 ans. Je me bornerai à évoquer ici le souvenir de quelques scènes mémorables, qui ont fait partie de sa vie de chercheur face aux découvertes faites sur le terrain en hittitologie.

On sait l'importance des contributions de David à notre connaissance de l'histoire ancienne de l'Anatolie, tant sur le plan philologique que sur le plan archéologique. Gardant en mémoire les visites que j'ai faites avec lui de certains sites sur lesquels il a fait progresser la lecture d'inscriptions déjà connues (par exemple à Karatepe, à Nişantaş), ou a déchiffré des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques récemment découvertes (par exemple à Yalburt, au Südburg de Boğazköy), je voudrais tout d'abord illustrer ces moments par quelques photographies.

La Fig. 1, qui reproduit une photo prise en 1990, représente une séance d'explication de l'inscription du Südburg, que David a une première fois publiée (Hawkins 1990), puis dont il a développé le texte (Hawkins 1995).

La Fig. 2 montre David en 1991 à Nişantaş, lorsqu'il est parvenu à lire la suite de l'inscription qu'Emmanuel Laroche avait partiellement déchiffrée (Laroche 1969-70), établissant ainsi définitivement la liste dynastique impériale d'Hattusa. Il prépare actuellement l'édition de sa dernière lecture de l'inscription.

La Fig. 3 rappelle un moment de bavardage, la même année, pendant le travail de David, au pied de l'inscription de Nişantaş.

Sur la Fig. 4, prise à Karabel en 1984, quatorze ans avant la publication du déchiffrement définitif qu'il a proposé de l'inscription, on voit David, concentré, en particulier sur le signe «oiseau» et sur celui de la « tête d'âne/mulet », qui posaient alors l'un et l'autre des problèmes de lecture et d'interprétation. David les lira plus tard «Alanta-li» pour l'oiseau, le nom du père, et «Targasnawa» pour la tête d'âne/mulet, le nom du fils. En

Fig. 1: David et Hatice au Südburg en 1990.

Fig. 1: David et Hatice au Südburg en 1990.

Fig. 2: David à Nişantaş en 1991.

Fig. 3: David et Hatice à Nişantaş en 1991.

Fig. 4: David à Karabel en 1984.

1998, il a publié cette découverte qui nous a considérablement éclairé sur la situation géopolitique au 13ᵉ siècle, et sur la présence hittite en Anatolie occidentale (Hawkins 1998).

J'en viens, après le rappel de ces moments importants, à des souvenirs plus anecdotiques, liés aux visites que nous avons faites ensemble sur le terrain, au cours desquelles ont souvent survenus des événements inattendus. Sans m'astreindre à un ordre chronologique.

Une de ces visites fut justement celle de Karabel. Après le symposium sur l'Âge du Fer, qui avait eu lieu en 1984 à l'Université d'Izmir, à Bornova précisément, en nous rendant en Anatolie centrale, nous avons décidé d'aller faire un tour à Karabel avant de visiter Yazılıkaya de Midas. Arrivé à Kemalpaşa très tôt, nous avons d'abord bu une soupe aux lentilles selon notre habitude. Le marchand de soupe, étonné et curieux de nous voir en même temps que les ouvriers, vers 6 heures du matin, nous a demandé la raison pour laquelle nous étions à Kemalpaşa à cette heure-ci. Dès que nous lui avons expliqué que nous allions visiter Karabel (Hacıbaba pour les habitants), comprenant que nous n'étions pas des touristes ordinaires, un peu effrayé, il nous a énergiquement déconseillé cette excursion, car la veille il y avait eu une bagarre devant le relief entre les gens de Kemalpaşa et ceux d'un village voisin, tous munis de haches et de pioches, venus chercher un trésor. A la suite de la dispute, il y avait eu, nous dit-il, des blessés, à coup de hache. Nous l'avons attentivement écouté, mais son récit n'a pas suffi à nous dissuader de visiter Karabel ni de changer notre programme. A ce propos : la dernière nuit que nous avions passée à Izmir, David avait oublié sa montre à l'hôtel. Pour téléphoner à David French (alors directeur de l'Institut Britannique d'Ankara), qui participait aussi au symposium d'Izmir et avec qui nous avions rendez-vous à Karabel, nous avons cherché le bureau de poste de Kemalpaşa, pour lui demander d'apporter la montre en question. Le bureau, récemment ouvert, était un petit bâtiment vitré, très propre. Mais pour y entrer nous avons eu une surprise : il nous a fallu enjamber la tête d'un squelette d'âne ou de mulet, déposée devant la porte, pas loin de la première marche. Qui nous aurait dit qu'avec cette tête nous étions devant la concrétisation du signe de Targasnawa, bien avant sa lecture! Après cette scène surréaliste, inattendue, où semblaient se côtoyer préhistoire et modernité, un peu déboussolés et silencieux, nous sommes partis vers la colline de Karabel et avons commencé à marcher vers le monument. Cette année-là, l'escalier n'existait pas encore et il fallait marcher longtemps pour arriver devant le relief. Sur le petit chemin, nous avons aperçu de loin un homme armé se dirigeant vers nous. Croyant que c'était un chasseur, j'ai dit à David : « attention, il a un fusil ! » ; David m'a fait remarquer qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un fusil, mais d'une hache. A l'approche de ce paysan innocent, le récit du marchand de soupe a cependant résonné à nos oreilles, ce qui a réduit notre salutation envers ce brave homme à un bref et glacial « *merhaba* »; puis on s'est très vite éloigné de lui, sans regarder derrière nous. Pourtant, j'ai l'habitude de bavarder avec les paysans, pour profiter de leurs connaissances locales, qui ne se trouvent pas toujours dans les livres. Arrivés devant le relief, à l'endroit où avait eu lieu l'incident de la veille, nous avons vu le grand trou qu'avaient creusé les chercheurs de trésor. Mais le vrai trésor, l'inscription de Targasnawa, était heureusement intact.

Un soir à Boğazköy, après dîner, lors de l'une de ces nuits d'été, fraîches et agréables, du plateau anatolien, incités par le clair de lune, nous avons voulu monter aux fouilles de Boğazkale. La traversé du village fut sans histoire, il n'y avait personne, et nous étions heureux de faire cette promenade. Malheureusement, lorsque nous nous approchions du site, les hurlements d'une meute de loups nous ont empêché d'aller plus avant pour notre rencontre avec les fantômes hittites. Peu sensibles finalement à la poésie de la situation, nous sommes revenus au village à toute vitesse. Ce soir-là, nous avons compris qu'il valait mieux visiter les fouilles le matin en compagnie des chèvres, plutôt que la nuit avec des loups.

Fig. 2: David à Nişantaş en 1991.
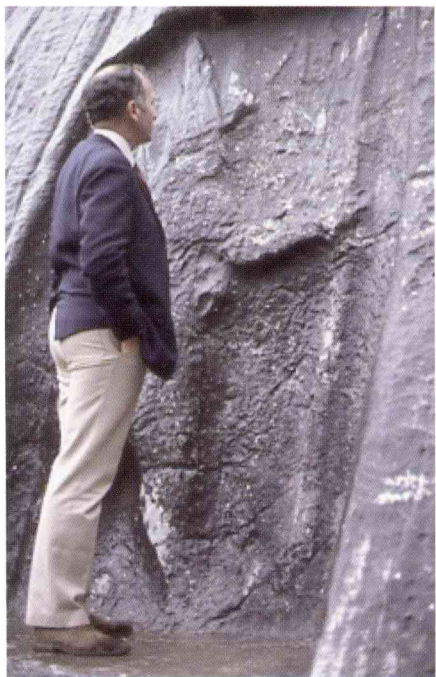

Fig. 3: David et Hatice à Nişantaş en 1991.

Fig. 4: David à Karabel en 1984.

Toujours à Boğazköy, dans les années 1981-82, avant que le motel ne devienne un hôtel chic, il y avait un bassin derrière la salle du restaurant. Un soir, après un dîner arrosé de *rakı,* ne pouvant résister aux cris de joie des enfants qui se baignaient, nous nous sommes nous aussi jetés dans l'eau du bassin. Cette eau avait un goût bizarre, que nous avons attribué d'abord à un arrière-goût de *rakı,* mais ma mère, Nesrin Bağana, qui nous accompagnait avec O. R. Gurney, m'a fait remarquer le lendemain que l'eau ne s'écoulait pas du bassin et m'a montré que la surface était recouverte de mousse. Ce qui nous avait échappé la nuit, sans doute à cause, sinon du *rakı,* du moins du manque d'éclairage autour du bassin.

En 1998, lorsque les responsables de l'ancien musée de Çorum ont eu la gentillesse de nous montrer les fragments de jarres ornées de reliefs peints découvertes en 1997 à Hüseyindede (près de Sungurlu-Çorum) par un paysan dans son champ, puis étudiés par Tunç Sipahi (Sipahi 2000) et par Tayfun Yıldırım, de l'Université d'Ankara (Yıldırım 2005), nous avons été heureux de pouvoir examiner de près les vestiges de ces jarres, qui sont maintenant restaurées et exposées dans le nouveau musée de Çorum. Leur décoration, très riche, représente, à côté de musiciens et de danseurs, des paysannes hittites endimanchées, assises sur un chariot pour aller à la fête, un acrobate sautant sur le dos d'un taureau, thème jusqu'ici considéré comme crétois (Sipahi 2001). Ces jarres hittites, qui datent du 16ᵉ siècle avant J.-C., sont contemporaines de la scène crétoise. Rencontre thématique notable entre deux civilisations pourtant géographiquement assez éloignées l'une de l'autre.

Chaque fois que nous en avions l'occasion, David et moi aimions nous arrêter à la station de bus de Yozgat, rien que pour voir les perdrix sauvages en liberté, qui se promènent sous les tables comme des poules. En 1990, en allant à Van au congrès sur l'Âge du Fer avec Dominique Collon, après la visite de Boğazköy l'arrêt à Yozgat était obligatoire. En compagnie des perdrix, nous avons longtemps attendu le premier car, qui devait nous emmener jusqu'à Sivas, où il fallait changer de car pour Erzurum. Ce dernier étant complet, Musa Türkben, le chauffeur, qui est devenu par la suite un de nos meilleurs amis, avec lequel nous avons voyagé plusieurs fois dans sa propre voiture en Anatolie, nous a inventé des places: il a fait s'accroupir David et Dominique Collon à l'arrière du bus, dans l'espace réservé aux valises; quant à moi, il m'a fait asseoir dans l'espace voyageurs quand même, mais sur une marche de 10 cm de hauteur, très dure pour un voyage qui a duré assez longtemps. A Erzurum, descendre du car fut difficile, à cause de la position de nos jambes durant le voyage, et parce que nous nous sommes trouvés, à terre, au milieu de poulets, de légumes, de fruits et de bidons d'huile d'olive en fer-blanc. Mais ce qui nous importait était d'arriver à Van avant le 5 août, à la veille du congrès. Cela fut possible grâce à Musa Türkben. Sans lui, nous aurions eu à regretter d'avoir manqué non seulement les savantes communications de nos collègues, mais aussi une somptueuse soirée dansante offerte par le préfet de Van.

Suite à la publication de Sedat Alp relative au groupe de Karadağ-Kızıldağ (Alp 1974), nous sommes allés, en 1989, voir l'inscription rupestre de Burunkaya. Notre ami Geoff Ryman nous accompagnait. Tous trois avons eu l'idée de pique-niquer sur le site, avec le peu de nourriture et de boisson qu'on avait emporté. La recherche du gros rocher portant l'inscription, perdu au milieu des champs à l'écart de toute agglomération, nous a donné du mal. Ayant réussi à le trouver, après avoir examiné cette inscription, nous avons déjeuné, avec plaisir. Mais, au moment de partir, nous avons vu arriver une bande de six jeunes garçons, de 8 à 10 ans, armés de fusils de chasse empruntés à leur père et dirigés contre nous. Le pire était que leurs bras tremblaient, les fusils étant manifestement trop lourds pour eux. Cette autre surprise anatolienne, et le sentiment d'insécurité, n'étaient guère agréables. Les garçons ont tout de suite vu les bracelets que je portais. Le plus âgé m'a demandé si je ne les avais pas trouvés « dans » le rocher, « dans » l'inscription. Estimant que répondre « non » ne serait pas suffisant pour assurer notre survie, j'ai tout d'abord essayé de leur faire comprendre que chercher et trouver un objet « dans » un bloc de rocher était un projet peu logique et une opération matériellement impossible. Puis je leur ai dit que j'avais acheté mes bracelets au bazar de Konya, et qu'ils pouvaient eux

aussi s'en procurer pour pas cher et en faire cadeau à leur mère. Dès qu'ils ont entendu parler de leur mère, l'atmosphère, jusque-là plutôt tendue, s'est soudain améliorée. Ils ont peut-être pensé que je connaissais leur mère. En tout cas, grâce à ce mot-clef magique, « mère », et peut-être à mes bracelets bon marché, nous avons évité un événement à coup sûr désagréable.

Je me souviens aussi d'une visite, sans hache ni fusil comme à Karabel et à Burunkaya, mais très fatigante, dans la vallée de Keşlik, où on avait trouvé la stèle du dieu de l'Orage qui est conservée dans le musée de Niğde depuis 1962, et qui a été publiée par A. Çmaroğlu (1981). C'était en octobre 1981. Après avoir participé à Ankara au congrès international organisé par la Société turque d'histoire, fondée par Atatürk, en l'honneur du centième anniversaire de sa naissance, nous avions décidé de faire une tournée archéologique. Après avoir visité Yazılıkaya de Boğazköy, nous nous sommes rendus dans la région de Kayseri. Laissant la voiture au bord d'un champ dans la vallée de Keşlik, nous avons cherché un nommé Abdullah Tanık, qui nous avait été recommandé au musée de Niğde, car il était réputé pour sa connaissance de la vallée et qu'il était propriétaire du terrain sur lequel avait été trouvée la stèle. Il nous a assuré que l'endroit où se trouvait le socle de cette stèle n'était pas loin, et qu'on y arriverait vite, en 20 minutes tout au plus en marchant bien. Sachant quelles appréciations peuvent formuler les paysans sur les distances et sur le temps, David et moi étions un peu sceptiques, voire réticents. En effet, c'est seulement au bout de presque deux heures de marche à travers un beau paysage fait de terrains accidentés, sous un soleil torride, que nous sommes arrivés au pied de la roche ayant servi de socle. Il n'y avait là rien de remarquable à voir, sinon, à la surface du rocher, le trou de fixation de la stèle, ce qui nous a convaincus que nous étions bien sur le site que nous cherchions (*ibid.* pl. 133, 1-2). Ensuite, Abdullah Bey nous a quitté et nous avons continué à marcher, sans bien savoir où nous allions, mais une surprise très agréable nous attendait : comme un mirage, est apparu un *çardak* (tente de paysan faite de feuillages) complètement isolé, où nous avons bu de l'*ayran* (yogourt liquide) fraîchement préparé par un jeune berger. Cet arrêt, sublime, nous a donné force et courage pour retourner à la voiture. Le soir, à Niğde, nous avons bien mangé et bu, « ensuqués », comme on dit dans le Midi de la France, de chaleur et des fatigues de la journée.

La même année, après le congrès d'Ankara et avant l'expédition de Keşlik, nous sommes allées à Fraktın. Il faut dire ici que David est un grand connaisseur des oiseaux, et par ailleurs des plantes; cela a souvent été un plaisir de le voir chercher à reconnaître un des oiseaux qui survolait en chantant notre jardin en Provence. Lors de la visite de Fraktın, j'ai vu un énorme oiseau pénétrer dans les arbres, et David courir derrière lui, sans doute pour l'identifier. En attendant son retour, ce qui a pris un certain temps, j'ai pu examiner la falaise et contempler le relief à loisir, mais toute seule.

En 1996, en nous rendant au IIIe Congrès international d'hittitologie à Çorum, nous nous sommes d'abord arrêtés chez notre ami Musa, à Karakaya, petit village dans la presqu'île de Bodrum. C'est cette année là que le relief de Kurunta, à Hatip près de Konya, avait été découvert par Hasan Bahar, professeur à l'université Selçuk de Konya. Profitant de l'occasion, nous sommes allés voir ce relief rupestre, qui a une grande importance historique. Le repérage du relief, qui se trouve très haut sur une falaise et sur une surface irrégulière, nous a pris du temps. Comme les traditions hittites le suggéraient, c'est au-dessus d'une source que nous l'avons trouvé, surmonté par quelques cupules qui m'intéressaient personnellement (Gonnet 1993). A Çorum, nous nous sommes bien sûr vantés devant nos collègues d'avoir vu ce relief avant tout le monde.

Comment oublier l'éclipse de lune à laquelle nous avons assisté depuis la terrasse de la maison de Musa, face à la Méditerranée, ou la horde de biches qui ont traversé la route devant notre voiture dans la nuit, dans un beau paysage de Phrygie, ou encore les pique-niques et les courtes siestes que nous avons faites au pied de la plupart des sites, à Akhisar, Burunkaya, Karadağ, Yazılıkaya de Midas, et les fous rires que nous avons eu devant les situations naïves et drôles qui ne manquent jamais en Anatolie ?

Souvent, lorsque nous voulions visiter à l'improviste de petits musées provinciaux, on nous annonçait que le directeur venait de partir en emportant la clef de la salle d'exposition. Comme nous avions l'habitude de ce scénario, on demandait chaque fois, pour évaluer le temps d'attente : « *nereye gitti* ? *gelecek mi* ? » (où est-il allé? viendra-t-il?); on nous répondait toujours « *hemen gelir* » (il viendra tout de suite). Stoïques, nous attendions le directeur sagement, en bavardant avec le personnel. Peu de temps après en général, arrivait une personne munie de la clef, qui nous faisait visiter le musée avec sourires et gentillesse, nous offrant des tasses de thé et nous faisant ainsi oublier la mini-colère que nous avions eue, due au temps que nous avions perdu. Notre visite s'achevait, hors du musée, par un grand éclat de rire.

Je voudrais aussi évoquer nos « anniversaires », que David et moi avons fêtés en Anatolie quand nous nous y trouvions, à une date que l'on fixait par avance. Nous sommes en effet nés tous deux en été, à des dates proches. Souvent, on allait à Boğazköy pour voir le progrès des fouilles et rendre visite à notre ami Peter Neve, alors responsable du site, dans la maison de fouille donnant sur la rue principale du village, baptisée par les habitants « boulevard de l'oncle Nifi » (= Neve pour les autochtones). A notre anniversaire de 1990, à Boğazköy, ont participé, outre P. Neve, Gernot Wilhelm et Marie-France Auzépy, amie byzantiniste de Paris. Ce jour-là, le 7 septembre dans l'après-midi, Marie-France et moi avons cherché dans le village les bougies de circonstance; dans l'épicerie, où il y avait un peu de tout, pain, clefs, chaussures, gants, piles, miel, fromage, etc., nous n'en avons trouvé qu'une dizaine, chacune formant curieusement un zig-zag. Comme cadeau d'anniversaire offert par nos amis, David a reçu un crayon et j'ai eu droit à des bonbons acidulés de couleur jaune, bleu ou rose. Je dois dire aussi que le cuisinier de l'hôtel Aşıkoğlu avait voulu nous offrir un agneau, projetant de le tuer sur place en notre honneur. Sans que mes amis s'en rendent compte, j'ai empêché in extremis cette boucherie. Nous n'avons certes pas eu les probablement succulentes côtelettes de cet agneau, mais nous avons bien mangé et soufflé nos dix bougies, qui tenaient à peine debout sur un plateau gondolé.

Notre dernier anniversaire commun jusqu'à ce jour, nous l'avons fêté à Doğu Beyazıt, au pied du Mont Ararat, en 2002. L'hôtel où nous logions nous a offert un superbe gâteau. Malgré sa belle apparence (cf. Fig. 5), ce gâteau, préparé avec soin et gentillesse par de jeunes kurdes, nous a rendu malades.

Je tiens aussi à évoquer deux souvenirs indirectement liés à l'Anatolie, mais directement à David. Lorsque j'enseignais à la Vᵉ Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, de 1982 à 1995, j'invitais tous les ans un ou deux collègues étrangers pour que mes élèves et auditeurs profitent des résultats de leurs travaux. Ainsi, ils ont entendu plusieurs fois Itamar Singer, Alfonso Archi, Peter Neve, Jak Yakar, Massimo Forlanini et bien sûr David Hawkins. A propos des deux conférences de David, je me souviens qu'une fois, chez moi, ayant préparé les diapositives pour sa conférence, il prenait une douche. Profitant de son absence momentanée, un de mes chats, Téki, après avoir arrosé sa valise, avait commencé à jouer au football avec l'une de ses diapositives de Karkemish. Je ne peux pas dire l'émotion que j'ai ressentie en nettoyant précipitamment la valise et en remplaçant la diapositive de David par une des miennes, la sienne étant marquée, et vraiment abîmée, par les griffes du chat. Lors de sa conférence, David n'a pas vraiment reconnu sa diapositive, mais le gentleman qu'il est n'a pas cru nécessaire de manifester son étonnement devant le public. Naturellement, après la conférence, je lui ai expliqué ce qui s'était passé et cela l'a bien amusé.

Une autre fois, lors de son exposé à mon séminaire, j'ai vu que David était gêné par quelque chose qui lui collait dans la bouche et qu'il essayait d'ôter en tournant le dos au public. J'ai vite compris qu'il s'agissait du poil de l'un de mes chats. Ce qui est drôle, c'est que quelques jours auparavant, en visitant l'exposition Daumier au Musée d'Orsay, nous avions remarqué une caricature qui représentait un personnage essayant d'enlever lui aussi quelque chose de sa bouche : peut-être aussi un poil de chat ?

Je reviens, pour finir, à l'Anatolie. Les voyages avec David étaient toujours ponctués par la perte de son chapeau sur un site, et par les problèmes que provoquait sa grosse, rigide et lourde valise, contenant le manuscrit gigantesque de son *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, publié en 1999 et 2000 par

Fig. 5: Anniversaire à Doğu Beyazıt en 2002.

Walter de Gruyter, qui nous accompagnait toujours. Cette valise, plus d'une fois, a failli tomber sur les pieds de quelqu'un ou a donné un tour de rein à un porteur qui voulait la soulever sans savoir combien elle pesait. David et moi avons réellement eu beaucoup de problèmes avec cette valise. Une fois, sa poignée s'est rompue à la descente du car, et il ne nous était possible ni de la soulever, ni de la transporter. Mais, comme il arrive toujours en Anatolie, quelqu'un est immédiatement apparu et s'est empressé d'accourir à notre secours. C'était un jeune, très serviable, qui nous apportait une ficelle. Mais c'était une ficelle tout juste capable de supporter un petit paquet de *lokoum* ; or la valise de David ne pesait pas moins de 25 kilos.

Merci, David, pour tout ce que tu nous a offert, amicalement et scientifiquement, toujours avec ton humour irremplaçable. Grand merci mon ami.

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Fig. 5: Anniversaire à Doğu Beyazıt en 2002.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU DER HETHISCHEN PHRASE „UND SIE BEGANNEN IHRE HÄUSER ZU FRESSEN"

Volkert Haas

Berlin

The metaphor 'eat/devour the house', i.e., 'destroy the property, is traced in Hittite texts (Telipinu Decree, Song of Release) and in other ancient and modern literary contexts. Its universal usage serves as a warning against its identification as an Indo-European legal or poetic expression.

Der Erlaß des hethischen Königs Telipinu berichtet von der erfolgreichen Regierung Hattusilis I., der die eroberten Gebiete seinen Söhnen unterstellte. Die Mißstände aber und die daraus folgende Schwächung des Reiches wird in §7 durch Verwalter der Länderein seiner Söhne in der folgenden Weise beschrieben:

21 *ma-a-an ap-pí-iz-zi-ia-an-ma* ÌR^MEŠ DUMU^MEŠ LUGAL [*mar*]-*še-eš-še-ir* ([*mar*]-*še-e-ir*)
   nu É^MEŠ-*ŠU-NU* (É^HI.A-*ŠU-NU*)

22 *ka-ri-pu-u-wa-an da-a-ir iš-ḫa-*[*š*]*a-aš-ma-aš-ša-an* (-]-*aš-ša-ma-aš-ša-an*) [(*t*)]*a-aš-ta-še-*
   eš-ki-u-wa-an (*ta-aš-ta-ši*[-*ki*]-[) [*da*]-*a-ir*

23 *nu e-eš-ḫar-šum-mi-it e-eš-šu-wa-*[*an*] *ti-i-e-ir* ([*da*]-*a-ir*)

21 Als aber später die Diener der Königssöhne betrügerisch wurden, begannen sie ihre Häuser
22 zu fressen, gegen ihre Herren begannen sie zu konspirieren,
23 und immer wieder ihr Blut zu vergießen.

Mit der Formel *karipuwan dair* „sie begannen zu fressen" ist, wie Inge Hoffmann, die Bearbeiterin des Telipinu-Erlaßes, ausführt, gemeint, daß die Diener den Besitz der ‚Königssöhne' verwirtschaften bzw. sich selbst aneignen (Hoffman 1984:17 Anm. 3).

„Die Diener der Königssöhne" sind dieser Textstelle zufolge Untergebene, denen die großen Latifundien ihrer Herren zur Verwaltung anvertraut sind. Wenn sie „ihre (der Königssöhne) Häuser fressen", so ist damit metaphorisch zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß sie die Wirtschaften bis zum Ruin ausbeuten, sich also rücksichtslos bereichern. Sie sind so mächtig, sich gegen ihre Herren auflehnen zu können; ja diese sogar zu töten.

Mit dieser Stelle verbindet Erich Neu sinngemäß eine Parabel aus der hurritisch-hethischen Bilingue (Neu 1996; vgl. auch 1988: 18 f.). Die in der Bilingue geschilderten historischen Ereignisse um die Stadt Ebla dürften in die Zeit Hattusilis I. zu stellen sein. Die zu vergleichende Parabel über einen ausbeuterischen Landesherrn (*utneyašḫa-*[1], EN KUR-*TI*), der die Besitztümer der Bevölkerung „verschluckt" (hethitisch *pašišk-*, hurritisch *pešiḫ-*), und damit gegen die moralisch-ethischen Normen verstößt, lautet (Neu 1996:86 f.):

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1. *utneyašḫa-* ist eine Kontamination von **utneyaš išḫa-* „Herr des Landes"; siehe Neu 1986: 114 f.

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28 [*g*]*i-i-lu-ši-iš-kán* ^NINDA*ku-gul-la-an* UDUN-*ni-ia-az pa-ra-a šal-la-an-na-i pa-ra-a-an-kán* UDUN-*ia-az ḫu-it-ti-at*

29 [*na-an-k*]*án an-da* Ì-*i šu-ú-ni-at ša-ak-ni-ia-an-kán an-da šu-ú-ni-at na-aš-za e-ša-at na-an a-da-a-an-na da-iš*

30 [*Ú-UL g*]*i-i-lu-ú-ši-iš nu an-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš* ^LÚ*ut-ni-ia-aš-ḫa-an ku-in BE-EL-ŠU i-e-zi nu-uš-ša-an a-pé-e-da-ni*

31 [URU-*ri*] EGIR-*an* IGI.DU₈^HI.A *da-a-an-na ma-ak-nu-ut na-aš me-ek-ki šu-u-ul-li-it na-aš-ta nam-ma* URU-*an an-da Ú-UL*

32 [*a-uš-z*]*i na-an-za* PA-NI BE-⌈LÍ⌉-*ŠU* ⌈*i-ši*⌉-*ia-aḫ-ḫu-u-an-zi tar-ḫu-ir nu* IGI.DU₈^HI.A *ku-e pa-a-ši-iš-ki-it na-at* PA-NI BE-LÍ-*ŠU li-il-ḫu-wa-an da-iš*

28 Ein *gilušši*-Tier zerrt aus einem Ofen ein *kugulla*-Gebäck; heraus aus dem Ofen zog es es;
29 [und] tauchte [es] in Öl; in Öl tauchte es es. Es setzte sich und legte sich zum Fressen hin.
30 [Nicht] ein *gilušši*-Tier (ist es), sondern ein Mensch, den sein Herr zum Landesherrn (*utneyašḫa-*) macht.
31 In jener [Stadt] oben vermehrte er hinterher die Einnahme von Abgaben. Er suchte großen Streit und [schau]t die Stadt nicht mehr an.
32 Ihn vermochte man vor seinem Herrn anzuzeigen. Und welche Abgaben er verschluckt hatte (*pašiškit*), die begann er vor seinem Herrn hin zu gießen.

Die Struktur und Organisation des hethitischen Reiches war zur zeit Hattusilis I. noch weit von einer stabilen Ordnung und gefestigten Herrschaft entfernt. Die eroberten Gebiete legt Hattusili in die Hände der Königssöhne: „Sobald er aber vom Feldzug zurückkommt, geht jeder seiner Söhne (irgend)wohin in ein (erobertes) Land" (Tel.-Erlaß § 6; Klengel 1994:54 ff.).

Wer aber sind diese erstaunlich mächtigen 'Diener' (ÌR)?[2] Der zitierte Absatz aus dem Telipinu-Erlaß würde umso plausibler, wenn man annimmt, daß die einst unabhängigen Landesherrn nach der Eroberung ihres Herrschaftsbereiches nun zu 'Dienern' der Königssöhne degradiert wurden und sich ihrer neuen Herren zu entledigen suchten. Demnach bezeichnete zu der zeit Hattusili I. der Titel *utneyašḫa-* einen urspünglich souveränen Territorialfürsten, der nach der Unterwerfung den ‚Königssöhnen' untergeordnet worden ist. In der Großreichzeit, spätestens seit Hattusili III., wird die Bezeichung ‚Herr des Landes' zu einem Ehrentitel (von Schuler 1957-1971:238 f.), wie ihn der Obertafelschreiber Anuwanza, welcher als 'Herr des Landes Nerik' bezeichnet ist,[3] trägt. Im 9. Jahrhundert erseint der Titel 'Landsherr' in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung in den Titulaturen der Könige von Karkemiš, wo er als gleichwertig mit der Bezeichnung 'König' steht: Die Herrscher Astuwatamanza, Suhi II. und Katuwa nennen sich statt 'König' auch 'Landesherr (REGIO.DOMINUS) der Stadt Karkemiš'.[4]

Die Metaphorik 'fressen' im übetragenen Sinn 'vernichten' ist überaus nahe liegend und entsprechend verbreitet: Land, Menschen oder Besitz zu fressen im Sinne von vernichten[5] ist in akkadischen Omina

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2. Bezöge man die beiden Stellen – aus dem Erlaß des Telepinu und der Parabel – aufeinander, so entspräche in der Parabel hethitisch *utneyašḫa-* [hurritisch *ḫaziyan* (von akkadisch *ḫazannu, ḫazānu, haziannu, haziānu*)] den ‚Dienern' aus dem Erlaß des Telepinu. Dann wären die Diener der Königssöhne eben jene *utneyašḫa-* 'Landesherren'; doch ist die genaue Bedeutung dieses Titels in der zeit Hattusilis nicht zu ermitteln.

3. KUB 26.43 Rs. 34 ^m*A-nu-wa-an-za* DUB.SAR EN ^URU*Ne-ri-ik*; vgl. Haas 1970:24.

4. Inschrift KARKAMIŠ A1la; vgl. Hawkins 1995:73–85; siehe auch 79 mit Anm. 42; ferner Hawkins 2000:96.

5. Akkadisch *akālu* ist in den Omina-Apodosen mit hethitisch *karap-* / *karip-* wiedergeben.

aus Boğazköy sowie deren hethitischen Übersetzungen gut belegt und bezieht sich auf Götter und Naturgewalten, auf wilde Tiere und Epidemien, aber auch auf Menschen.[6]

Belegt ist sie auch in urartäischen Königsinschriften, in denen urartäisch *at-* ,essen' ebenfalls in der Bedeutung ,vernichten, plündern' gebraucht ist (Melikišvili 1971:80):

33 DINGIR*hal-di-ni uš-ta-bi ma-ši-ni-e* GIŠ*šu-ri-i-e*

34 *ka-ru-ni* KUR*ma-na-ni* KUR-*ni-e ka-ru-ni* KUR*e-ti-ú-ni-[ni]*

35 *te-e-qu-ú-a-li-e* m*ar-gi-iš-ti-i-ka-a-[i]*

36 DINGIR*hal-di-i ku-ru-ni* DINGIR[*hal-d*]*i-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-[ni]*

37 m*ar-gi-iš-ti-še* m*mì-nu-a-hi-ni-e-še a-li-e*

38 *uš-ta-di* KUR*ma-na-i-d*[*i*] KUR-*ni a-tú-bi* URUMEŠ GIBIL-*bi* ...

33 Haldi zog aus mit seiner Lanze.

34 Er besiegte das Land Mana, er besiegte das Land Etiuni,

35 er warf sie (die Länder) nieder vor Argišti.

36 Mit (der Hilfe) des Haldi (und) durch die Größe des Haldi

37 spricht Argišti, der Sohn des Minua:

38 "Ich zog gegen das Land Mana, ich fraß das Land, die Städte verbrannte ich."[7]

Wie der Haushalt des Odysseus von den Freiern bei ihrem „gewaltsamen Fressen" vernichtet wird, ist in den Gesängen der Odyssee beschrieben.[8]

Im Indonesischen umfasst die Semantik der Körperfunktion *makan* „essen" auch ,jemandes Besitz rauben'; im Türkischen bedeutet *yemek* ,essen', ,sich vergreifen, zugrunde richten, umbringen, vernichten'.

Sir Austen Henry Layard schildert in seinem im Jahre 1851 erstmals erschienenem Werk *Nineveh and its Remains* die grausamen und über die Maßen korrupten Beamten des Mohammed Pascha in Mossul: „The villages, and the Arab tribes, had not suffered less than the townspeople. The Pasha was accustomed to give instructions to those who were sent to collect money, in three words: 'Go, destroy, eat!' and his agents were not generally backward in entering into the spirit of them. The tribes, who had been attacked and plundered, were retaliating upon caravans and travelers, or laying waste the cultivated parts of the pashalic." Die Phrase 'Go, destroy, eat' ist mit der Anmerkung versehen: „To eat money, i.e., to get money unlawfully, or by pillage, is a common expression in the East" (Layard 1867:13).

Doch nicht nur im Orient, sondern z.B. auch in dem Roman *La Recherche de l'Absolu* von Honoré de Balzac findet sich die Phrase. Es geht um die durch den Vater, dem Alchimisten, ruinierte Familie Claes: „Votre père a bon appétit. Il a, de la première bouchée, avalé vos bois"; in der deutschen Übersetzung von Emmi Hirschberg (*Der Alchimist*, Ernst Rowohlt Verlag): „Ihr Vater ist bei gutem Appetit. Er hat ihren Wald auf den ersten Bissen vertilgt", sagt der Notar zu Marguerite, der Tochter des Balthasar Claes, und die Magd meint: „Son vieux sorcier de père a valera la maison sans dire une parole chrétienne, le sorcier"; „Ihr alter Hexenmeister von Vater wird noch das Haus herunterschlucken und keinen christlichen Spruch

dabei sagen, dieser Hexenmeister"; und: „Pour toute la société, Balthasar était un homme à interdire, un mauvais père, qui avait mangé six fortunes, des millions"; „Der ganzen Gesellschaft galt Balthasar als ein Mann, den man unter Kuratell stellen sollte, als ein schlechter Vater, der sechs Vermögen aufgegessen hatte, Millionen!"[9]

George Dunkel weist darauf hin, daß die Phrase im Erlaß des Königs Telipinu, in der Odyssee und in den vedischen Texten dann gebraucht wird, wenn der väterliche Besitz nicht auf den Sohn des pater familias übergeht, sondern von anderen usurpiert wird. Es läge mithin ein indogermanischer „familienrechtlicher Ausdruck" vor (Dunkel 187:91–100).

Die Metaphorik essen / fressen / verschlucken = vernichten ist, wie dargestellt, beinahe weltweit zu belegen, so daß die Annahme, in dieser Phrase (wenn auch nur in Verbindung mit dem betrogenen Erben) das Relikt einer indogermanischen Rechts- oder Dichtersprache zu erkennen, wie auch manch andere Versuche der Rekonstruktion einstiger indogermanischer Kulturinsitutionen in prähistorischer Zeit, mit Zurückhaltung betrachtet werden sollte.

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6. Belege im CAD A/I, 253 – 255. KUB 30.9 11'-12' (akkadisch) „...im Lande ist ständig Trauer, Fressen des Adad wird stattfinden" (Tischler 2004:112 f.) oder KUB 8.42 Vs. II? 7' (hethitisch) „...[wird] *ak*[*ni*] fressen" (Riemschneider 1970: 42 f.). In der Serie *iqqur īpuš* wird Akni mit Nergal und Erra identifiziert.

7. Hehl 80, S. 86ff. und Tafel 52 = UKN 127; vgl. auch den Brief Nr.1 Vs. 8-9 aus Bastam (Salvini 1979: 118).

8. Odyssee 11.116, 13.419, 14.377, 17.378; siehe Dunkel 1987: 93 f.

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9. Honoré de Balzac, La Recherche de l'Absolu. Oevres complètes de Balzac, Tome 15, La Comédie Humaine Club de l'Honnête home, Paris 1956. Ètudes philosophiques 2, 217, 225, 266.

ASYNDETON IN VORANGESTELLTEN TEMPORALEN NEBENSÄTZEN MIT DER KONJUNKTION *KUWAPI*?

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This paper will focus on an important question relevant for the interpretation of a much debated part of the so-called Tawagalawa Letter: KUB 14.3 I 71-74.

Did the temporal subordinate clause with the conjunction *kuwapi* (I 71-72) have to be connected with the preceding main clause at the beginning of I 71 ([nu=za² *U*]*L* memaš "he said No") because of its asyndetic construction as it has been assumed and even claimed in some important publications? Or does the asyndeton also appear in subordinate clauses preceding the main clause (in this case I 73 or I 73-74)?

Firstly, this question can be positively answered on the basis of textual evidence from the New Hittite Period. Secondly, the cause for the occurence of asyndeton can also be found in this and other contemporary documents: In excursive parentheses referring to earlier events and situations that are introduced with preceding kuwapi-clauses, asyndeton indicates the adjournment or deviation of the main text as well as in other parenthetical annotations.

1. AUSGANGSPUNKT: EINE STRITTIGE STELLE IM SOG. TAWAGALAWA-BRIEF (KUB 14.3 I 71-74)

Ein halbes Jahrhundert lang hatte Ferdinand Sommers beeindruckende Bearbeitung des sog. Tawagalawa-Briefes (1932:2-194) vielen Forschern unterschiedlicher fachlicher Provenienz, insbesondere Hethitologen und Mykenologen, als eine wesentliche Basis bei der Beschäftigung mit der Aḫḫiyawa-Frage gedient. Nur ganz vereinzelt waren kritische Anmerkungen zu dessen philologischer Bearbeitung des Textes vorgebracht worden (Ranoszek 1938:38-39; Schachermeyr 1935:25).

Zu Beginn der 1980er Jahre unterzog dann Hans Gustav Güterbock das Dokument (VAT 6692/ KUB 14.3), das das Schreiben eines Königs von Ḫatti – wahrscheinlich Ḫattušilis III.[1] - an einen König von Aḫḫiyawa darstellt, anhand von Fotos einer erneuten intensiven Durchsicht.[2] Dadurch konnte er Schwachstellen in Sommers Bearbeitung ausfindig machen (Güterbock 1983:135-137, 1984:119-121). Er war es auch, der als erster unter den Fachleuten einer völlig neuen Interpretation wesentlicher Passagen in Kolumne I und am Beginn von Kolumne II dieses Dokumentes zustimmte (Güterbock 1984:120 mit Anm.28 und 1990:159-160). Diese Neuinterpretation hatten damals Itamar Singer (1983:209-214) und ich selbst (Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:47-60)[3] völlig unabhängig voneinander vorgelegt. Beide

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1. Heinhold-Krahmer 2002:359 (mit Literatur in Anm.8); vgl. jedoch Gurney 2002:133-141 (ebenfalls mit Literatur).
2. Siehe Hinweis bei Güterbock 1990:157-158.
3. Der zwischen 1981 und Anfang 1982 für Annelies Kammenhubers Festschrift vorbereitete Artikel musste aus Raumgründen in zwei Teilen publiziert werden. Während Teil I der „Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu" bereits 1983 in der Festschrift selbst erschien, verzögerte sich der Druck des längst fertig gestellten und dann erst im Frühjahr 1983 von der Herausgeberin der Festschrift Kammenhuber bei der Zeitschrift Orientalia eingereichten Teiles II leider bis 1986. Hinweise auf die Neuinterpretation finden sich bereits bei Heinhold-Krahmer 1983:82 mit Anm.5.; ferner ein Hinweis auf die Entstehungsgeschichte von Teil II bei Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:47.

Untersuchungen hatten zum Ergebnis geführt, dass dort berichtete hethiterfeindliche Aktionen und aktuelle Probleme im Westen Kleinasiens allesamt mit der sog. Piyamaradu-Affäre und nicht - wie zuvor allgemein angenommen – mit einer Tawagalawa-Affäre in Beziehung zu bringen seien. Der nur insgesamt drei Mal erwähnte und der Aḫḫiyawa-Sphäre angehörende Tawagalawa (I 3, I 71, II 61), nach dem der Text von Forrer (1929:95) benannt worden war, scheint den Hethitern jedenfalls zur Zeit der Abfassung des Schriftstückes keine Schwierigkeiten bereitet zu haben. Er wurde von Seiten des Hethiterkönigs nur innerhalb kleinerer Exkurse zur Erklärung oder sogar Rechtfertigung bestimmter zurückliegender Vorkommnisse und Handlungsweisen ins Spiel gebracht. Dagegen stellte für letzteren die Auslieferung seines flüchtigen Untertanen - vielleicht auch ehemaligen Vasallen (hierzu zuletzt Miller 2006:241) - Piyamaradu durch den König von Aḫḫiyawa das zentrale Anliegen innerhalb seines Schreibens dar (Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:47 und 56; Singer 1983:210-213).[4]

Obgleich Güterbock diese Deutung ohne Einschränkung billigte – es entfielen durch sie zweifellos wesentliche Probleme der früheren Interpretation (Güterbock 1990:158-159), so konnte er sich dennoch mit einigen Details nicht einverstanden erklären. Diese betrafen vor allem die äußerst wichtigen, aber wohl auch schwierigsten und nach wie vor umstrittenen Zeilen I 71-74 (Ende Kol.I), einen Abschnitt, bei dem auch die beiden ansonsten übereinstimmenden Neuinterpretationen in einigen wesentlichen Punkten voneinander abwichen. Er schrieb dazu (Güterbock 1990:160): „*Vieles leuchtet unmittelbar ein, aber nicht alle Einzelheiten sind überzeugend.*"

Zum besseren Verständnis der folgenden Ausführungen sei die Behandlung der Textpassage I 71-74 aus beiden Arbeiten vorangestellt:

a) bei Singer (1983:212):
I 71 [(nu) *Ú-U*]*L* me¹-ma-aš ᵐTa-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát-kán ku-wa-pí LUGAL.GAL ú²-[w]a²- nu²-un
72 [na-aš(?)] ᵁᴿᵁMi-el-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it
73 [ka-ru-]ú(?)-ma ᵐᴰKAL-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta LUGAL.GAL
74 [IGI-an-d]a(?) u-un-ni-eš-ta *U-UL*-aš šar-ku-uš LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta

71 [No!] he said. Even Tawagalawa, when (I), the Great King , came,
72 He came aside to Millawanda.
73 [Previousl]y(?) ᴰKAL was here and to you, Great King,
74 he drove [in(?)]. Wasn't he a powerful king?

b) bei Heinhold-Krahmer (1986:54):
I 71 [*Ú-U*]*L* me-ma-aš ᵐTa-u̯a-ga-la-u̯a-aš-pát-kán? ku-u̯a-pí LUGAL.GAL
72 [nu-kán] ᵁᴿᵁMi-el-la-u̯a-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it
73 [ka-ru-]ú??-ma ᵐ ᵈKAL-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta LUGAL.GAL
74 [IGI-an-d]a u-un-ni-eš-ta *Ú-UL*-aš šar-ku-uš LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta

I 71 [„Nei]n" hat er gesagt. Als der [oben erwähnte] Tawagalawa Großkönig war,
72 war er abseits (seitlich?) von Millawanda (vorbei-?) gekommen.
73 [früh]er? aber war ᵈKAL hier. Nun eilte dir ein Großkönig
74 [entgeg]en. War das kein mächtiger König?

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4. Im Prinzip schon von Sommer (1932:113) erkannt. Doch schloss dieser sich bei den Abschnitten I 6-31 und I 67-II 8 relativ unkritisch der auf Tawagalawa bezogenen Interpretation Forrers (1929:122-131 und 138-147) an.

Nach Güterbocks Auffassung (1990:160-161) hatten zwar beide Autoren den Beginn von 71[. .*U*]*L* me-ma-aš inhaltlich richtig mit Piyamaradu in Verbindung gebracht, von dem ja in den vorausgehenden Zeilen 67-70 analog zu dem schon I 8-11 Berichteten die Rede gewesen zu sein dürfte. Es wurde eindeutig in beiden Textpassagen auf die Entsendung des *TARTENU* (vgl. noch II 4-7) Bezug genommen, der diesen Mann auf dem Wagen zum hethitischen Großkönig bringen sollte. Des weiteren freilich gingen beide Interpretationen davon aus, dass die Ablehnung des renitenten Flüchtlings, mit jenem hethitischen Würdenträger mitzukommen, ebenso hier: I 71 [nu-za' *U*]*L*[5] me-ma-aš wie dort: I 11 nu-za *Ú-UL* me-m[a-aš] jeweils am Ende dieser *TARTENU*-Episode zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde. Doch dies schien Güterbock im Falle von I 71 nicht möglich zu sein, wenngleich er die anschließende, in beiden Untersuchungen übereinstimmende Lesung Tawagalawaš=pát=kán mit Worttrennung zwischen –kán und nachfolgendem kuwapi LUGAL.GAL wieder als *„über jeden Zweifel erhaben"* befand. Für ihn stellten sich vor allem die Fragen, wie weit der temporale Nebensatz mit kuwapi (I 71) reichte und zu welchem Hauptsatz er gehörte.

Version b) der obigen Interpretationen, in der als ein dem Hauptsatz vorangestellter Temporalsatz nur der nach [*U*]*L* memaš verbleibende Rest von I 71, nämlich: ᵐTawagalawaš=pát=kán kuwapi LUGAL. GAL („Als T. Großkönig war",) betrachtet wurde, lehnte er mit der Begründung ab, dass solche Sätze ohne Kopula nur im Sinne des Präsens nicht aber des Präteritums und Imperativs gebraucht worden seien. Diese Begründung war zwar nicht ganz korrekt, denn es existieren auch Beispiele für Sätze mit präteritalem Charakter bei fehlendem Verbum eš- („sein").[6] Dies ergab sich vor allem bei Sätzen mit karū „früher" oder karūiliyaza „von früher", insbesondere wenn darin eine Situation aus der Vergangenheit mit der jeweils gegenwärtigen verglichen wurde, oder bei solchen, die mit einem Satz im Präteritum koordiniert wurden (Cotticelli-Kurras 1991:78-81), Bedingungen also, denen schließlich auch unser temporaler Satz mit der Konjunktion kuwapi (KUB 14.3 I 71) im Sinne von „damals als" entsprechen konnte, indem er über ein Ereignis oder eine Situation in der Vergangenheit berichtete („Als T. Großönig war"). Doch scheint die Ablehnung Güterbocks aus einem anderen Grund berechtigt zu sein. Das in I 72 auf den Ortsnamen Millawanda folgende tapuša „seitlich, auf der/an die Seite, neben(an), nach nebenan"[7] erfordert die enklitische Partikel –kán, und diese befindet sich nach obiger Lesung bereits am ersten Wort des Temporalsatzes in I 71, am Namen Tawagalawa. Somit reichte der temporale Nebensatz mit der Konjunktion kuwapi gemäß einem früheren Vorschlag von I. Hoffmann (bei Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:54 Anm.48), deren Auffassung Güterbock teilte, von Tawagalawaš=pat=kan (I 71) bis tapuša uit (I 72).

Bei diesem Temporalsatz aber handelte es sich seiner Meinung nach nicht um einen Nebensatz, der dem Hauptsatz in I 73 vorangestellt war, sondern er verband ihn als nachgestellten untergeordneten Satz mit dem vorausgehenden [nu=za' *U*]*L* memaš als Hauptsatz. Seine Begründung dafür (1990:161) lautete folgendermaßen:

„Voranstellung des Nebensatzes ist zwar die im Hethitischen häufigste Konstruktion, es gibt aber auch nachgestellte Nebensätze, und zwar Relativ- und indirekte Fragesätze, Inhaltssätze mit dem erklärenden maḫḫan 'wie` und Temporalsätze. Charakteristisch ist, daß sie nicht mit nu eingeleitet werden, und das trifft auf unser Beispiel zu. Wenn dagegen ein Nebensatz den Anfang einer längeren Periode bildet, dann wird diese gewöhnlich mit nu an das Vorhergehende angeknüpft; das ist hier nicht der Fall."

Version a) wäre dieser Anforderung vielleicht bis zu einem gewissen Grade gerecht geworden, wenn sie nicht in anderer Hinsicht Anlass zur Kritik geboten hätte. Singer hatte als Beginn des Hauptsatzes in I 71 Tawagalawaš=pat=kan betrachtet, den er in I 72 mit tapuša uit enden ließ, dazwischen aber - sozusagen erst

5. So der einleuchtende, aufgrund der Raumverhältnisse mögliche Ergänzungsvorschlag Güterbocks (1990:160 mit Anm.14).

6. Hierzu Alparslan 2005:36 (mit Hinweis auf Cotticelli-Kurras 1991).

7. Siehe Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:54 Anm.49 und 1992:277-287 mit Literatur; Singer 1983:212 Anm.29.

in zweiter Position – einen eingeschobenen kuwapi-Satz angenommen. Als Prädikat dieses Temporalsatzes aber hatte er im Anschluss an Sommer (1932:6 und 85) am Ende von I 71 die Lesung bzw. Ergänzung ú-[w]a'-nu'-un erwogen, so dass dann mit dem zuvor genannten LUGAL.GAL der Hethiterkönig sich selbst gemeint hätte („als ich, der Großkönig, kam"). Doch dies schloss Güterbock von vornherein aus, da er unter Berufung auf die stark vergrößerte Photographie der Tafel von L. Ehelolf (Güterbock 1990:158 u. 161) und die Kollation durch L. Jakob-Rost[8] die Existenz dieses uwanun wohl zu Recht verneinte.[9]

Gemäß Güterbocks Annahme, dass nur ein nachgestellter temporaler Nebensatz ohne die Satzverknüpfung nu stehen könne, also asyndetisch auftrete, müsste die Übersetzung in I 71-72 lauten: „Er (= Piyamaradu) sagte Nein, als Tawagalawa, der Großkönig an die Seite von Millawanda kam." (Güterbock 1990:163-164). Dieser Auffassung folgte auch das in Chicago entstehende Hittite Dictionary (CHD P, -pat 4.a.).

Für die inhaltliche Interpretation des gesamten Abschnitts blieb das jedenfalls nicht ohne Konsequenzen. Während die Verfasserin dieser Zeilen die Vermutung geäußert hatte, die drei kurzen den Tawagalawa nennenden Episoden würden allesamt auf zeitlich Zurückliegendes Bezug nehmen, und Tawagalawa sei möglicherweise der Vorgänger des Adressaten auf dem T. Thron von Aḫḫiyawa gewesen (Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 50-55), war Güterbocks Aussage geeignet, doch wieder zu einer gewissen Annäherung an Sommers Auslegung von Kolumne I. zu führen.

Bei Güterbock selbst (1990:165) betraf dies zwar nur die zeitliche Einordnung des Erscheinens von Tawagalawa in oder bei Millawanda in I 71. Dieses Erscheinen war seiner Meinung nach zu eng mit dem Hauptthema des Briefes - worunter er zweifellos die darin aktuelle Piyamaradu-Affäre verstand – verbunden, als dass es in die Zeit vor Regierungsbeginn des Adressaten gefallen sein könnte.

Der Mykenologe V. Parker (1999:69 mit Anm.22) jedoch berief sich auf die Annahme Güterbocks (1990:161 und 163), dass eine Asyndese bei vorangestellten temporalen kuwapí-Sätzen wenig wahrscheinlich sei, gleichsam wie auf eine feste Regel. Er gelangte schließlich, indem er die eindeutig an Tawagalawa angeschlossenen enklitischen Partikeln -pát-kán[10] wie ehemals Forrer (1929:108) als nu-kán, also als Einleitung zu einem neuen Satz, zu lesen versuchte und somit das anscheinend notwendige nu für einen vorangestellten kuwapí-Satz zur Verfügung zu haben glaubte, zu einer Interpretation von I 71-74, die weitgehend wieder der von Sommer (1932:6-7 und 84-92) entsprach. Sie lautete nämlich (Parker 1999:75):

I 71. [*Ú-UL*] me-ma-aš ˡta-ụa-ga-la-ụa-aš nu-kán ku-ụa-pi LUGAL.GAL ú'-ụa'-nu'-un
72. [na-aš-kán] ᵁᴿᵁmi-el-la-ụa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it
73. [ka-ru-]ʳúˀ-ma ˡᵈLAMA-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta LUGAL.GAL
74. [IGI-an-d]a u-un-ni-eš-ta *Ú-UL*-aš šar-ku-uš LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta

„[Ne]in!" sagte er, der Taụagalaụaš. Und als ich, der Großkönig, kam, da kam er (d. i. Taụagalaụaš) abseits von Millaụanda. [Frühe]r aber war Kuruntaš (so die Lesung des hier geschriebenen Ideogramms LAMA) hier; nun kam dir (sc. o Taụagalaụaš) (gar) ein Großkönig [entgege]n. War das (etwa) kein großer König?!?"

So wurde hier - anders als in den oben genannten Arbeiten von Güterbock (1990:159), Heinhold-Krahmer (1986:54) und Singer (1983: 212) - in I 71 wieder Tawagalawa und nicht Piyamaradu als Subjekt

8. Bezugnahme darauf bei Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:54 Anm.43 und 44.

9. Eine erneute Kollation im Berliner Museum (Frühjahr 2007) unter Teilnahme von D. Hawkins, J. Hazenbos, S. Heinhold-Krahmer, J. Miller, E. Rieken und M. Weeden hat die Angaben von L. Jakob-Rost bestätigt und ebenfalls zum Ausschluss von uwanun geführt.

10. Die im Mai 2007 erfolgte Kollation (siehe oben Anm.9) bestätigte die Lesung Tawagalawaš=pát=kán (siehe zuvor schon Güterbock 1990:161) entgegen Parker 1999:72 und 75.

zu [U]L memaš betrachtet, was bedeutete, dass auch Tawagalawa der Mann gewesen wäre (Parker 1999:67-68), der den hethitischen *TARTENU* brüskierte, indem er sein Mitkommen verweigerte (I 8-15; I 67-71), obgleich er zuvor per Boten den König von Ḫatti um Aufnahme in den Vasallenstand gebeten hatte (I. 6-8). Der kuwapí-Satz in I 71 konnte dann wegen des vermeinlichten nu-kán entsprechend Güterbocks Maßgabe als vorangestellter Temporalsatz behandelt werden, den Parker aber - entgegen Güterbock (1990:161) - nur bis Ende von I 71 reichen ließ, da er dort erneut Sommers fragwürdiges uwanun einsetzte. Tawagalawa, um den es im ganzen Abschnitt I 6-15 laut Parker gegangen sein soll, wäre dann auch derjenige gewesen, der für die kriegerischen Ereignisse in und um Iyalanda verantwortlich gewesen wäre (I 16-31; Parker 1999:78-79). Lässt man hier außer Acht, dass einige zu Zeiten Forrers und Sommers noch nicht bekannte Fragmente Piyamaradu's Verwicklung in kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen im Westen Kleinasiens und dabei mindestens einmal auch in Verbindung mit Iyalanda bezeugen,[11] eine Tatsache, die von Parker bei seiner auf Tawagalawa bezogenen Interpretation nicht berücksichtigt wurde, so erscheint mir diese Interpretation dennoch revisionsbedürftig zu sein – jedenfalls soweit sie sich auf Güterbocks Aussage zur Unwahrscheinlichkeit vorangestellter asyndetischer Temporalsätze mit der Konjunktion kuwapi-Sätze stützt.

Als im Frühjahr 2007, insgesamt 75 Jahre nach Erscheinen von Sommers Aḫḫijavä-Urkunden, mit einer Neubearbeitung des sog. Tawagalawa-Briefes (VAT 6692) begonnen wurde, einem Projekt, zu dessen Fortschreiten der verehrte Jubilar mit seinem immensen Wissen inzwischen schon viel beigetragen hat, wurden die Beteiligten (siehe Anm.9) auch mit der Frage konfrontiert, wie der temporale kuwapí-Satz in I 71-72 zu bewerten sei und zu welchem Hauptsatz er gehörte (s. Beitrag von S. de Martino in dieser Fs). Musste er, wie es Güterbock wegen der von ihm vermissten Satzverknüpfung nu gefordert hatte, als nachgestellter Nebensatz behandelt werden, der dem zu Beginn von I 71 befindlichen Hauptsatz [nu=za U]L memaš folgte, oder konnte er doch, wie auch in J. Millers jüngst erschienener Übersetzung (2006:243), einem erst in I 73 enthaltenen Hauptsatz vorangestellt werden, was im Hinblick auf die inhaltliche Nähe von I 8-11 und I 67-70 sinnvoller erschien? War Asyndeton bei vorangestellten temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen im Junghethitischen doch möglich und - wenn ja – in welchen Fällen? Nach einer Überprüfung solcher Nebensätze anhand des Münchner Thesaurus[12] glaube ich, diese Frage beantworten zu können. Mit Asyndeton oder Asyndese wird hier und im Folgenden die unmittelbare Aufeinanderfolge von Sätzen (Haupt- und Nebensätzen) bezeichnet, bei denen die ansonsten im Junghethitischen verwendeten Satz verknüpfenden Partikeln nu, -ma und -a/-ya fehlen. In Unterscheidung zur temporalen Nebensatzkonjunktion kuwapi, werden nu sowie die Enklitika -ma und -a/-ya hier nicht als Konjunktionen, die sie ja durchaus darstellen, sondern als Satz einleitende oder Satz verknüpfende Partikeln bezeichnet.

2. ZU BISHERIGEN UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER KUWAPI UND/ODER ASYNDETON IM HETHITISCHEN

Güterbock hatte seine knappen oben (unter 1) zitierten Ausführungen zu asyndetischen und syndetischen temporalen Nebensätzen mit der Konjunktion kuwapi durch keinerlei Beispiele an Ort und Stelle untermauert, sondern sich mit einem Hinweis auf einen Abschnitt des in Chicago entstehenden Hittite Dictionary (CHD) begnügt.[13] Bei den dort aufgeführten Beispielen von asyndetischen Nebensätzen, die

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11. Zu diesen Fragmenten Heinhold-Krahmer 1983:84-86, 91, 93-95 und 1986:60-62; Singer 1983:208-209.

12. Für die Möglichkeit, die Belege im Münchner Thesaurus durchsehen zu dürfen, danke ich dem Autorenteam des Hethitischen Wörterbuches (HW²,) der zweiten völlig neu bearbeiteten Auflage von Friedrich 1952 (= HW).

13. „Vgl. CHD s.v. nu h 8" (so Zitat bei Güterbock 1990:161 Anm.17).

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allesamt dem Hauptsatz folgen, und somit Güterbocks Aussage entsprechen, handelt es sich um folgende:

a´ relative clauses

b´ temporal (kuitman) clauses

c´ indirect questions (mit einem Beispiel)

d´ comparative maḫḫan clauses

Es findet sich zumindest an dieser Stelle kein einziges Beispiel für einen temporalen kuwapi-Satz.[14] Unter b´ werden nur zwei temporale Sätze mit der Konjunktion kuitman vorgelegt. Das CHD - angefangen von Band L-N (1980-1989) bis hin zum 2005 erschienenen 2. Faszikel von Band Š – hat zwar bereits die Satz verknüpfenden Partikeln nu und -ma behandelt. Die Bearbeitung von kuwapi steht aber ebenso wie die von kuitman aus folgendem Grund noch aus: Die in München von A. Kammenhuber angefangene Neubearbeitung des Wörterbuches von J. Friedrich – beginnend mit A/ Lieferung 1 (1975) und derzeit bis Ḫ/Lieferung 17 (2007) gelangt - ist noch nicht bis zu Buchstabe K gediehen, mit dem der Anschluss an CHD (L-N) geplant ist.

Mit hethitisch kuwapi – sei es in seiner Eigenschaft als Adverb, sei es als Nebensatzkonjunktion – hatten sich freilich fast alle Hethitologen, angefangen von F. Hrozný (1917:145 [Anm.4] und 146) bis hin zu F. Sommer (1932:159-160, 413 [Indices]), schon während der Frühphase ihrer Disziplin[15] in irgendeiner Weise beschäftigen müssen und zu seiner Deutung beizutragen versucht. Daher konnte Friedrich unter dem Lemma kuṷapi in seinem Hethitischen Wörterbuch (1952:122) bereits folgendes zusammenstellen:

1) Adv. „wo; wohin; - wann; - irgendwo(hin); irgendwann, jemals". *UL* kuṷapi „nirgendwo, nirgends; - niemals".

2) Konj. „wo, wohin; - wann; dann wenn, damals als (Bil. Dupp. B I 4 = akk. kī A 4), sobald als, solange wie; - wenn wirklich, wenn überhaupt".

Speziell zum Auftreten von kuwapi in Temporalsätzen und zwar mit der Bedeutung „zur Zeit wo, damals als" äußerte sich Friedrich in seiner *Kurzgefaßten Grammatik* (1960:164) innerhalb seines Kapitels über Verschiedene Arten von Nebensätzen allerdings nur sehr knapp, indem er ein einziges Beispiel aus den Annalen Muršilis II. anführte, nämlich:

KBo 3.4 I 4: nu=za *ABU–IA* kuwapi DINGIR-*LIM*-iš DÙ-at. Seine Übersetzung lautete: *"Zur Zeit, da mein Vater Gott wurde"*. Hierbei handelt es sich um einen vorangestellten Nebensatz, dem dann der Hauptsatz (ᵐArnuwandaš=ma=za=kán ŠEŠ-*IA* ANA ᴳᴵˢGU.ZA *ABI-ŠU* ešat *„setzte sich Arnuwandaš, mein Bruder, auf den Thron seines Vaters"*) - versehen mit der enklitischen Konnektiv-Partikel -ma - nachfolgt. Gegenüber Friedrichs Übersetzung, scheint es sich angesichts der Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass Arnuwanda erst nach dem Tod seines Vaters den Thron bestieg und nicht während dieser starb, um einen die Vorzeitigkeit betreffenden Nebensatz zu handeln, der wohl besser mit Plusquamperfekt wiederzugeben wäre (Sternemann 1965:270). Dieser vorangestellte Temporalsatz wird jedenfalls mit nu eingeleitet, was voll und ganz Güterbocks oben (unter 1) zitierter Darstellung entspricht.

Erst R. Sternemann (1965:270-271) befasste sich im Rahmen seiner Untersuchung über „Temporale und konditionale Nebensätze des Hethitischen" auch ausführlicher mit der Konjunktion kuwapi. Bei seinen Ausführungen über temporale kuwapi-Sätze traf er vier Unterscheidungen, und zwar :

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14. Siehe aber CHD L-N, nu A h.1´ mit Beispiel eines asyndetischen vorangestellten kuwapi-Satzes am Beginn eines mythologischen Textes (KUB 12.60 I 1) aus althethitischer Zeit, jedoch in junghethitischer Niederschrift: karü kuwapi GAL-iš a'-r[u-na-aš...]; ferner CHD L-N, nu A c.1.c´: ein vorangestellter kuwapi-Satz mit syndetischer Konstruktion in Haupt- und Nebensatz (KUB 13.27 + Rs.19-20).

15. Siehe zum Beispiel auch Goetze 1933:297 und Friedrich 1930:141, 195 (Indices).

- kuwapi mit der Bedeutung „zu dem Zeitpunkt wo, als, sobald" zum Ausdruck der Vorzeitigkeit gegenüber dem Hauptsatzgeschehen,
- mit der Bedeutung „während, solange" zum Ausdruck eines gleichzeitigen Neben- und Hauptsatzgeschehens (mit Verweis auf Sommer 1932:159-160),
- mit der Bedeutung „seit (von dem Zeitpunkt an, wo)" zur Darstellung eines vom Zeitpunkt des Nebensatzgeschehens aus verlaufendes Hauptsatzgeschehens,
- mit der Bedeutung „sooft, immer wenn (solange als?)" zur Bezeichnung iterativer (oder auch durativer?) Vorgänge.

Diese vier Arten von Temporalsätzen belegte er mit Beispielen (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 I 4-5[wie oben Friedrich 1960:164] und IBoT 1.36 I 57-58; KUB 14.3 IV 3-4; KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 IV 44-45; KUB 14.10 I 19-21), bei denen jeweils – ohne dass dies vom Autor eigens betont wurde - der Nebensatz dem Hauptsatz vorangestellt war, und zudem ganz dem späteren Postulat Güterbocks entsprechend eine Satzverknüpfung (meist nu, einmal -ia) aufwies. Der nachfolgende Hauptsatz enthielt bei allen Belegen wie das schon oben zitierte Paradigma von Friedrich ebenfalls eine Satz verknüpfende Partikel.

Allerdings ging Sternemann im Verlauf seiner Untersuchung auch auf asyndetische temporale Nebensätze in Verbindung mit den von ihm behandelten Konjunktionen ein. Gleichzeitig konnte er schon auf weitere wichtige Teilergebnisse zurückgreifen, wie beispielsweise die auf A. Ungnad zurückgehende Beobachtung (1920:420) über das Fehlen Satz verknüpfender Partikeln am Beginn einer zitierten Rede, Sommers Bemerkungen zu parenthetischen Erläuterungssätzen mit Asyndeton (1932:54, 153 und passim) oder Friedrichs Hinweis, dass Asyndese in der „älteren Sprache" (im Althethitischen) häufiger auftrete als in der „jüngeren Sprache" (Friedrich 1960:157). Während sich in Friedrichs Aufzählung bestimmter Fälle (1960:157-160), bei denen auch in der jüngeren Sprache Asyndese auftritt oder auftreten kann, wie etwa am Beginn größerer Abschnitte, bei Prohibitiv- und Fragesätzen, bei parenthetischen Erläuterungssätzen, bei Irrealsätzen usw., kein einziger Beleg für eine asyndetische Konstruktion eines temporalen kuwapi-Satzes findet, gelangte Sternemann (1965:404) jedoch zu folgender, Feststellung: *„Daneben sei festgehalten, daß kuitman und kuu̯api in der jüngeren Spache auch asyndetisch auftreten können."*

Von den drei Belegen vorangestellter Nebensätze mit temporalem kuwapi, die ihn bezüglich dieser Konjunktion zu obiger Feststellung führten (Sternemann 1965:403), stammt einer aus den Annalen Muršilis II., zwei aber entnahm er dem bereits eingangs genannten Tawagalawa-Brief. Dagegen konnte er nur einen einzigen Beleg verzeichnen (IBoT 1 36 IV 29-30; Sternemann 1965:409), der einen asyndetisch konstruierten nachgestellten Nebensatz mit der Konjunktion kuwapi darstellt und daher mit Güterbocks Angaben harmonieren könnte. Ob bei kuwapi hier allerdings von einer temporalen oder lokalen Bedeutung auszugehen ist, erscheint keineswegs sicher.[16]

Erst in jüngster Zeit hat H.A. Hoffner in einem Artikel mit dem Titel „Asyndeton in Hittite" (2007) einen sehr wertvollen und nützlichen Überblick über das Auftreten asyndetischer Konstruktionen vorgelegt, der sich – anders als frühere Beiträge zu diesem Thema[17] - nicht nur auf eine bestimmte Sprachstufe des Hethitischen oder auf ganz bestimmte Textgattungen konzentriert, sondern diachron angelegt ist und zumindest in einigen der aufgeführten Fälle reichlich Belegmaterial aus Texten unterschiedlicher Gattung bietet. Es wird daraus bereits deutlich - auch wenn der Autor dies nicht anmerkt, dass Güterbocks oben zitierte Aussage zu asyndetischen Satzverbindungen zumindest partiell gewisser Modifikationen bedarf. Dies gilt etwa im Hinblick auf die von Güterbock erwähnten vorangestellten Relativsätze. So zeigt Hoffner (2007:391-393) anhand seiner aufgeführten Beispiele, dass diese Nebensatzart –egal ob

vorgestellt oder nachgestellt - im Althethitischen fast regelmäßig Asyndeton aufweist, und dass dies auch noch im Mittelhethitischen und Junghethitischen gelegentlich vorkommt, wenngleich dann gegenüber dem Althethitischen später eine Konstruktion mit Satzverknüpfung überwiegt.

Temporale Nebensätze scheinen nach dieser Untersuchung nur in zwei Fällen Asyndeton zu erfordern bzw. nach sich zu ziehen, und zwar tritt dies

a) in nachgestellten Nebensätzen mit der Konjunktion kuitman („bis") auf (Hoffner 2007:391). Diese Aussage bezieht sich also - im Gegensatz zu Güterbock – nicht auf nachgestellte Temporalsätze allgemein, sondern nur auf eine spezielle Art (mit kuitman)[18]. Über andere Arten temporaler nachgestellter Nebensätze (Friedrich 1960:164) wird hier nichts weiter ausgesagt;

b) in Hauptsätzen, die einem temporalen Nebensatz mit der Konjunktion män folgen (Hoffner 2007:395).

Zu den hier interessierenden temporalen Nebensätzen mit der Konjunktion kuwapi, ganz egal ob dem Hauptsatz voran- oder nachgestellt, findet sich bei Hoffner also (ähnlich wie schon in CHD L-N, nu h 8′) keine Bemerkung. Dies kann nicht ganz grundlos geschehen sein. Es gilt daher, Sternemanns oben zitierte und bislang wenig beachtete Aussage über das Auftreten von temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen mit asyndetischer Konstruktion anhand der Beispiele, auf die er hingewiesen, die er jedoch nicht vorgeführt und erläutert hat, näher zu überprüfen.

Der von ihm genannte Beleg aus den Annalen Muršilis II., KUB 14.15 IV 23 (Goetze 1933:68) stellt eine zitierte wörtliche Rede dar, versehen mit der dafür charakteristischen Partikel -u̯a(r).

IV 23-24 an-ni-ša-an-u̯a-ták-kán ku-u̯a-pí ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*KA* KUR-e-az ar-ḫa u̯a-at-ku-nu-ir
nu-u̯a-ták-kán *A-NA* LÚMEŠ URUKar-ki-ša še-er pí-i-ia-ni-iš-ki-nu-un
„Einst, als dich deine Brüder aus deinem Land verjagt hatten, empfahl ich dich den Leuten von Karkiša."

Der übergeordnete Satz schließt dabei mit nu an den asyndetischen Nebensatz an.

Unter Sternemanns genannten Belegen aus dem sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief befindet sich nicht die eingangs genannte problematische Passage, die zu dem hier vorliegenden Artikel führte (oben sub 1.), sondern es handelt sich um die Stellen KUB 14.3 III 46 und 56.

Das letztgenannte Beispiel (III 56) stellt, auch wenn dies im Gegensatz zu anderen parenthetischen Stellen im Text nicht ausdrücklich von Sommer in seinem Kommentar (1932:159-160) und in den Indices (1932:453) gesagt wurde, eindeutig einen Texteinschub dar, der der näheren Erläuterung eines Sachverhaltes diente. Bei Sätzen dieser Art tritt häufig Asyndeton auf, was auch schon Sommer verschiedentlich angemerkt hatte (beispielsweise 1932: 54, 129). In III 56 schließt sich dem vorangestellten asyndetischen Nebensatz mit temporalem kuwapi der Matrixsatz wie im zuvor gezeigten Beispiel Sternemanns mit der Partikel nu an. Voraus geht dem Temporalsatz in III 55-56: na-aš GIM-an ka-ʾa-aš¹ me-mi-aš „Wie ist sie (/er) denn, diese Aussage (/dieser Sachverhalt)"? oder freier übersetzt „Wie verhält sich (also) diese Sache?/Was bedeutet diese Aussage (nun)?" Diese Erläuterung lautet dann in III 56-58:

DAM-*ZU*-ši¹ ku-u̯a-pi DUMUMEŠ É-*TUM*-ia *ŠA* ŠEŠ¹-*IA* ŠÀ KUR-*TI* ar-ḫa da-li-ia-ʾzi¹ na-an-kán tu-el KUR-e-an-za ḫa-an-ti-ia-i[z-zi]
„Solange er innerhalb des Landes meines Bruders ihm seine Frau, die Kinder und das Hauswesen zurücklässt, unterstützt ihn dann (ja) Dein Land."

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16. Sternemann (1965:409) erwägt neben der lokalem „wo" noch „sobald" als temporale Bedeutung.
17. Siehe Literatur bei Hoffner 2007:385.

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18. Hierzu bereits Sommer 1932:135-136 und Friedrich 1960:164.

Die erstgenannte Passage, KUB 14.3 III 46, ist weitaus weniger gut erhalten.

III 46-47:

am-me-el-ši-kán ku-ṷa-pí LÚ^MEŠ*MU-NAP-T[UM*] Zeichenspuren am Zeilenende!

pa-it x? nu-kán ^mŠa-ḫu-ru-nu-ṷa-aš *A-N[A* . . .]

Als zu ihm Flüchtling[e] von mir [. . .]

gegangen waren, da [. . .] Šaḫurunuwa de[m . . .]

Am Ende der vorausgehenden Zeile (III 45) sind einige (wohl mindestens 5) Zeichen stark zerstört, wodurch das Prädikat des in III 44-45 stehenden Satzes fehlt. Bei einem sehr kurzen Verb könnte theoretisch auch noch eine Satz einleitende Partikel zum in III 46 nachfolgenden kuwapi-Satz gestanden haben.[19] Doch Sommer (1932:153) ging vermutlich richtig von einem asyndetischen Satzbeginn des Temporalsatzes mit Beginn von III 46 am-me-el-ši-kán aus, den er als parenthetischen Erläuterungssatz betrachtete (ebenfalls 1932:453).

Aus diesen Beispielen – aus den beiden erstgenannten eindeutig, dem letzten sehr wahrscheinlich (auch unten 3.2) – ergibt sich, dass sie Kriterien aufweisen, die ohnehin nach bisherigem Erkenntnisstand Asyndeton erfordern, nämlich direkte Rede oder parenthetische Erläuterungen (Hoffner 2007:388 und 390). Sie zeigen zwar einerseits, dass im Hethitischen– entgegen H. G. Güterbock und V. Parker - vorangestellte temporale Nebensätze mit der Konjunktion kuwapi existierten, die asyndetisch konstruiert waren. Andererseits liefern sie aber keinen Beweis dafür, dass das temporale kuwapi selbst diese Asyndese verursachte. Der Eindruck, dass die Konjunktion als solche allein kein Asyndeton erfordert, wird zudem verstärkt durch die Tatsache, dass schon bei Sternemann (1965:270-271, 390-391) die Anzahl derjenigen Beispiele mit vorangestellten temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen überwiegt, die Satz verknüpfende Partikeln aufweisen, also syndetisch konstruiert sind.

Die Möglichkeit für eine von Güterbock abweichende Deutung der eingangs genannten strittigen Stelle im sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief (I 71-72), nämlich als temporalen Nebensatz, der dem in I 73 befindlichen Hauptsatz vorangestellt war, scheinen die drei gezeigten Beispiele Sternemanns mit Asyndeton zwar durchaus zu eröffnen, insbesondere da zwei von ihnen diesem Dokument selbst entnommen sind. Um zu einer einigermaßen befriedigenden Beurteilung und Begründung gelangen zu können, bedarf es jedoch einer breiteren Basis an einigermaßen gut erhaltenen einschlägigen Belegstellen.

3. ERGEBNIS EINER ÜBERPRÜFUNG VORANGESTELLTER ASYNDETISCHER TEMPORALSÄTZE MIT DER KONJUNKTION KUWAPI

Die Durchsicht der Münchner Sammlung von Textstellen mit temporalem kuwapi ergab, was nach den obigen Ausführungen zu den von Sternemann teils präsentierten teils nur erwähnten Beispielen schon vermutet werden konnte:

Den häufig vorkommenden Belegen vorangestellter temporaler kuwapi-Sätze, die mit Satz verknüpfenden Partikeln eingeleitet werden, steht eine relativ begrenzte Anzahl von solchen mit asyndetischer Konstruktion gegenüber. Letztere zeichnen sich fast durchwegs dadurch aus, dass sie jeweils Bedingungen erfüllen, die schon längst als ausschlaggebend für das Auftreten von Asyndeton erkannt wurden.

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19. In KUB 14.3 ist die enklitische Partikel –kán nur in einem einzigen Fall (II 68) mit dem zweiten Wort eines Satzes verbunden, der mit mān=ma=ṷa-tta eingeleitet wird, also somit die Konnektivpartikel -ma zeigt. Aber dies ist an der oben genannten Stelle III 45-46 insbesondere wegen des erwähnten fehlenden Verbs (am Ende von III 45) doch wohl weniger wahrscheinlich.

Im Folgenden soll aus Raumgründen keine Auflistung und zahlenmäßige Erfassung aller untersuchten Stellen geboten werden. Dies soll künftigen Spezialuntersuchungen vorbehalten bleiben. Ich begnüge mich damit, das Ergebnis meiner Überprüfung anhand von einigen Beispielen darzulegen, die wie die eingangs genannte Stelle im sogenannten Tawagalawa-Text allesamt Schriftstücken der junghethitischen Zeit entstammen.[20] Asyndese konnte bei vorangestellten Temporalsätzen mit kuwapi in folgenden Fällen festgestellt werden:

a. am Beginn eines Haupttextes, und zwar meist nach kurzer Texteinleitung (wie einer Vertragspräambel);

b. am Anfang eines neuen Textabschnittes bzw. Absatzes (auch in Kolophonen);

c. bei direkter Rede (zu Beginn und auch innerhalb des jeweiligen Zitats).

d. bei erläuternden Texteinschüben (Parenthesen)

Ausgeklammert wurde hier ebenso wie bei Hoffner (2007:396, 398) das Auftreten von Asyndeton bei Konstruktionen in Verbindung mit uwa- „kommen" und päi- „gehen", im Sinne von uit, „es kam/geschah, dass ...". (vgl. van den Hout 2003:199-203 [freundlicher Hinweis von J. Miller]). Es sei hier nur kurz auf eine solche Konstruktion in Verbindung mit temporalem kuwapi in KBo 4.14 II 10-11 hingewiesen: [10] uit=mu=kán namma kuwapi ^LÚKÚR KUR.KUR Ḫurri arḫa ME-aš ^(ᴵᴵ)URUAlatarme=za=kán *Ú-UL* I-aš EGIR-an ešun „Als es dann geschah, dass mir der Feind die Hurri-Länder wegnahm, war ich da nicht hinterher allein in Alatarma?" (Stefanini 1965:40, 55).

3.1 BEISPIELE ZUM AUFTRETEN VON ASYNDETON IN DEN FÄLLEN a.-c. UND DIE ERKLÄRUNG FÜR DIESES PHÄNOMEN

Zu a.: Asyndeton zu Beginn eines Haupttextes

Beispiel 1: Aus der historischen Einleitung der Bronzetafel, eines Vertrags von Tutḫaliya IV. mit seinem Cousin Kurunta, König der hethitischen Sekundogenitur Tarḫuntašša (Otten 1988:10-11); Bo86/299 I 6-9: Sofort nach der Präambel (^(1)*UM-MA* ta-ba-ar-na ^mTu-ut-ḫa-li-ia „Folgendermaßen [spricht] tabarna Tutḫaliya", mit Titulatur des hethitischen Großkönigs sowie genealogischen Angaben [§ 1 Zeile 1-5]) setzt der Vertragstext nach einem Paragraphenstrich mit der sogenannten „Historischen Einleitung" bzw. der „Vorgeschichte" ein. Diese beginnt asyndetisch in I 6 mit dem vorangestellten kuwapi-Satz:
^(6)*A-BU-IA* ku-ṷa-pí ^mḪa-at-tu-ši-li-iš *A-NA* ^mÚr-ḫi-te-eš-šu-up-aš^(7)DUMU ^mMu-u-ṷa-at-ta-al-li me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ta^(8)na-an LUGAL-iz-na-an-ni ar-ḫa ti-it-ta-nu-ut^(9)*A-NA* ^m ^dLAMMA-ma-kán ṷa-aš-túl *Ú-UL* ku-it-ki a-aš-ta
„Als mein Vater Ḫattušili gegen Urḫi-Teššup, den Sohn Muwatallis, Feindschaft begann, setzte er ihn von der Königsherrschaft ab. An Kurunta aber blieb keinerlei Vergehen (bestehen)."
Hierher gehören beispielsweise auch der Anfang der Historischen Einleitung des Vertrages von Muwatalli II. mit Alakšandu von Wiluša §2 Zeile 2-3 (Friedrich 1930:50), wo nach der Präambel (je nach Fassung mit oder ohne Paragraphenstrich beendet) am Beginn der Historischen Einleitung der temporale kuwapi-Satz erscheint, sowie ein fragmentarischer Text historischen Inhalts von Arnuwanda II., wo der Haupttext mit temporalem kuwapi-Satz ebenfalls nach kurzer Einleitung (I 1-2) und nach Paragraphenstrich asyndetisch einsetzt: KBo 12.33 I 3: ^dUTU-*ŠI*-za ku-ṷa-pí *A-BU-IA* LUGAL.GAL UR.[SAG...] „Als die Majestät, mein Vater, der Großkönig, der He[ld...]".

Beispiel 2: Aus einem Ritualtext Muršilis II., der die kultischen Handlungen für die in Kizzuwatna beheimatete, jedoch schon zur Zeit seines Vorfahren Tutḫaliya (I./II.) (auch) in Šamuḫa verehrte DINGIR-

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20. Der oben Anm.14 genannte Beleg entstammt dagegen einem altheth. Text in jungheth. Niederschrift.

GE₆ („Gottheit der Nacht") neu regelt; KUB 32.133 I 2-4 (Miller 2004:312):

⁽²⁾*AB-BA-IA*-za-kán ku-ṷa-pi ᵐTù-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš LUGAL.GAL DINGIR GE₆ *IŠ-TU* É DINGIR GE₆ ⁽³⁾

ᵁᴿᵁKi-iz-zu-ṷa-at-ni ar-ḫa šar-ri-i-e-et na-an-za-an...

„When my forefather, Tutḫaliya. Great King, split the Deity of the Night from the temple of the Deity of the Night in Kizzuwatna, and...her..."

Nach kurzer Einleitung (I 1), ähnlich wie oben bei Beispiel 1, jedoch nicht durch Paragraphenstrich getrennt, folgt der durch den kuwapi-Satz eingeleitete Rückblick auf den Kult der Gottheit der Nacht unter Tutḫaliya. Diesem schließt sich die Begründung für die Kultregelung an, der dann die Beschreibung der einzelnen Handlungen im Kult folgt (ab I 11).

Beispiel 3: Aus dem Brief des Maša an eine höher gestellte Persönlichkeit (Hagenbuchner 1989:149-150); KBo 9.82 Vs.4-5:

⁽⁴⁾ᵁᴿᵁU-da-za-kán ku-ṷa-pi ar-ḫa i-ia-aḫ-ḫa-at ⁽⁵⁾nu *A-NA* EN-*IA* UL kiš-a-me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un

„Als ich aus Uda wegzog, habe ich da nicht zu meinem Herrn folgendermaßen gesprochen?"

Nach der Grußformel (Vs.1-3) setzt unmittelbar der Brieftext, beginnend mit dem kuwapi-Satz ein (Vs.4).

Zu b.: Am Beginn eines Textabschnittes

Beispiel 1: Aus dem Gebet an Lelwani für die Genesung der Gaššuliyawiya (wahrscheinlich von Muršili II.; KBo 4.6 Vs. 21′-23′(Singer 2002:71-73, 115[mit Übersetzung und Literatur]):

⁽²¹′⁾*I-NA* ᵁᴿᵁŠa-mu-ḫa ku-ṷa-pi tu-uk ᵈLe-el-ṷa-ni-in ᶠGaš-šu-li-ia-ṷi-aš⁽²²′⁾tu-e-el GÉME-*TUM* Ù-az a-uš-ta nu tu-uk *A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM* ap-pé-e-da-aš UD.KAMᴴᴵ·ᴬ-aš⁽²³′⁾ᶠGaš-šu-la-ṷi-aš tu-e-el GÉME-*TUM* SÍSKUR *Ú-UL* ku-it-ki pi-eš-ta⁽²⁴′⁾[k]i-nu-na ka-a-ša...

"Since Gassuliyawiya, your maid, saw you, O Lelwani, in her dream in Samuha, didn't she, your maid, make any sacrifices in those days for you, O god? But now...".

Mir scheint jedoch auch folgende Übersetzung möglich: „Als in Šamuḫa Gaššulawiya, deine Dienerin, im Traum dich, Lelwani, sah, da hat dir, o Gottheit, in jenen Tagen Gaššuliawiya, deine Dienerin, keinerlei Opfer dargebracht. Jetzt aber...".

Hier handelt es sich um den Beginn eines neuen Abschnitts, der vom vorausgehenden durch Paragraphenstrich getrennt ist. Nach dieser 2. Übersetzungsmöglichkeit würde der kuwapi-Satz einen kurzen Bericht (Vs.21-23) über zeitlich Zurückliegendes einleiten. Singer (2002:72) übersetzt dagegen kuwapi mit „since" =„seit" und gibt den an den temporalen Nebensatz angeschlossenen Hauptsatz (von Vs.22′: nu bis Ende 23′) als Frage wieder, was syntaktisch natürlich ebenfalls möglich ist. Ich betrachte den Hauptsatz jedoch eher als Aussage folgenden Inhalts: G. hatte es versäumt, der ihr im Traum erschienenen Gottheit Opfer zu bringen. Dadurch hatte sie deren Zorn (Vs.6′,7′, Rs.7′-26′), auf sich gelenkt und war deshalb nun („kinun=a „jetzt aber") erkrankt (Vs.24′). Das Gebet und die darin genannten Opfer sollten der Besänftigung von Lelwani und damit der Heilung der Patientin dienen (Vs.2′-20′, 27′-31′; Rs.7′-26′). Hierfür könnte auch sprechen, dass die betende Person zusagt, G. werde, wenn das Gebet erhört und die (Ersatz-)Opfer akzeptiert werden würden, die Gottheit beständig preisen und anrufen (Rs. 24′-26′).

Beispiel 2: Aus der 10. Tafel des aus Kizzuwatna stammenden ḫišuwa-Festes; KBo 15.52 Rs.VI 39′-43′ (= Fassung A [Trémouille 1998:268-270 mit Skizze]):

⁽³⁹′⁾MUNUS.LUGAL ᶠPu-du-ḫé-pa-aš-kán ku-ṷa-pí ⁽⁴⁰′⁾ᵐUR.MAḪ-LÚ-in GAL DUB.SARᴹᴱˢ ⁽⁴¹′⁾ᵁᴿᵁḪa-a-tu-ši *A-NA ṬUP.PA*ᴴᴵ·ᴬ ⁽⁴²′⁾ᵁ[ᴿ]ᵁKi-iz-zu-ṷa-at-na ša-an-ḫu-ṷa-an-zi ⁽⁴³′⁾ú-e-ri-ia-at na-aš-ta...

„Als die Königin Puduḫepa den Obertafelschreiber UR.MAḪ-LÚ (= Walwaziti) beauftragte, in Ḫattuša nach Tafeln aus Kizzuwatna nachzuforschen, da...".

Der temporale kuwapi-Satz befindet sich innerhalb des Kolophons dieser 10.Tafel, und zwar in der hier zitierten Fassung am Beginn eines eigenen Abschnitts, der von dem vorausgehenden Vermerk: „10.Tafel des ḫišuwa-Festes – nicht fertig" durch einen Paragraphenstrich getrennt ist.

Zu c) Direkte Rede

Beispiel 1: Aus den Annalen Muršilis II.: KUB 14.15 IV 23 (Goetze 1933:68).

Bereits oben (unter 2.) bei Sternemanns Beispielen aufgeführt.

Beispiel 2: Aus dem Gerichtsprotokoll KUB 13.33 IV 2-3 (Werner 1967:34-35):

⁽²⁾[ᵈU]TU-*ŠI*-ṷa ku-ṷa-pi ᵁᴿᵁKi-iz-zu-ṷa-at-na e-eš-ta ⁽³⁾nu [DING]IR-*LUM A-NA* LÚᴹᴱˢ KÙ.DÍM SUM-ir nu-ṷa-kán an-da ⁽⁴⁾i-e-er nu-ṷa a-pu-uš-ša pu-nu-uš-ša-an-du

„Als die Majestät in Kizzuwatna war, haben sie den Goldschmieden eine [Got]theit gegeben und <in den Schmelzofen?> hinein getan. Auch jene soll man verhören."

Es handelt sich hier um die zitierte Aussage des Sehers Ḫalpaziti, wie aus der vorausgehenden Zeile (IV 1) hervorgeht. Weitere, ebenfalls mit asyndetischem kuwapi-Satz beginnende Aussagen in gerichtlichen Protokollen finden sich auch in KUB 13.35+ IV 36-37 und KUB 36.45 + Vs.11 (Werner 1967:14-15, 50-51). Asyndeton kommt ferner bei temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen auch innerhalb von umfangreicheren Aussagen (Prozessakten?) wie in KUB 54.1 I 25-26 (van den Hout 1995:183) oder 54.1 I 52-53 (CHD Š, šanḫ- 4 b.) vor.

Es ist allerdings hier noch anzumerken, dass in direkter Rede bei vorangestellten temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen eine Satz verknüpfende Partikel – wenn auch selten – auftreten kann, wie nu im Kultinventar KUB 42.100 IV 15′-16′ (Hazenbos 2003:20), wo sich die Aussage der Tempel-Leute (IV 12′) auf die Zeit des Vaters der Majestät bezieht. Dieser Vater wurde jedoch bereits am Beginn des betreffenden Abschnitts erwähnt. Hoffner (2007:388) hat bereits auf zwei weitere Stellen hingewiesen (KBo 21.22 Z.22-25 und VBoT 58 I 23), bei denen – anders als gewöhnlich – jeweils zu Beginn einer direkten Rede die Satz einleitende Partikel nu zu finden ist. Dabei handelt es sich allerdings nicht um Temporalsätze. Sie stellen vielmehr bewusste Anspielungen dar, die sich auf zuvor gemachte Aussagen von anderer Seite beziehen.

In seinem bereits genannten Artikel führt Hoffner (2007:387) das Fehlen von Satz verknüpfenden Partikeln am Beginn von Texten, am Beginn größerer Abschnitte und auch am Beginn von zitierten wörtlichen Reden darauf zurück, dass jeweils nichts vorausgeht, womit diese Texteinheiten verbunden werden könnten („The absence of a conjunction is explained by the fact that there is nothing preceding to connect with").

Damit möchte ich zurückkehren zum Ausgangspunkt meines vorliegenden Artikels, der umstrittenen Stelle I 71-74 im sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief (KUB 14.3). Wenn also die Wirkungsweise der Asyndese in den bereits gezeigten Beispielen hauptsächlich darin besteht zu verdeutlichen, dass kein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang zum vorausgehenden Text besteht, woran angeknüpft werden könnte, bzw. ein solcher - sieht man von stereotypen Einleitungsformeln ab - gar nicht vorhanden ist, stellt sich erneut die Frage, wie nun der temporale Nebensatz in KUB 14.3 I 71-72 zu beurteilen ist. Feststeht jedenfalls, dass er die drei oben durch Beispiele belegten Bedingungen nicht erfüllt. Weder steht er am Beginn eines

Haupttextes wie in a., noch leitet er einen neuen Textabschnitt bzw. Absatz ein wie in b., noch handelt es sich um eine direkte Rede wie in c. Wenn an der - anfangs vor allem auf inhaltliche Argumente gestützten - Annahme, der Temporalsatz sei dem Matrixsatz vorausgegangen (Heinhold-Krahmer 1986:52-55) entgegen Güterbock und entgegen dem Hittite Dictionary festgehalten werden darf, muss zweifellos ein Faktor gefunden werden, der für Asyndeton an dieser Stelle ausschlaggebend war. Hierzu wäre es förderlich, weitere vergleichbare Textstellen zu finden, was sich angesichts des dürftigen Belegstandes vorangestellter temporaler kuwapi-Sätze als nicht ganz einfach erweist. Da die sub a. bis c. genannten Fälle als Vergleichsmaterial ausscheiden, gilt es, das Augenmerk auf den bislang noch nicht behandelten vierten und letzten der oben (unter 3. a. bis d.) aufgeführten Fälle zu richten, bei dem Asyndeton in Verbindung mit vorangestellten temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen belegt ist. Es handelt sich um den sub d. genannten Fall, der erläuternde Einschübe betrifft.

3.2 ASYNDESE BEI TEMPORALEN KUWAPI-SÄTZEN IN PARENTHETISCHEN ERLÄUTERUNGEN (FALL d.)

An erster Stelle, sozusagen als Paradebeispiel, das meines Erachtens zu einem Vergleich mit KUB 14.3 I 71-72 einlädt, bietet sich eine Passage im ebenfalls aus dem 13. Jh. stammenden Vertrag mit Ulmitešup von Tarḫuntašša an, dessen genauere Datierung noch umstritten ist (Ḫattušili III oder Tutḫaliya IV.), und zwar KBo 4.10 Vs.40′-41′ (van den Hout 1995:34-35):

40′ ⌜GIM⌝-an ᵈUTU-*ŠI I-NA* ᵁᴿᵁᵈ10-ta-aš-ša ú-ṷa-nu-un nu *ŠA* ⌜DINGIR-*LIM* ša⌝-aḫ-ḫa-an iš-ḫi-ú-ul u-uḫ-
ḫu-un na-at da-aš-še-eš-ta ⌜*UL*-ši-ia-at tar-aḫ⌝-ḫu-⌜u⌝-aš ša-aš-ta-an-za ku-ṷa-pí ᵁᴿᵁᵈ10-ta-aš-ša-a[n]
41′DINGIRᴹᴱˢ ᵁᴿᵁᵈ10-ta-aš-ša-ia ᵐNIR.GÁL i-ia-at na-aš-kán ᵁᴿᵁḪa-ad-du-ša-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-za ḫa-an-
ti-ia-it ki-nu-un-ma …
40′Als ich, die Majestät, in die Stadt Tarḫuntašša kam und der Gottheit Lehensdienst, den Vertrag (also), sah, da war er zur Last geworden und er war für ihn nicht zu schaffen. Als Muwatalli die Stadt Tarḫuntašša zu seinem Lager 41′gemacht hatte und die Götter von Tarḫuntašša gefeiert hatte, da hatte sie ganz Ḫattuša versorgt. Jetzt aber…

Der vorangestellte temporale kuwapi-Satz ist asyndetisch konstruiert und reicht von ša-aš-ta-an-za (Vs.40′) bis i-ia-at (Vs.41′). Dann schließt sich (entgegen van den Hout 1995:35) mit na-aš-kán bis ḫa-an-ti-ia-it der Hauptsatz an, was einen logischen Sinn ergibt (Heinhold-Krahmer 2001:101). Hierbei handelt es sich um einen Einschub in jenen Abschnitt des Vertrags, in dem der hethitische Großkönig über die Entschärfung der nicht einhaltbaren Vertragsbestimmung für den Vasallen berichtete. Dieser Einschub stellt eine kurze Abschweifung in die Vergangenheit, und zwar in die Regierungszeit Muwatallis II. dar (kuwapi „damals, als"). Er dient dazu, die anscheinend prekäre wirtschaftliche Situation der Sekundogenitur und die Notwendigkeit der Maßnahmen zu einer Milderung der Bestimmungen zu verdeutlichen, indem hervorgehoben wird, dass unter Muwatalli II. Tarḫuntašša (damals Hauptstadt und kultisches Zentrum des Hehiterreiches) ja von ganz Ḫattuša versorgt worden sei.

Als zweiter Beleg kommt eine Stelle im Brief eines Tutḫaliya, KUB 19.23 Rs.12′-15′ (Hagenbuchner 1989:28-29), in Betracht, der ebenfalls dem 13. Jahrhundert entstammt und dessen Absender wohl mit Tutḫaliya IV. identisch ist, wobei dann als Adressatin (GA[ŠAN-*I*]*A* in Vs.1, 11, 15) Puduḫepa anzunehmen wäre (Hagenbuchner 1989:29-30):

12′ EN-*IA*-pát ku-ṷa-pí ᵁᴿᵁAn-ku-ṷa iš-tar-ki-it a-pu-u-uš-ma-kán a-pi-i[a]
13′ ⌜ka⌝-ru-ú a-ar-ru-ú-ša pa-a-ir GIM-an-ma *ŠA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI*
14′ TI-tar iš-dam-ma-aš-šir na-at-kán nam-ma ar-ru-ša *UL* [pa-a-ir]
15′′ki-nu-un-ma GIM-an…

12′Als mein Herr in Ankuwa erkrankt war, fielen jene aber damals bereits ab. 13′Als sie aber bezüglich des Lebens 14′ der Majestät hörten, [fielen] sie nicht wieder ab. Jetzt aber, als…

In eine Schilderung über die gefährliche Unzuverlässigkeit der Leute von Lalanda (Rs.10′- 15′, sowie oberer Rand 16′-20′) ist ein Bericht über deren früheres Verhalten (karū „früher damals") bis hin zum Zeitpunkt des Schreibens eingeschaltet (kinun=ma „jetzt aber"), wonach sie sich je nach gesundheitlicher Stabilität oder Schwäche der Majestät in der Vergangenheit ruhig verhielten oder abtrünnig wurden. Dieser kleine Exkurs wird durch den vorangestellten asyndetischen kuwapi-Satz eingeleitet (Rs.12′). Er dient somit der näheren Erklärung einer ohnehin bereits zuvor gemachten Feststellung (Rs.11′), dass diese Leute schon früher wiederholt hinab geflohen seien (annalaza=pat=kan GAM-an píddaeš[ēr]; so CHD P, piddai- A, 4.k. entgegen Hagenbuchner 1989:28).

Unter den beiden von Sternemann (1965:403) in Verbindung mit kuwapi erwähnten und oben (unter 2) aufgeführten Beispielen von Parenthesen aus dem sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief: KUB 14.3 III 46-47 und III 56-58 gehört das Erstere zweifellos in die Gruppe der hier zuletzt gezeigten parenthetischen Abschnitte, da es ebenfalls einen Rückverweis in die Vergangenheit darstellt. Das Letztere hingegen ist die Erläuterung eines (möglichen) Sachverhaltes und der daraus entstehende Konsequenz. Es bezieht sich also nicht auf Vergangenes (kuwapi hier im Sinne von „solange, während").
Als dritter und letzter Beleg sei hier nur die Transliteration der fragmentarischen Zeilen von KUB 14.3.III 46′-47′wiederholt:
III 46′am-me-el-ši-kán ku-ṷa-pi LÚᴹᴱˢ*MU-NAP-T*[*UM*] Zeichenspuren am Zeilenende!
47′pa-it xˀ nu-kán ᵐŠa-ḫu-ru-nu-wa-aš *A-N*[*A*...]

In KUB 14.3 III 46 setzt, wie schon oben (unter 2) erwähnt, ein - mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit - asyndetisch konstruierter temporaler kuwapi-Satz ein, dem sich der Matrixsatz anschließt (I 47′nu-kán...). Der Hethiterkönig greift in seinem Schreiben an den König von Aḫḫiyawa, in dem es um die Auslieferung des Piyamaradu, aber auch weiterer, zuvor genannter 7000 Flüchtlinge (III 10) geht, auf eine frühere Flüchtlingsangelegenheit zurück. Dabei hatte es sich offenbar um Flüchtlinge von ihm selbst (III 46′: am-me-el-ši-kán...LÚᴹᴱˢ*MU-NAP-T*[*UM*] „ihm Flüchtlinge von mir") gehandelt. In diese Flüchtlingsaffäre war, soweit es der schlecht erhaltene Kontext erkennen lässt, der Sohn des Šaḫurunuwa (schon III 41 genannt) verwickelt, wobei dieser Šaḫurunuwa vermutlich identisch mit dem gleichnamigen König von Kargamiš war (Heinhold-Krahmer 2002:365-375). Dieser Präzedenzfall, nach Sommer (1932:151) eine Art „Lehrepisode", und zwar nicht ein warnendes, „sondern ein ermunterndes Beispiel, wie es der diplomatische Zweck erfordert", diente wohl der Aufklärung des Adressaten darüber, wie unter Großkönigen Flüchtlingsfälle geregelt wurden.

Die mit dem kuwapi-Satz (III 46) eingeleitete Schilderung einer in der Vergangenheit anscheinend gut verlaufenen Rückkehr eines prominenten Flüchtlings (III 48-50) ist eingefügt in eine ausführliche Darlegung, wie die Auslieferung des Piyamaradu bzw. der mit ihm Geflohenen (III 7-40) erfolgen könnte (beispielsweise Garantie für Rückkehrmöglichkeit des Piyamaradu nach Aḫḫiyawa durch vorherige Entsendung einer hochrangigen hethitischen Geisel dorthin II 56-77 bis III 6), und wie solche Probleme allgemein unter Großkönigen, zu denen ja auch der Adressat gezählt wird, zu lösen seien (III 42-45 und 50-51).

Diese drei asyndetisch mit temporalen kuwapi-Sätzen eingeleiteten, kleinen Exkurse in die Vergangenheit dienen zweifellos der Erhellung und Erklärung von zum Zeitpunkt der jeweiligen Textabfassung bestehenden Verhältnissen, Situationen und Verfahrensweisen. Damit ist ihre Funktion eine ähnliche wie die der seit langem untersuchten Parenthesen in asyndetischer Konstruktion, die ergänzende Erläuterungen zu bereits Erwähntem bieten, sei es zu einer bestimmten Person, zu einer geographischen Gegebenheit oder zu irgendeinem wie auch immer gearteten Gegenstand oder Sachverhalt. Das Wort

Das Wort kuwapi scheint als temporale Konjunktion im Sinne von „als, damals als", ganz besonders geeignet zu sein, eine exkursartige Passage über bereits Vergangenes von Beginn an zu kennzeichnen: Es befindet sich immer in jenem dem Matrixsatz vorangestellten Nebensatz, der am Beginn der Parenthese, und damit am Anfang der Unterbrechung des fortlaufenden Textes, steht, und zwar meist unmittelbar nach dem ersten, häufig mit enklitischen Partikeln versehenen Wort dieses Nebensatzes.

Elisabeth Rieken hat in einem Beitrag zur demnächst fertig gestellten Neubearbeitung des sogenannten Tawagalawa-Briefes mit dem Titel: „Informationsstruktur im Junghethitischen"[21] festgestellt, dass auch durch Parenthesen ähnlich wie durch andere für Asyndese verantwortliche Fälle der Informationsfluss unterbrochen ist. Ihre dabei getroffene Unterscheidung von zwei Optionen des Sprechers lautet:

„Bei der ersten handelt es sich um einen erklärenden Zusatz mit der Nennung von Begleitumständen, also von Hintergrundinformation. Der Einschub ist also auf der pragmatischen Ebene dem vorangehenden Kontext untergeordnet, und der Schritt zurück im Informationsfluss verhindert den Gebrauch von sequentialisierendem nu oder koordinierendem –ma oder –a/-ya ... Bei der zweiten Möglichkeit kann der Sprecher in seinem erklärenden Einschub auf ganz andere Sachverhalte als im Haupttext Bezug nehmen, indem er etwa exemplarisch auf frühere Ereignisse und Situationen verweist. Auch hier wird der gänzlich neue Referenzrahmen durch die Asyndese signalisiert."

Wir dürfen also entgegen Güterbock und dem Hittite Dictionary nach derzeitigem Kenntnisstand durchaus davon ausgehen, dass unser asyndetischer Temporalsatz im sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief KUB 14.3 I 71-72 analog zu den oben genannten Beispielen seinem übergeordneten Satz vorangestellt ist. Er leitet einen fast fünfzeiligen, bis einschließlich Kolumne II 1 reichenden Exkurs ein, der auf den Bruder und wahrscheinlichen Vorgänger des Adressaten, auf den „Großkönig" Tawagalawa, Bezug nimmt und dabei auf dessen wie auf anderer Personen Anwesenheit in und um die Stadt Millawanda hinweist. Fest steht - ungeachtet der noch bestehenden Diskussion darüber, wie die an den kuwapi-Satz anschließenden Zeilen zu interpretieren sind, dass in II 2 dann mit apaš-ma („jener aber") – bezogen auf Piyamaradu und die im Schreiben gegenwärtige Situation - wieder die Verbindung zu dem durch den exkursartigen Einschub unterbrochenen Informationsfluss hergestellt ist. KUB 14.3 I 71-72 darf also lauten: „Damals als der Großkönig Tawagalawa selbst an die Seite (/Küste) von Millawanda kam, da...".

Abschließend soll keinesfalls unerwähnt bleiben, dass es auch temporale Sätze mit kuwapi am Beginn von parenthetischen Erläuterungen gibt, die Satz verknüpfende Partikeln, also kein Asyndeton, aufweisen. Dies ist beispielsweise der Fall an einer Stelle der Bronzetafel (Bo 86/299 II 86-87; Otten 1988:20-21). Dort findet sich der Einschub eingeschaltet zwischen die frühere und die aktuelle Bestimmung zur Wahl des Thronfolgers in der Sekundogenitur Tarḫuntašša (nu *TUPPU RIKILTI* kuwapi iēr apūn=ma=za MUNUS-an ᵐ ᵈLAMMA-aš *ANA PANI ABI=IA* datta=pat naui „ - als man die Vertragstafel ausfertigte, da hatte Kurunta aber jene Frau vor dem Angesicht meines Vaters noch gar nicht genommen."). Auch temporale Nebensätze innerhalb eines erläuternden Einschubs weisen Satzverknüpfungen auf, wie etwa ein Beispiel in den Annalen Muršilis: KUB 19.29 IV 12-13 (Goetze 1933:18-19). Doch Ziel dieser Untersuchung war es ja, zunächst überhaupt eine Antwort auf die Fragen zu finden, ob im Hethitischen vorangestellte Temporalsätze mit der Konjunktion kuwapi existierten, die Asyndeton aufwiesen. Diese Frage konnte anhand von Beispielen aus junghethitischen Texten (3.1) positiv beantwortet werden. Zudem ließ sich anhand von Belegen, die wie die bislang strittige Stelle I 71-72 im sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief aus der Spätphase des Hethiterreiches (um und nach 1250 v. Chr.) stammen, zeigen, dass die asyndetische Konstruktion bei Temporalsätzen dieser Art (oben 3.2) mit deren Abkoppelung vom Haupttext zu erklären ist, da sie sich am Beginn eines in die Vergangenheit weisenden Exkurses befinden.

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21 Für die Erlaubnis, aus ihrer noch ungedruckten Arbeit zitieren zu dürfen, danke ich Elisabeth Rieken sehr herzlich.

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THE BULLS ON THE SEALS OF MUWATALLI II[1]

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With the discovery of the sealed bullae from the Nişantepe Archive in Hattusa in 1990-91 numerous new seals of the Hittite King Muwatalli II have come to light. Among these are royal seals of the aedicula type (known from the reign of Suppiluliuma I onwards) showing the full figure of the bull at the center of the composition. In this context the bull is first and foremost a hieroglyph and part of the writing of Muwatalli's name (the syllabogram *mu*). However, there are multiple levels of meaning associated with this image. The bull is also the symbol of the Storm-God and can further be taken to symbolize the strength and power of the king. This paper will focus on the representations of the bulls on the seals of Muwatalli. It will also discuss this particular seal group within the context of the Nişantepe Archive and determine where they fit into the chronology of the royal seals of Muwatalli II's reign.

Among the 2123 royal seal impressions found in the Nişantepe archive in the Hittite capital of Hattusa, modern day Boğazköy, 191 belong to king Muwatalli II[2]. Although this amounts to only 9 % of the royal seal material in the archive, it is a significant number in view of the few seal impressions hitherto known from Muwatalli's reign at the beginning of the 13th century BCE[3]. Perhaps the best known and most frequently discussed seals of Muwatalli II are the *Umarmungssiegel*[4] showing a figured scene with the king in the embrace of a deity, a royal seal type first introduced by this king. The other seals of Muwatalli are of the digraphic aedicula type bearing a hieroglyphic inscription in the center and a cuneiform inscription in the surrounding ring(s), both giving the king's name and titles. The prominent element on these seals is a full figure bull, in this context a hieroglyph and part of the writing of Muwatalli's name (the syllabogram *mu* = L. 105; see Laroche 1960: No. 105; Hawkins 2005:428-429). In the following contribution, which I take pleasure in dedicating to David Hawkins on the occasion of his 70th birthday, I will focus on the aedicula seals and in particular on the representations of the bulls.

Before the discovery of the Nişantepe archive only two aedicula-type seals of Muwatalli II were known from impressions found in Boğazköy. One seal names the king as sole owner (Fig. 1a; Güterbock 1942: No. 1) while the other is a joint seal of Muwatalli and Great Queen Tanuhepa (Fig. 1c; Güterbock 1940: No. 42; photo in Neve 1992:58, Fig. 158). Additional impressions of these seals from Nişantepe have now made reconstruction of the cuneiform inscription in both the outer and inner rings possible on Muwatalli's seal (Fig. 1a; for the cuneiform see below "List of the Text Figures") as well as of the inner cuneiform ring on the joint seal with Tanuhepa (Fig. 1c; previously no cuneiform had been preserved; compare Güterbock 1940: No. 42). An additional five seals have come to light amongst the Nişantepe sealings. These include a second seal of Muwatalli alone (Fig. 1b; photograph in Neve 1992:58, Fig. 156) and four seals of the king owned jointly with Tanuhepa (Fig. 1d-g).

1. I would like to thank J. Hazenbos, J. Schaeffer, and A. von Wickede for reading through the manuscript and for their comments and suggestions.

2. The royal seal impressions from the Nişantepe archive will be published in the monograph Herbordt *et al.* 2010. For the quantitative analysis of the distribution of the royal seal impressions in the Nişantepe archive see Herbordt 2006:98, Figs. 3, 4 and Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Chapter II.5.

3. For impressions of seals of Muwatalli from earlier excavations see Güterbock 1940: Nos. 38-42 (= Beran 1967: Nos. 250-253 [aedicula seal not included]); Güterbock 1942: No. 1; Güterbock 1975: No. 1 (= Boehmer and Güterbock 1987: No. 255).

4. This term to my knowledge first used by H. G. Güterbock (1940:19).
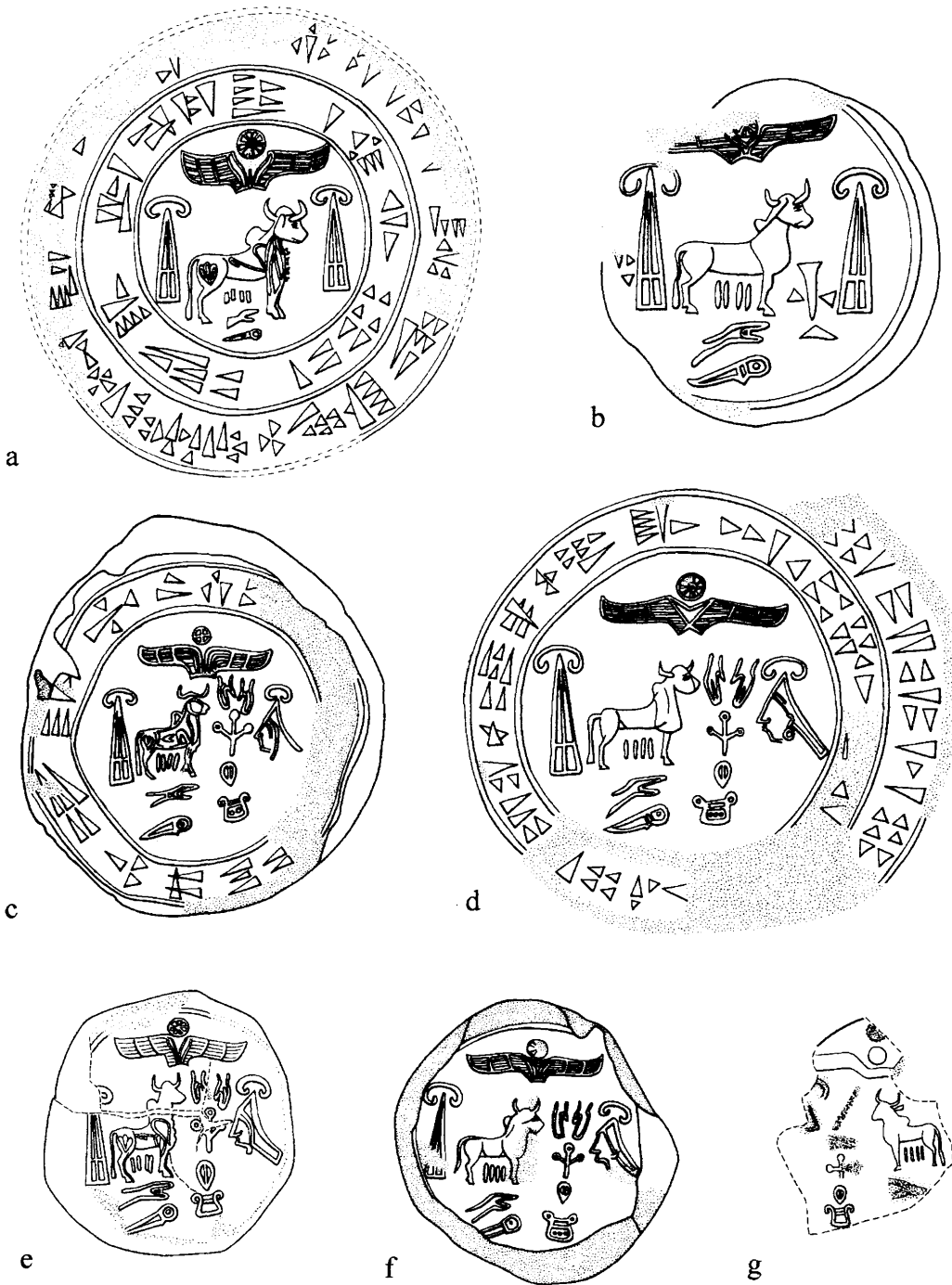
Fig. 1. Seal impressions of Muwatalli II (a-b) and of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa (c-g) from the Nişantepe archive in Boğazköy-Hattusa. scale 1:1.

FIGURE 1: DESCRIPTIONS (Transliteration of hieroglyphs follows Marazzi *et al.* 1998:3-124)

Fig. 1 a: Composite drawing of a seal of Muwatalli II from the Nişantepe archive (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 37). Reconstruction of the cuneiform legend by D. Bawanypeck. Drawing by U. Schede and Chr. Müller-Hazenbos.
Hieroglyphic inscription: BOS₂.MI-tà-li MAGNUS.REX "Muwatalli, Great King"
Cuneiform inscription (after D. Bawanypeck in: Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 37)
Outer ring (begins at 12:00): [ᴺᴬ]⁴KIŠIB ᵐ⸢NIR.⸣GÁL [LU]GAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-ti NA-RA-AM ⸢ᴰ⸣x-[...]
Inner ring: DUMU ᵐMur-ši-li LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG
"[Se]al of Muwatalli, Great [Ki]ng, King of Hatti, Beloved [of ...], Son of Mursili, Great King, Hero"

Fig. 1 b: Composite drawing of a seal of Muwatalli II from the Nişantepe archive (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 38). Drawing by U. Schede and Chr. Müller-Hazenbos.
Hieroglyphic inscription: BOS₂.MI-tà-li MAGNUS.REX "Muwatalli, Great King"; in addition the cuneiform signs TI ("Life") and SIG₅ ("Well-being")

Fig. 1 c: Composite drawing of a seal of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa from the Nişantepe archive (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 47). Drawing by U. Schede and Chr. Müller-Hazenbos.
Hieroglyphic inscription: BOS₂.MI-tà-li MAGNUS.REX taₓ-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA "Muwatalli, Great King, Tanuhepa, Great Queen"
Cuneiform inscription (after D. Bawanypeck in: Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 47)
Only inner ring preserved (begins at 12:00): ᴺᴬ⁴KI[ŠIB ⸢Ta-nu]-hé-pa MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL TI
"Se[al of Tanu]hepa, Great Queen, Life"

Fig. 1 d: Composite drawing of a seal of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa from the Nişantepe archive (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 46). Reconstruction of the cuneiform legend by J. D. Hawkins. Drawing by U. Schede and Chr. Müller-Hazenbos.
Hieroglyphic inscription: BOS₂.MI-tà-li MAGNUS.REX taₓ-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA "Muwatalli, Great King, Tanuhepa, Great Queen"
Cuneiform inscription (after D. Bawanypeck in: Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 46)
Outer ring (begins at 12:00): [ᵐMu-wa]-at-ta-al-l[i] ⸢LUGAL.GAL⸣ [LUGAL KUR Ha-at]-ti NA-RA-[AM]
Inner ring: ᴰU pi-ha-aš-⸢ša⸣-[aš-ši] ᴺᴬ⁴KIŠIB [⸢]Ta-nu-hé-pa MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL
"[Muw]atall[i,] Great King, [King of the Land of Hat]ti, Belov[ed] of the Storm-God pihašša[šši,] Seal of Tanuhepa, Great Queen"

Fig. 1 e: Seal of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa from the Nişantepe archive, Boğazköy inventory no. 91/1407 (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 48.2). Drawing by U. Schede.
Hieroglyphic inscription: BOS₂.MI-tà-li MAGNUS.REX taₓ-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA "Muwatalli, Great King, Tanuhepa, Great Queen"

Fig. 1 f: Seal of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa from the Nişantepe archive, Boğazköy inventory no. 91/2017 (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 49.1). Drawing by U. Schede.
Hieroglyphic inscription: BOS₂.MI-tà-li MAGNUS.REX taₓ-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA "Muwatalli, Great King, Tanuhepa, Great Queen"

Fig. 1 g: Seal of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa from the Nişantepe archive, Boğazköy inventory no. 91/652 (= Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Kat. no. 50.1). Drawing by U. Schede. Here the names are reversed with Muwatalli's name written on the right side and Tanuhepa's name on the left.
Hieroglyphic inscription: [taₓ]-nu-ha-pa ⸢MAGNUS.DOMINA⸣ BOS₂.MI-⸢tà⸣-[li] [MAGNUS.REX]
"[Ta]nuhepa, - ⸢Great Queen⸣, Muwatal[li], [Great King]"

It was H. G. Güterbock who first commented on the significance of the full figure of the bull for the writing of Muwatalli's name and its placement at the center of the composition of Muwatalli's seals (Güterbock 1942:46). He suggested that the finely executed animal figure that dominates the seal composition could be understood as more than just the syllabogram *mu* and that there are multiple levels of meaning associated with this image. For example, the bull can also be viewed as the symbol or manifestation of the Storm-God Teššub/Tarhunta. I would furthermore suggest that it can be taken to symbolize the strength and power of the king, as indeed the name Muwatalli means "awe-inspiring(?), terrifying(?)" (Güterbock and Hoffner 1989:316-317.).

A striking feature of the bull representations on Muwatalli's seals are the stylized patterns placed on specific body parts which occur on three of the seven aedicula-type seals (Fig. 1a, c, e). These consist of a leaf-shaped pattern on the thigh of the hind leg, a slanted hook-shaped line running across the center of the body, and a loop-shaped stylization of the shoulder. Güterbock (1942:51; see also Frankfort 1977:233) first pointed out that the same patterns are present on the representations of both bovines (i.e., the bull on the pedestal representing the Storm-God and the calf being mauled by a lion) and stags on the relief sculpture from Alaca Höyük (see Bittel 1976:188, Fig. 210; p. 191, Fig. 214; p. 196, Fig. 224; p. 197 Fig. 225; p. 200 Fig. 228). It is to be noted that these distinct markings do not appear on the other animals depicted on the Alaca Höyük reliefs including lions, wild boar, dogs, rabbits, sheep and goats (see Bittel 1976:190, Figs. 213, 215; p. 197, Fig. 225; p. 198, Fig. 226). Thus, there is a significance to these markings that goes beyond artistic convention. Perhaps the bull, bull-calf, and the stags have, as the animals symbolizing the Storm-God and the Tutelary Deity of the Fields (DKAL), in this context been marked as sacred. This idea is supported by a further example on the Altınyayla Stele, thought by Hawkins to be a monument of Tuthaliya IV, which shows the god on the stag receiving a libation poured by a standing male figure (Hawkins 2006:63, 69, Fig. 3; Müller-Karpe 2003: Figs. 1-2). In this context the stag is clearly the sacred animal of DKAL and bears the same stylized markings. To my knowledge there is only one other object, a small copper plate of unknown provenience, that shows comparable markings on both the bull and stag figures (Moortgat-Correns 1993: Pl. 20). Interestingly, the stag and bull representations on the bronze bowl with the hieroglyphic inscription of Taprammi from Kinik, which bears hunting scenes comparable to those of the Alaca Höyük reliefs on two of its registers, do not show these markings[5]. Apart from the seals of Muwatalli there is only one other seal of a Hittite official of the Empire Period, the scribe Mizrimuwa, that shows the same stylized patterns on the figure of a bull[6]. The seals of King Muwatalli II and the official Mizrimuwa still provide the best dated material for this stylistic feature.

Given the prominence of the image of the bull on Muwatalli's seals, it is significant that the animal depicted on all the seals is not the wild bull that we equate with the Storm-God[7] but rather a zebu (Fig. 2). Whereas the figure was already recognized as a zebu ("Buckelrind") in the first publication of Muwatalli's seal by Güterbock[8], no further discussion beyond its identification has been offered. The zebu is a humped-back domestic cattle particularly well-adapted for survival in hot, dry climate.

Presumably originating in India, it is assumed that the zebu was brought to Anatolia and Egypt via Syria and the Levant – zebu bones have been identified in Jordan – in the Late Bronze Age[9]. Representations of zebu cattle are attested on Egyptian wall paintings and reliefs of the late XVIIIth Dynasty in Amarna (Boessneck 1988:70). The presence of zebu cattle in Hittite Anatolia at the time of the Empire Period has been substantiated by finds of animal bones in the lower city of Boğazköy (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1981:24). A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck have commented, however, that it is uncertain whether or not zebus were actually bred in Hattusa or if they were brought back as booty from military campaigns in Syria and kept in smaller numbers. In addition to the zebu representations on the seals of Muwatalli a silver pendant in the shape of a zebu dating to the Empire Period was also found in the Lower City of Boğazköy (Boehmer 1972: Pl. 61 [No. 1759]; Bittel 1976: Pl. 179).

The representation of the zebu bull appears to be unique to the seals of Muwatalli. Seals of Hittite officials showing the full figure bull do not seem to offer any parallels. Several seal impressions of Empire Period officials from the Nişantepe archive show a bull with a particularly strong, muscular neck and/or prominent stylized shoulder, but lacking an actual hump at the base of the neck[10].

Fig. 2: Photograph of a zebu bull from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Agricultural Research Service Image Gallery, Image Number k9696-2 (http://www.ars.usda.gov/is/graphics/photos/). Photo by Scott Bauer.

Perhaps the significance of the choice of the zebu as the full figure bull representaion on the seals of Muwatalli II is to be seen in connection with the appearance of the Storm-God *pihaššašši* as the king's patron deity. The Storm-God *pihaššašši* first appears in the reign of Muwatalli and is not attested before the reign of this king (Singer 1996:185-186). I. Singer has associated Muwatalli's adoption of the Storm-God of Lightning as his patron deity with his plan to build a new Hittite capital dedicated to this god in the South (Tarhuntassa; Singer 1996:187-189, 192). He has furthermore argued that the connection of the Storm-God *pihaššašši* and Muwatalli was established early in his reign (Singer 1996: 186-187, 192). It seems entirely plausible, therefore, that the image of the zebu bull on Muwatalli's seals was introduced as a symbol of his new patron deity in order to distinguish him visually from the other Storm-Gods of the pantheon. The reason for associating a zebu bull with the Storm-God *pihaššašši* could be that zebu

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5. See Emre and Çinaroğlu 1993: Pls. 133-144. On the official Taprammi see Hawkins 1993:715-717; Hawkins 2005:272.
6. Also noted by Güterbock 1942:51 (No. 80). Güterbock assumed that the same distinct marks occurred on a seecond seal of Mizrimuwa (*ibid.* No. 81). However, impressions of the same seal found in the Nişantepe archive do not confirm this assumption. See Herbordt 2005: Kat. no. 248. J. D. Hawkins considers it likely that the Mizrimuwa of the above mentioned seal is the same individual as on the Sahurunuwa donation dating to the reign of Tuthaliya IV. See Hawkins 2005:265. On Mizrimuwa see also van den Hout 1995:233-235 and Mora in this volume.
7. See, e.g., Collins 2002:314; Schwemer 2001:477-478; Watanabe 2002:97-98.
8. Güterbock 1942:6 (No. 1). The zebu was not clearly recognizable on the impression Güterbock 1940: No. 42, a joint seal of Muwatalli and Tanuhepa. It is now clear on the Nişantepe seal impressions of this seal (= Fig. 1c).

9. Boessneck 1988:70 with note 32. See also for the modern genetic evidence Loftus *et al.* 1994:2757-2761.
10. Herbordt 2005: Kat. nos. 257 (Muwa[?]), 491, 497, 498 (Ukkura). Compare also two poorly preserved seal impressions from Boğazköy on which the figure of the bull is not entirely clear, Güterbock 1942: Nos. 82, 86.

Fig. 2: Photograph of a zebu bull from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Agricultural Research Service Image Gallery, Image Number k9696-2 (http://www.ars.usda.gov/is/graphics/photos/). Photo by Scott Bauer.

herds were kept in significant numbers in the hot, dry region of southern Anatolia, the area in which Tarhuntassa was located, since they are particularly well-adapted to this climate. Their presence there is to be assumed since the area lies *en route* between the Levant and Hattusa, where zebu cattle are attested in the Late Bronze Age.

We will now examine how the aedicula-type seal group under discussion figures quantitatively in comparison to the other seals of Muwatalli II in the Nişantepe archive. Of the 191 seal impressions of Muwatalli on bullae from Nişantepe only 35 (= 18.3%) are of the aedicula type. Interestingly, of the aedicula seals only ten bullae bear impressions of the seals of Muwatalli alone (Figs. 1 a-b) whereas the joint seals of the king with Tanuhepa (Fig. 1 c-g) are found on 25 bullae. By far more frequently attested are the *Umarmungssiegel* of Muwatalli which come to a total of 156 seal impressions (= 81.7%).

It has been assumed that the aedicula-type seals predate the *Umarmungssiegel* because they stand in the ongoing tradition of the royal seals with a hieroglyphic inscription in the central field (Gonnet 1998:267; Bawanypeck in: Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Chapter V Commentary for Kat. nos. 39-45). Further evidence for an early date in the sequence of Muwatalli's seals is provided by the seal impressions from Nişantepe. First, one of Muwatalli's seals (Fig. 1 b) has in its central field alongside the hieroglyphic inscription the cuneiform signs, TI ("Life") and SIG_5 ("Well-being"), which are characteristic of older royal seals. The seal of Muwatalli (Fig. 1b) provides the latest attestation of this feature. D. Bawanypeck has also pointed out differences between the cuneiform inscriptions of the aedicula seals and the *Umarmungssiegel* that indicate an earlier date for the aedicula group, for example, that the aedicula seals' inscriptions follow the standard formula giving the filiation of the king, whereas at least two of the *Umarmungssiegel* do not provide the king's patronym (Bawanypeck in Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Chapter V Commentary for Kat. nos. 39-45). Finally, J. D. Hawkins has argued convincingly on historical grounds that "the seals on which Tanuhepa appears as Great Queen with Muwatalli are presumably among his earliest" (Hawkins in Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Chapter VI.3.2). On the basis of all the available written evidence, Hawkins concludes in his historic appraisal of the Nişantepe royal seals and the dynasty of Hattusa that Tanuhepa was the last wife of Mursili II and that she was "ruined" (and presumably banished) in a court case against her under Muwatalli II, thus putting the joint seals of Muwatalli and Tanuhepa at the beginning of Muwatalli's reign (Hawkins in Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Chapter VI.3.2). Evidence from the Nişantepe archive also indicates that the *Umarmungssiegel* of Muwatalli II are from the later part of his reign. Hawkins has shown that two of Muwatalli's *Umarmungssiegel* were impressed posthumously on bullae bearing seal impressions of Great King Urhi-Teššup and Great Queen Tanuhepa (Hawkins in Herbordt *et al.* 2010: Chapter VI.4.1; photographs of these seal impressions in Neve 1992: Figs. 148-149).

Thus, we have solid evidence for dating the aedicula seal group – both the seals of Muwatalli alone and the joint seals of the king with Tanuhepa – to the early part of his reign. All seals of the aedicula group without exception bear representations of the zebu bull for the hieroglyph L. 105 (= the syllabogram *mu*). A possible explanation for the appearance of the zebu bull on the seals is to assume a correlation between its appearance and the introduction of the Storm-God of Lightning as patron deity of Muwatalli. The zebu might then be viewed as a symbol of the Storm-God *pihaššašši* distinguishing him from the other Storm-Gods of the pantheon. Assuming this to be the case, the evidence from the seals would indicate that this deity makes his appearance early in Muwatalli's reign (see also Singer 1996:186-187; 192).

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THE POLITICAL ANTITHESIS AND FOIL OF THE LABARNA IN AN OLD HITTITE TEXT[1]

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An Old Hittite fragment of 21 lines is re-edited in order to clarify the role played in it by a person designated by a uniquely occurring term *appaliyallaš*, customarily translated 'trapper'. This unnamed person stands in opposition to the Hittite king, here styled as the Labarna. The opposition extends to the 'houses' of the two figures, leading to the conclusion that the fates of the posterity of the two figures are being contrasted. The 'houses' are contrasted with regard to their stability and permanence, the impermanence of that of the *appaliyallaš* being portrayed as destroyed by flood waters. It is proposed that the overriding motif is a political one, affecting the stability of the royal line against potential usurpers, a danger that was very common in the Old Hittite period, as witnessed by the Telipinu Proclamation.

Heinrich Otten (1955), who produced the published hand copy of this text, suggested that the missing left-hand column contained a Hattic text, of which the right-hand column contained the Hittite translation. Although this cannot yet be proven, it is the common view. I give below a transliteration of the preserved parts of the reverse of this tablet. The asterisks in lines 6, 8, 11, 13, 17, and 19 serve to mark the boundaries of the strophes, as I conceive them.

KUB 36.110 rev.[2]

(1) [... ... ...]-ni? x-[... ... ...]
(2) [... ... ...-]x-ni(-?)šum-m[i?... ... ...]
(3) [... ... ... ki?-]i?-ša?- ru
(4) [... ... ...]a-pa-a-aš-pát la-ba-a[r-na-aš?]
(5) [x x x -]ta-aš-ši LUGAL-aš NINDA-ša-an a-du-e?[-ni]
(6) * [wa-a-ta]r?-še-ta a-ku-e-ni na-aš-ta GAL KU.SIG$_{17}$-a[š]
(7) [GEŠT]IN??-na-an pár-ku-in ak-ku-uš-ke-e-wa-ni
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(8) * [l]a-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti ša-ḫé-eš-šar-šum-me-e[t]
(9) e?-eš-tu nu-za-pa ut-ni-ya-an-za ḫu-u-ma-an-za
(10) iš-ki-iš-me-et an-da ^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ša la-ga-an ḫar-d[u]³
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(11) * la-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-uš i-na-ra-u-an-za nu-uš-še-pa
(12) ut-ni-ya-an-za ḫu-u-ma-an-za an-da i-na-ra-aḫ-ḫi
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1. Since *āppal-* is a Luwian noun, borrowed into Hittite as *āppali-*, and many claim that the royal title Labarna itself is derived from the Luwian language, I hope that this brief study will be an appropriate tribute to J. David Hawkins, to whose considerable contributions to Luwian studies all Hittitologists owe so much. I would like to thank Professors Craig Melchert and Theo van den Hout for reading a first draft of this article and offering criticism and suggestions.
2. Editions: Archi 1979:49f; Neu 1980:227f (Nr. 140); partial studies and observations: Boley 2004:104; Dardano 2002:366; Gilan 2004:193; Haas 1994:185 n. 19; van den Hout 2001:187; Polvani 1988:105; Rieken 2004:254; Starke 1977:32.
3. The reading *ḫar-z[i]* is also possible from the trace of the broken sign. If one reads *ḫar-d[u]*, the form is parallel to the imperatival expression *šaḫeššar=šummet ēštu* (8-9, strophe Ab). If *ḫar-z[i]*, it is parallel to the present-future *inaraḫḫi* (line 12, strophe Bb).

(13) * la-ba-ar-na-aš É-er-še-et

(14) tu-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-aš ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš

(15) ḫa-an-za-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš ne-eš-ša-an

(16) [N]A₄pé-e-ru-ni ú-e-ta-an

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(17) * ap-pa-li-ya-al-la-ša É-[er-še-et]

(18) ka-ra-it-ti pé-e-ra-an ú-[e-ta-an]

(19) * ka-ra-i-iz la-a-ḫ[u-wa-ri]

(20) na-at pa-ra-a šar-ta-i na-a[t]

(21) a-ru-na [pé-e-da-i]

(1-7) [... ... ...] in/to/for our [... ... ...] let it/him become [... ...] that same Labarna [... ...] of the king his bread we will eat. We will drink his [wat]er². From² (lit. of) a gold cup we will begin to drink pure [win]e².

(8-10) May Labarna, the king of Ḫatti, be our fortress! And may the entire land keep⁴ their back(s) leaning against⁵ the city of Ḫattuša (for their protection)!⁶

(11-12) Labarna is a strong king. The entire land will become (or: is becoming) strong like him (or: in solidarity with him)!

Labarna's house is (full) of joy to all generations. And it is built upon a rock.

On the other hand, the house of the appaliyalla- is built in the path of the flood. The flood bursts forth, dislodges it (from its foundation) and [carries] it to the sea.

So reads this preserved part of a text from the Old Hittite period. Since we lack both the left-hand column, which may have contained the Hattic version, and the preceding and following context, it is clear that we must be cautious and tentative in our interpretation. But having acknowledged that limitation, it appears that in lines 8-21 we have a hymn of praise and celebration of the Hittite king, which—because of lines 8-9—reminded its first interpreter (Forrer 1928:31) of the words of Martin Luther's Christian hymn *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*. Not all details of interpretation and translation are by any means established, even though the above translation hopefully gives a good general idea of the thought.

Among the difficulties are (1) the broken condition of lines 1'-7' with its uncertain restorations, (2) some words of uncertain translation (such as *šaḫeššar* in line 8 and *appaliyallaš* in line 17), (3) decisions about the placement of clause divisions (especially in line 8), and (4) the force of the imperfective (-*ške*-) verb form in line 7. In addition, there may be a subtle significance in the choice of clause connectives (*nu*) versus asyndeton (the latter marked by asterisks in the transliteration).⁷

Although it will be necessary for me to treat the entire fragment in order to provide a proper foundation for my principal contributions, my interest is in the *hapax legomenon* left untranslated:

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4. Or, if one reads *ḫar-z*[*i*], 'The entire land like Ḫattuša will keep their backs …'

5. See the study of -*(a)pa* with *anda* by Josephson (1972:323), who calls the combination 'telic' and renders the phrase as 'may the entire country have its back bowed towards Hatti'. Kammenhuber (HW² A:100) renders it: 'Das ganze Land hält ihre Rücken im eigenen Interesse (-*za*) darauf/dorthin (-*apa anda*) gegen Ḫattuša geneigt'. As for line 11, where the -*apa* and *anda* construction also occurs, Josephson translates 'and the whole country achieves strength through him', Watkins (1972:57): 'the whole land will be strong for him', Starke (1979:82): 'das ganze Land verleiht ihm zusätzlich Macht'. A different view of the function of -*apa* and *anda* in this sentence is held by Rieken (2004:253-56), who renders this combination and its associated dative noun or pronoun as 'like' followed by the pronoun, noun or personal name. According to both Rieken's and my interpretation here, the text distinguishes between Ḫattuša (which has to be the capital city) and 'the whole land'.

6. ᴸᶻᵁ*iškiš lak*- 'plier, courber le dos', à entendre comme un signe de déférence' (Dardano 2002:366).

7. There is room for doubt about my division of lines 8-9 ([*l*]*a-ba-ar-na-aš* LUGAL ᵁᴿᴸ*Ḫa-at-ti* (*?) *ša-ḫé-eš-šar-šum-me-e*[*t*] (9) *e?-eš-tu*) into two clauses, since it could also be one long clause.

appaliyalla-. The word clearly represents someone who is a foil to the Labarna. The house of the Labarna which has such a firm foundation is contrasted with the house of the *appaliyalla-*.⁸

Before seeking to analyze this portion of the text I wish to advise caution in putting too much weight on what I see to be its structure. The text is on a fragment of the original tablet. We cannot be sure what preceded or followed in the lost portions. In lines 1-7, which clearly has a relationship to what follows, since like lines 8-10 it has both an imperative form ([... *ki?*-]*i?-ša-ru*, line 3) and what could be a first plural possessive pronoun ([...-]x-*ni-šum-m*[*i*](-?) ...). And, although there is no trace of a paragraph divider between lines 3' and 4', the use of spacing between the -*ša*- and -*ru* in line 3, it is possible that some sort of statement about the Labarna occurred in line 2 followed by the wish form *kišaru* in line 3, followed by another statement about the Labarna in line 4, followed by the extended set of three result clauses in lines 5-7.

So much for the similarities between the preceding context and lines 8-21. But in spite of these undeniable general similarities, that follows in lines 8-21 seems to be set off from what goes before. On the other hand, my strophes 1 and 2 both begin with *Labarnaš* LUGAL-*uš* (lines 8 and 11) unlike *a-pa-a-aš-pát la-ba-a*[*r-na-aš?*] at the end of line 4, which also seems to end its clause, and strophes 3 and 4 begin with the 'houses' of the two counterposed foils, Labarna and the *appaliyalla-*. This symmetry shows strophes 1-2 to be one unit and strophes 3-4 another. These factors seem to me to outweigh the fact that Ab resembles the preceding lines 1-6 in having a third person singular imperative and a first person plural possessive pronoun. So the statements I shall make about the structure of the text under consideration have a validity for what we can see in the immediate viewable context. Obviously if we could see the larger surrounding context and the left-hand column (if indeed it contained a Hattic version), it might modify the picture somewhat, although I rather doubt that it would do so seriously.

The second precaution I would take is that the Hittite here translated may be itself a translation of a Hattic text in the missing left-hand column. It would be risky therefore to regard it as an example of *Hittite* poetry. Nor do I need to assume it is poetry at all, but merely a kind of formal structuring of adjacent clauses. This is all that I intend by my use of the term 'strophe' to identify units of text in a certain order.

The structure and relationship of the four preserved strophes—each one a paragraph in the cuneiform text—is shown more clearly by the following reformatting:

(Aa) *'May Labarna, the king of Ḫatti, be our fortress!*

(Ab) *And may the entire land keep³ their back(s) leaning against⁴ the city of Ḫattuša (for its protection)!⁵*

(Ba) *Labarna is a strong king.*

(Bb) *The entire land will become (or: is becoming) strong like him!*

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8. Forrer (1928), who at that time naturally had much less lexical research to aid him with this difficult text, nevertheless recognized that the *appaliyalla-* had to be an opponent of the Labarna and hazarded the translation 'Und des Feindes(?) [(sein)] Haus ist über(?) Sand geb[aut].' Here he was doubtless influenced by the parable of Jesus about the wise man who built his house upon a rock and the fool who built his house upon the sand (*Matthew* 7:24-26 = *Luke* 6:47-49), although he does not explicitly mention it. Friedrich (1947:276), in a study of the verb *appalai*-, the noun *appali*-, and *appaliyalla*-, understood the meaning of *appaliyalla*- to have been 'Fallensteller' which then developed into 'Nachsteller, Gegner'. Kammenhuber (HW² A [1978]:164) translated it 'Fallensteller (Feind)'. Puhvel (HED A:1984) 95 translated it 'trapper, ensnarer, ambusher, deceiver'. At an earlier point the present writer ventured to take the verbal idea as passive in *appaliyalla*- and translated it 'the fool' (but see the next note).

(Ca) *Labarna's house is full of joy to all generations,*

    (Cb) *and it is built upon a rock.*

(Da) *On the other hand, the house of the* appaliyalla- *is built in the path of the flood.*

    (Db) *The flood bursts forth, dislodges it (from its foundation) and* [carries] *it to the sea.'*

Forming the backbone of this section of the text are three strophes about the Labarna (A, B, C) and a fourth (D) about his foil.[9] The scribe has set off each of these four strophes with a paragraph line, and has begun A, B and C with asyndeton, which also indicates a new beginning. D employs the conjunction -a/-ma, because it constitutes a contrast to C.

Strophe A governs the following three. It contains an exhortation to the entire land to continue to rely upon the king for protection, as opposed to deserting him for a pretender. Strophes B, C, and D give reasons for continued confidence in the king, the first two in positive terms, the third by contrasting the king with his rival. Two principal affirmations (Ba, Da) have corollaries (Bb, Db). Each of these flows logically from the truth of its preceding affirmation.

Ba-b and Da-b are the clearest examples of the cause-effect sequence of affirmation and corollary, using indicatives: because the Labarna is a strong king, the entire land will become strong in union with him; and because the *appaliyalla-*'s house is built in the path of the flood, the flood will carry it off. Yet the syntax is not completely symmetrical in B and D, since Bb is introduced by the conjunction *nu*, while Db is asyndetic.

Strophes C and D contrast the king and his rival, and fittingly the narrator has used the technique of inversion. "Built upon a rock" (Cb) parallels "built in the path of the flood" (Da), while Labarna's house provides "joy to all generations," whereas the house (dynasty, posterity) of the pretender is carried off to the sea (Db).

The topicalising conjunction -a/-ma in *ap-pa-li-ya-al-la-ša* (line 17, strophe Da) contrasts the house of Labarna with the house of his foil/antagonist, just as the other employment of this conjunction in line 6 sets eating bread over against drinking water. Because the house of Labarna's foil is built in the path of the flood, unlike the Labarna's house it will not endure, but will be carried off to the sea, where it will perish. The two houses are further contrasted by a subtle grammatical device.[10] The Labarna's house is plural (note the plural pronoun -e in *ne-eš-ša-an.* line 15), whereas his antagonist's house is singular (see *na-at* in line 20). This plural-singular contrast could allude to the difference between the real physical structures (the royal palace consisting of many grand buildings, while the imagined antagonist has a more modest structure) or, in the secondary reference of 'house' to the family line, it might allude to the continuing line of Labarna through many generations (*ḫaššaš=šaš ḫanzaššaš=šaš*, line 14-15), as contrasted to the antagonist's line which has been cut off after only one generation.

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9. As mentioned above, in one of Jesus' parables there is opposition between the wise man who builds his house upon the rock and is protected from the winds and storms, versus the fool who builds his house upon the sand, and it falls. Just what earlier predecessors this parable had is anyone's guess. It is the sort of proverbial wisdom that might have existed as early as when humans began to build houses. Therefore an argument that *appaliyalla-* denotes 'deceived one, fool' might claim that he is the foil to the wise Labarna. But nothing is said in *this* text about Labarna's wisdom. Elsewhere, it is true, the *ḫattatar* 'wisdom' of the king is a theme of certain texts, for example, the *Political Testament of Hattusili I* (KUB 1.16 and duplicates). But there is nothing in the context of KUB 36.110 itself that lends support to this idea.

10 Pointed out to me by Theo van den Hout.

There are at least three words in this strophe which we must consider prior to reaching a conclusion as to the meaning of strophes C and D. First, the word 'house' (É = Hittite *per*). This word can denote (CHD P s.v.) (1) a physical structure in which people reside, either an ordinary person or a king (in which case we usually translate 'palace') or a deity (in which case it is a 'temple'), (2) a building or part of a building not used as a residence, (3) a family ('household') either seen synchronically as all those living together at the same time, or diachronically as a succession of generations of descendants, (4) the aggregate of assets of a family or household, and (5) as a technical term for various items in divination texts. The imagery in Cb, Da and Db builds upon meaning one, a physical house or palace. But it is clear that underlying this primary physical image is meaning three, a family, in Ca and Cb the ruling family, the line of kings descended from the first Labarna. It is not just the physical palace of the Hittite king which is secure and enduring. But what the hymn celebrates (and of course also wishes for) is the enduring of the line of Labarna. This is what every king, ancient or modern, wishes for. On the other hand, the fate of the family of the *appaliyalla-* who is the foil of the Labarna is what every family-head dreads. It is interesting that in Hittite law §173a/*58a the house (household or line?) of a man who 'rejects the judgment of the king' will be made a heap of ruins (*pupulli* 'a tell'), which—considering the fact that the lesser offense (rejecting the judgment of a magistrate [^{LÚ}DUGUD]) draws the penalty of beheading—must mean that the offender and his entire family are killed.[11]

A second term which is important for the understanding of this passage is the word 'flood' (*karaitt-, karitt-*). The flood was a perennial threat in the spring, when the combination of snow melt and spring rains made the rivers overflow their banks and threaten homes and agriculture alike. The image of the flood which swept away the strongest structures in its path was a favorite image among the Babylonians and Assyrians for the irresistible military might of the king and his gods.

This symbol, which had its origin in Mesopotamian translated literature from the Old Hittite period, through the popularity of the translated material most likely became a part of the Hittite kings' own imagery and ideology.

    (26) ...... ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.ḪI.A-e-eš-w[a-at-ta]
    (27) šal-li ḫu-u-wa-an-ti ḫa-tu-ga-i ka-ri-[it-ti ta-ga-u-i]
    (28) ú-e-te-ni tak-kán-ta-ri

    'Your [i.e., King Sargon's] weapons will be like the great wind, the terrifying flood, the [dense] water' (*Epic of the King of Battle*, KBo 22.6 i 26-28).

In the royal treasure-houses we learn from inventory texts that precious silver and gold ornaments depicted powerful figures helpful in the protection of the royal house and its repulsing of enemies. Among them in Bo 5166 + KUB 42.10 reverse, A 6-7 are images of sphinxes (*awiti-*), lions (UR.MAḪ) and flood-monsters (*A-BU-BI*).[12] In Mesopotamia the *abūbu*-flood was the weapon of the gods to overthrow the king's enemies. And the epithet *abūb tamḫāri* 'Deluge of Battle' is applied to the Neo-Assyrian kings (see CAD A/1:79).

So when our text predicts for the 'house' (i.e., family) of the *appaliyalla-* that a flood will dislodge it from its foundation and sweep it away to the sea, we have reason to see behind the imagery of the flood, the military might of the Hittite king himself and the gods who support him. In Hittite ritual imagery,

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11. Hoffner (1997:138, 217-20) (citing Gurney, Imparati and Haase concurring), and noting the parallel of the biblical Achan, who for rejecting the decree of *ḥerem* was killed with his entire family (*Joshua* 7).

12. See Siegelová's edition (1986:114-15) of these lines, where she translates '4 (Sintflut verkörpernde) silberne Ungeheuer'.

the sea was the place to which all evils are to be banished.[13] In one text the evils are to become chaff which the winds blow out to sea.[14]

In view of the above-posited equation of the flood image with the military might of the Hittite king himself (the Labarna in this text), we can see in the phrase 'the *appaliyalla-*'s house is built before (i.e., in the path of) the flood' a reference to the role of the *appaliyalla-* in this text as one who opposes the Labarna, who stands in his way. It is indeed a foolish course of action, which dooms him and his household (i.e., descendants).

Finally, we come to the third term requiring consideration: the *appaliyalla-* himself. The context has prepared us to see in this person a foil of the king. But not just a foil, an opponent or antagonist. If the Labarna's house, i.e., the line of kings descended from him (compare Hebrew *beyt David*), like a fortress (*šaheššar*) protects the entire land and is a source of joy (*tuškarattaš*) forever, the *appaliyalla-* as an antagonist threatens the security of the entire land by threatening Labarna's house. It is here that we find certain common uses in *political literature* of the base term underlying *appaliyalla-* to be a key to the understanding of this highly political passage.[15]

The noun *appali-* has been shown to be a loanword from Luwian, where it is a neuter l-stem noun *appal-* 'trap; deceit(?)' (see Melchert 2005). When taken over into Hittite, this l-stem noun was converted into an i-stem. The noun *appaliyalla-*, therefore, is a *nomen agentis* created (already in OH!) by the addition of the derivational suffix *-alla-* (see Melchert 2005 §3.2) to this i-stem noun *appali-*.

The principal construction of the noun *appali* is *appali da-* 'take (i.e., employ?) a trap' (meaning 'lay a trap for') with a dative of a person, usually the Hittite king.

This construction already occurs in an OH/OS text (KUB 36.106 obv 8), showing that the political usage of *appali* 'trap' already existed in the OH period, when our hymn to the Labarna mentioning the *appaliyalla-* was written down.

A typical example from the later, MH period (the text cited is in a NS copy), for the use of *appali da-* is the following:

(34) ku-iš-kán ku-u-uš-ša *NI-IŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ šar-re-ez-zi
(35) na-aš-ta *A-NA* LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-ti ap-pa-a-li da-a-i
(36) nu-za-an *A-NA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-ti LÚ.KÚR-li IGI.HI.A-wa
(37) da-a-i na-an ke-e *NI-IŠ* DINGIR-*LIM* ap-pa-an-du
(38) na-aš-kán i-na-na-aš še-er ar-ha par-ši-ya-ad-da-ru
(39) nu i-da-a-lu hi-in-kán pé-e-da-ú

'Whoever transgresses these divine oaths (of loyalty to the king), and employs a trap (i.e., treachery) against the Hittite king, and sets his eyes on the land of Hatti as an enemy, let these divine oaths seize him! May he be broken apart by illness(es), and may he suffer (literally, 'carry') a horrible death!' KBo 6.34 i 34-35 (MH/NS) (edited by Oettinger 1976 i 40-41).

These words are directed to Hittite military personnel, some of whom might have been tempted either to join in a conspiracy initiated by a more powerful personage, or to launch such a conspiracy themselves. We are therefore talking about a political *coup* against the king and the royal line. The imagery of punishment differs from that of the OH hymn. It is not the flood, representing the divinely-given overwhelming military might of the king himself or the avenging wrath of his gods, but the oath-

13. See KUB 33.66 ii 9-12 (OH/MS) for the evils placed in storage pots with lids of lead and at the bottom of the sea.
14. KUB 41.8 ii 14-21 (edited by Otten 1961:124-27).
15. Other terms found in this passage which link it to political texts such as the royal treaties are *haššaš* and *hanzaššaš*, which are linked to the continuation of a royal line.

deities who punish oath-breakers. This minimal difference is due not only to the passage of time (from OH to MH), but to the different genre of the text and its setting. The OH piece was a hymn; KBo 6.34 and duplicates record a swearing-in ceremony for military personnel, in which various actions are performed on paraphernalia as analogic magic, to illustrate and ensure the punishment awaiting anyone taking these oaths and breaking them. So the fact that the punishment awaiting the *appaliyalla-* in the OH hymn (the flood sweeping him and his family out to sea) differs from the actions performed by the oath deities (sickness and death for the oath-breaker, with nothing said about his family) is inconsequential.

On the other hand, there is a striking similarity between the two texts in that both first exhort the king's subjects to loyalty and only afterwards turn to a warning to the potential traitor. And it is significant that in both contexts the *appaliyalla-* and the unnamed person who employs *appali* against the king represent threats not only to a particular king, but to the royal house and line, and by disrupting that chosen line become a threat to the 'entire land'.

It is unclear if the base noun *appali-* (from Luwian *appal-*) had any usage in Hittite (or for that matter, in Luwian itself) for a hunting trap. It is highly likely that at some point the meaning 'trap' (in the sense of a political plot) arose as an extension from an earlier concrete meaning. But we have at present no actual textual evidence for its use in this concrete meaning. The derivative verb *appale/iške-* 'to trick, lay a trap for (someone)' first appears in the reign (and mouth) of king Šuppiluliuma I. But that king too used the verb to describe hostile *political* maneuvers by foreign powers to kill (in this case Egypt) one of his heirs.

Since the tablet breaks off after line 21, making it uncertain how the text continued, we cannot say that what I have called strophe D was its conclusion. But it is safe to say that this OH passage celebrated the power and stability of the kingly house of Labarna and warned all potential adversaries to the kingly house that the overwhelming and irresistible might of the royal house and the gods that protect it, symbolized by the powerful flood waters, will not only thwart their attempts to unseat the king, but will bring upon him the very ruin that they intend for the house of the Labarna.

Itamar Singer, in an e-mail comment on an earlier draft of this article, pointed out to me that this reminded him of the contrast of the house that the goddess Inara built on a rock for Hupašiya, who may be a figure of Hittite kingship, and the house in Kiškilušša (which is probably Illuyanka's house since it was in Kiškilušša that he first defeated the Storm-God) which was perhaps destroyed by the flood (*hunhuwanaš*).[16] Singer closed his remarks with the rhetorical question: 'Was Illuyanka the archetypical *appaliyallaš*?'

The comparison is apt, and certainly would reinforce my case for the interpretation of KUB 36.110. In fact, in my recently published contribution to the Biggs Festschrift I already drew attention to the house built on the rock in both Illuyanka and KUB 36.110 as an indication that both have to do with Hittite kingship, and proposed also that *appaliyalla-* in the latter passage be interpreted as "traitor" (Hoffner 2007:127).[17] I did not think of the possible relevance to KUB 36.110 of the other aspects noted by Singer. It is not completely clear that the broken passage KBo 3.7 ii 15-20 records the destruction of the house in Kiskilussa by the waters,[18] but it is certainly possible. Therefore I would think that Illuyanka might indeed be such an archetype, if we may be permitted to read the damaged lines to indicate that his

16. For my ideas on the Illuyanka myth, see now Hoffner 2007.
17. My objection that, because in the Illuyanka text Inara built the house "for herself" (*-za*), it should be her temple, not a palace for the king-figure Hupasiya, might not be as serious as I thought at the time. Since Inara is the protectress of Hittite kingship, the "house" that she built "for herself" could be the line of kings which she protects, not a physical palace or temple. This is the concept that I have defended here for the "houses" in KUB 36.110.
18. The passage reads as follows: ᵈI-na-ra-aš *I-NA* ᵁᴿᵁKi-iš-ki-lu-[uš-ša ... pa-it?] (16) [x-x] É-*ŠU* hu-un-hu-wa-na-aš-ša[...] (17) [*I-NA*?] *QA-TI* LUGAL ma-a-an da-a-iš [...] (18) ha-[an-t]e-ez-zi-ya-an pu-ru-ul-l[i-ya-aš ut-tar ...] (19) ku-it i-ya-u-e-ni *Ù QA-AT* [LUGAL ...] (20) ᵈI-na-ra-aš hu-un-hu-wa-na-aš-ša ÍD[D ...]

house was destroyed by the flood (*ḫunḫuwanaš*). It would be appropriate that in version one of the myth his house be destroyed by water (i.e., a flood), since in that version he is a *land* serpent, not a sea or water serpent (*ibid.*:125). And the Storm-God is above all the sender of waters from the sky that precipitate floods.

In view of the foregoing, it is appropriate now to ask: 'How then should we translate *appaliyalla-*? As everyone would agree, he is one who does the actions *appali da-* and *appaleške-*. What do these actions intend? In my view they describe seeking by guile and trickery to undermine and overthrow the legitimate royal line. Šuppiluliuma I's suspicions about the Egyptian queen's plea that he send one of his sons to Egypt to become her husband and king represents the most doubtful case. But one could suppose that the attempt by trickery to assassinate a potential heir to the Hittite throne could qualify as a threat to the royal line. Singer's e-mail query mentioned above and his enlightening parallel from the Illuyanka myth open the possibility that Illuyanka was "the archetypal *appaliyallaš*". And if this is so, the pattern I have posed for the KUB 36.110 passage works. In my article on the Illuyanka myth I suggested the translation "traitor". The *appaliyalla-* is a usurper or pretender to the throne, one who seeks to overthrow the divinely-established king and his line of successors.

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DUMANLI KALE: A POLITICISED LANDSCAPE
IN LATE BRONZE AGE ANATOLIA

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INTRODUCTION: CONTESTED LANDSCAPES

A number of recent studies have taken innovative approaches to monumental archaeological sites within their landscape contexts, tracking a sense of identity and memory construction or manipulation within the chrono-spatial co-ordinates of specific locales (Alcock 2002; Harmanshah 2007; Smith 2003). In this short paper, dedicated with gratitude and respect to David Hawkins, I propose to take as a case-study an archaeological site from the Late Bronze Age of Anatolia in order to explore issues of landscape and memory as negotiated through the construction of large-scale stone fortification walls and associated features. The special significance of structures of this type and scale is rooted in several grounds. Firstly, monumental constructions require massive collaborative input of labour, time, and materials, all of which are likely to be at the disposal only of the upper echelons of power in state-level organisations or similar. They thus have something to tell us about how states, or rather those in control of states, choose to dispose of the capabilities at their command. Secondly, by definition, monumental constructions are designed to have an impact on their immediate landscape contexts, at least, and again this teleological aspect of their layout and construction allows us to approach the issue of how states wish to portray themselves through the materialised projection of their power over specific places in the landscape. These and other aspects of the interactions between monumental sites and their socio-physical surroundings can be characterised as elements of the "socialization of landscape" (Harmanshah 2007:179), while the sites themselves may be defined as "sites of memory" (Alcock 2002:20-1) in that they participate in the formation and reformation of social memory as attached to place. The construction of social memory, however, is not likely to be a painless, uncontested process, as by definition there are multiple stake-holders in its formulation and deployment. When we look at a monumental archaeological site located firmly within what we know to have been a highly contested frontier zone, as is the case with the site of Dumanlı Kale, we may be confident that the shaping of social memory will have been hotly contested indeed.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT: NORTH-CENTRAL ANATOLIA IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

The site of Dumanlı Kale lies close to the banks of the Devrez river as it runs through the region of Orta in Çankırı province. Recent fieldwork and associated studies in Paphlagonia (Fig. 1) have stressed the significance of the Devrez valley and its adjacent lands as a highly contested frontier zone during the Late Bronze Age, host to much of the textually-attested conflict between the Hittites, whose capital at Hattusa lay only some 120 km to the southeast, and the peoples known as Kaska whose territories were located broadly to the north of the Devrez valley (Glatz and Matthews 2005; von Schuler 1965; Singer 2007; Zimansky 2007). Surveys here and in adjacent regions to the north have found a marked lack of evidence for permanent settlement for the period 1600-800 BCE, while to the south of the Devrez
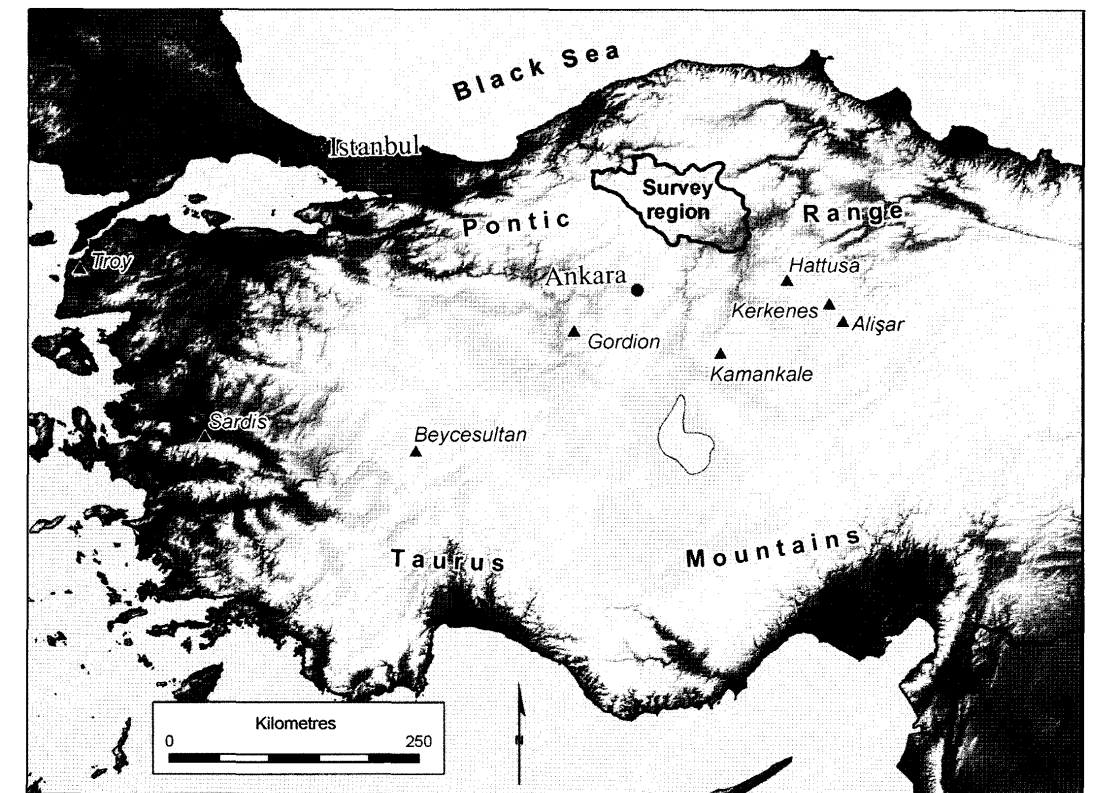

Fig. 1: Map to show location of Project Paphlagonia survey region.

Fig. 2: Map to show location of Middle-Late Bronze Age sites found in Project Paphlagonia. Dumanlı Kale is site PS-057 on this map.

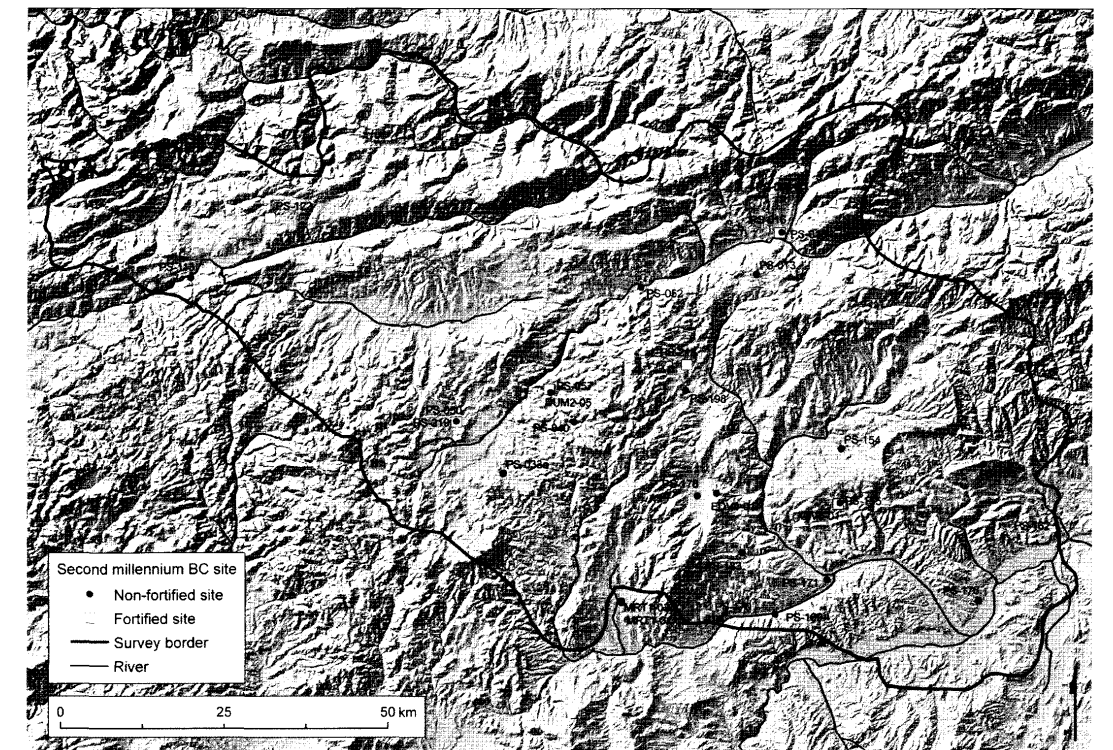Fig. 1: Map to show location of Project Paphlagonia survey region.

Fig. 2: Map to show location of Middle-Late Bronze Age sites found in Project Paphlagonia. Dumanlı Kale is site PS-057 on this map.

we find sites of Hittite and later date. Along and around the Devrez valley itself there are numbers of Hittite-period sites, dated by their surface ceramics, often with evidence for substantial fortifications constructed of stone. Associated with these sites are traces of tracks, difficult to date precisely of course, as well as occasional look-out posts at selected points in the landscape. The most impressive of the fortified sites is located at Dumanlı Kale, which occupies a spur of land running down to a tributary of the Devrez, near their confluence (Fig. 2). As with other Hittite-period sites in the region, Dumanlı Kale is situated in order to control and protect movement over the landscape, movement which we know from many contemporary Hittite texts frequently to have been of a military nature.

These texts tell of repeated, almost ceaseless, military conflict between the Hittites and the Kaska, with the Hittite king and his army campaigning almost annually in the rough terrain to the north of their imperial heartlands (for attempts to localise on the ground toponyms in the Hittite texts, see Matthews and Glatz 2009). The Hittites failed to achieve a satisfactory solution to the Kaska problem, partly because they could not engage them in a sufficiently decisive all-out battle, and the northern frontier was a permanent source of trouble and worry for them. It is important to stress, however, that military conflict was not the sole mode of interaction between the Hittites and the Kaska, as there is much textual evidence for more subtle forms of intercourse, including inter-marriage, switching of sides, movements of populations, enslavement, building and re-building of settlements, and so on (Glatz and Matthews 2005). It is in this context that we must consider the site of Dumanlı Kale, to which we now turn.

THE FORTIFIED SITE OF DUMANLI KALE

Dumanlı Kale (Turkish for 'smoky citadel') lies on the south, i.e., Hittite, side of the Devrez valley, which at this point takes the form of a severe gorge. The spur of land that forms the site is steep-sided on three of its flanks (Fig. 3). The other face has been heavily fortified along a total length of 150 m to a surviving height of about 5 m (Figs. 4-7). The fortifications take the form of a stretch of walling 95 m long, flanked at both ends by shorter stretches of wall each of which turns inwards at the extreme edges of the façade. At the southern end of the fortification there is a break in the wall at the point where a steep access ramp, protected by inner and cross walls, forms the main entrance into the site. All these façade walls are not completely free-standing but rather serve as revetments for the vertical face of the spur with a few courses free-standing above the current ground level.

Within the façade over an area of some 3.3 ha lie traces of other walls, including one parallel to the fortified façade but set back some 10 m. The surface of the site is heavily overgrown as well as being littered with remains of collapsed and hard to trace walls. Clearly at some stage there were significant numbers of stone structures across the site. Surface pottery from Dumanlı Kale includes diagnostics of Middle Bronze Age and Early Imperial Hittite date, but sherds are not densely distributed across the site, suggesting no lengthy intensive settlement there. At a distance of only 500 m from Dumanlı Kale and situated on a hill-slope there is another site, Dumanlı 02S05, which consists of a scatter of sherds over an area of 2.2 ha as well as traces of terracing and a possible track. In this case the sherds cover the periods of Early Bronze Age as well Middle Bronze Age and Early Imperial Hittite.

The method of construction of the main façade revetment wall at Dumanlı Kale is highly distinctive. The 95 m of its length comprise seven clear segments, ranging in length from 10 m to 18.7 m, with an average segment length of 13.5 m. Each segment is sharply defined by a step in its alignment on both its outer and inner faces, giving in plan an overall saw-tooth effect. There is also a marked batter, or inward slope from bottom to top, to the wall face. All the walls are constructed of very large unworked blocks of basalt, the locally available stone, with no use of mortar. Indeed, given their often huge size and weight,

Fig. 3: View of Dumanlı Kale from the northeast. The main fortification wall runs across the middle of the photograph.

Fig. 4: View of main fortification wall at Dumanlı Kale.

Fig. 5: Close-up view of main wall at Dumanlı Kale, showing batter and saw-tooth steps in alignment.

Fig. 6: Access ramp at southern end of main fortification wall at Dumanlı Kale.
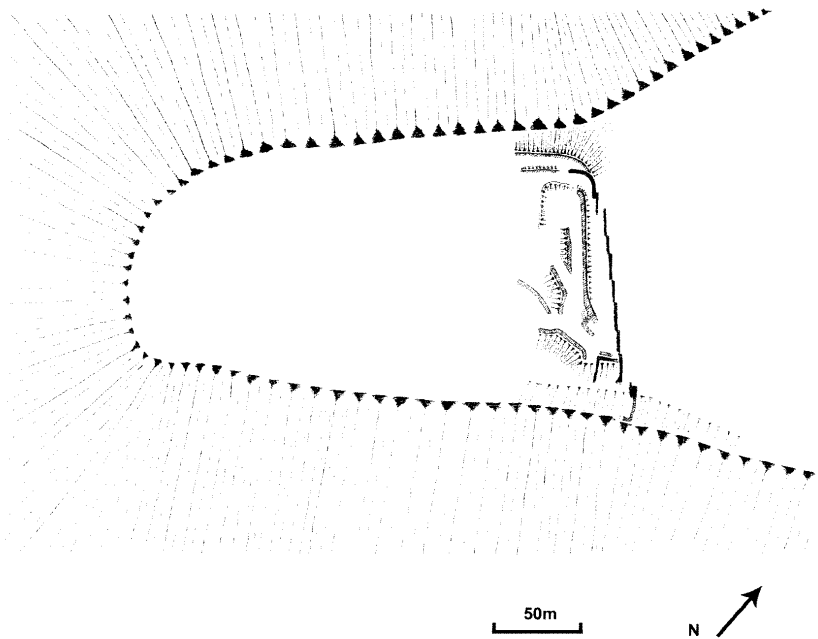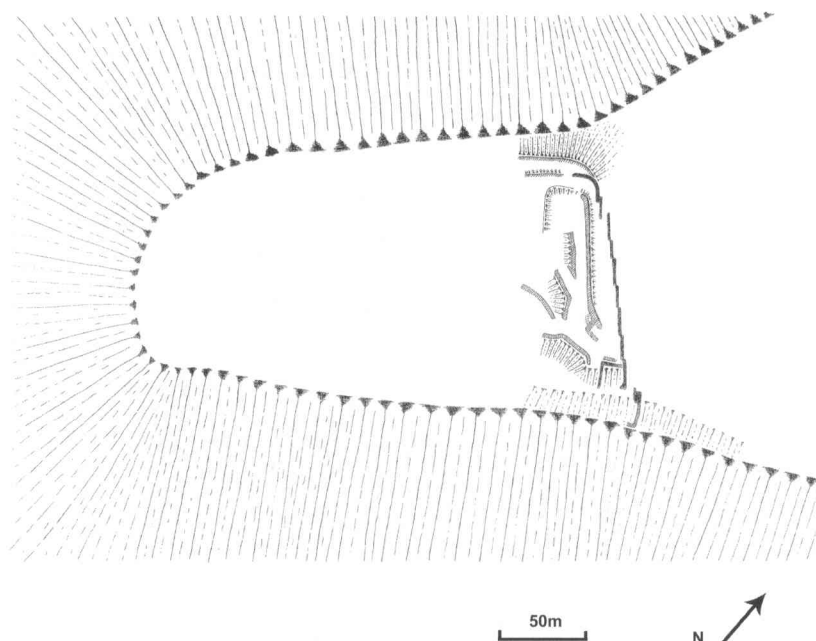
Fig. 7: Measured sketch-plan of Dumanlı Kale site.

50m

N

Fig. 3: View of Dumanlı Kale from the northeast. The main fortification wall runs across the middle of the photograph.

Fig. 4: View of main fortification wall at Dumanlı Kale.

Fig. 5: Close-up view of main wall at Dumanlı Kale, showing batter and saw-tooth steps in alignment.

Fig. 6: Access ramp at southern end of main fortification wall at Dumanlı Kale.

50m   N

Fig. 7: Measured sketch-plan of Dumanlı Kale site.

construction of the main wall may well have been by dragging stones along the spur and lowering them down onto the façade rather than by raising them up from the ground surface at the foot of the façade.

The location and constructional aspects of the site leave us in no doubt that Dumanlı Kale represents a significant investment of labour and time on the part of the Hittites. By erecting the great façade wall and its adjacent features they were making a vivid statement whose physicality survives to this today. For the Hittites, as well as for the Kaska and anyone else who might encounter Dumanlı Kale, this was a deliberate attempt at constructing a politicised landscape through power over materials, labour, and energy. As Harmanshah (2007:180) has pointed out, it is important to appreciate that the "socialization of landscape" does not happen in a chronological vacuum. Prior to the construction of Dumanlı Kale there were people living in the region, as attested at least by the Early and Middle Bronze Age evidence from Dumanlı 02S05 as well as from other nearby sites, who may or may not have regarded themselves as Kaska. Indeed there is good evidence for stone fortified sites in this region during the Early Bronze Age, although not on the scale of Dumanlı Kale. In this light the fortification of Dumanlı Kale, along with that of other sites along the Devrez valley, marks the incorporation of the entire region into a narrative of conflict and control that is so richly attested in the contemporary textual sources (written of course by the Hittites – we have no Kaska texts at all).

DUMANLI KALE AND TROY VI

There is another, broader, level at which the site of Dumanlı Kale resonates. The closest parallels for its fortifications are not found in the immediate vicinity of the site nor even in the Hittite heartlands to the southeast but they lie far away to the west at the site of Troy which in level VI, at least approximately contemporary with Dumanlı Kale, is surrounded by a wall. As at Dumanlı Kale, the Troy VI wall is constructed from distinct battered segments of walling, with marked steps in alignment at 10-12 m intervals again giving the saw-tooth effect in plan (Fig. 8). The difference in the scale of the fortifications at Dumanlı Kale and Troy VI is not immense, and indeed at only 2 ha the area enclosed within the Troy VI fortifications is smaller than at Dumanlı Kale (leaving aside for now the question of the Lower Town of Troy VI). The long almost straight stretch of wall at Troy VI measures 120 m, compared to the 95 m of the main wall in the Dumanlı Kale façade. The quality of the workmanship at Troy VI, however, is more refined than at Dumanlı Kale, with use of smaller, finer, dressed limestone blocks, neater laying of stones and sharper lines of horizontal and vertical alignment (for much detail, including fine illustrations, on the construction techniques employed on the Troy VI fortifications, see Fields 2004:34-45; see also Klinkott 2006).

Another distinction between the Dumanlı Kale fortifications and those of Troy VI is that the latter clearly undergo a long and complex history of construction and reconstruction through up to eight phases (Klinkott 2004), while at Dumanlı Kale it does not appear that more than one phase of construction is involved. Indeed Hittite occupation at Dumanlı Kale was unlikely to have endured for long enough to necessitate significant changes to the layout of the fortifications once constructed.

Beyond the fortifications, Troy VI, or Wilusa as it probably was at the time (Bryce 2006:86), can be characterised as a prosperous and powerful polity with material evidence for widespread connections, including metals, ivory, carnelian, faience and ceramics with Minoan, Mycenaean, and Cypriot connections (Becks 2006; Bryce 2006:122-126). It is perhaps in this context that we can begin to address the issue of the resemblances between the fortifications of Dumanlı Kale and Troy VI. The inhabitants of Troy VI were cosmopolitan, aware of the wide world beyond their immediate confines, and engaged in a rich network of inter-regional contact and interaction. The exact mechanisms for the

sharing of architectural knowledge and skills between the Troad and north-central Anatolia are likely to remain obscure, but in choosing these specific means of designing and constructing a fortification wall at Dumanlı Kale the Hittites were doubtless attempting to convey a message of power and perhaps also of trans-regional connectivity to the local inhabitants of the region. That the site does not appear to have been occupied intensively for very long, and that the broader region of the Devrez valley remained a fraught border zone until the collapse of the Hittite state at the end of the Late Bronze Age, may well indicate that these Hittite statements of power and connection were not effectively received by the inhabitants of this ever-restless zone.
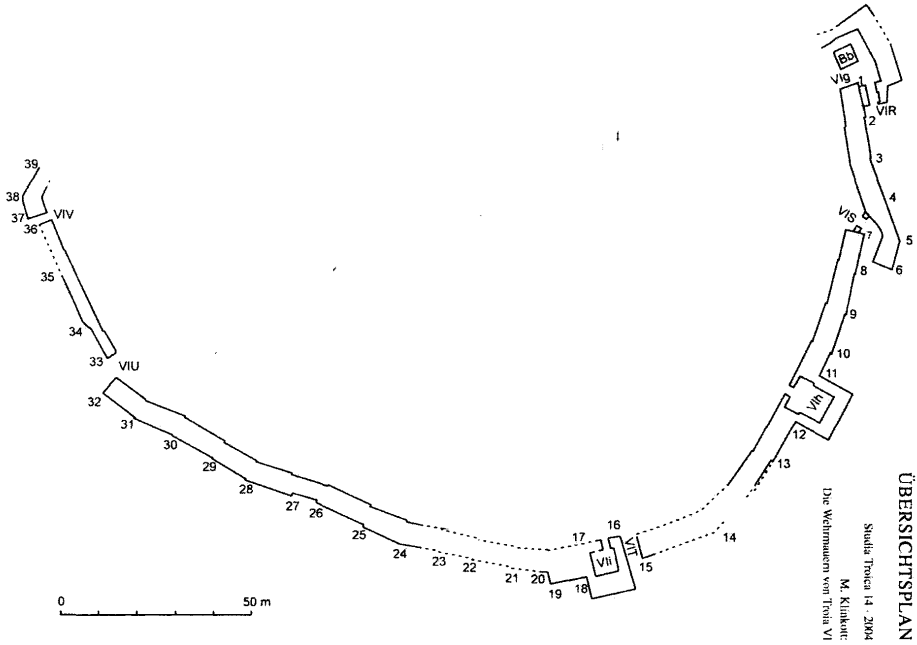

Fig. 8: Plan of Troy VI fortification wall, after Klinkott 2004.

CONCLUSION – WHO BUILT DUMANLI KALE?

It is worth speculating finally on who physically built the fortifications at Dumanlı Kale. One striking aspect is that, apart from the use of polygonal large blocks of stone, they do not greatly resemble the style of stone fortifications constructed at the Hittite capital Hattusa, with their frequent and regular use of bastions and towers, generally of stone foundations and mud-brick superstructure (see Seeher 2007 for an exhaustive account of a modern [re-]build of a section of the city wall at Hattusa, which gives a vivid idea of the enormous input of materials and labour demanded by city-wall construction). The Early-Middle Bronze Age fortification wall of Alişar does more closely resemble the Dumanlı Kale wall, with its saw-tooth plan but is of clear casemate construction (Von der Osten 1937: Fig. 20), and there is a long-standing Anatolian tradition of staggering the outer face of fortification walls that can be traced as far back as the Chalcolithic period at Mersin (Garstang 1953: Figs. 79-80a) and the Early Bronze Age of Tarsus (Goldman 1956: Plan 6). A saw-tooth wall very similar in scale and construction to the Dumanlı Kale example, and perhaps of similar date, has been found as far afield as the site of Çalhankale in Nakhichevan beyond eastern Anatolia (Belli and Sevin 1999:52-57).

An intriguing possibility is opened up by a comment in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma to the effect that a "corps of engineers" was involved in fortifying the site of Almina somewhere in or close to Kaska territory (Hoffner 1997:189). We know from texts that it was common Late Bronze Age practice for captives from one region to be put to labour, particularly as "citadel-construction labour gangs" (Bryce 2006:102), in other regions, and we also know that the king of Wilusa was obliged at times to provide the Hittite king with troops to fight alongside the Hittite army. We might therefore plausibly imagine a cohort of Trojan troops, perhaps including specialist citadel-construction engineers, labouring in the bleak and dangerous landscape at Dumanlı Kale in order to construct a defensive revetment wall in the only way they knew how – the Trojan way.

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SPELLING OF INITIAL /A-/ IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

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It is a great pleasure and honor to take part in this tribute to David Hawkins, who has made unequalled contributions to our understanding of the language and history of the Luwians. The present essay not only would have been impossible without the magnificent corpus of Iron-Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that he has provided us, but also builds directly on an insight of his. I regret that the available evidence does not permit a fully satisfying solution to the problem addressed, but hope that our honorand will feel that my efforts have advanced the state of the question.

Hawkins (2003:159-161) first noted in Empire (second-millennium) texts the peculiar practice he has dubbed "initial-*a*-final", by which the tall sign *a* representing initial /a-/ in some words is written after rather than in front of the other signs.[1] Thus *mi-sa-a* for /amis/ 'my' (EMİRGAZİ altars §4) or *wa/i-mu-a* for the sequence of initial conjunction and clitics /a=wa=mu/ (YALBURT 2, §§2,3).[2] Hawkins (2006:12-13) affirmed continuation of this practice in some texts of the first-millennium. I will henceforth adopt his convention of representing such spellings as **a-mi-sa* and **a-wa/i-mu*.

An exhaustive survey of all HLuwian texts in Hawkins (2000) allows a much broader claim: the practice of "initial-*a*-final" remains in force in all areas where HLuwian texts are attested through the early 9th century: Karkamiš (KARKAMIŠ A1*a*, A1*b*, A2+3, A4*b*, A4*d*, A11*a*, A11*b*+*c*, A12, A13*d*, A14*a*, A14*b*, A16*b*, A18*d*, A20*a*, A23, A25*a*; KELEKLİ), Tell Ahmar (TELL AHMAR 1, 2, 5, 6, ALEPPO 2, BOROWSKI 3), Maraş (MARAŞ 8), Malatya (GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, IZGIN 1 & 2), and Aleppo (BABYLON 1).[3] Its appearance in the Emirgazi, Südburg, and Yalburt Empire-era inscriptions and from Malatya in the north to Karkamiš and Tell Ahmar in the south strongly suggests that it was employed throughout the region where HLuwian was written. The practice has disappeared entirely by the mid 9th century, including most significantly in all the areas cited above where it was in use through the early 9th century.

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1. As Hawkins indicates, the phenomenon had previously been identified on seals. See also now Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005:291. While the use on seals surely is relevant to the original motivation for the practice, I must limit my discussion to HLuwian texts due to constraints of time and space.

2. Since a bound transcription of HLuwian is at best problematic and at worst misleading, I will consistently use / / to indicate phonological interpretations of HLuwian words. The use of voiceless and voiced symbols for stops should be taken as conventional.

3. It is important to stress that Hawkins' chronological division of the corpus is for the most part based on historical (primarily prosopographical) evidence. While I have surveyed all texts in his corpus, I have for obvious reasons placed decidedly lesser weight on texts whose dating is uncertain or rests merely on factors such as artistic style, form of the script, or linguistic features (such as rhotacism). The full data base used is available at: http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/. Click on the link "HLuwianInitial*a*".

The overwhelming evidence for the practice in the older period assures us that the few apparent exceptions represent aberrations. For *wa/i-tá* in EMİRGAZİ §12 see Hawkins 2003:161. Likewise faulty are the isolated *wa/i-mu-ta* in KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §6 and *wa/i-ta* in ALEPPO 2 §6. The photo and drawing in Hawkins (2000) show that *wa/i* in KARKAMIŠ A4*b* §5 (with a blank space beneath!) is erroneous for *wa/i-a* (on which see below). In KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §8 read **a-mi-ya-za* with the drawing against Hawkins 2000:109. The reading *mi-ya-za* in IZGIN 1 §4 is less than assured. Recognition of "initial-*a*-final" also necessarily leads to new readings of certain sequences: **a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta | za-sa* in KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §11 (against Hawkins 2000:109), **a-mi-zi *a-ta/i₄-ni-zi* and **a-mu-pa-wa/i *a-ta/i₄-na-za* in KARKAMIŠ A23 §§4-5 (against Hawkins 2000:119). As shown by Hawkins' drawing, in KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §38 the *a*-sign is positioned following *pa-ti-ha-wa/i* and under *pa* so as to serve for both **a-pa-ti-ha-wa/i* and **a-pa*.

Confirmation of the consistent use of "initial-*a*-final" in the early texts of the first millennium is important in that it allows us to extend modestly the list of words for which its use is assured and validates certain patterns that are merely suggestive in Empire texts. In addition to its use for sequences of clause-initial conjunction /a-/ plus quotative particle /-wa-/ plus further clitics, "initial-*a*-final" is also attested for: the stem /ami-/ 'my' (but not /ama-/!), /amu/ 'I, me', /aba-/ 'that' (and accented third person pronoun), /apan/ '(from) behind' (EMİRGAZİ altars §22), /apara/i/ 'afterwards' (EMİRGAZİ altars §3, as per Hawkins 2003:160), /as-/ 'to be', /aduna/i-/ 'enemy' (see n. 16 below), and probably /addwa-/ 'evil' (**a-MALUS-wa/i-za* TELL AHMAR 6 §30).[4]

It is important to stress that in the Empire period the use of "initial-*a*-final" is fundamentally optional. We find *a-wa/i-mi* (YALBURT 11,§2) vs. **a-wa/i-mi* (YALBURT 10,§2), *a-wa/i-mu* (YALBURT 6,§2 etc.) vs. **a-wa/i-mu* (YALBURT 2,§§2-3), and *a-mi* (EMİRGAZİ block A,1.3; B,1.2) vs. **a-mi-sa* (EMİRGAZİ block A,1.1; B,1.5). It is thus not surprising also to find occasional exceptions to "initial-*a*-final" in early first-millennium texts and even later: *a-wa/i-tà* (IZGIN 2 §2), *a-wa/i-tá* (MARAŞ 4 §4), *a-mi-sa* (TOPADA §19).

Examination of the spelling of initial /a-/ in the Empire period texts also leaves no doubt that the use of "initial-*a*-final" is at that period aesthetically motivated and has *no* linguistic significance. As is well established, HLuwian inscriptions on stone are typically written in horizontal lines or "registers" separated by line-dividers. The texts run alternately left-to-right and right-to-left in *boustrophedon* style. Individual words are written vertically top to bottom roughly in columns, with the shape of the component signs sometimes dictating an arrangement at odds with the order of reading.[5] There is a *horror vacui*, and signs are usually distributed evenly through the available space (see plates 14-17 of KARKAMIŠ A11*b* and A11*c* in Hawkins 2000 for a representative specimen). The sign *a* is used from the Empire period onward as a mere space-filler, and some later texts also use the sign for *i* for this purpose.[6]

The relevance of the preceding to the spelling of initial /a-/ is that the relatively tall sign for *a* plus *one* other sign comfortably fills one vertical column in a given horizontal line, given the typical scale of signs used, but *a* plus two or more signs often does not. For this reason the EMİRGAZİ block writes *a-mi* (A,1.3; B,1.5) for /ami/ 'my' (dat.-loc. sg.), but **a-mi-sa* (A,1.1; B,1.2) for /amis/ 'my' (nom. sg. com.).

Likewise on the EMİRGAZİ altars the sequence of initial conjunction plus quotative particle /a=wa/ ([áwa]) is written consistently *a-wa/i* (§§2,17,21,23), but /a=wa=an/ ([áwan]) with added clitic pronoun /-an/ (acc. sg. com.) is spelled **a-wa/i-na* (§§14,29). There manifestly cannot be any linguistic difference between the respective disyllabic forms with the same number of syllables and same accentuation. There is in particular no possibility of aphaeresis in **a-mi-sa* and **a-wa/i-na* (see already Hawkins 2003:161). Naturally, scribes can choose to shorten the sign *a* and permit the normal order of writing even with more than one following sign. In the 12th-century inscription KARAHÖYÜK the scribe shortens and slants the *a* so that all three-sign sequences are written in the normal order: not only *a-wa/i* (§§3,5,13), but also *a-wa/i-sa* (§24), *a-wa/i-mu* (§12), *a-mi-zi/a* (§13), *a-sa-ti* (§§20-21), etc. However, *four*-sign sequences are felt to be too long, and here the scribe employs "initial-*a*-final": **a-wa/i-mi-tá* (§11) and **a-mi-i(a)-ti* (§15). In the YALBURT inscription the scribe freely manipulates the size and orientation of *a* and other signs in the respective sequences so as to produce alternates with and without "initial-*a*-final" (see the photos and drawings in Poetto 1993).[7]

The space motivation for the contrast between *a-wa/i* and **a-wa/i+* is sometimes still discernible in texts of the early first millennium (*a-wa/i* still typically fills an entire vertical column). Unsurprisingly, however, once "initial-*a*-final" becomes conventionalized it continues to be used even when it would not be necessary: the final *a*-sign is often reduced and written in the same column as the other signs of the word, rather than following in full size and occupying a column by itself, as earlier.

It cannot be coincidental that the two-sign word /anda/ 'in(to)' is also spelled with absolute consistency *a-tá* or *a-ta* throughout the history of HLuwian, never with "initial-*a*-final". Here, however, a slightly different aesthetic applies from that in *a-wa/i*. In texts through the early 9th century the spelling is always *a-tá*. The *a*-sign is either shortened so that it and the following *tá* symmetrically divide the vertical space (e.g. KARKAMIŠ A14*a* §§6-7, A1*a* §§37-38) or the two signs are made into a sort of ligature (e.g. IZGIN 1 §§4-5, §18). Both practices reappear in later texts (e.g. ADIYAMAN 1 §4 and HAMA 4 §10, §12 respectively), and the former is also extended to the newer spelling *a-ta* (e.g. KARKAMIŠ A6 §7).[8]

That "initial-*a*-final" has *no* linguistic significance is confirmed by the spelling practices that replace it from the middle of the 9th century. I treat first the simpler case of clause-initial sequences of conjunction /a-/ plus quotative particle /-wa-/ with and without further clitics. In all texts from the mid 9th century onward the sequence /a=wa/ alone continues to be spelled *a-wa/i* with the normal order of signs. This is the overwhelmingly regular spelling in all regions. We also do find *beside* normal *a-wa/i* occasional instances of *wa/i-a* from a variety of regions (Cilicia, ÇİNEKÖY §9; Karkamiš, TÜNP 1 §6; Malatya, PALANGA §§2,7,10; Amuq, JISR EL HADID frag. 1 l.2, KIRÇOĞLU §2, TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 3 l. 3 and frag. 10a-b l. 5; Tabal, ÇALAPVERDİ 1 §3). This spelling cannot be regarded as "initial-*a*-final" in the strict sense, because the latter had been entirely abandoned by this time. We must regard *wa/i-a* for *a-wa/i* rather as an imitation of the by then standard spelling of /a-/ + /-wa-/ plus further clitics as *wa/i-sa*, *wa/i-na*, etc. (see immediately below).[9]

All sequences of /a-/ + /-wa-/ plus *further* clitics are from the mid 9th century regularly spelled simply as *wa/i-X(-Y-Z)* with no overt indication of the initial /a-/ at all. This practice is so pervasive that

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4. Thus with caution also Hawkins (2006:13). This example is not entirely assured, but TELL AHMAR 6 makes no use elsewhere of *a* as a mere space-filler.
5. Aesthetic factors affecting the configuration of signs in texts are also well-known in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Ritner 1996:80-81) and Mayan glyphs (Macri 1996:178-179).
6. For early examples of space-filling *a* (conventionally transliterated as *'*) see *á-wa/i+ra/i-na-'* (URBS) (YALBURT 13,§3) and *la-mi-ni-'* (KARAHÖYÜK §1). Contrary to my own previous impression, there is no connection between the demise of "initial-*a*-final" and the use of the *a*-sign as a space-filler.

7. The fact that some inscribed blocks of the Yalburt inscription have more vertical space than others naturally also plays a role in the use of "initial-*a*-final".
8. The configuration of *a-tá* in the Empire inscription SÜDBURG §4a is unique, with the two signs sloping one atop the other. I read this clause-opening sequence as /anda/ in the well-attested sense 'in addition, furthermore' against Hawkins 1995:35. His interpretation as an "unattached" clitic /-ada/ 'them' is highly unlikely in a text that writes no other clitics.
9. We naturally find a few instances of /a=wa/ spelled with alternate signs for *wa/i*: *a-wa/i₅* (TOPADA §29), *a-wá/i* (KARATEPE §XXXII, Ho). If genuine, the spelling *á-wá/i* in KAYSERİ §2 with the *á*-sign is absolutely unique.

I forgo giving extensive examples.[10] I focus here only on two crucial points. First, the consistent spelling of /a=wa/ ([áwa]) as *a-wa/i* beside equally consistent *wa/i-sa* and *wa/i-na* for /a=wa=as/ ([áwas]) 'and he/she/it' (nom. sg. com.) and /a=wa=an/ ([áwan]) 'and him/her/it' (acc. sg. com.) shows conclusively that the latter sequences have not undergone aphaeresis even in the latest period, contrary to previous claims. There is absolutely no plausible mechanism by which [áwas/n] can undergo aphaeresis while [áwa] does not.[11]

Further confirmation of the continued reality of the initial /a-/ is furnished by occasional exceptional spellings in texts after the mid 9th century: in SULTANHAN (Tabal, ca. 740-730 BCE) we find beside each other *wa/i-sá* (§3) beside *a-wa/i-sa* (§5) for /a=wa=as/ and *wa/i-na-'* (§12) beside *a-wa/i-na* (§4) for /a=wa=an/.[12] Given this manifest equivalence for two-syllable sequences, we must likewise interpret not only *a-wa/i-tà* (SULTANHAN §45) but also *wa/i-tà* (*ibid.* §44!) as /a=wa=ada/ ([áwada]) 'and it' (nom.-acc. sg. neut.). The continued reality of accented initial /a-/ in all such clause-initial sequences is confirmed by further late spellings such as: *a-wa/i-mi* (HİSARCIK §2), *a-wa/i-ta* (/a=wa=ta/ with particle /-ta/) (BULGARMADEN §2), and *a-wa/i-mu-ta* (PORSUK §5).

The late spelling of other words that show "initial-*a*-final" through the early 9th century differs radically from that just described for sequences with clause-initial conjunction /a-/, and there is regional variation. However, by far the dominant pattern is to spell all the other words with the initial *á*-sign, which I must emphasize was never used for them prior to the mid 9th century.[13] This is the standard usage in all securely datable late texts from Karkamiš:[14] *á-mi-* 'my', *á-mu* 'I, me', *á-pa-* 'that; he, she', *á-sa-* 'to be'. Likewise in Maraş (*á-mi-* and ("POST")*á-pa*(+) 'afterward'), Malatya (*á-mi-* and *á-pa-* 'he'), and Hama (*á-mi-*, *á-mu*, and *á-pi-* 'he').[15] Such spellings are also the norm in Tabal (*á-mi-*, *á-mu*, *á-pa-*, *á-pa-na* 'after, behind', *á-ru-ni-zi* 'enemies',[16] *á-sa-*) and in Cilicia (*á-mi-*, *á-mu*, *á-pa-*, *á-sa-*).[17] However, the last two regions named show some limited but highly significant variation. The unusual sign use of the TOPADA inscription from Tabal is well-known (see Hawkins 2000:460-461), and we can attach no significance to the unique spelling *aₓ-mi-ya+ra/i* in TOPADA §10 with a sign attested nowhere else. However, the occurrence of *a-mi-sa* in TOPADA §19 beside regular *á-mi-sa₄* in §17 cannot be so easily dismissed. Even more telling is the striking variation in TOPADA §§37-38 in a repeated formula: *a-pa-sa-na* VAS-*tara/i-i-na á-pa-sa₇-[ha]* TERRA-REL<+ra/i>-*na...á-pa-sa-na* VAS-*tara/i-na a-pa-sa-ha* DOMUS-*na-zi/a* 'his person and his land...his person and his house'. I do not find it remotely credible that there is any linguistic difference in the variant spellings of /abassa-/ 'his' by the signs *a* and

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10. I do wish to make explicit that the contrast of *a-wa/i* vs. *wa/i-X(-Y-Z)* for all other sequences is found in every region: Cilicia, Karkamiš, Tell Ahmar, Maraş, Malatya, Commagene, Amuq, Aleppo, Hama, Tabal, and the Assur letters. Naturally, one does find some examples of *wa/i-X(-Y)-'* where the final *a*-sign is a mere space-filler. That it is now filling this role and no longer represents "initial-*a*-final" is confirmed by the use of the *i*-sign likewise as a space-filler at the end of such sequences: *wa/i-tu-u-ta-ⁱ* (İSKENDRUN §4; cf. *ibid.* §7 without).
11. The alleged aphaeresis has never, of course, made any sense in linguistic terms, since CLuwian *a-at-ta* for /a=ta/ and *a-am-ma-aš* for /a=mmas/ with lengthening prove that the clause-initial conjunction was fully accented.
12. The final sign in *wa/i-na-'* clearly must be taken as a space-filler, not as an instance of "initial-*a*-final". Compare *a-wa/i-* in SULTANHAN §16 and §43, beside *a-wa/i* passim.
13. I am aware of only two exceptions to this statement. We find *á-mi-na* 'my' (acc. sg. com.) in KELEKLİ §2 and probably *á-pa-si-zi* 'his' in ALEPPO 2 §23 (see Hawkins 2000:238 on the latter).
14. That is, from the "House of Astiruwas": KARKAMİŠ A6, A7, A15*b*, A24, A31, A4*a*, and CEKKE. It is also prevalent in less securely datable texts from Karkamiš, but see further below on other late Karkamiš texts.
15. Mid 9th-century texts from Hama have replaced the stem /aba-/ with /abi-/ in the demonstrative/third person pronoun.
16. I interpret this word in SULTANHAN §9 as a rhotacized variant of the word spelled earlier as **a-ta/i₄-ni-zi/*a-ta/i₄-na-za* and read the latter as /adunintsi~adunants/, modifying an idea of I. Yakubovich (pers. comm.). Dr. Yakubovich bears of course no responsibility for my formulation. For his own analysis see Rieken and Yakubovich in this volume.
17. The relatively short ÇİNEKÖY text is consistent: *á-mi-ya-ti* (§§2,9), *á-mu* (§9), and *á-sa-tá* (/asanta/ Pret3Pl) (§8).

á. Given this example, we must also take seriously the alternate spelling *a-sa₄-ta* 'were' (KARATEPE §XX, Ho, vs. regular *á-sa-ta* in Hu) *a-pa-ri+i* 'on that side' KARATEPE §XXXI, Ho vs. *á-pa-ti-i* in Hu),[18] and the spelling *a-mi-ya-za* 'my' (dat.-loc. pl.) (KARATEPE §XXXV, Hu).[19]

The evidence just presented shows two things. First, the practice of replacing "initial-*a*-final" with an *á*-sign after the mid 9th century was not universal. There was a competing usage with an initial *a*-sign. Second, this variation argues strongly that the more common replacement of *a*- (in "initial-*a*-final") by *á*- does not reflect any genuine linguistic change and that after the mid 9th century the initial signs *a*- and *á*- are functionally equivalent. Late usage in areas not yet discussed corroborates these conclusions. In texts from Amuq of uncertain date from the 9th to 8th century we find competing spellings: *á-mi-za* (KIRÇOĞLU §4), *á-pa-ti* and *á-sà-tu* (TULEIL 2 §d) vs. *a-mi-sa*, *a-mi-i*, and *a-mi-zi* (JISR EL HADID frag. 1 l. 2 and frag. 2 l.2), and in the single text TELL TAYINAT 2 *á-mu* and *á-pi-* (see n. 15) vs. once *a-mi* (TELL TAYINAT frag. 5a-b, l. 1).

We may also, in light of the above, make reasonable sense of the usage of the Assur letters, which has been viewed as chaotic.[20] The Assur letters show a mixed system, but genuine variation is extremely limited. The first-person forms are spelled consistently *á-mi-* and *á-mu*. With equal consistency 'to be' is spelled *a-sa-*. Such regularity cannot be regarded as reflecting error, but the evidence presented above shows that it cannot represent any real linguistic contrast. Once again in the late period spellings with initial *a*- and *á*- are equivalent. Since the writer of the Assur letters clearly was familiar with both usages, we are not surprised to find some variation: /aba-/ is spelled three times as *a-pa-* (*a-pa-zi* in ASSUR b §8 and f+g §21 and *a-pa(-ha)* 'then' or 'that (way)' in a §6) and once as *á-pa-ⁱ-ya* (ASSUR f+g §38). It is noteworthy that we also find such variation in a word that before the mid 9th century was spelled with *á*-, not with "initial-*a*-final": three times *a-zu-za* and twice *a-zu-sa* 'we, us' vs. twice *á-zu-'-za* (cf. *á-zi-ya-ti* /antsiyadi/ 'with our' in IZGIN 1 §16).

The late texts just described show some spelling of initial /a-/ in words that previously had "initial-*a*-final" with the *a*-sign in its normal position, in competition with the more dominant innovative use of the *á*-sign. Another set of texts shows a different competition. The earliest of these is MARAŞ 4 (dated by Hawkins 2000:256 to the mid 9th century). This text follows the late pattern for sequences with initial conjunction /a-/: *a-wa/i* but *wa/i-mi-i*, *wa/i-tá*, etc. (as noted above, it also once employs *a-wa/i-tá* with full spelling). For other "initial-*a*-final" words it shows alternation between the use of initial *á*- and *no spelling* of the *a*-vowel! We thus find *á-mi-na* in §15 but *mi-i* in §17 for 'my' and *á-pa-ara/i* 'thus' (/abari/) in §15 vs. *pa-ti-i* 'in that' in §3.

The possessives *á-mi-na* and *mi-i* both precede their head noun and co-occur with the reflexive pronoun *-mi* in entirely parallel clauses. There is thus no basis whatsoever for supposing a true linguistic contrast between a fully accented /amin/ and a weakly accented /mi/ with aphaeresis. Likewise, since *pa-ti-i* ("ANNUS")*u-si* 'in that year' resumes a preposed relative clause, it also must be fully accented. Given the alternation of spellings with and without initial *á*- for the very same

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18. In view of other alternate spellings with initial *a*- and *á*- in texts after the mid 9th century, including in KARATEPE, these examples cannot be dismissed as errors, *pace* Kloekhorst 2004:29⁷.
19. Against Hawkins 2000:53 and Kloekhorst 2004:29⁷. There are *no* examples in KARATEPE in either version of non-spelling of initial /a-/ in *any* word previously spelled with "initial-*a*-final" (aside, of course, from clause-initial sequences with /a-/, which follow a totally different convention).
20. For example, Kloekhorst (2004:33) quite unjustifiably dismisses the practices of the Assur letters as erroneous and of no probative value. This is patently untrue. In the spelling of initial sequences of /a-/ + /-wa-/ with and without further clitics the Assur letters follow without exception the standard practice of texts after the mid 9th century.

word, we must also suppose that *sa-ta* in §8 likewise spells expected /asanta/ (Pret3Pl) and that the absence of alternate *á-sa-* is accidental.[21]

If MARAŞ 4 were the only text to show the pattern just described, we might attribute the alternation observed to the text being "transitional" from the use of "initial-*a*-final" to the later standard use of the initial *á*-sign. Note, however, that the text is not truly transitional: there are no examples of the older practice of "initial-*a*-final". Furthermore, some other later texts also show the pattern of alternate spellings with an initial *á*-sign and with no spelling of /a-/ at all. One coherent set consists of texts from Commagene, of the "House of Suppiluliumas" datable to the period from the end of the 9th century through the first quarter of the 8th (see Hawkins 2000:333). BOYBEYPINARI 2 writes *á-mi-sá* in §5 vs. *mi-i-sa* in §2, *mi-sá* in §7 and *mi-i-sá* in §19; BOYBEYPINARI 2 §20 writes *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i* vs. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i* in BOYBEYPINARI 1§10; likewise *á-pa-sa* and *á-pa-si-i-na* in BOYBEYPINARI 2 §13 and §20 vs. *pa-sa-na* in BOYBEYPINARI 1 §3. Similarly, MALPINAR contrasts *mu-u* 'I' in §1 with *á-mi-i* in §2 and *á-mi* in §5. Once again, there can be no question of *mu-u* representing a weakly accented and aphaeresized form of /amu/: use of the first-person subject pronoun in an opening clause is precisely for emphasis. Nor is *á-mi-sá tá-ti-sa* 'my father' credibly more emphatic than *mi-i-sa* DOMINUS-*ni-sa* 'my lord'. We happen to have attested in the Commagene texts only forms of 'to be' with initial *á*-sign: *á-sa-ta* (/asta/ Pret3Sg) in ANCOZ 4 §1, *á-sa-ta* (/asanta/ Pret3Pl) in ANCOZ 8 §6, and *á-sa-tu-u* (/asantu/ Imv3Pl) in ANCOZ 7 §14. There can be little doubt, however, that spellings in *sa-* existed.

The undeniable alternation of spellings with and without initial *á-* in the same word in the texts just described means that we should interpret likewise the variations found in a few late texts from other regions whose brevity (or fragmentary state) and uncertain dating would otherwise leave room for doubt. Thus e.g. when we find in KARKAMIŠ A18*e* §6 *pa-ti-pa á-mi-sa*, we should not strain to explain in linguistic terms why the one word "lacks" initial /a-/ while the other does not. We are dealing with purely orthographic variation for what are /aba-/ and /ami-/. Likewise, *á-mi-sa* beside *mi-i-sa* in MARAŞ 14 §2 and §5 justifies not only our reading *sa-tu ibid.* §7 as /astu/, but also our attributing no more significance to *pa-ti-i-[ ]-wa/i* in MARAŞ 11 §3 than to *á-mu* in MARAŞ 3 §3 and §9. That is, the former should be read /abati/ just as the latter is read /amu/.

The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the facts just cited is that some later scribes chose *at times* to apply the convention used universally for sequences of initial /a-/ + /-wa-/ plus further clitics to the other words that had previously been spelled with "initial-*a*-final": that is, they chose not to indicate the initial /a-/ at all. Alternate spellings in both instances show that the initial /a-/ was still spoken, as all available linguistic evidence would suggest.[22] The one clear finding of the present investigation is: there is no probative evidence for aphaeresis of initial /a-/ at any period of HLuwian, and the notion should be abandoned once and for all.

The discovery of "initial-*a*-final" and the preceding full survey of the orthographic practices that replaced it from the mid 9th century onward are ruinous for the claim of Kloekhorst (2004) that initial

a- in HLuwian spells [a-] while *á* spells [ʔ(a)].[23] First of all, it is not true that the words for 'I, me', 'my', 'that; he, she, it' and 'to be' are spelled overwhelmingly with *á* (Kloekhorst 2004:29). They are in fact spelled consistently with *a-* in all regions through the early 9th century. Nor can the post mid-9th-century spellings with *a-* in these words be dismissed as "aberrant" (Kloekhorst 2004:31-33).[24]

Nevertheless, it is true that the predominant spelling of all these words in late texts is with *á-*. That is, from the mid 9th century onward the normal spelling for all words with initial /a-/ is with *á-*, aside from the clause-initial conjunction /a-/ and /anda/ 'in(to)' and derivatives. The upshot of this fact is that we cannot be sure whether words that are thus far attested only from the mid 9th century onward with *á-* were in fact spelled this way in the early period or were spelled with "initial-*a*-final". One might venture that in the case of words of frequent occurrence the absence in late texts of any variants either with initial *a-* or with no spelling of /a-/ would argue for earlier spelling with *á-*. However, the rather restricted number of texts that employ the alternate spellings and the likewise very limited number of HLuwian words with initial /a-/ other than those already discussed that may be reasonably termed "of frequent occurrence" make this a hazardous supposition.

Therefore any claims that spellings with initial *a-* and *á-* reflect a synchronic (and/or diachronic) linguistic contrast must be based on the spellings of texts from the Empire through the early 9th century. Words in those texts spelled consistently with the sign *á-* are:[25] /a(ya)-/ 'to do, make' (*á* in EMİRGAZİ altars §§25,27); /ak-/ 'throw, hurl' (INFRA *áka* 'to subject' in SÜDBURG *passim*); /ama-/ 'my' (*á-ma-za* [/amantsa/, nom.-acc. sg. neut.] in KARKAMIŠ A14a §§3,8 and 6x elsewhere in early Karkamiš texts, 4x in Tell Ahmar texts, and in MARAŞ 8 §12; *á-ma* [/ama/, nom.-acc. pl. neut.] in KARKAMIŠ A11a §§8,13 and A11b+c §5),[26] /asa-/ 'to sit; seat' (as (SOLUM.MI)*á-sa* 'seat' [dat.-loc. sg.] in KARAHÖYÜK §4 and (SOLIUM)*á-sa-ta* 'sat' [Pret3Pl] in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §10); /assatsa-/ 'to say' (*á-saₛ-za-ta* [Pret3Sg] in TELL AHMAR 5 §11 and TELL AHMAR 6 §22); /asharmis(a)-/ 'blood sacrifice' (as ("*350")*á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà* in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18a and A12 §11); /alaman-/ 'name' (*á-ta/iₛ-ma-za* (IZGIN 2 §8, MARAŞ 8 §12, KARKAMIŠ A14a §8 and 5x more at Karkamiš, and 6x in Tell Ahmar); /atsa-/ 'to love' (*á-zi/a-ta* [Pret3Pl] in YALBURT 4,§3, (LITUUS)*á-za-tá* [Pret3Pl] in KARKAMIŠ A11a §7 and A11b+c §9, *á-za-mi* in FRAKTİN, (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-(i)-sa* KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §1 and twice more in Karkamiš, also as a personal name in IZGIN 1 and 2); /antsiya-/ 'our' (*á-zi-ya-ti* IZGIN 1 §16). Also noteworthy and problematic are /andan/ (in *á-ta-na tar-za-mi-* '(favorably) turned toward' TELL AHMAR 2 §2 and TELL AHMAR 6 §2 vs. *a-tá* 'in(to)' ibid.!)[27] and the personal name *á-sa-tú-wa/i-ta/iₐ/₅-ma-za-*, *á-sa-tú-wa/i-la-ma-za-* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §1, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §1, KARKAMIŠ A27u), appearing also as *á-sa-tu-wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-* (MARAŞ 8 §1).

For the list of words spelled with initial *a-* or "initial-*a*-final" see above (for the sake of brevity I henceforth refer merely to "words spelled with initial *a-*). Is any plausible linguistic pattern discernible

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21. As per Hawkins (2000:257-258), the forms *sá-ta* in §9 and *sá-a-ha* in §10 belong not to 'to be' but to a separate transitive verb /sa-/, though I now have growing doubts that it can be identified with (*69)*sa-* 'release, let go'.

22. In the case of 'to be' no one has ever presented one iota of credible evidence for enclisis of the verb, because none exists (the desperation of my own speculation in Melchert 1994:276 is transparent). The word order of HLuwian 'to be' matches that of Hittite and CLuwian (typically clause-final), where plene spellings of the initial vowel confirm that the verb was fully accented, as expected. In the case of HLuwian /ami-/ 'my' accent on the *first* syllable is indicated by the syncope seen in forms like the abl.-inst. *á-mi-ti* (e.g. BULGARMADEN §6, KÖRKÜN §30), *á-mi-tí* and *á-mi+ra/i* (KARATEPE §XVIII, Ho) and the dat.-loc. pl. *á-mi-za* (KARATEPE §XXXII, Hu) and *á-mí-za* (KARATEPE §XXX, Ho).

23. To his considerable credit, Kloekhorst himself notices (2004:47[54]) the suspicious correlation between "aphaeresis" and the appearance of the sign *a* at the end of the word and calls for further study of "aphaeresis".

24. Kloekhorst's "synchronic" evidence for *á* representing [ʔ] is also problematic, namely the spelling *pa-á-li-ma-li* for Baʿal(ī)-malik. First, as he indicates, this spelling occurs only on Empire-period seals, never in HLuwian texts, so it is by no means certain that it is diagnostic for HLuwian. Second and more seriously, spellings on the Nişantepe seals such as *Mu-wa/i-á* beside *Mu-wa/i* for /Mu:wa/ suggest that on the Empire personal seals *á* was in fact used as a "plene" vowel sign just like *a* (see Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005:291-292). In any case, even if significant, the spelling *pa-á-li-ma-li* may represent mere hiatus.

25. I naturally ignore here most personal and place names, since their linguistic source and phonology are usually unknowable. I make exceptions only for those whose connection with known appellatives is transparent.

26. In consistent contrast with /ami-/ spelled *a-mi-* or **á-mi-*, a fact first pointed out to me by Elisabeth Rieken (pers. comm.).

27. Despite the problem presented by the contrasting spelling vs. /anda/ I follow here the persuasive interpretation of *á-da-na tar-za-mi-* of Rieken (2004:459-460), who compares Hittite *anda neyant-*.

in the data? The most immediately suggestive fact is the contrast between *á-ma-* and *a-mi-/a-mu*, where *á-* appears before a synchronically low vowel in the next syllable and *a-* before a following high vowel. This difference points to a contrast in quality, specifically in height, between the vowels spelled by initial *á-* and *a-*, the former being lower than the latter.[28] Since at least in *á-ma-* and *a-mi-* 'my' the two forms surely continue the same prehistoric vowel, the putative synchronic contrast also presupposes a regressive assimilation in one or the other.

Possible further support for the tentative analysis just suggested may come from the idiosyncratic usage of the 12th-century KARAHÖYÜK text. While all other texts up to the early 9th century consistently spell 'to be' with *a-*, in KARAHÖYÜK we find *a-sa-ti* /asti/ (§§20-21) and *a-sa-tu* /astu/ (§24) vs. *á-sa-ha* /asha/ (§10), i.e. with the same apparent contrast as in *a-mi-/a-mu* vs. *á-ma-*.[29] We may also attribute the peculiar spelling *á-tá* for 'in(to)' /anda/ in KARAHÖYÜK §11 to the same phenomenon.[30]

Can we find any further support for the notion of a contrast between a higher vowel represented by initial *a-* (for the sake of argument perhaps a mid-vowel [ə]) vs. a lower one spelled with *á-* ([a] or [ɑ])? The answer appears to be a qualified yes, but the usable evidence is sparse, and some serious problems must be openly confronted. The stems for /amu/ 'I, me' and /ama/i-/ 'my' almost certainly reflect prehistoric *e (thus with Rasmussen 2007:163 against Kloekhorst 2004:39). Likewise, of course, the strong forms of /as-/ 'to be' < *h₁es-. Since CLuwian *ādduwa-* 'evil' shows the effects of "Čop's Law" (see Čop 1970), it and HLuwian /addwa-/ must continue *h₁édwo- (Melchert 1994:238). HLuwian /aduna/i-/ 'enemy' is derived from a related stem *h₁édun-o- (see Schindler 1975:56 on Greek. ὀδύνη 'pain', Watkins 1982:261 on the connection of the latter to 'bad, evil', and especially Rasmussen 1999:147-148[6] for its morphology and comparison with Tocharian B *yolo* 'bad').

The adverb /apan/ 'behind; afterward' < *óp-VN and adjective /apara/i-/ 'later' < *opero- and cognates in Hittite and CLuwian are based on a PIE adverb *op- (with Morpurgo Davies 1983 against Dunkel 1982/83). The far-deictic demonstrative and accented third-person pronoun /aba-/ is cognate with Hittite *apā-/apē-* and must represent a virtual *obhó/é-. Since it has direct cognates in Palaic, CLuwian, and Hittite *a-* and further in Lydian *ak-*, the HLuwian clause-initial conjunction must continue a form of the anaphoric/deictic stem *o-.[31]

All words spelled with initial *a-* may thus reasonably be derived from preforms with a mid vowel *e or *o. For words spelled with *á-*, however, the picture is not nearly so clear. We must first set aside /assatsa-/ 'to say'. This verb must be derived from the Luwian word for 'mouth' (CLuwian *āšš-*), but there are few words whose prehistory is more complicated and controversial than that of the Anatolian word for 'mouth', so no arguments can be made based on this item. HLuwian /a(ya-)/ 'to do, make' reflects *Hyeh₁- (Melchert 1984:14-15, 159-161 *et al.*), and by the very attractive analysis of Rieken (2007) HLuwian /ak-/ 'to throw, hurl' in INFRA *á-ka-* 'to subject' likewise is from *Hyeh₁k-. The Lycian cognate *a(i)-* of the former suggests a low vowel reflex of the sequence *eh₁.

The adjective /antsiya-/ 'our' of the first person plural pronoun clearly shows a reflex of syllabic *ṇ. A zero-grade base *ṇs- is also possible for 'to love' (read /antsa-/; for the root etymology see Rasmussen

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28. Rasmussen (2007) already correctly suggests that the difference between *á-* and *a-* is one of timbre, but his attempt to define *á-* as synchronic /e/ faces insuperable difficulties.

29. Given the overall facts of early spelling of initial *a-*, I now take the verb *sa-tá* of KARAHÖYÜK §12 as the transitive verb *sa-* (against Hawkins 2000:290): 'The revered Storm-god of the land POCULUM __-ed me in every place.'

30. Probably thus with Hawkins (2000:293) despite the well-founded doubts of Kloekhorst (2004:31).

31. Whether the conjunction represents the bare stem *o- or a case form such as an instrumental *oh₁ (see Rieken 1999:86 on Hittite *ta < *toh₁*) is immaterial for our present purposes. I reject categorically the claim of Kloekhorst (2004:42) that HLuwian *a-wa/i* is not to be analyzed as /a=wa/ with the quotative particle.

2007:164). HLuwian *á-ta/i₅-ma-(za)* is also most reasonably taken as /alaman=tsa/, with leveling of an ablauting prehistoric paradigm *laman/*anman- < *h₁néh₃mṇ/*h₁ṇh₃mn-. The *á-* would thus here also reflect *ṇ.[32] I know of nothing to preclude the assumption that the *a* of *an* <*ṇ was a low vowel.

Complications for our tentative hypothesis arise with /asharmis(a)-/ 'blood sacrifice', which clearly is based on *h₁ésh₂ṇ with *e, and with /asa-/ 'to sit; seat'. By the popular derivation of Hittite and Luwian 'to sit (down)' < *h₁éh₁so- HLuwian /asa-/ could be classed under the examples of *á-* < *éh₁, but I follow Oettinger (2004:490-491, with references to the prior analysis) in supposing instead a preform *h₁éso-.[33] Given the evidence of *á-ma-* vs. *a-mu-/a-mi-* (and the apparent supporting parallel of *á-sa-ha* vs. *a-sa-ti/tu* in KARAHÖYÜK), we may salvage our hypothesis thus far by assuming that the regular outcome of initial *e- and *o- in HLuwian was a mid vowel represented by *a-*, but that *e- was assimilated to a low vowel spelled with *á-* when followed consistently by a low vowel in the next syllable. Both 'blood' and 'sit; seat' meet this condition, while in other instances of *e- the presence of an *i or *u in at least some forms of the paradigm would have blocked the effect (it is reasonable to assume that the adjective /addwa-/ 'bad, evil' had "*i*-mutation" and thus some forms of the shape /addwi-/).

Notice, however, that there is a very serious contradiction in the status of *o in the account just presented. For purposes of the putative lowering rule the reflex of *o must be counted as a low vowel: in neuter nom.-acc. singular *á-ma-za* < *émom+, in *á-sa-* 'sit' < *h₁éso- and putatively in KARAHÖYÜK *á-tá* 'in(to)' < *éndo. However, initial *o- appears to be spelled with *a-* pointing to a non-low vowel.

This difficulty is not insurmountable. First of all, there is independent evidence from "Čop's Law" that pre-Luwian *e and *o remained distinct vowels: contrast *pérVN > CLuwian *parran* 'in front, before' with *dóru- > CLuwian *tāru-* 'wood'. Second, in the case of *appara/i- < *opero- and some forms of the paradigm of *obhó/é- the initial *o was certainly followed by a mid vowel *e. By the derivation of the quotative particle < *wer(h₁) (Oettinger 1979:344 *et al.*) the conjunction *ó- would have regularly stood before *we, and this is also possible by the alternate derivation < *-we/o (Joseph 1981:96 after Przyluski). The vocalism of the second syllable of /apan/ is indeterminate. One *could* therefore suppose that *e led regularly to a Luwian mid vowel (such as [ə]), while *o was regularly lowered to [ɑ]. However, not only was *e lowered before a following low vowel (including [ɑ] < *o), but also *o failed to lower when it was followed by the mid vowel resulting from *e. While the available facts appear to permit this account, its fragility is transparent.

Two complications require special explanation even with this revised scenario. First, if the personal name /Astu(w)alamantsa/ is (as it appears) a "Wunschname" meaning 'let there be a name' (i.e. 'let him (the child) have renown'), then we require an explanation for why it is spelled consistently with *á-* in early texts where the verb 'to be' is spelled with equal consistency with *a-*. One can, of course, as always devise an ad hoc solution: perhaps instead of glide insertion there was instead desyllabification so that the name was /Astwalamantsa/. In that case the supposed mid vowel from *e would have stood before the putatively low vowel resulting from a syllabic nasal and thus undergo lowering. I spare readers further speculative alternatives.

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32. Space does not permit a full discussion of the complex issues surrounding 'name'. cf. Kloekhorst (2004:40[27])and Rieken and Yakubovich in this volume. Suffice it to say that I assume that the result of the dissimilation of *n before two following nasals in this word was a voiced continuant that was identified with /l/ in word-initial position (and spelled with the *la*-sign) and that interchanged with both /l/ and /r/ word-internally. Contrary to my previous claims (e.g. Melchert 1994:83), I no longer see any justification for assuming that *n first dissimilated to a voiced stop [d].

33. As per Oettinger, HLuwian /is(a)nu-/ 'to seat' and /istarta-/ 'throne' with *i*-vocalism can only be derived from a lengthened-grade *h₁és-. The derivation from *h₁éh₁s- by Kloekhorst (2004:40-41) is quite impossible. See Melchert 1994:245 with references.

Finally, most problematic is the spelling *a-tá* for /anda/ vs. *á-ta-na* for /andan/. These words have been reconstructed either with full grade as **(h₁)endo(m)* or with zero-grade as **(h₁)n̥do(m)*: see Melchert 1994:245 vs. Kloekhorst 2004:42-43 and compare also Schrijver 1991:58-59. According to our tentative conclusions regarding the outcome of a syllabic nasal reached above, a zero-grade preform should give *á-*, but note further that by the putative lowering rule so should a sequence **endo*! I see no immediate solution to this problem.[34]

Current available evidence is thus no better than suggestive of a qualitative contrast between *á-* and *a-*. We sorely need to know just what the early spelling was for words whose prehistoric vocalism is reasonably assured, such as 'to eat' (/ad-~ats-/ < **h₁ed-*), 'horse' (/atsu-/ < **(h₁)ek'wo-*), 'back, again' (/api/ < **ópi*), and 'to come' (/awi-/ < **auh₁ei-*), all of which are spelled consistently with *á-* from the mid 9th century. Pending the discovery of new texts from the period before the mid 9th century that enlarge our data base for words with initial /a-/, I can only declare the status of *a-* versus *á-* spellings a *non liquet*.

I must in closing briefly discuss one last issue regarding the spelling of initial /a-/. Alert readers will have noticed that I have not mentioned any words beginning with /ar-/. One reason for this is that we have only a single instance of an appellative in /ar-/ attested in texts before the mid 9th century: *a+ra/i-*[ ], an incomplete form of /ar-/ 'to arrive' in YALBURT 3,§2. We thus have no basis for determining whether other words with initial /ar-/ were spelled with *á-* in the early period.

There is, however, a more fundamental issue regarding the spelling of initial /ar-/. As correctly emphasized by Kloekhorst (2004:32), in the entire corpus that *is* available to us there is a virtually complete absence of any use of the oblique stroke that marks the presence of /r/ with the sign *á* (the single instance in EĞREK §3 is uncertain). One finds only *a+ra/i-* and the separate sign *ara/i-* in initial position. MARAŞ 2 §3 does show *á-ra+a* (i.e. *á-a+ra/i*) for /ara/ 'made', and presumably *á-ri+i* would have also been possible, but this option apparently was not exploited, leaving the status of the hapax *á-ra+a* quite unclear.

One must in any case agree with Kloekhorst (2004:32) that it is not credible that the spelling *a+ra/i-tu* /arantu/ 'let them eat' in KULULU 5 §11 reflects a linguistically real variation in vocalism vs. *á-tà-tu-u* in SULTANHAN §33a and the other regular post mid-9th-century spellings with *á-ta-*. That rhotacism did not cause any such change is shown by the infinitive 'to eat' spelled *á-ru-na* (ÇİFTLİK §16 etc.). It is likewise hard to believe that there is any linguistic contrast between *a-ru-ti-* 'basket' (ASSUR letters c §9 and f+g §41) and the verb *á-ru-wa/i+ra/i-tu* (ŞIRZI §3), both with an initial sequence /aru-/.

That /r/ can cause neutralization of height contrast in preceding vowels is well established (cf. the merger of the vowels of 'Mary', 'merry', and 'marry' in American English dialects). The apparent equivalence of spellings with *a-* and *á-* in the case of initial /ar-/ could thus reflect a genuine conditioned merger of the putatively distinct mid and low vowels tentatively posited above. Obviously, however, the apparent lack of any functional difference in *a-* and *á-* in the presence of /r/ could just as well be taken as evidence against there being such a difference anywhere.

In sum, the present investigation has shown that with recognition of "initial-*a*-final" and the various orthographic practices that replaced it, there is no credible evidence for aphaeresis in HLuwian at any period. Nor is the overall usage of *a-* and *á-* in HLuwian texts at all compatible with the claim that the latter represents an initial glottal stop. Whether the largely complementary use of initial *a-* (including "initial-*a*-final") and *á-* in early texts reflects a genuine difference in vowel quality remains uncertain.

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34. It is true that the PIE morpheme **do* 'in the direction of' had an allomorph **de* (e.g. in Greek. οἴκα-δε 'homeward'), but I am unwilling to invoke it merely to save what is by any measure a speculative hypothesis.

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SOME DISPUTED PASSAGES IN THE TAWAGALAWA LETTER

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Since my translations of a few passages of the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (VAT 6692; KUB 14.3) for TUAT (Miller 2006) differ from traditional interpretations, it seems fitting to provide some explanation and background for them, thoughts which I first presented at the workshop, 'Der Tawagalawa-Brief: Neubearbeitung eines bedeutenden historischen Dokuments in interdisziplinärer Forschung', organised by E. Rieken and S. Heinhold-Krahmer and hosted by J. Klinger at the FU Berlin, 7-9 May, 2007, during which we were also able to collate the tablet itself.

This paper proposes new readings and/or interpretations of three disputed passages of the letter, a missive from a Great King of Ḫatti to his Aḫḫiyawan counterpart seeking the extradition of Piyamaradu, the ambitious West Anatolian renegade. It is suggested (1) that the presence of Laḫurzi, Piyamaradu's brother, at the battle of Iyalanda, despite previous promises, is the issue in i 16-31; (2) that returning to the idea that it is Tawagalawa whom the writer indicts in i 48-52 should be rejected, and that the passage is either accusing Atpa, the governor of Millawanda and son-in-law of Piyamaradu, of complicity in the affair, or referring to the charges against Piyamaradu himself; (3) and that i 71-74 should best be read as indicating that the Great King Tawagalawa, as the brother and predecessor of the letter's addressee, had at some juncture himself come to Millawanda to meet his brother and Kurunta in order to deal with the Piyamaradu situation.

Given David Hawkins' long-standing interest in and considerable contributions to our understanding of this period of history in western Anatolia, I trust this will be an appropriate addition to this volume in his honour.

The first passage to be considered is i 16-31, in which the author of the letter (generally equated with Ḫattusili III, and so in the present paper) explains how he had written to Piyamaradu instructing him that if he was indeed serious about becoming a Hittite vassal, he would put up no resistance to the writer's imminent arrival at Iyalanda. Despite these instructions, the enemy had engaged him at three points in Iyalanda, and Laḫurzi, Piyamaradu's brother, had ambushed him. The question comes with l. 27, in which some person's presence would seem, at first glance, to be denied.

My considerations begin, as always, with the visible traces (Fig. 1a). Here, judging from high resolution scans of the photos at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, I would suggest that the traces suggest rather *L[a-*, for Laḫurzi, than *P[i-*, for Piyamaradu, the two obvious candidates. First, the other BIs in this text (Fig. 2) generally have the upper horizontal pulled to the right of the lower one, though there are exceptions. Thus this argument is only suggestive, not conclusive. Second, if I were to play the maximalist, I would like to see not only the heads of the two leading horizontals (Fig. 1b), which would allow either LA or BI, but also the head of one further horizontal as well (Fig. 1c). And if one copies the LA of Laḫurzi from l. 26 and transposes it over these traces (Fig. 1d), they would seem to yield a nice match.
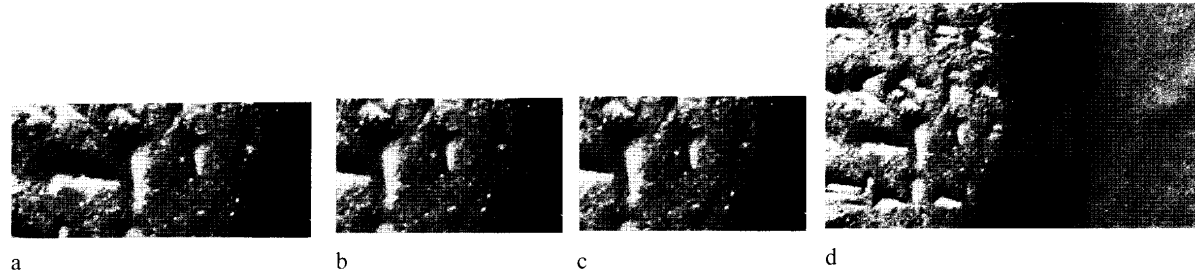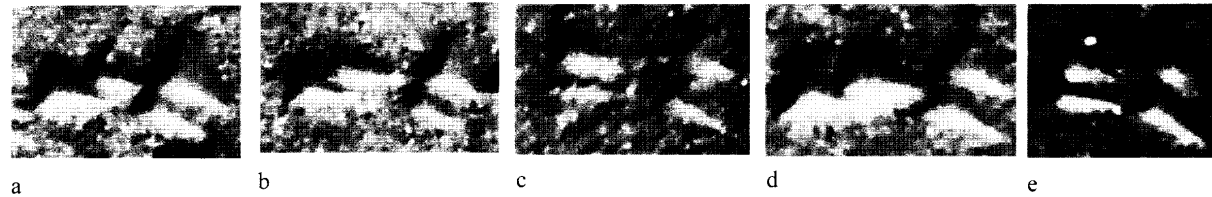
Fig. 1: $^m L[a$- vs. $^m P[i$- in VAT 6692 i 27.

Fig. 2: The sign BI in VAT 6692 i 14(x2), 25, 26 and 51.

If so, however, we would seem to have Laḫurzi ambushing Ḫattusili in l. 26, but Laḫurzi's absence in ll. 27 and 28. The solution is apparently provided by the context, as the addressee is told to ask Piyamaradu about this ambush in Iyalanda, leading one to suspect that these clauses are intended as further rhetorical questions, so common in this letter. Thus, the following transliteration and translation (based on my German TUAT translation; Miller 2006: 243) seems the most reasonable: 'Laḫurzi aber, sein Bruder, [...-te] mich/mir [im] *Hinterhalt*! So frag doch, mein Bruder, ob es nicht so (gewesen ist)! Ist L[aḫurzi] beim Kampfe nicht dabei gewesen? Und habe ich ihn [in] der Stadt Ijalanda [...] nicht angetroffen?' $^{(26)m}La$-$ḫur$-zi-ma-mu a-$pé$-el ŠEŠ-ŠU še-na-aḫ-ḫa~[...] $^{(27)}nu$ ŠEŠ-IA pu-nu-uš-pát ma-a-an Ú-UL kiš-an $^m L[a$-hur-$zi]$ $^{(28)}za$-$aḫ$-$ḫi$-ia an-da Ú-UL e-eš-ta am-mu-uk-ka$_4$-an[...] $^{(29)}$ŠÀ ^{URU}I-ia-la-an-da Ú-UL AK-ŠU-UD ... .) Ḫattusili's point is thus to concede that Piyamaradu himself may not have confronted him in Iyalanda, but that his brother Laḫurzi did, which was no less an abrogation of Piyamaradu's promise than if he had been there himself. It seems to make less sense to read Piyamaradu here, in which case Ḫattusili would be saying that Laḫurzi ambushed him in Iyalanda, but then rhetorically asking if it were not true that Piyamaradu had not in fact been in Iyalanda. If Piyamaradu were to be restored, one might expect the writer first to have said that Piyamaradu indeed participated in the battle at Iyalanda, then to have asked rhetorically if Piyamaradu had not in fact been there.

The second passage I would like to discuss, i 48-52, is one that constituted a central element in Parker's (1999: 64-66) recent argumentation for returning to the idea of Tawagalawa, rather than Piyamaradu, being the renegade whose extradition Ḫattusili sought with this letter. My translation of the passage, which actually does not differ essentially from Parker's, reads as follows: 'Und zur Stadt Millawanda [schrieb ich dem PN] (wie folgt): "Komm zu mir!" [Dann auch an meinen Bruder *an d]er Grenze* schrieb ich [folgen]derm[aßen]: "Auch in dieser Angelegenheit habe ich gegen **ihn** *einen Vorwurf erhoben* (wörtlich: ergriffen/ertappt), daß Pijamaradu mir dieses [Land] dauernd überfällt. [Weiß mein] Bruder das, [oder] weiß er es nicht?"' $^{(48)}nu$ I-NA ^{URU}Mi-il_5-la-wa-$[an$-da ... AŠ-PUR] $^{(49)}an$-da-wa-mu-$kán$ e-ḫ[u nu ki]š-a[n A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-ia A-Š]AR$^{(?)}$ ZAG $^{(50)}$AŠ-PUR ke-e-da-ni-i[a-wa-ra-**a**]**n** me-mi-ni

AṢ-BAT ki-i-wa-mu $^{(51)m}Pi$-ia-ma-ra-$d[u$-$uš$ KUR-TUM k]u-it wa-al-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ke-ez-zi $^{(52)}nu$-wa-ra-at ŠE[Š-IA I-DE nu-w]a-ra-at Ú-UL-ma I-DE.)

Parker (1999: 66) asserts that the person against whom Ḫattusili voices his accusation cannot be Piyamaradu, since the 'ihn' of l. 50 (assuming that -a]n is correctly restored, which is not beyond doubt) would thus precede its 'antecedent', Piyamaradu, which occurs first in l. 51. If so, the writer is likely to be accusing some other person of complicity in Piyamaradu's misdeeds, and Parker concludes that the person whom Ḫattusili must be accusing can only be Tawagalawa.

If one assumes for the sake of the argument that the pronoun cannot refer to Piyamaradu, I would suggest that the person being accused would not be Tawagalawa, but whoever it was that Ḫattusili had written to in l. 48, and that this is most likely Atpa. In ll. 48 and 49 it is clear that Ḫattusili had written to someone in Millawanda, commanding him to come and appear before him, and one could quite reasonably assume that the pronoun l. 50 refers to this person as antecedent. Fortunately, the following ll. 53-63 make clear to whom Ḫattusili had written in Millawanda: '$^{(53)}$Als aber [der/sein Bote] bei mir eintraf, $^{(54)}$brachte er mir kein [Geschenk (o.ä.)], nicht einmal irgendwelche Sendung [brachte/schickte er] mir. [Der/Sein Bote] sagte aber: "Dem Atpa schrieb er (d.i. der König von Aḫḫiyawa): $^{(56)}$'Liefere den Pij[amaradu] dem König von Ḫatti in die Hand aus!'" (one line erased) $^{(58)}$[Dann] ging ich [nach Mill]-awanda; ich ging aber mit Hinblick auf [fol]gende Angelegenheit: "Die Worte, [die] ich dem Pijama-radu sagen werde, sollen auch die Untertanen meines Bruders zu hören bekommen!" Dann machte sich Pijamaradu auf einem Schiff davon! *Die Vorwürfe, die ich ihm machte* (wörtlich: die Worte, zu denen ich ihn hielte), $^{(63)}$die hörte auch Atpa; auch Awajana – sie haben gehört.' Here it is seen that as a response to Ḫattusili's commanding someone in Millawanda to appear before him, a messenger arrives who reports on what the king of Aḫḫiyawa had instructed Atpa, suggesting that he is a messenger from Atpa. Thus, regardless of who the antecedent of the pronoun of l. 50 is, Atpa must be restored in l. 48, and it was Atpa whom Ḫattusili ordered to appear before him.

Now, if the pronoun in l. 50 also refers to Atpa, it would assume a scenario in which Ḫattusili had written to Atpa in Millawanda, ordering him to appear before him in order to harangue him for his complicity, or at least neutrality, in Piyamaradu's troublemaking. At the same time Ḫattusili had written to the king of Aḫḫiyawa informing him of his accusations against Atpa in the Piyamaradu affair, implying that Ḫattusili also considered the Great King of Aḫḫiyawa, as Atpa's overlord, derelict in failing to prevent it. Atpa responded not by personally appearing before Ḫattusili, as demanded, but by sending a messenger who paid little respect and delivered oblique explanations. Not satisfied with this obtuse response, Ḫattusili marched personally on Millawanda in order to confront Atpa about his complicity directly and to repeat his accusations against Piyamaradu. There would thus seem to be little need to indict Tawagalawa anew, as Parker does, even assuming the pronoun of l. 50 does not refer to Piyamaradu.

For two reasons, however, it does not appear that Parker's assertion, whereby the -a]n of l. 50 cannot possibly refer to Piyamaradu, must be seen as conclusive. First is the fact that the person against whom Ḫattusili makes his accusations in l. 62 is clearly Piyamaradu of l. 61. If one assumes that the accusations of l. 50 parallel these in l. 62, as would appear to be the case, then the former would also refer to Piyamaradu, and one would be forced to accept that the pronoun in l. 50 precedes its 'antecedent' in l. 51 (Piyamaradu) rather than what one would have assumed to have been its antecedent on the local syntactical level in l. 48 ([Atpa]). (I wish to thank J. Klinger, D. Hawkins and the rest of the participants in the Berlin Workshop for emphasizing this point to me during our discussions of my presentation.) Second, as Sideltsev recently demonstrated in a lecture given at the 53rd Rencontre Assyriologique
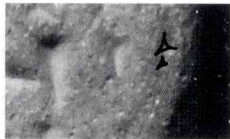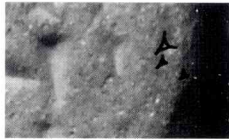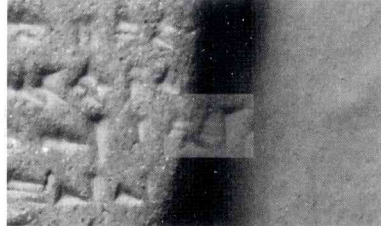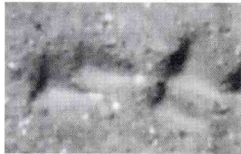
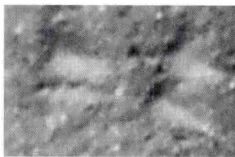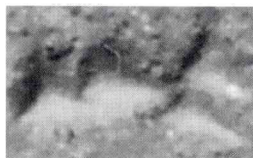Fig. 1: ᵐ*L*[*a*- vs. ᵐ*P*[*i*- in VAT 6692 i 27.

Fig. 2: The sign BI in VAT 6692 i 14(x2), 25, 26 and 51.

Internationale in Moscow/St. Petersburg, precisely this type of prolepsis, though not common in Hittite texts not influenced by other languages, does occur; and if the pronoun of l. 50 constitutes such a case of prolepsis, then one would probably be justified in assuming that, especially in consideration of the fact that Piyamaradu is the subject of the entire letter, such a pronoun might refer to him regardless of whether its antecedent occurred as expected in the preceding lines or not. Thus, in my view, while Atpa should most likely be restored in l. 48, either Atpa or Piyamaradu could be the antecedent of the pronoun in l. 50, the syntax of ll. 48-51 perhaps suggesting Atpa, but allowing for either, the context of ll. 61-63 suggesting Piyamaradu.

Before moving on to the next passage, perhaps I should mention as an aside that the commonly accepted reading *MA-Ḫ]AR* ZAG in i 49 of this passage does not, in my view, fit the traces well at all. Reading Š]AR is at least graphically much more convincing (Fig. 3), both on the photos and on the original, on which traces of the vertical are also visible. How this is to be understood is another question. It may be that *A-Š]AR* is the most likely restoration.

a   b   c

Fig. 3: *MA-Ḫ]AR* vs. *A-Š]AR* in VAT 6692 i 49.

The third passage I would like to discuss is certainly more controversial. It is the last four lines of column one, probably the most contentiously debated lines of the entire letter. Leading up to this passage is Ḫattusili's oft-repeated claim, 'Habe ich nicht den Kronprinzen hinübergeschickt (indem ich ihm sagte): "Geh! Fahre hinüber, nimm ihn (Piyamaradu) an der Hand, laß ihn [mi]t auf dem Wagen sitzen, und bring ihn mir entgegen!"?' After which follow the crucial lines: 'Er wies (ihn) aber zurück! Damals als Tawagalawa selbst, als Großkönig, *nah* der Stadt Millawanda kam, war doch [mei]n? [...], Kurunta, hier. Und der Großkönig (d.i. Tawagalawa) ist Dir entgegengefahren. War er (d.i. Tawagalawa) kein erhabener König?' ((^{71})[*nu-za*$^{(?)}$ *U]L* *me-ma*-*aš* ^{m}*Ta-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát*-*kán* *ku-wa-pí* LUGAL. GAL (^{72})[*I-NA*$^{(?)}$ ^{U}]^{RU}*Mi-il$_5$-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it* (^{73})[-*I*]*A*$^?$-*ma* ^{md}LAMMA-*aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta* LUGAL.GAL (^{74})[IGI-*an-d*]*a u-un-ni-eš-ta Ú-UL-aš šar-ku-uš* LUGAL-*uš e-eš-ta*.)

The first consideration in my train of argumentation relates to what might be restored at the beginning of l. 72. The context clearly places Millawanda in the lative, and all other cases in this text, without exception, in which a place name stands in the lative or locative, it is prefaced by *INA* or ŠÀ (cf. also *ANA* in i 37 and *ANA PANI* in i 13), the former written with the two signs *I-NA* 13 times, written with the single sign *INA* 3 times. (It is quite uncertain whether the one exception in Sommer's edition [1932: 12], in iii 9-10, should be read as such, and it can thus be ignored.) One can therefore hardly justify restoring anything but *INA* or ŠÀ, *I-NA* being the most likely candidate (cf. already Hoffmann, who suggested *ANA*, in Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 54, n. 48). And indeed, *I-NA* would fit the space available perfectly. Though the first few millimetres of the tablet's corner at this point are eroded away, one can still postulate with some confidence approximately where the edge would have been (Fig. 4, left). And when one inserts in this space the signs *I-NA* (Fig. 4, right), here copied from ll. 66 and 68, it is clear that they fill the space nicely and that none is available for anything else. Further, even if one opts for the single sign *INA* or for ŠÀ, there will still be insufficient space for *na-aš* (Singer 1983: 212 and n. 29) or *nu-kán* (Götze and Pedersen 1934: 25), two suggestions which assume that this would have been the beginning of a clause. ZAG KUR (Forrer 1929: 141) alone would also be too long, as would *nu-kán* alone, in my view, though only slightly.
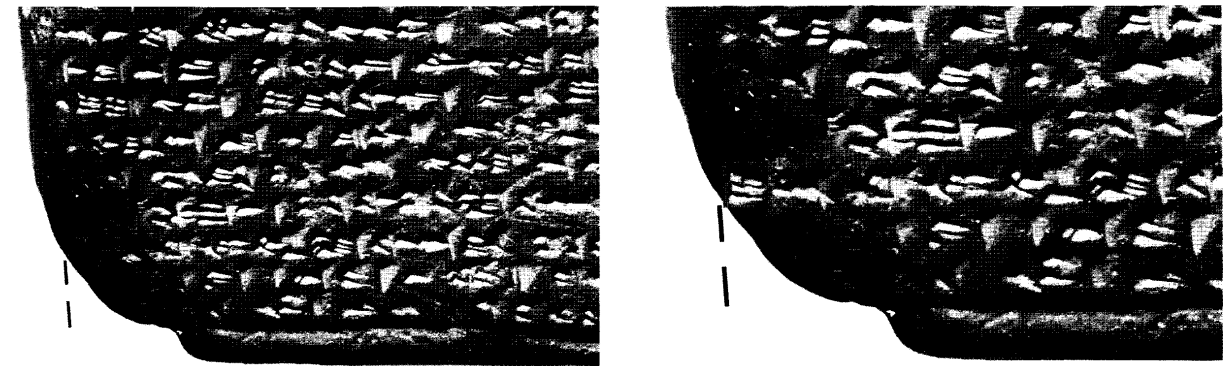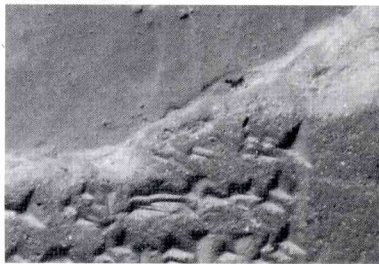

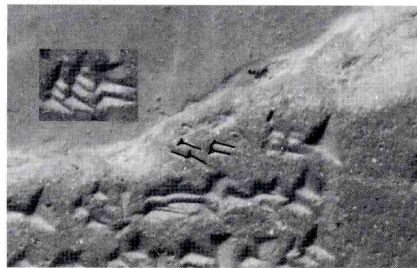Fig. 4: Lower left of VAT 6692 obv. (left), with *I-NA* restored from ll. 66, 68 (right).

Before one can translate ll. 71-72, then, one must decide what should be done with the traces often associated with the end of l. 71 (Fig. 5). While Forrer (1929: 108) ignored them, Sommer (1932: 6) read *ú*$^?$-[*w*]*a*$^?$-*nu*$^?$-*un*, which was followed, e.g. by Singer (1983: 212), but rejected by Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 54). In my view, much speaks against reading a verb here.
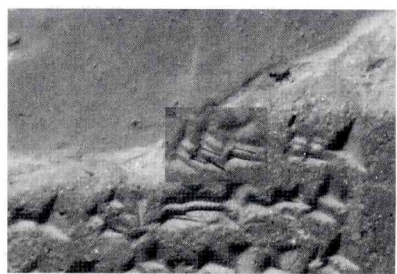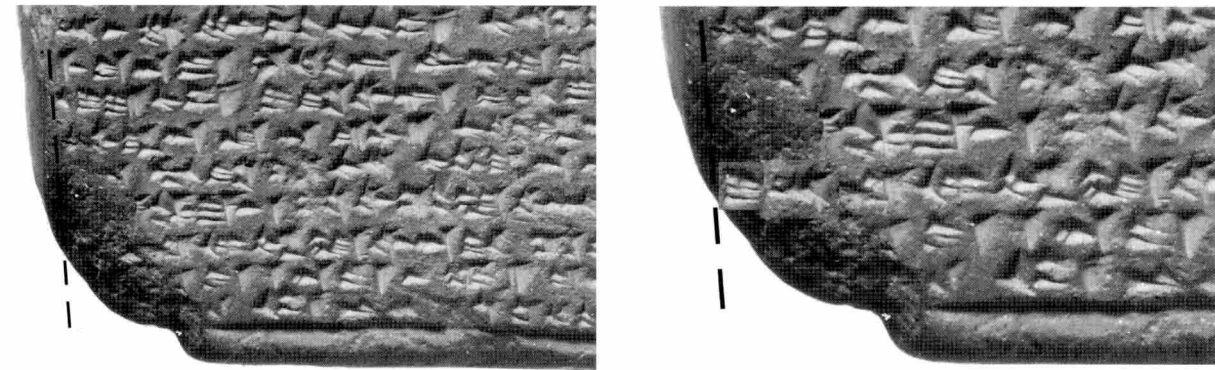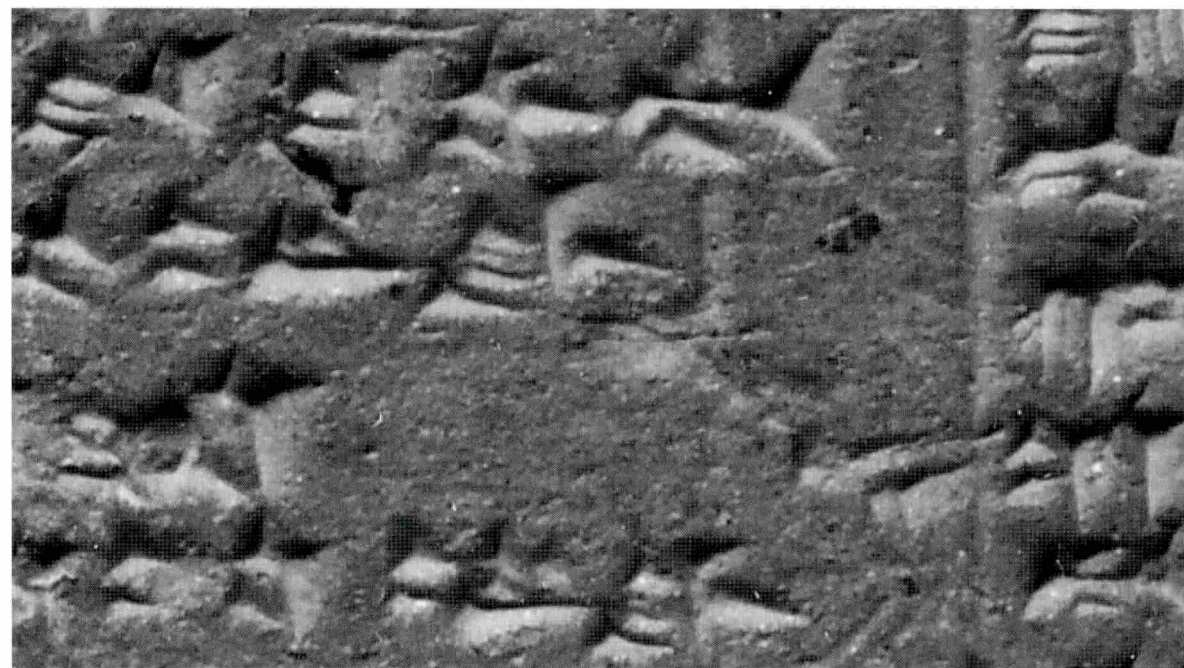

Fig. 5: The traces at the end of VAT 6692 i 71.

a   b   c

Fig. 3: *MA-Ḫ*]AR vs. *A-Š*]*AR* in VAT 6692 i 49.

Fig. 4: Lower left of VAT 6692 obv. (left), with *I-NA* restored from ll. 66, 68 (right).

Before one can translate ll. 71-72, then, one must decide what should be done with the traces often associated with the end of l. 71 (Fig. 5). While Forrer (1929: 108) ignored them, Sommer (1932: 6) read *ú*[?]-[*w*]*a*[?]-*nu*[?]-*un*, which was followed, e.g. by Singer (1983: 212), but rejected by Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 54). In my view, much speaks against reading a verb here.

Fig. 5: The traces at the end of VAT 6692 i 71.

First, I am unable to convince myself that I can see any sign traces except for what Sommer read as -*un*. Here I would admit to seeing what one could read perhaps as an AŠ, then ZA, which could be interpreted as a damaged or malformed UN. (E. Rieken [pers. comm.] has suggested reading UN-*aš*.) Before this point I see nothing more than what I would interpret as slight damage to the surface, perhaps an erasure done after the clay was already rather dry. And of course, if the traces are in fact a later erasure, this should be respected, so that even assuming *uwanun* originally stood at this point and was scratched away, it should likely be ignored. Neither are the traces convincing as signs intentionally added as a correction after the tablet had dried. The surface here is actually fairly well preserved, and if these extremely shallow scratches were intended to convey the signs *ú-wa-nu-un*, then the scribe completely failed in his purpose. As such the scratches would have been illegible then as they are today. Thus, even if one chooses to read *uwanun*, I would suggest a transcription [*ú-wa-nu*]-⌈*un*⌉⁽ʔ⁾ rather than Sommer's *ú*⁽ʔ⁾-[*w*]*a*⁽ʔ⁾-*nu*⁽ʔ⁾-*un* which implies that something in these scratches actually suggests the first three signs. This is not the case.

Second, the scratches and sign traces angle downward and to the right, not upward into the column divider, as would be expected, suggesting that whatever these traces might be, they are not the end of the clause in l. 71. One might counter that the traces of ᴳᴵˢGIGIR and *ú-wa-ti* in ll. 69 and 70 prevented the scribe from writing the signs up and into the column divider as he normally would have done, but this is not overly convincing, since the same scribe, faced with even less space in the column divider in ll. 18-19, still wrote the end of [*zi-i*]*k-ka₄-wa-za-kán* up and into the column divider. Hence, if the traces do not convince as *ú-wa-nu-un*, if they are not written where one would expect, and if the signs were erased even if originally written, it should be viewed as unlikely that any verb should be read.

One might object that this leaves the traces in the column divider unexplained, to which I would respond in one of two ways. First, it is not at all uncommon to find stray traces on a tablet that one can or must ignore, so one is not necessarily obliged to explain them at all. Second, if one argues that these traces constitute an ad hoc correction after the tablet had dried, one could just as easily assume that they could represent a corrective note to the syntactically rather cumbersome ii 72-74, before which the traces in fact stand, perhaps to the certainly errant end of 74: 'Was aber diesen Wagenlenker betrifft, da er mit einer Frau der Familie der Königin verheiratet ist — im Land Ḫatti ist die Familie der Königin hoch angesehen — ist er mir *etwa nicht* ein *Sch<wa>ger*?' (⁽⁷²⁾**a-pí-ia* EGIR-*pa ú-iz-zi ka-a-aš*-*ma* ᴸᵁ*KAR-TAP-PU ku-iš* ⁽⁷³⁾*ŠA* MUNUS.LUGAL-*za ku-it ŠA* MÁŠ-*TI ḫar-zi I-NA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁGIDRU-*ti ŠA* MUNUS.LUGAL ⁽⁷⁴⁾MÁŠ-*TUM* **me-ek-ki* *šal-li na-aš-mu Ú-UL im-ma* ᴸᵁḪA-<TA>-NU⁽ʔ⁾.)

Before attempting to translate these first two lines, then, I should perhaps briefly address Heinhold-Krahmer's (1986:54f.) suggestion of reading l. 71 as a copula in the past tense, the 3 sg. pret. verb *esta* remaining unexpressed. This must be deemed extremely unlikely. As Heinhold-Krahmer has mentioned to me in our conversations, and as Alparslan (2005: 36) has pointed out, it is true that a handful of cases of nominal sentences in the past tense without *es*- can be identified. But this only allows for the remote possibility of the suggestion, it in no way makes it likely. On the contrary, if one is faced with hundreds of examples in which *es*- in the past tense is expressed, and only a handful of examples in which it is left out, this is a strong argument against interpolating an unexpressed *esta* at this point. Moreover, *esta* is in fact expressed in these very same lines, in 73 and 74, and it would have to be considered quite unlikely that it would remain unexpressed in 71, but be spelled out in 73 and 74.

So, if one rejects reading *uwanun* at the end of l. 71 and rejects reading the lines as a copula with an unexpressed verb, 'to be', it is clear that the clause continues to the end of l. 72 and ends with *uit*. This fits nicely, of course, the -*kan* in l. 71, which is called for by *tapusa uit*. It also provides a syntactically entirely unproblematic dependent clause: 'Damals als Tawagalawa selbst, als Großkönig, *nah der/herüber zur* Stadt Millawanda kam, ...'.

The beginning of l. 73 would then provide the main clause. Regardless of what once stood at the beginning of the line, it must be read, '... war aber Kurunta, [...], hier.' As to what one might restore at the beginning of the line, one can only speculate. As always, the first step in making the attempt is a close examination of the remaining traces, seen here in two different photos (Fig. 6). To my eyes it is clear, as others have already noted (L. Rost in Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 54, n. 45), that a broken vertical can be seen before the -*ma*. Moreover, I believe I am able to see the head of a preceding vertical as well (cf. also Güterbock 1990: 163), and these traces compare very nicely with IA as copied in Fig. 6 from l. 68. UN of course would also be a possibility, and this led Gurney (2002:138, n. 20) to read [*ki-nu-u*]*n-ma*, a possibility which cannot be excluded, though in my view (Fig. 7, left), the signs would be somewhat too long for the available space, if one copies in the signs from ll. 63 and 68 and lays them over the area in question. The signs [*ka-ru*]-⌈*ú*⌉-*ma* (Fig. 7, centre) would also seem a bit too long, though perhaps not prohibitively so, and of course, the broken vertical speaks against such. In a footnote in my TUAT translation (Miller 2006: 243, n. 30) I mentioned that, assuming the author is indeed Ḫattusili, [DUMU. ŠEŠ-*I*]*A-ma*, 'my nephew', would fit the historical context well, but that it, too, might be slightly too long for the available space. Another possibility that would fit the historical circumstances as well as the space tolerably well, though perhaps a bit short, is [ÌR-*I*]*A-ma*, 'my servant' (Fig. 7, right), in reference to Ḫattusili's nephew or to some otherwise unknown diplomat, but this also remains speculative. In view of the traces, I would suggest that the best solution is to tentatively accept the possessive pronoun -*I*]*A*, but to avoid the temptation to restore what was likely a Sumerogram. We thus arrive at the syntactically and grammatically unremarkable translation, 'Damals als Tawagalawa selbst, als Großkönig, *nah der/ herüber zur* Stadt Millawanda kam, war aber Kurunta, me[in ...], hier.'
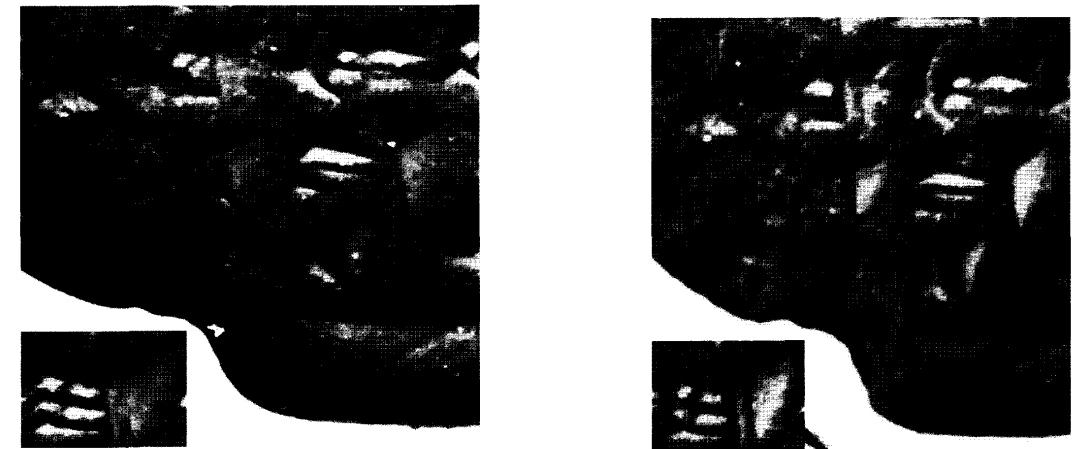

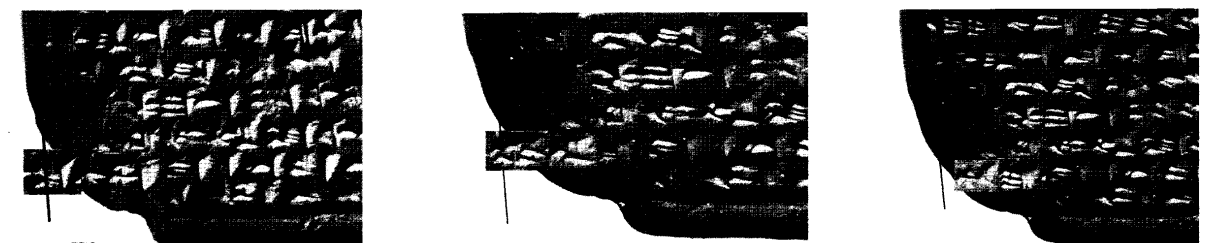Fig. 6: The traces at the beginning of VAT 6692 i 73, with IA from l. 68.

Fig. 7: Comparison of suggested restorations in VAT 6692 i 73.

Fig. 6: The traces at the beginning of VAT 6692 i 73, with IA from l. 68.

Fig. 7: Comparison of suggested restorations in VAT 6692 i 73.

Since comparable passages (i 6f., 70, ii 7) suggest restoring [IGI-*an-d*]*a* at the beginning of l. 74, about which all commentators agree, the remainder of these lines can also be translated with no need for emendation or the assumption of any scribal error: 'Und der Großkönig ist Dir entgegengefahren. War er kein erhabener König?'

While such a translation requires no syntactical or psychological gyrations, it will be difficult for some to accept because the sense that it yields will not fit into the historical picture they would like to maintain. I would therefore like now to discuss if and how such a translation might be reconciled with a reasonable picture of the historical context as can be gathered from the rest of the letter and from other documents. Much of my reconstruction has already been presaged by others, especially by Heinhold-Krahmer (1983; 1986), but there may be some new elements as well.

It seems obvious, both syntactically and contextually, that the LUGAL.GAL and the *sarkus ḫassus* in the entire passage at the end of column one is Tawagalawa. Attempts to avoid this conclusion must abuse either the grammar and syntax of the passage or the historical circumstances, or both. Some, for example, have followed Sommer (1932: 89f.) in seeing the enclitic pronoun -*tta*, 'to you', as a psychological error for -*ssi*, 'to him'. Singer (1983:212) chose to interpret LUGAL.GAL as an apposition to this enclitic pronoun, which, though perhaps not impossible, must be considered quite unlikely, both grammatically and because there seems to be no reason that Ḫattusili would suddenly address his correspondent as LUGAL.GAL, as if he didn't already know who he was, rather than 'my brother', as the writer otherwise consistently does. The simple, unproblematic reading, in contrast, would obviously be, 'Und der Grosskönig ist Dir entgegengefahren.'

Some (e.g. Singer 1983:212) have preferred accepting that Ḫattusili would refer to his nephew and subordinate in Tarḫuntassa as a mighty king, and Güterbock (1990: 164 and n. 32) referred in this light to the seal, found at Ḫattusa, on which Kurunta in fact bears the title Great King (Otten 1988: 5, Abb. 1). This seal, however, does not necessarily bear any import for the question in this passage of the Tawagalawa letter, since the seal would presumably have been commissioned by Kurunta himself with the aim of aggrandizing his own position, probably either as a counterpoint to the power of Ḫattusa and/or after Ḫattusa's decline, while the present passage in the letter was written by the Great King of Ḫatti, who hardly would have been calling various subordinates mighty kings, least of all the brother of the king (Mursili III/Urḫi-Teššub) which he himself had deposed and as such stood before him in the line to the throne of the empire.

A further major problem with those translations which attempt to avoid the conclusion that Tawagalawa was Great King is the tortured attempt at understanding the relative construction in ll. 71 and 72. Singer (1983: 212), e.g., reads *Tawagalawas=pat=kan kuwapi* LUGAL.GAL *uwanun n=as* ᵁᴿᵁ*Millawanda tapusa uit* and translates 'Even Tawagalawa, when (I), the Great King, came, he came aside to Millawanda.' But of course, such a construction assumes a very odd Hittite syntax, and the Hittite word order that one would expect for Singer's translation would of course be LUGAL.GAL *kuwapi uwanun* (or *nu kuwapi* LUGAL.GAL *uwanun*) *Tawagalawas=pat=kan* INA ᵁᴿᵁ*Millawanda tapusa uit*. I am not prepared to say that the construction as understood by Singer is absolutely impossible in Hittite, but it is certainly not likely and would be at best very uncommon.

In short, reading these four lines with the assumption that Tawagalawa was once Great King allows one to avoid all these syntactical and grammatical gymnastics and accept a straightforward, unproblematic, first-semester Hittite translation. No emendations, no psychological errors, no oddly constructed Hittite monstrosities, no interpreting a tiny scratch as a desperately needed verb.

It seems that the passage would, according to this interpretation, constitute part of Ḫattusili's efforts to establish and/or enhance diplomatic relations with the perhaps relatively new Great King of Aḫḫiyawa, the addressee of the letter, whose name remains a mystery, following the presumably fairly recent death or abdication of his brother and predecessor, Tawagalawa. Obviously the death or abdication of Tawagalawa and the accession of his brother find no explicit mention in our textual sources and is the principal element of the reconstruction which must be deduced from other clues. These last lines of col. i would thus constitute a flashback to a time when Tawagalawa was still Great King in Aḫḫiyawa, probably toward the end of his reign. At this point he himself came across the sea to Millawanda in order to deal with the Piyamaradu problem, if one can understand *tapusa uit* in this context as 'he came over, came across'. At that time Kurunta, perhaps the king of Tarḫuntassa, perhaps some otherwise unknown diplomat, was there in Millawanda, possibly to serve as a witness to a treaty which the Great King of Aḫḫiyawa intended to draw up with Piyamaradu, Ḫattusili's reference to Kurunta's presence presumably serving to lend credence to his own version of events. The Great King of Aḫḫiyawa was received by his brother in Millawanda, suggesting that this brother, the addressee of the letter, may have served at that time in some role, perhaps as governor, in Aḫḫiyawa's Asian holdings. And if the continuation of this historical flashback in the first lines of col. ii can be understood as some have interpreted it, namely as Piyamaradu's rejection of the terms offered him, then it would seem that Tawagalawa at some point during his reign tried to control Piyamaradu's ambitions in a similar way as Ḫattusili tries to do with this letter, and that he had similarly failed. If so, it would of course not be the first time (see presently) that the writer of the letter compared his own actions to those of Tawagalawa. These much disputed lines would thus constitute an attempt by Ḫattusili to convince the present Great King in Aḫḫiyawa of the severity of the Piyamaradu situation, and hence, of the justification for his current campaign and of the necessity of finally dealing with Piyamaradu. Ḫattusili endeavours to convince his addressee by reminding him that even his brother Tawagalawa had tried to deal with Piyamaradu and had failed, since Piyamaradu had rejected Tawagalawa's authority just as he now was rejecting Hittite authority.

Incidentally, in the first line of col. ii, I would be very cautious about reading ⟨za-a[r-ši-ia*, as has generally been done, since the traces do not fit the signs well (Fig. 8). While the *Glossenkeil* is clear, and the following traces are amenable to *za-*, what comes next can hardly be reconciled with an -*ar-*.

Fig. 8: Two photos of VAT 6692 ii 1.

What other evidence in this letter and in other texts might support such a hypothetical reconstruction? As Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 50ff.) has pointed out, there is actually no indication in the three passages referring to Tawagalawa that he might still be alive or reigning. On the contrary, all three refer to him in historical situations. How far back these allusions reach is impossible to know. The reference in ii 58-61 very much gives the impression of the distant past: 'Dabala-Tarḫunta ist aber kein [...] geringer Mann. Seit (meiner) Kindheit pflegt er (als) Wagenlenker mit mir auf den Wagen zu steigen; auch mit Deinem Bruder, mit Tawagalawa, pflegte er [auf den Wagen] zu steigen.'
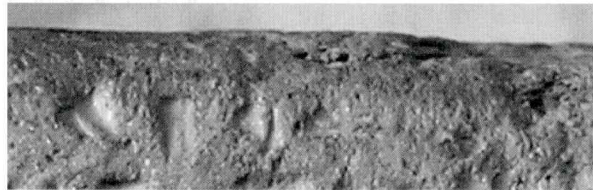
Fig. 8: Two photos of VAT 6692 ii 1.

The first passage mentioning Tawagalawa, in i 3-5, reads as follows, beginning with l. 1: '[Ferne]r, zog er (Piyamaradu) los und ver[nich]tete die Stadt Attarimma, und verbrannte sie völlig, mitsamt der Mauer des Königshauses. [Und] wie die Lukka-Leute Tawagalawa aufmerksam gemacht haben, und er in diese Länder kam, ebenso machten sie mich aufmerksam, und ich kam in diese Länder hinab.' That the writer intended a parallel is obvious, and I would suggest that the parallel is of a geopolitical nature. Just as the people of Lukka had appealed to Tawagalawa for help, leading to his campaign to the region, they had appealed to Hattusili for help, leading to his campaign to the region. But did the writer intend a chronological in addition to the geopolitical parallel? In fact, there is no hint about when Tawagalawa's campaign took place, and I would suggest that the geopolitical parallel was mentioned with no thought to chronology. One cannot necessarily assume, just because the two geopolitically parallel events are placed one after the other in these three lines, that they occurred contemporaneously or one right after the other in actual time. On the contrary, Hattusili seems to refer to Tawagalawa's campaign as a precedent, perhaps also as justification, suggesting that Tawagalawa's reaction to the troubles in the Lukka lands preceded Hattusili's. Again, by how many months or years Tawagalawa's campaign preceded Hattusili's one can only speculate.

Moreover, while the first five lines of the tablet would seem, at first glance, to give the impression that both Tawagalawa and Hattusili reacted practically simultaneously to the Lukkeans' report concerning one and the same destruction of Attarimma, it seems not unlikely that having the full context of the previous paragraphs might have allowed one to see a more protracted picture, in which the Lukkeans, having long suffered at the hands of Piyamaradu, at one time requested the protection of Tawagalawa, who sought with his own campaign to put an end to the troubles, and at a later juncture requested the Hittite king's aid in dealing with the ongoing problem. In fact, from other documents it is known that the Piyamaradu affair stretched back into the reign of Hattusili's predecessors (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 86-97). Hence, one cannot really know if Tawagalawa's campaign to the Lukka lands occurred six months or six years (or more) before Hattusili's.

Yet there is perhaps another element to this parallel, in addition to the obvious geopolitical, that has been largely overlooked. Since the Lukkeans wrote to Hattusili, who was certainly a Great King, it would appear not unlikely that they had previously written to another Great King, namely Tawagalawa. It does not seem likely that Hattusili, or any other Hittite Great King, would compare his own actions to that of an Ahhiyawan prince or any other such subordinate as a precedent or justification for his own actions (similarly Alparslan 2005:37). It would be degrading and counterproductive. And it does not seem that one should insist on the dubious chronological parallel as an argument against placing Tawagalawa's reign at some time in the past, but then conveniently dispense with this aspect of the parallel that suggests that both would have been Great Kings.

In general, one experiences what one might call a telescoping effect when reading such a text. It seems to the modern reader lacking the prerequisite background information that all the events described have occurred in the immediate past. But it is clear when one lists all the events in Hattusili's recounting in this letter that they must have reached back at least many months, probably quite a few years. Further, we tend to read such a letter as if one event followed another, which is not necessarily so. Hattusili may well have referred to this or that event according to the logical flow of his argument, regardless of its position on a timeline. That this in fact is the case in the letter can be demonstrated by comparing, for example, i 53-63 and ii 20-23. In the first passage Hattusili goes to Millawanda and personally confronts Atpa. Later, in the second passage, Hattusili says that he climbed down (from his chariot) and told Atpa that since the king of Ahhiyawa had ordered him to deliver Piyamaradu, clearly a reference to what the messenger had said earlier, that he should finally do so. Between these two references to this one event Hattusili refers to several events whose chronological positions are quite uncertain.

Alparslan (2005:37f.) has recently suggested that an additional text fragment may support such a paradigm, namely KUB 23.93, which must belong to the corpus of royal correspondence due to the writer addressing his fellow king as 'my brother'. Alparslan speculates that this fragment might belong to the Ahhiyawa corpus, and notes especially l. 3', which reads, 'Dein Bruder aber [hat] an meinen Bruder [...]', after which one might want to restore 'geschrieben'. And he suggests that the situation that this line in KUB 23.93 presumes would fit precisely that assumed by this interpretation of the Tawagalawa letter, namely that Tawagalawa and Muwattalli would have corresponded with each other, as did their brothers and successors, Hattusili and the addressee of KUB 14.3. And in fact, it would be difficult to find four other potentates from this period in the Ancient Near East who could fit this paradigm. This would result in the following relative chronological sketch (Fig. 9), with Muwattalli, Urhi-Teššub and Hattusili at left, Tawagalawa and the addressee of KUB 14.3 at centre, and Kurunta at right (assuming for present purposes that Kurunta is the king of Tarhuntassa, which is not necessary for the suggested paradigm).
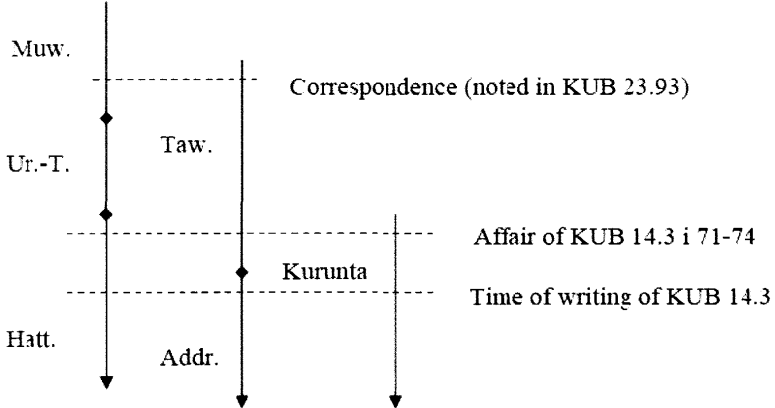

Fig. 9: Schematic chronological outline.

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SEALS AND SEALINGS OF KARKAMIŠ, PART III:

THE EVIDENCE FROM THE NIŞANTEPE-ARCHIVES, THE DIGRAPHIC SEALS AND THE TITLE EUNUCHUS2

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Pavia

In previous contributions I collected information about the court of Karkamiš in the Late Bronze Age. I tried to identify the seals used by the princes and officials of the northern-Syrian court and I attempted to define the specific characteristics of those seals. The 2005 publication by S. Herbordt of the Nişantepe archive of sealed *cretulae* provides a wealth of new material. This paper aims at identifying the Nişantepe seals which belonged to the princes and dignitaries of Karkamiš, reviewing the previous work in the light of the new information. An additional bonus is that the Nişantepe evidence brings new elements to the debate on the role indicated by the title LÚ.SAG (hieroglyphic EUNUCHUS2) and its compatibility or otherwise with the title DUMU.LUGAL / REX.FILIUS.

1. The debate on the political and cultural role of Karkamiš during the Hittite domination in North Syria (end of the XIV - beginning of the XII century BCE) is increasingly complex and wide-ranging.[1] In what follows, I concentrate on some new data which create an additional set of problems. With great pleasure I offer this brief contribution to David Hawkins, who in his recent work on the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Anatolian seals has opened new research paths and solved so many problems.

   In two earlier contributions (Mora 2004, Mora 2005) I collected information on the princes, the dignitaries and the officials at the court of Karkamiš in the Late Bronze Age; in particular, I tried to identify the seals used by the princes and by the dignitaries of Karkamiš (mainly preserved on impressions found at Ugarit, Emar and Hattuša) and I analysed some characteristics of these seals in order to highlight, on the one hand, possible peculiarities as well as differences from the Anatolian production, and, on the other, any 'symbols of power' (Lumsden 1990) characteristic of the northern Syrian court. However, any investigation on the seals of Karkamiš needs to be preceded by an identification of their owners; unfortunately, the inscriptions on the seals of the Karkamiš princes and officials do not show, together with the name, an indication of the kingdom of provenance (though this is present on the royal seals); sometimes it is possible to get this type of information from the cuneiform by-script written next to the impression of the seal on the tablet, but this is often missing. Hence to determine whether a person belonged to the court of Karkamiš we first need an examination of all relevant documentation (often of different origin), and a comparison of all the data that can be drawn from it. Nonetheless, the evidence is not always clear: we may be confronted by a complex situation, when, e.g., an official exercised part of his activities in Karkamiš or in other Syrian cities, part at the Hittite court (Mora 2008b), with attestations in documents of different origin dating back to different moments of his career. In some cases it can be very difficult to identify the court from

where the princes originally came. The attribution of seals to their owners can be equally problematic: as long as we have frequent homonyms, any identification is difficult to reach. In one of the works cited above I offered a provisional list of princes and dignitaries / officials, paying special attention to the seal owners (cf. Mora 2004). For Boğazköy, my list included all the data found in the published documents from Hattuša, but also offered some preliminary remarks about the names of some of these officials found in the large archive of sealed *cretulae* of Nişantepe in the 'Upper City' of Boğazköy (Herbordt 2005). This information was kindly provided by S. Herbordt, when her volume with the edition of the seals of the officials and the princes found in Nişantepe was not yet published. It is now appropriate, after the publication in 2005, to review this material, person by person and seal by seal, in order to have a clear and complete account of the evidence available. Such a review will give us the possibility to update our documentation, to correct some details, and to verify some of the data about specific individuals.[2] In addition, a new examination allows us to reconsider and improve our previous attempt to define the specific characteristics of the seals of the Karkamiš kings, princes and dignitaries. Here I provide a brief summary of my earlier work (for more detailed information see, in particular, Mora 2005):

   a) Cylinder and ring shapes are widely used for the seals of the Karkamiš princes and dignitaries, as is also typical of the seals found in the northern Syrian area during the 13th century BCE;

   b) There are considerable similarities (in the shape of the seal and in the carved scenes) between the seals of the Karkamiš kings and the seals of the princes and dignitaries, in contrast with the Anatolian seals where there are significant differences;

   c) In the scenes found on the seals of the Karkamiš princes and dignitaries the winged sun disk very often appears on top of a figure, perhaps in order to recall the imagery of the Hittite sovereign (cf. Mora 2004:446 f.; Mora 2005:235). It is noteworthy that, notwithstanding the high percentage of such representations on northern Syrian seals, the same motif is almost entirely absent from the Anatolian evidence;

   d) Digraphic seals (which have a cuneiform inscription next to the hieroglyphic one) are very frequent in the glyptics of the Karkamiš court, as also are the seals with only a cuneiform inscription: some princes / officials had seals of these types. If one considers that the total number of princes and officials so far surveyed is under forty, the percentage is close to 30%, which marks a significant difference with Anatolia where non-royal digraphic seals are extremely rare (on this point see also below).

   A final warning is necessary before we move to the analysis of the Nişantepe data: our seals are impressed on *cretulae* and not on tablets as at Ugarit and Emar, and consequently we do not have the benefit of further information provided on the same medium; we must rely on the few indications given by the seal inscription or, in the case of *cretulae* with different impressions, on a comparison with the seals of other people.

2. My earlier list of Karkamiš princes/sons of the king and dignitaries/officials is reproduced below (from Mora 2004). Here I have printed in bold the names about which new information from Nişantepe is now available. They are individually discussed under §3.

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1. See recently, among others, Hawkins 2000:73 ff.; Klengel 2001; Faist 2002; d'Alfonso 2005; Mora 2008a, all with the relevant bibliography which is not necessarily repeated here.

2. For a study dedicated to Hittite princes and dignitaries of the court of Karkamiš present in Hattuša, particularly in the second half of the XIII century BCE, cf. Mora 2008b.

Princes / Sons of king
(dumu.lugal, REX.FILIUS) of Karkamiš

Alihešni	**Mizra/imuwa**
Armanani?	**Pihamuwa**
Armaziti	**Piha-Tarhunta**
Hešmi-Teššup	**Taki-Šarruma?**
Hešni	**Tili-Šarruma**
Kunti-Teššup	Tuppi-Teššup?
Laheja	Tuwataziti?
Marianni?	Upparamuwa

"Overseers of the Land"
(lú.ugula.kalam.ma)

Ahi-malik?	Naheja?
Mutri-Teššup	Puhi-šenni

Other officials of Karkamiš

Amanmašu	Madi-Dagan
Arwašši	**Mašamuwa**
Baba?	**Pihaziti**
Ebina'e and Kurkalli	Pillaza
Hilarizi?	Takuhlinu
Kili-Šarruma	**Tuwariša**
Kummawalwi	Uri-Teššup
Kummijaziti	Zalanna
Kurkalli	**Zuzulli**
Laat-Dagan	

This list, which is based on seal evidence, must not be considered as definitive: additional testing (especially when homonyms are concerned) is needed to establish that these princes and dignitaries really belonged to the northern Syrian court. In addition, it is possible that further investigation may add more persons to the list.[3]

Some of the names included in the list above appear as seal holders in the impressions on the *cretulae* found in the Nişantepe archive. In what follows we shall discuss whether these seal holders may be identified with the princes/ dignitaries of Karkamiš.

3. We recall here the case of Tulpi-Šarruma, PU-Šarruma, Kila'e (see Singer 1999:653 ff.), Palluwa (see Singer 2000), Palla (see Roche 2003). This last name occurs (only on one seal) in the Nişantepe archive.

3.A. *PRINCES*

Armanani (Nişantepe No. 29-51).

We can add the information supplied by the letter Msk. 74.734 (cf. Salvini-Trémouille 2003:230 ff.) to the arguments already presented in Mora 2004 to support the hypothesis that Armanani (or better: a prince named Armanani) was linked to the court of Karkamiš . In this letter discovered at Emar and unfortunately very fragmentary, the King (of Karkamiš) speaks to Armanani in order to urge some action. According to the editors, this text would provide "une preuve supplémentaire que, à Emar au moins, les décisions prises par les fonctionnaires hittites étaient soumises au direct contrôle du souverain de Karkamiš." In my opinion, the provenance from the court of Karkamiš of the prince Armanani mentioned in the documents from Emar may offer a simpler account of the hierarchical relationship between the king and his representatives in the northern Syrian territory. Still, the identification of this prince Armanani known in Syria and possibly linked to the court of Karkamiš with the Armanani attested at Hattuša and particularly at Nişantepe remains problematic. As already observed (Mora 2008b), among the seals found in Nişantepe which bear the name Armanani, no. 31 is the most likely candidate for an attribution to the prince of the Karkamiš court: it is a cylinder seal impression with the solar deity on a lion. This figure is typical of the seals in Syro-Hittite style employed in the Syrian area by members (princes and dignitaries) of the Karkamiš court (see Mora 2004 and Mora 2008b, n. 10). The absence of the title REX.FILIUS on the seal found at Nişantepe may be simply apparent and due to the fact that the impression is incomplete; we may compare e.g. the impression of Armanani's seal at Emar (Beyer 2001: A 104): the REX.FILIUS title is quite remote from the divine figure. For all other attestations of the name at Nişantepe we remain in a doubt whether they are due to mere coincidence; quite simply we do not have adequate evidence to support a link between the individual owners of the Nişantepe seals and the prince Armanani who acted for the court of Karkamiš .[4] We must note, however, the occurrence of the title MAGNUS.VITIS (GAL.GEŠTIN) on seals 47 and 48 of Nişantepe; on No. 47 this title is accompanied by REX.FILIUS. Even so, we are not able to determine whether a prince of a court like that of Karkamiš which was in some way 'related' to the court of Hattuša, could hold such a high office also at the 'mother' court in the capital city.[5] In conclusion: the seal Nişantepe 31 can be connected to Prince Armanani of the court of Karkamiš ; for the owners of all other seals the identification is questionable.

Armaziti (Nişantepe No. 68)

The name occurs at Nişantepe on a ring-seal impression; on the same seal there is also the name Zuwa; the title is SCRIBA. The seal type and the presence of the two names may provide a link with the documents of the Syrian area, but no data points to a certain identification of this Armaziti with the one in the Syrian texts.

Mizrimuwa[6] (Nişantepe No. 242-249)

For a prosopographic discussion see van den Hout 1995:233 ff., who identifies the Mizrimuwa of the Syrian attestations (son of the King of Karkamiš) with the dignitary Mizrimuwa who acts as a witness in CTH 225 (cf. also Imparati 1994; Mora 2004; Herbordt 2005:81 f.; Mora 2008b). To the seals already

4. Following Hawkins 2005:249 f., it is possible that all the seals with the REX.FILIUS title were owned by one and the same person. On the other hand we cannot be certain that it was the same Armanani of No. 31.
5. cf. Mora 2008b, for the activities of the Karkamiš princes at Hattuša. For a vast discussion about Armanani GAL. GEŠTIN see Marizza 2007:167 ff.; (in this paper the attestations from Emar are not cited nor is mentioned the possible link of Armanani with Karkamiš).
6. For the reading *Mizri-* cf. Hawkins 2005:264.

known where Mizrimuwa has the title MAGNUS.PASTOR, connected with the cuneiform title in CTH 225, we can now add the attestations of Nişantepe, which probably refer to the same person (cf. Hawkins 2005:261 f.; Herbordt 2005:82). Herbordt (2005:81 ff.) does not mention his possible provenance from Karkamiš, focusing only on the Anatolian evidence, in particular on the glyptic. The occurrence of a cuneiform inscription next to the hieroglyphic one on some of the seals of Mizrimuwa is, I think, another indication that allows us to connect this Mizrimuwa with the court of Karkamiš: it is in fact, as we saw above, a frequent feature on the seals of the princes and officials of the northern Syrian court. In the data from Nişantepe, it is also worth noting the other dignitaries whose seals appear on the same *cretulae* as the Mizrimuwa's seal. They are Ukkura (No. 494) and Tarhu(nta)nani (No. 411). Another seal of the same Ukkura (No. 495) is impressed on the same support as one of the seals of Taprammi (No. 409).[7] An individual named Ukkura is a protagonist in a trial (KUB 13.35 +; cf. Werner 1967:3 ff; cf. also Güterbock 1939, Marazzi 2000) concerned with the failure to comply with the proper procedures for sealing: it is not certain that this is the same person, since the titles are different but due to the fact that they are both certified along with other very important people, that the Ukkura of the cuneiform document is involved in an issue of sealing procedures and that the attestations date back to the same period (the second half of the thirteenth century BCE), the identification is at least possible.

Pihamuwa (Nişantepe No. 299-302?)
The name of Pihamuwa is found on a tablet from Emar which also has one of Pihamuwa's seals (a cylinder, but impressed as if it were a stamp seal; cf. Arnaud 1986, text: Msk 73.1019, no. 212): it is likely that the document was drafted in Karkamiš; the names of other persons who are also cited in the document and have impressed on it their seals also seem to point to the Karkamiš court (Piha-Tarhunta, Uri-Teššup?; cf. Mora 2004:436). According to the reading given by Laroche (cf. Beyer 2001:109), the name Pihamuwa would stand next to the REX.FILIUS title. The same name appears on some *cretulae* from Nişantepe (299-300 and probably 301 and 302), but with different titles. In particular, in 299 Pihamuwa bears, among others, the title EUNUCHUS$_2$, which, according to the survey of Hawkins (2002), would not be compatible with the title REX.FILIUS. There is therefore no evidence to support an identification of the Pihamuwa attested at Emar and the Pihamuwa(s) found at Nişantepe.[8]

Piha-Tarhunta (Nişantepe No. 305-307)
We shall have to return to Piha-Tarhunta later on, because there are several problems concerning his identity, duties and titles. The name Piha-Tarhunta occurs at Nişantepe on three seals, where it is joined with the following titles: EUNUCHUS$_2$ (corresponding to the LÚ.SAG of the cuneiform inscription) on No. 305; AVIS$_3$ + MAGNUS, EUNUCHUS$_2$, DOMINUS *HWI* on No. 306; REX.FILIUS on No. 307. According to the results of a study by Hawkins (2002), the titles EUNUCHUS$_2$ and REX.FILIUS are incompatible. Therefore we can assign seals 305 and 306 (but not seal 307) to the same person. This person will almost certainly be identified (both for the compatibility between the titles, and for the chronology) with the Piha-Tarhunta quoted in several documents as augur at Hattuša.[9] Another interesting testimony comes from Syria: in a text from Emar, Piha-Tarhunta is cited as a witness (see Arnaud 1986: no. 212); on the same tablet we find the cylinder seal of Piha-Tarhunta, listed as 'prince' (REX.FILIUS) and accompanied by the female name Wasti. Probably this is the same prince of Karkamiš quoted in some documents from Ugarit and Emar (see Mora 2004:437). On the difficulty of identification

of the Piha-Tarhunta cited as prince in the Syrian attestations with the Piha-Tarhunta augur and LÚ.SAG cited in the Anatolian attestations[10] see, more recently, Mora 2008b: although some scholars support the identification (cf. Imparati 1987:195; Hazenbos 2007: 101 f.), there still remains the major obstacle of the non-compatibility between the two titles. The presence on the seal from Emar of a woman named Wasti, that refers to a person cited in the inventory texts of Hattuša, must be carefully considered.

Taki-Šarruma (Nişantepe No. 391-403)
As already noted by Herbordt (2005: 82-83), at least 12 of these 13 seals are related to Taki-Šarruma the Prince and Great Scribe attested in documents from Ugarit and Hattuša. According to a recent and interesting hypothesis by I. Singer (2003), Taki-Šarruma would be an important Hittite dignitary sent to Karkamiš by Šuppiluliuma II, while, in my opinion, it cannot be excluded that he was, instead, a prince of Karkamiš (cf. Mora 2004:437 f.). The seals from Nişantepe, all of a marked Anatolian type, cannot help us solve the problem.

Tili-Šarruma (Nişantepe No. 456-459)
Tili-Šarruma is mentioned as a son of the King of Karkamiš in some documents from Ugarit (see Mora 2004:438); with the same title ('son of King') he appears on another seal found previously in Hattuša (Güterbock 1942: no. 15) and in a text from the Middle Euphrates area on which we also find a Tili-Šarruma seal (cf. Tsukimoto 1984:65 ff.). According to Hawkins (2005:275) the owner of the seals from Nişantepe is probably to be identified with the Tili-Šarruma of the other attestations.[11]

3B. *OFFICIALS / DIGNITARIES (EXCLUDING PRINCES)*

Hilarizi? (Nişantepe No. 123, 124?)
This name, with the title SCRIBA, is attested on a cylinder seal impressed on various tablets from Emar and its surroundings; the seal, in typical Syro-Hittite style, was very often used by another individual (cf. Beyer 2001: A 15). A link of this dignitary with the court of Karkamiš was proposed in Mora 2004:440, because of both the type of the seal and the analogy with other princes / officials of Karkamiš who appear together as witnesses on some documents. The seal 123 from Nişantepe shows the title AURIGA and typical Anatolian features; on seal 124, where we find the title HASTARIUS, the name is written with an unusual character for the second sign (cf. Hawkins 2005:255 for a hypothetical reading). There are no sufficient elements to propose an equation between the scribe of the Syrian attestations and the owners of the seals from Nişantepe.

Kummijaziti (Nişantepe No. 174, 175?)
A Kummijaziti sealed a tablet from Ugarit that bears also the seal of Zuzulli, *kartappu* of the king of Karkamiš . No elements allow us to establish any link between this person and the one(s) attested in the seals from Nişantepe and in other Anatolian documents.

Mašamuwa (Nişantepe No. 234)
According to a hypothesis by Owen (1995), Mašamuwa, official of Karkamiš,[12] can be connected with the homonymous diplomat mentioned in some Hittite letters. There are not enough elements to identify the official of Karkamiš with the owner of the Nişantepe seal.[13]

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7. For this last person see Mora 2006; Mora 2007 (with references to the numerous studies already published) and Hawkins 2005:272.

8. For the mention of Pihamuwa in trials and in the inventory texts from Hattusa, cf. Mora 2008b.

9. cf. Mora 2008b for the documentation. On Piha-Tarhunta augur see recently Bawanypeck 2005:263 f.

10. The two titles are not combined in the cuneiform texts, but seal no. 305 of Nişantepe permits the identification of Piha-Tarhunta augur and Piha-Tarhunta LÚ.SAG.

11. For an attestation from Tell Chuēra cf. Kühne 1995 (cf. also Mora 2008b).

12. cf. the text published by Owen 1995.

13. Some evidence can be offered by the Syro-Hittite typology of the Nişantepe seal.

Pihaziti (Nişantepe No. 312-316)

In this case too, there is not sufficient evidence to relate the owners of the Nişantepe seals with the Karkamiš official with the same name quoted by sources from Ugarit.[14]

Tuwariša / Tuwarša? (Nişantepe No. 474-484)

The seal of a Tuwariša ugula.kalam.ma, probably to be connected to the court of Karkamiš (cf. Mora 2004:442), is impressed on a document from the Middle Euphrates area. Nothing can link the seals from Nişantepe with this attestation from Syria. Nonetheless the reference (see Hawkins 2005:277) to an attestation of the name in a late Karkamiš inscription is very interesting and is even more significant if one considers the lack of other attestations in cuneiform texts.

Zuzulli (Nişantepe No. 551-556)

As mentioned above, Zuzulli, *kartappu* of the king of Karkamiš, is known thanks to an attestation from Ugarit: his seal is impressed on the same tablet; another seal found on a cretula at Samsat[15] presumably belonged to the same person. The differences with the titles on the Nişantepe seals do not allow assumptions about his identification.

4. In the list above one set of Nişantepe seals is particularly important, that which carries the name of Piha-Tarhunta. The Nişantepe evidence may bring new elements to the debate on the role indicated by the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ and on the possibility that the officials who covered this office could also be princes (i.e., that they could also appear with the title REX.FILIUS).[16] As already reported, there are at Nişantepe three seals with the name Piha-Tarhunta: No. 305-307. The first two (on which the name is accompanied by the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ with the addition, in 306, of AVIS$_3$ + MAGNUS and DOMINUS), given the compatibility between the two titles EUNUCHUS$_2$ and AVIS$_3$ + MAGNUS,[17] and the fact that the dignitaries with the title 'eunuch' attested for the late imperial period are not numerous, could be attributed to one person; the seal No. 307, where we find the title REX.FILIUS, is attributed to a different Piha-Tarhunta, because of the well known theory about the incompatibility of LÚ.SAG and REX.FILIUS (see Hawkins 2002). As a consequence the prince Piha-Tarhunta attested in Syria should also be different from the Piha-Tarhunta EUNUCHUS$_2$/LÚ.SAG of Nişantepe and of the cuneiform texts.

Some evidence, however, does not seem to be in full agreement with this hypothesis:

a. The three seals from Nişantepe show common characteristics in the type and in the outline of the signs used for the writing of the name (of great importance is the shape of the last sign);

b. Piha-Tarhunta, with the title augur,[18] is associated in a cuneiform text from Hattuša (KUB 18.12 +) to Armanani, who also plays the role of augur; both names, Armanani and Piha-Tarhunta, are present in the list of princes of Karkamiš active in Syria (see the list

above); since the names on this list are not very numerous, the fact that two persons who have the same names as the two princes of Karkamiš, and that presumably were active in the same period, are cited as partners in the same document, could strengthen the opinion of those scholars who believe possible the identification of Piha-Tarhunta LÚ.SAG and augur with Piha-Tarhunta prince[19] (but of course this may be only a coincidence);

c. The Piha-Tarhunta seal No. 305 from Nişantepe, with the title EUNUCHUS$_2$, is a digraphic ring seal, i.e., it shows both a cuneiform and a hieroglyphic inscription. As we saw above, the presence of a double inscription seems typical of the Syrian production, and in particular of that of Karkamiš, where a relatively high percentage of the seals of princes and dignitaries has (also) a cuneiform inscription.[20] In the light of this high percentage of seals with cuneiform inscription in the Syrian area, we can hypothesize that also the seal of Piha-Tarhunta found at Nişantepe was, to some extent, connected with the Syrian / Karkamišian production. Should we go further and argue that there was a link between Piha-Tarhunta eunuch / augur of Hattuša and Piha-Tarhunta prince of Karkamiš? To explore further this last hypothesis we need a survey of the Nişantepe seals with a digraphic or simply a cuneiform inscription. We also need to find out the ratio between these seals and the seals with a hieroglyphic inscription only, so that we can compare the evidence with that given above. Even a brief inquiry leads to interesting and somewhat surprising results, which are discussed below.

The seals of Nişantepe bearing both a hieroglyphic and a cuneiform inscription, or only a cuneiform inscription, are listed in the following table:

Catalogue	Name	Title	Type of seal	Inscription	Impressions
3 (in two cases with Armanani REX.FILIUS on the same *cretula*)	Alalimi	PITHOS.VIR. DOMINUS	Ring	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	18
4	Alalimi	EUNUCHUS$_2$	Cylinder	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	1
137	In(n)arawa	- (The seals 138 and 139, of Innarawa (hieroglyphic inscr.) show the title EUNUCHUS$_2$)	Ring	Cuneiform only	1
162	Ki-la?-ni?	EUNUCHUS$_2$, VIR, SCRIBA	Ring	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	1
217	Mahhuzzi	SCRIBA-*la*	Ring	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	3
248	Mizrimuwa	MAGNUS.PASTOR, SCRIBA-*la*	Stamp (with concave circular base)	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	1
281	Nanuwa	EUNUCHUS$_2$	Ring	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	3
305	Piha-Tarhunta	EUNUCHUS$_2$	Ring	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	1
468	Tuthalija	MAGNUS.HASTARIUS	Stamp, with a circular base	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	1
504 – 506	Urhiteššup	PRINCEPS (*tuhkanti*)	Stamp (with a concave circular base)	Cuneiform and hieroglyphic	6 total

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14. cf. Mora 2004:441 (on the seal from Ugarit presenting typical Syro-Hittite characteristics, the title is lost).

15. cf. Mora 2004:443 and Hawkins 2005:280 for information about the documents' editions.

16. About this problem there are very different views. In particular Starke 1996:144 ff., 163 f., reads the title (in cuneiform writing) as [LÚ]SAG and thinks that this was a very high level office, not precluded to members of the royal family. Hawkins 2002 reads LÚ.SAG and thinks that it means 'eunuch'; he also believes, on the strength of data that can hardly be questioned, that this office was clearly different from, and incompatible with, that of 'prince'. Pecchioli Daddi 2006, even though she gives preference to the reading LÚ.SAG, still believes that the LÚ.SAG were very high level dignitaries ("lords and princes who live at court") and were very close to the king. cf., finally Giorgieri 2008 for a synthesis of this question and of the related problems.

17. cf. Hawkins 2002, in particular the table with the titles on the seals.

18. Probably identical with the Piha-Tarhunta EUNUCHUS$_2$ (see above).

19. Imparati 1987:195; Hazenbos 2007:101f. and in particular Imparati 1987 (who, however, was writing before Hawkins' studies of 2002 and 2005 which brought out many elements against identification). Imparati's views are shared by Marizza 2007. For the activities carried out by several princes and dignitaries of Karkamiš in the Hittite capital, see Mora 2008b.

20. Mora 2005:239. Equally high is the proportion of digraphic seals for the seals of the first two classes (A and B, cylinders and rings) in the publication of seals of Emar ed. by Beyer 2001: approx. 13% for the cylinders and 10% for the rings.

If we do not count the seals Nos. 468 (Tuthalija MAGNUS.HASTARIUS) and 504-506 (Urhiteššup PRINCEPS), which can belong to the category of royal seals (those that traditionally have a double inscription), we have at Nişantepe 775 standard seals vs. 8 seals of the digraphic/cuneiform type. Thus the percentage of seals with a cuneiform inscription in Nişantepe is very low (about 1%) if compared to that calculated for the seals of the princes and officials of Karkamiš (see above), or that calculated for the 'Syro-Hittite' seals of Emar. The presence of a cuneiform inscription on non-royal seals almost looks like a defining feature and one that appears to be alien to the Anatolian production; this situation could strengthen the suggestions made above, that the seal with the double inscription of Piha-Tarhunta is to be connected to the Syrian production. Other factors make this hypothesis more likely: we have already mentioned Mizrimuwa, possibly to be identified with the prince of Karkamiš with the same name; in addition, the seal No. 4 (Alalimi), a cylinder, had probably the solar figure on a lion (cf. Herbordt 2005), another typical north-Syrian motif, likely to be connected to the court of Karkamiš (see above, § 1); one of the seals of the same Alalimi was impressed twice on the same support, which also bears a seal of a prince Armanani (see above for this individual): we do not know whether this is exactly the prince Armanani of Karkamiš, but it is at least interesting that an Armanani is the owner of the only other seal with a solar deity on the lion in Nişantepe (No. 31).

Another factor that emerges from the table above is both interesting and unexpected: among the seven officials who have seals with a cuneiform inscription in Nişantepe, five have the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ (Alalimi, Innarawa,[21] Kilani?, Nanuwa, Piha-Tarhunta). Was there a link between the office expressed by the sign L 254 (cun. LÚ.SAG) and the possible Syrian origin, perhaps from the court of Karkamiš, of the people in question? Or was the use of digraphic seals just a sign of distinction, linked to the high level of the office? In the latter case, however, we could not explain why seals of princes or other dignitaries[22] are not included in our list (or are so few in number). These last observations call for a reconsideration of the link between the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ and the title REX.FILIUS. As mentioned above, Hawkins' survey excluded that the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ could be combined with REX.FILIUS (in the same way as, in cuneiform texts, the titles LÚ.SAG and DUMU.LUGAL are not compatible). As shown in the very useful table in Hawkins 2002:227, in the Nişantepe archive three names are connected to the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ on some seals, and the title REX.FILIUS on some others: Piha-Tarhunta, Sarija, LINGUA+CLAVUS-i(a).[23]

The evidence linking to the Syrian realm both the Piha-Tarhunta eunuch and the prince Piha-Tarhunta has already been discussed.[24] The name Sarija is attested in Nişantepe on seven seals, predominantly (5 cases) with the title EUNUCHUS$_2$; in one case (seal. No. 355) the name is followed by the title REX.FILIUS, but also by a second name, Huwa-Šarruma, that occurs (with the title 'king of the land of Karkamiš') "in an incised, archaic (Empire?) script on a fragment of a stone lion from Karkamiš,

now lost (KARKAMIŠ A 18d, see CHLI 1/1 p. 83" (Hawkins 2005:270). Because of the differences in the other titles on the seals, Hawkins (2005:269 f.) proposes that there were at least two different people with the name Sarija and with the title EUNUCHUS$_2$. Given the relatively small number of officials with the title LÚ.SAG / EUNUCHUS$_2$ attested in both cuneiform texts and seals, I consider possible that the two Sarija with the EUNUCHUS title on the Nişantepe[25] seals were in fact one and the same person. On the other hand we do not have sufficient information to propose an identification between prince Sarija and his homonym with the title 'eunuch', though the fact that for this prince too there are indications of some relations with Syria is certainly interesting.

From the point of view of possible relations with Syria it is interesting to consider another example, that of Pukana (seals No. 332-338 of Nişantepe). The holder of these seals has the title L 414-DOMINUS, and in one case (seal 332) there is also the title EUNUCHUS$_2$. Probably, as already suggested by Hawkins (2005:268), Pukana is the same dignitary whose name appears on a cylinder seal found in an impresssion at Tarsus (Gelb 1956: no. 42; cf. also Mora 2000:68 ff.). Now, this Pukana of Tarsus has been connected by Klengel, with convincing reasons, to the name *pgn* which belongs to the sender of a letter found in Ugarit. In this letter *pgn* speaks to the king of Ugarit calling him 'my son'; consequently Klengel believed that *pgn* was a person of very high rank, perhaps a prince.[26]

We may now try to summarize and conclude. We can say that a certain number of individuals attested at Nişantepe with the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ in all probability had links with the Karkamiš court and with the northern Syrian area. This is also true of some princes who happen to have the same name as the 'eunuchs': Piha-Tarhunta, Sarija, perhaps Pukana had links with Karkamiš and / or activities in northern Syria. The question now is: how do these princes relate to their homonyms with the title EUNUCHUS$_2$, who lived in the same period and (probably) were also active in northern Syria and Hattuša? And, if a relationship (or, more explicitly, an identity) existed, how could we explain the fact, so convincingly demonstrated by Hawkins' work, that in the known documents the two titles never appear together?

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21. The title is not attested on the seal with the cuneiform inscription, but on two other seals (Nr. 138 and 139), with hieroglyphic inscription, which bear the same name.

22. One might also assume a link between the use of digraphic seals and the frequent relations with Syria by their owners (see e.g. the case of Taprammi, on which cf. Hawkins 2002; Mora 2006:139 f.; Mora 2007).

23. The case of the name VITA + *RA/I* in Hawkins' table is different, because both titles would be on the same seal (No. 666 in the Nişantepe catalogue), so: if the sign on the seal 666 is to be read EUNUCHUS$_2$ (s. Herbordt 2005:230), this would be a clear testimony to the compatibility between the two titles; if, instead, as proposed by Hawkins (2005:287), the sign is most likely to be read SCRIBA, the seal and its owner would not be relevant for the case that we are examining. We should also suspend a decision for the dignitary whose name is written with the signs LINGUA + CLAVUS, at least until we are able to provide a phonetic reading of the name (thus making it possible, perhaps, to establish a link with other evidence): cf. Hawkins 2005 (Excursus 6:292).

24. Note that the prince Piha-Tarhunta attested in Emar, who is probably to be ascribed to the court of Karkamiš, had, in turn, contacts with Anatolia, as the presence of the female name Wasti on his seal indicates.

25. See also the analogies between seal no. 350 and seal no. 353.

26. See Klengel 1974; Hawkins 1995:60 n. 235 and 2005:269 thinks that identification is likely.

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'WRITING' IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

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The following article is dedicated to David Hawkins with affection, deep respect and gratitude for his inspired teaching and infectious passion for Ancient Near Eastern literature. As a way of returning thanks, I would like to consider what we know of 'writing' in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Who wrote such texts as survive? Where were the scribes trained, who employed them, what were their skills and duties?

The texts themselves offer surprisingly little evidence on this subject. Our knowledge of scribal life and tradition during the Hittite Empire is a little more substantial (cf. e.g. Bryce 2004: 56-71; Herbordt 2005: 91; 97-100; Imparati 1999: 342-343, 352-353; Payne 2008a). We know that the scribal profession was a scholarly occupation which could be inherited from father to son. Within the context of a largely illiterate society,[1] theirs was a highly specialised and hierarchical profession. We know, for instance, that lower level scribes had to take dictation for their higher level colleagues. There were at least four distinct aspects to scribal duties, presumably performed by scribes trained for these purposes especially. One might differentiate between the archivist, who maintained the imperial tablet collection, the legal clerk, who took court records and redrafted laws, the diplomatic scribe, who managed the state's in- and external correspondence and, finally, the knowledgeable advisor to the king and his council. Whether or not these different duties sometimes overlapped, we do not know, but there is further evidence for specialisation within the scribal craft. Cuneiform Hittite texts differentiate between ^{LÚ}DUB. SAR, 'scribe' and ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR.GIŠ, 'wood scribe'. Thirty-three of the latter variety are mentioned in a fragmentary personnel list from the Great Temple (KBo 19.28 Obv. 5), and it has long been suggested that the former signifies the person writing cuneiform on clay tablets while the latter may have written in hieroglyphics (Güterbock 1939: 36; more recently Marazzi 1994 and 2007). But since whatever was written on wood has perished, this cannot be proven. Scribal training most likely took place in the capital city Hattusa. Hittite texts differentiate between a scribal house, É $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$DUB.SAR, and the archive (or school?), É DUB.BA.A (lit. 'tablet house'). We further know that from Hattusa, scribes were also sent to the provinces in the employ of local administrative centres.

The changes brought about by the end of the Hittite Empire and its large palace administration affected the scribal profession as well. Most prominently, the writing of cuneiform came to an end in the former Hittite territories while hieroglyphic Luwian monumental inscriptions now began to flourish. The former Empire was survived by a number of smaller, independent city-states which produced very formulaic texts with recurrent topoi. They exhibit a surprisingly similar structure over a wide and not centrally administered geographic area as well as over a period of several centuries. A general tendency towards fuller phonetic writing as time went by suggests that the script continued to develop, rather than preserve a state achieved at some prior time, and therefore this uniformity in style clearly argues for the existence of formal scribal training during the Iron Age. Whether in one single place or in several, we do not know. Possibly, another glimpse of a living tradition is provided by the on-going creation of superfluous phonetic sign values, such as the ever increasing /sa/-series. These appear almost as erudite, rebus-like 'jokes' between two scribes, between the one who wrote and whoever read the inscription.

1. According to Bryce 1998: 418, scribes may even have been its only literate members.

In the following, I wish to consider what Iron Age texts and material remains reveal about the writing profession. Several Neo-Hittite reliefs of the 9th and 8th century BCE preserve pictures of scribes (cf. e.g. Genge 1979: Abb. 49; 50; 55). For instance, the relief MARAŞ 9 shows a small male figure standing on the lap of a woman, holding a stylus in his right hand, a bird on a leash in his left. Underneath the bird is a closed, hinged writing tablet. An epigraph identifies the scribe as Tarḫupiya.

Besides such relief depictions, there is further evidence for the use of writing tablets and styli. An example of the former survived on a merchant ship wrecked off the Lycian coast, ca. 1306 BCE at Uluburun near Kaş in southern Turkey. Preserved is the hinged frame of a two-leaf wooden tablet, its recessed surface once filled with wax. While the writing surface itself has not survived, there are three hieroglyphic symbols on the wooden frame. These point towards an otherwise unattested writing system (cf. Neumann 1995). Interestingly, the only Homeric reference to writing is also connected to Lycia (cf. Payne 2008a). The famous Bellerophon letter which condemns its carrier to be killed, was written on a folded writing tablet of this type (Homer, *Iliad* 6. 169). This literary reference proves that such tablets were still in use in Anatolia in the 8th century BCE. In conjunction with the above mentioned relief depictions, it is thus very plausible that this Near Eastern style wax tablet could have been used to write Hieroglyphic Luwian.

Let us return to the styli depicted on the MARAŞ reliefs. These are such as could have been used to write on a wax surface. Furthermore, over thirty such writing tools, made out of bronze and bone, were excavated at Boğazköy, in the area of the Great Temple (Boehmer 1972: Nos. 1207-1238, 2046-2050). The pointed head of these styli makes it unlikely that they were used to write cuneiform;[2] to achieve this, wedges with a triangular head were normally impressed into the writing surface, and thus one might assume that they were used to write hieroglyphics (Payne 2005: 113).

Neo-Hittite reliefs, however, are not the only depictions of such writing utensils. The hieroglyphic symbol for scribe, SCRIBA, looks like a diptych mounted on a stylus (Fig. 1). It seems plausible enough that its phonetic value /tu/ may have derived acrophonically from Hittite-Luwian *tuppi-*, 'tablet'. The underlying Luwian term for 'scribe' is as of yet unattested but the word appears to be formed with the suffix for professional titles *-ala/i-*, as indicated by the mixed logographic-phonetic writing SCRIBA-*la-* and SCRIBA-*la/i/u-*; Hittite has *tuppala-*, 'scribe'.[3] Seals and two inscriptions attest an extended title BONUS₂.SCRIBA, 'good scribe',[4] presumably denoting higher status and thus a hierarchical structure within the profession as attested for the Bronze Age. The title MAGNUS.SCRIBA, 'chief of scribes', is confined to seals.[5] Overall, there is surprisingly little mention of scribes in hieroglyphic texts, no more than seven in total. All occur in the same context, i.e. naming the scribe of the inscription in question. The logogram SCRIBA further occurs on seals in the following compounds, EXERCITUS.SCRIBA, 'army scribe' and in conjunction with the following numbers, 2, 3, 4 - 'second grade scribe etc. ' - and 1000, 'scribe (of?) the thousand', clearly denoting rank or specialisation (cf. Herbordt 2005: 100).

In hieroglyphic inscriptions, the title SCRIBA contrasts with another professional title, written ("SA₄")REL-*nanala-*, /*kwananala-*/, 'stone-mason' or 'engraver'.[6] Whether this was a specific kind of scribe or as stone-mason belonged to another profession, we do not know, but it bears on the question

2. With the possible exception of Nos. 2044-45. These are damaged but may have had a triangular head and thus may have been used to write cuneiform.
3. Logogram only: KULULU 8; HAMA fragm. 7; mixed log.-phon. writing: BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 11; KARABURUN § 14; KULULU 3 § 1; MEHARDE § 9, SHEIZAR § 8.
4. MEHARDE § 9, SHEIZAR § 8. cf. Hawkins 1979: 153; for seals, s. Herbordt 2005: 91.
5. This equates to cuneiform GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ; cf. Herbordt 2005: 91; Bryce 2004: 66.
6. Two attestations: BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 11, where scribe and engraver are mentioned together, and IVRIZ frag. 2.

of what exactly the job of hieroglyphic scribe entailed. At the very least, there was a clear distinction between handwriting and stone-carving, between the temporary and permanent record. By their nature, only the latter survived in numerous examples, of the former only a few notable exceptions are preserved. Apart from a few words on metal bowls and clay vessels, the main examples are the ASSUR letters and economic documents from KULULU, both preserved on lead strips. Apart from the scribal symbol, the increasing use of cursive sign forms also argues for extensive hand-written practice.

Hieroglyphic verbs also clearly differentiate between 'writing' and 'engraving'. The verb for the latter activity is /kwaza-/,[7] written REL-za-, sometimes determined with the double logogram of CAPERE+SCALPRUM.[8] Like SCRIBA, this hieroglyphic symbol depicts the tool of the trade, showing a hand holding a chisel (Fig. 2). One might even speculate whether also the sign REL with its phonetic value /k/hwa/i/ does not represent a cutting or engraving tool of some sort (Fig. 3).

Fig. 1: SCRIBA, *326.

Fig. 2: CAPERE+SCALPRUM, *320

Fig. 3: REL, *329

Besides kwaza-, 'to engrave', there are three verbs attested for 'to write'. These are hat-, pu- and anda tupi-. Of these, hat- is most frequently attested but with the sense of 'to write' confined exclusively to a series of related texts, the ASSUR letters.[9] Outside of these documents, the verb hat- only occurs twice (KARABURUN § 1, KULULU 1 § 2), meaning ‚to demolish' physical structures, thus linking the act of writing with ‚damaging' hard surfaces such as stone (Hittite hatta- 'to strike; pierce, prick; engrave (a tablet) ‘; Lyc. χttadi 'hurts, damages'; and possibly derived from the same root Hitt. hatrai- 'to write (communication, not the physical act of writing) ‘).[10] Likewise, pu- (cf. Hitt.-Luw. puwai-, 'to press, crush'; Lyc. ppuwe- 'write, inscribe' < IE *peuγ- 'stechen') seems to indicate damage to the writing surface. It occurs rarely and not one of these occurrences is as clear as one would like.[11] One verbal form occurs in the protective curse of an inscription.[12] A possible derivation, the verb pupala/i-, occurs likewise in the context of writing, but as it uses LOQUI as its determinative, it may

refer to the verbal rather than physical act of writing, thus 'compose' or 'dictate'.[13] Last but not least, the KARATEPE bilingual uses the verb anda tupi- 'to write' (cf. CLuw. tupai-/tupi- 'strike', HLuw. tupi- 'strike', Lyc.A/B tubi-, 'strike' < IE *(s)teub-) (KARATEPE 1 §§ LXX Ho; LXX Hu; LXIV Hu). Again, this reinforces the concept of writing as an act of physical damage to the writing surface.

The terms for 'writing surface' and 'writing', in the sense 'text, inscription' and 'script', are written with the logogram SCRIBA, 'scribe'. Several inscriptions from Karkamiš employ the expression SCRIBA+RA/i(-)tà- 'to take for/as writing surface' (cf. Luw. gulzattar 'drawing, writing board'; Hitt. guls- 'to scratch, write').[14] A deverbal noun from kwaza- 'engrave' is also attested, /kwaza-ma-/, 'engraving, text', written REL-za-ma- (KARABURUN § 11: REL-za-ma-ia).

The word 'writing' appears in mixed logographic-phonetic writing SCRIBA-lali- in only two contexts, namely as the object of the scribal signature from Karatepe, i.e. 'inscriptions' (KARATEPE 4 § 2), and in an inscription from Karkamiš, where the term clearly denotes 'script' (KARKAMIŠ A15b § 19). The latter text by Yariris, prince and ruler of Karkamiš ca. 800 BCE, is the only known Luwian inscription which reflects at all on the topics of language and script. Yariris claims to have known 12 languages and to have been trained in several different scripts. This skill was presumably mentioned so prominently because it was unusual for a ruler; the explanation might well be that Yariris was trained to be a scribe and advisor to the king.

Two facts emerge from the above. Firstly, a distinction was made between 'writing' and 'engraving', with possible implications for either differing professions or specialisation within one. Secondly, none of the Luwian verbs for 'to write' are ever spelled with the sign SCRIBA as either logogram or determinative. This suggests that the underlying word for 'scribe' had another stem altogether, possibly connected to his duties but not necessarily a word of writing.

This leads us to the question of for whom did the scribes work and what were their duties? Beyond scribes in the employ of local rulers, as attested by the large number of monumental stone inscriptions, there is evidence for independent scribes, for instance scribal names carved into the city walls at Boğazköy, presumably an advertisement of their services (Dinçol and Dinçol 2002; Poetto 1987). The survival of business communication such as the ASSUR letters on lead strips suggests either further use of scribes to write and read in the service of merchants or that this particular professional group was literate itself. The former seems more likely as an increase in literacy levels in many societies coincided with the advent of a simpler, alphabetic writing system. Indeed, one may wonder whether the continued use of such a complicated script may not at least partly have been motivated by the desire to keep reading and writing the special skill of a select few. In the absence of more handwritten documents, the day-to-day scribal business remains largely obscure. Scribes presumably composed the text, and were also responsible for the visual appearance of a text, i.e. choosing spelling and arranging the layout of signs on the writing surface. But as implied above, stone inscriptions were executed by the kwananala-, 'stone-mason', yet it remains uncertain whether he was literate himself or simply followed a prescribed design. And unless either the stone inscriptions were erected purely to impress or that more people were literate than one commonly assumes, one must further suppose that scribes read out these monumental texts at regular intervals.

7. IVRIZ 1 § 4; KARATEPE 4 § 2; GAZIANTEP 1.3; TOPADA § 39; IVRIZ Frag. 2; ERKILET 1 § 2; KARABURUN § 11. REL-za- also occurs as the first element of personal names, thus CEKKE § 17e; KULULU led strip 1 § 17; KULULU 6 § 1.

8. As REL-za-, despite appearances, clearly is a full phonetic spelling, I would like to suggest that CAPERE+SCALPRUM should be transliterated in brackets as a determinative, thus (CAPERE+SCALPRUM)REL-za-ta, KARATEPE 4 § 2 and (CAPERE+SCALPRUM)REL-za-ta-pa-wa/i-ta-ta GAZIANTEP 1.3. Likewise (SA₄) REL-na-na-la-sa (IVRIZ frag. 2).

9. ASSUR letter a § 3; letter b § 3; letter c §§ 2; 4; letter d §§ 4; 5; letter e §§ 3; 4; 5; 6; 8; letter f+g §§ 3; 10; 11; in the ASSUR letters, the stem also occurs in the verbal noun hatur 'writing' and the noun hatura- 'letter'. The derivation haturala- denotes profession but whether 'writer, scribe' or 'letter-carrier, messenger' (for the latter cf. Hawkins 2000: 484 and 1995:120) cannot be determined with the single available attestation, HISARCIK 1 § 5.

10. cf. Tischler 1983: 214-217; 226-227 and Puhvel 1991: 248-255; 269-274.

11. Indeed, whether the nominal form /putitis/, ERKILET 1 § 1, belongs here or is unconnected remains unclear. One verbal form, too, appears in a passage of rather unclear sense, KARKAMIŠ A5a § 6.

12. KARABURUN § 13 'let him not write over it (the engraving/text, REL-za-ma-ia (cf. § 11) ‘.

13. ASSUR letter a § 5 (with determinative LOQUI) and CEKKE § 3. cf. Morpurgo-Davies 1980: 102 and Hawkins 2000: 542.

14. KARKAMIŠ A6 § 26; A11a § 22; A11b+c § 22; A31 § 12. cf. Starke 1990: 464. Whether the hapax SCRIBA(-) CAPERE, KARAHÖYÜK § 19, is an older writing for the same phrase cannot at present be determined (cf. Hawkins 2000:294). Two further unclear formations with the stem SCRIBA+RA/I need to be mentioned: SCRIBA+RA/I-wa/i-ma-za, BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 9, and SCRIBA+RA/I-za, KULULU lead strip 1 § 1.

All in all, there is disappointingly little concrete evidence for the scribal profession in Iron Age Anatolia, due either to the nature of the surviving text genres or a general lack of literary reflection on the art of writing. The available evidence, meanwhile, points towards specialisation within the scribal craft, as suggested by the differentiation between SCRIBA and (SA₄)*kwananala-*. This is further supported by the fact that there were scribes employed by the local ruler as well as presumably independent scribes working for businessmen; the private sector is underrepresented within the surviving text corpus exactly because of the impermanence of its records, both as regards writing material and function of the document. The postulated existence of wax writing tablets, and possibly other lost writing materials, implies more extensive scribal activities than witnessed by textual and material remains. The uniformity of the surviving monumental inscriptions, meanwhile, attests a living and developing tradition with centralised or canonised scribal training. The position of at least some scribes must have been prominent and powerful, best example of this is Yariris of Karkamiš. And as scribes had access to learning and knowledge through written records, they were well-suited as advisors to local rulers and governors.

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UN NUOVO FRAMMENTO IN LUVIO GEROGLIFICO DA ANCOZ (ANCOZ 12)

Massimo Poetto

Milano

Editio princeps of a fragment in Hieroglyphic Luwian in the Museum of Adıyaman. The document, named ANCOZ 12, joins the eleven formerly found near the village of Ancoz in the Commagene. It mentions the previously unattested town name *Lapuwa/ina/i* and a certain *M(a)uwatama*, 'Lord of the River (Land)'.

Nell'agosto 1995, e successivamente nel luglio 2000, al Museo di Adıyaman ho avuto la possibilità – per cortese autorizzazione della Direzione Generale delle Antichità e dei Musei Turchi nella persona del Dr. Alpay Pasinli oltreché del Direttore del Museo stesso, Dr. Fehmi Erarslan – di collazionare e fotografare il documento (nr. d'inventario 487; acquisto il 12 settembre 1980) qui edito (Figs. 1 and 2), che ho il privilegio di offrire al collega e amico David Hawkins per il suo settantesimo genetliaco.

La classificazione come **ANCOZ 12** prosegue la numerazione delle iscrizioni della serie fornita da tale località (per il precedente reperto vd. Poetto 2004).

Descrizione: porzione di blocco squadrato in basalto.

Sul *recto* (Fig. 1) affiorano i resti in rilievo d'un personaggio (verosimilmente il monarca, titolare del monumento) stante, destrorso, con lunga veste, sopra un carro (nitida la ruota); al mezzo della figura spicca un foro rettangolare prodotto nel corso d'un reimpiego della pietra.

La faccia mancina adiacente (Fig. 2) contiene l'epigrafe, costituita da tre righe – parimenti in rilievo – mutile nella parte superiore e sinistra, ma complessivamente ben leggibili; nondimeno, i danneggiamenti lungo tali margini rendono alcuni segni di difficile identificazione.

Grafia: corsiva bustrofedica (1ª riga conservata sinistrorsa).

Peculiarità: uso del solo *pá* = *328*c*[1], come per es. in MALPINAR, ADIYAMAN 1, SAMSAT framm. 1 (Hawkins 2000: tavv. 167-168, 169-170, 181).

Dimensioni: altezza cm. 50; larghezza cm. 25; spessore cm. 24.

Datazione: IX-VIII secolo a. C., sulla scia dell'attribuzione a testi affini della medesima area (Hawkins 2000:330-360 / tavv. 165-188, gruppo VI - Commagene[2]).

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1. Cosí trascrivo adesso siffatta variante (con una "protuberanza verticale") di *pa* = *328*/a/b in sostituzione di "*pà*" (Poetto 1982:277 n. 8), giacché il presunto "*pä*" = *128*, quando sillabografico, va ora definitivamente letto *mar* (e *128*+"coda" = *mar*[r]): cf. Hawkins 2006:27 ad § 21 ("*mara / mara*[ra/i]").
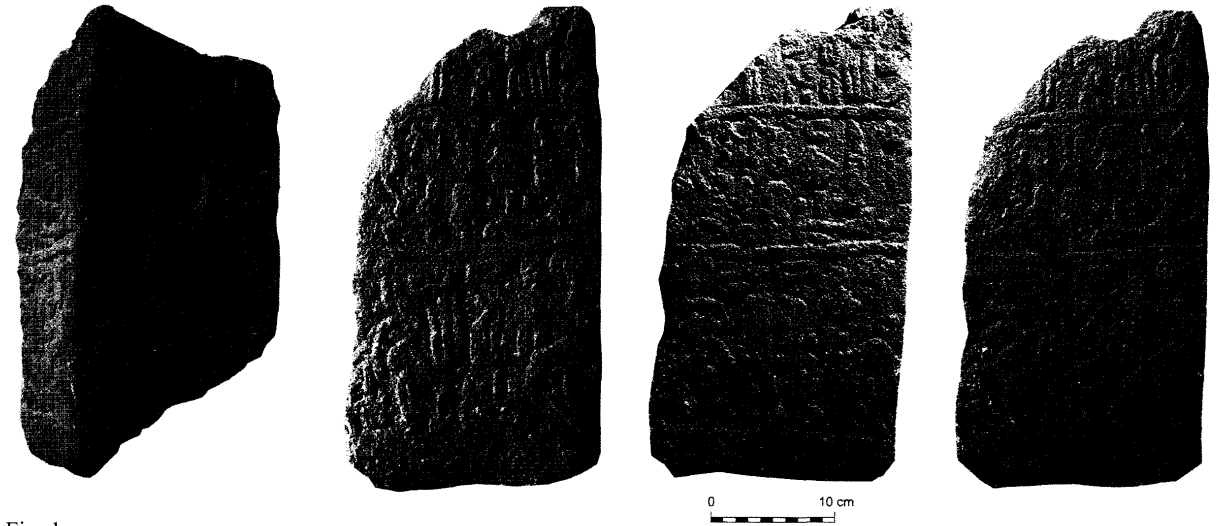2. Di ANCOZ 5 (*ibid.*:349-350 / tavv. 187-188) apparirà tuttavia la mia riedizione (Poetto: in stampa).

Fig. 1.   Fig. 2.

Trascrizione

r. 1′   § 1′   ...⌉⌈x⌉-x-*n*   ⌈*a/i*⌉-*zi-a/i*-[*s*]-⌈*ta*⌉-*a/i*

      § 2′   [K?] *na/i*-⌈*pá*⌉-*wa/i* [x]-⌈x⌉-*a/i*

r. 2′   § 3′   ...⌉ ...]-⌈*n*⌉ ⌈*za*⌉ *á-ti/a_x-ma-za za-ia-ha* <*mar*[+r]-*ta*> ⌈K⌉*ar+ha 268*

      § 4′   *na/i-pá-wa/i-tà* LUGAL-*ti zi-ti* | *PAR 79*b*-à*

r. 3′   § 5′   *na/i-pá-wa/i la-pu-wa/i-na/i*[URU] ÍD.EN-*ia x-tà-ma-ia* ⌈*ta*⌉-[x]-*wa/i-pá*-⌈x⌉ [...

Traduzione

§ 1′   '...] ... onor(er)à,

§ 2′   oppure ...(er)à,

§ 3′   ... ..]., questo nome e queste <parole> martell(er)à via,

§ 4′   oppure qui davanti al re *s'inginocchi(er)à*,

§ 5′   oppure a X-., Signore del Fiume della città di L., ...'

Commento

§ 1′. ⌈x⌉-x-*n*: acc. sg. com., oggetto del vb. ⌈*a/i*⌉-*zi-a/i*-[*s*]-⌈*ta*⌉-*a/i*, pres. 3ª sg. (al pari di [x]-⌈x⌉-*a/i* del § 2′), in cui l'integrazione mediana -[*s*]- è garantita dalle molteplici attestazioni della base (cf. Meriggi 1962:16; s'aggiunga – a ulteriore convalida – il pret. 1ª sg. *a/i-zi-a/i-s-ta-ha* di KULULU 4 r. 3 D § 12 [Hawkins 2000:445]; per *a/i-zi-a/i-s-ta*+*r* quale abl. sg. in KARKAMIŠ 6 r. 5 §§ 15/17 vd. Hawkins 2000:125).

§ 3′. ...]-⌈*n*⌉ (in basso, accosto a *ma*) ⌈*za*⌉ (affiancato a *ti/a_x*): così – con -⌈*n*⌉ terminazione di lessema all'acc. sg. e il dimostrativo nt. ⌈*za*⌉ (riferito ad *á-ti/a_x-ma-za*) in simmetria con l'omologo (pl.) seguente –, di preferenza a ...]-⌈*za*⌉-⌈*n*⌉ (che produrrebbe un atipicamente autonomo *á-ti/a_x-ma-za*: '...]x, il nome e queste <parole> erade(rà)').

za-ia-ha: sintatticamente -*ha* '-*que*' apposto al dimostrativo nt. pl. denuncia che súbito appresso manca una voce, conclusiva della catena (cf. Meriggi 1966:100 § 75): del tutto plausibilmente *mar*[-r]-*ta*[3] 'parole', come testimoniato per enunciati analoghi *e.g.* da ANCOZ 2 r. 1, *á*]-*ta/i_x*-[*ma*]-*za* ⌈*za*⌉-*ia-ha* ⌈*mar*[+r]⌉-*ta*

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3. Sulla lettura del grafema iniziale vd. sopra, n. 1.
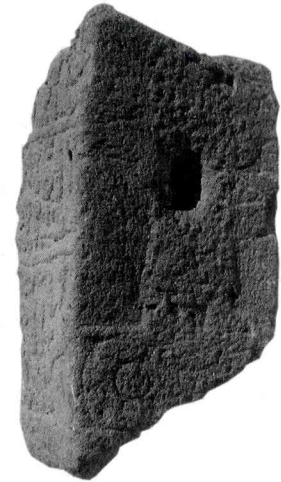
Fig. 1.   Fig. 2.

0   10 cm

(Meriggi 1975:69 nr. 125 fr. "2" / tav. X; Hawkins 2000:348 / tav. 173); completi di *ar+ha* *268* si considerino inoltre KARKAMIŠ 25*b* r. 1 § 2 ⸢*na/i*⸣*-pa-wa/i-ta* ᴷ *za-ia* ᴷ *mar⁺ʳ-ta* ᴷ *ar+ha* ᴷ *268*-*ia* (Meriggi 1975:161 nr. 222 fr. "3"; Hawkins 2000:157) e i passi consimili di ANKARA B r. 2 § 6 (Meriggi 1975:203 fr. "12"; Hawkins 2000:560), CEKKE *vo.* r. 11 § 23 (Meriggi 1967:111 fr. 31; Hawkins 2000:146), ecc.

L'elemento sovrastante il preverbio *ar+ha*, piú che la proibitiva *na/i* (Meriggi 1962:86) di dimensioni ridotte[4], rappresenterà il "divisore di parole" non integro e di forma non angolata.

268: verbo, in rappresentazione puramente ideografica; la funzione di pres. 3ᵃ sg. è congruente con le desinenze dei §§ 1'-2'.

Ad ogni buon conto, il nesso tra questo periodo e le altre proposizioni (specialmente la successiva) non appare – soprattutto a causa della lacunosità testuale – pienamente perspicuo e consequenziale.

§ 4'. *na/i-pá-wa/i-tà*: -*tà* è *Ortspartikel* (onde vd. Meriggi 1966:85-97 §§ 33-65, 98-99 §§ 71-73; Oshiro 1995:62-69 / 1996:21-25).

PAR 79b*-à': 79b* – pres. 3ᵃ sg. a sua volta in configurazione ideografico-adesinenziale (con -*à* [qui riempitivo] invertito) –: una "gamba piegata in posizione obliqua" a effigiare con assoluta iconicità l'"atto della genuflessione", come invero – in virtú del contesto – era già ricavabile per la "gamba inclinata" di YALBURT, principio dei blocc. 6 / 15, a cui avevo attribuito (Poetto 1993:42-43 § 13.1, 70-71 § 22) la classificazione come *79a** (tra *79*, la "gamba intera verticale" e *80*, la "gamba orizzontale") ovvero ~ *215*, componente, quest'ultimo – pure senza il consueto *W-* (*398*) anteposto (KÖRKÜN *vo.* r. 2 § 5: Meriggi 1975:98 fr. 6; Hawkins 2000:172) – del toponimo (/ segmento onomastico [anche sprovvisto della consueta complementazione -*pa*-, *e.g.* in MALATYA 4: Meriggi 1975:53 nr. 108; Hawkins 2000:321]) Aleppo, che io traslittero (con Meriggi 1975, ai passi testé citati) *HAL*, supponendo con Hawkins che "the 'kneeling leg' ["*HALPA*"] may have a *rebus*-value *hal* by association with Hitt. *haliya-* 'kneel'" (1995:76 comm. a YALBURT bloc. 6 § 1 e già 1992:70 *sub* (a); cf. in piú 2000:174a comm. a KÖRKÜN § 5 / 393a comm. a BABYLON 1 § 2, e 2005:434a / 253 comm. ai nrr. 108-110). Peraltro, il verbo potrebbe concretamente sussistere in geroglifico se risulta valida la mia proposta (Poetto 1981:51 n. 100) d'intendere ᴷᴵ*pita-haliya-* in KARKAMIŠ 11*b*+*c* r. 2 § 4 / r. 5 § 31 come 'atterrare, abbattere, umiliare' e sim. (letteralmente 'inginocchiare / piegare / prostrare a terra'), con l'associazione del secondo membro appunto all'et. *haliya-*[5].

Da notare, infine, nel frammento di ANCOZ in esame, che "l'azione della genuflessione" viene resa ancor piú completa e realistica dalla netta sezione di "coscia verticale" sopra la "gamba inclinata": un dettaglio che giustifica la contraddistinzione dell'immagine mediante la nuova numerazione *79b** / *215[.3*]*.

PAR: è privo di complemento fonetico – *vs. PAR-a/i* preverbio o *PAR-n* 'ante' (Meriggi 1962:92-93 [in parte da aggiornare]). Tuttavia, in considerazione del dat. LUGAL-*ti* che precede, e confidando che il verbo appresso esprima giusto *hal(iya)*-, si direbbe piú appropriato optare per *paran (= luv. cuneif. *parran*), con omissione grafica della nasale preconsonantica – come in *PAR-pa-wa/i-m[u?]* 'davanti a me' di İVRİZ framm. 1 r. 2 (cosí, combinando Meriggi 1975:8 nr. 26 / tav. I ["Ivriz II"] + Hawkins 2000:530 / tav. 304), e nell'anomalo *PAR-ti* di CEKKE *vo.* r. 4 § 12 (sia che questo sottenda *paranti, sia [meno probabilmente] **pari(ya)nti*: cf. Hawkins 2000:148b comm.) –, il cui impiego quale posposizione ritorna per es. in *zá-ti₄-a/i-à* ᴷ DINGIR-*ná/í P[AR]-n* 'davanti a questo dio' di KARKAMIŠ 29*f* framm. 1 r. 1

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4. Come peraltro si riscontra ad es. nello stesso glifo della disgiuntiva *na/i-pa-wa/i-tà* a r. 2 ancora di ANCOZ 2.

5. cf., inoltre, di nuovo Hawkins 2000:174a comm. a KÖRKÜN § 5; piú agnosticamente a p. 105a comm. a KARKAMIŠ 11*b*+*c* § 4.

(Meriggi 1975:178 nr. 244; Hawkins 2000:218b); cf. altresí IZGIN 2 D r(r). (17-)18 § 8 (Meriggi 1975:42 fr. 35; Hawkins 2000:316), CEKKE *vo.* r. 3 § 10 (Hawkins 2000:145), ecc. (e *massananza* / DINGIRᴹᴱˢ-*anza parran* 'davanti agli dèi' piú volte in luvio cuneiforme [Meriggi 1980:347 § 297]).

§ 5'. *la-pu-wa/i-na/i*ᵁᴿᵁ: etnico (-*wa/i-na/i*-) al dat. sg., concordante coi susseguenti due termini.
La foggia di *pu* è inconsueta.

ÍD.EN-: titolo che – abbinato a omologhi derivati (con suffissazione -*za*-) da poleonimi – trova rispondenza in *śu-ki-ta/ti-za*-ᵁᴿᵁ (...) ÍD.EN(-*ia*)- di BOYBEYPINARI 1 I B-C § 2 / 2 III B r. 1 § 5, MALPINAR r. 1 § 1 unitamente a *SAR-ti-[za?]*-ᵁᴿᵁ ÍD.EN-*ia*- r. 5 § 19 (cf. Hawkins 2000:336 / 338a, 341-342 / 344).

x-tà-ma: idionimo del 'Signore del Fiume'[6]. *x*- si profila come costituito da due coppie di trattini in colonna; in tale evenienza, una delle configurazioni del numerale '4' (= *371[.2]*). Questo in luvio cuneiforme è notoriamente *ma-a-u-wa*-, a cui sembra allinearsi ora la forma gerogl. *IIII-wa/i-(zi*, nom.-acc. pl. com.) di ARSLANTAŞ r. 4 § 6 (Hawkins 2000:247, con discussione a p. 248a / tavv. 103-104). '4' seguito come qui da *tà* ritorna in KARKAMIŠ 11*c* r. 5 § 29, [*I*]*III-tà* (acc. sg. com. con desinenza graficamente inespressa) – caratterizzato (r. 4) dalla connotazione femminil(izzant)e MUNUS.129[7] –, che risulta plausibile leggere foneticamente *M(A)UWA*- in forza del corrispettivo ¹²⁹*mu-wa/i-a/i-tà-n* – contraddistinto per contro dall'agg. *ZITI-ti-ia-ti-a/i-n* – (acc. sg. com.) '(potenza /) seme / prole maschile' della frase che precede (vd. Mittelberger 1962:28a; Meriggi 1967:67 comm. alle frr. 10-11; Hawkins 2000:104 e 107 comm.).

In tal caso, la decodificazione del NP in questione sarà analogamente *M(A)UWA-tama*, ulteriore derivato in -*ma*- (a fianco di -*la/i*-) di *muwa-ta*-, accanto a *mú-wa/i-ta₄* (acc. sg. com. con -*n* trascurata) 'conquista' (o sim.) di TOPADA r. 6 § 29 (cf. Meriggi 1962:85; Starke 1990:173; Hawkins 2000:459a comm.).

Da rilevare, infine, il posizionamento verticale del pittogramma *ma* all'interno dei componenti l'antroponimo, come ad es. entro *á-ti/aₓ-ma-za* di BOYBEYPINARI 2 IV B r. 3 § 19 (vd. Hawkins 2000: tav. 165).

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6. *i.e.* il corso d'acqua locale (odierno Ancoz Deresi)?

7. Con *129* equipollente a(1 summenzionato, n. 1) *128* (Poetto 1993:37).

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FURTHER COMMENTS ON A HITTITE KINSHIP TERM

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The following article is offered as a small tribute to Professor David Hawkins. He was my teacher and supervisor at SOAS for the many years I spent learning, first Akkadian, and later Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luwian, followed by the writing and presentation of my doctoral thesis in 1993 on 'Kinship and Marriage with the Hittites: a study based on the cuneiform texts from second millennium Boğazköy'. Unfortunately, owing to other commitments, after 1997 I was unable to pursue post graduate studies with the aim of publishing my thesis, once again with the kind assistance of Professor Hawkins. Consequently the present study is based mainly on that work, and specifically on a section dedicated to the Hittite kinship term *pankur*, which I have translated as 'kindred'.

There are references here to some scholarly works published since 1993, and they are the principal reason why I have chosen the present topic.[1] One of those publications was the edition of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (1994:92-94) which listed *pankur* as 1. 'animal body part', 2. 'group of related animals or persons', 3. 'a designation in KIN oracles', with 2. further explained as: 'a relation of kinship, the variable position taken by the word among the terms of relationship quoted under b allows no conclusion as to the degree of closeness of this relationship'. No specific translation was offered for the *pankur* of category 1 above. In my unpublished thesis of 1993 I had studied (I imagined) all the texts naming *pankur* as an animal part, usually in magic rituals, but I came to no satisfactory conclusion as to its meaning in those contexts. Regrettably, I had failed to notice that F. Starke's study of cuneiform Luwian nouns listed *pankur/pankun* in the Hittite indices as meaning '(animal) tail', while the relationship term was interpreted as 'Sippe', that is 'family, clan' (Starke 1990:606, 654).

It was only some years later when reading Starke's 1995 study of the Hittite (Kikkuli) horse training texts, originally treated by A. Kammenhuber (1961), that I appreciated the author's comment that the logogram KUN$^{HI.A}$ 'tails' had the Hittite equivalent '*bangur/ bangun* n.' (Starke 1995:64 f., n. 152, referring to Starke 1990: n. 606). In the 1995 study, Starke remarks on the Hittite use of the verb *wartae-* as 'turn', in a passage of the Kikkuli text, which he translates: 'Man dreht ihre Schweife (KUN$^{HI.A}$) ein und spannt sie an', a procedure which is explained (to paraphrase) as responding to the need for the horses to be very closely harnessed to each other to prevent the danger of the chariot's jack-knifing, so to speak, while turning. Consequently each horse's 'tail' was bound up (by bands) to avoid its tangling with the reins. Starke (referring to Kammenhuber 1961:186, 212) bases his deduction regarding the meaning of the neuter Hittite noun *pankur/pankun* as an animal part in this context on the fact that it occurs in the introductions to the horse training texts in the context of the 'turning' of horses. Unfortunately for this picturesque interpretation the reexamination of the relevant text passages by other scholars, following Starke's claim, has clearly disproved the reading 'tail' for *pankur*, since the logogram KUN has been noted elsewhere in Hittite texts with the phonetic complement of an animate *-a-* stem, not a neuter *-r/-n* (see Beal and Collins:1996, 312, with note 29), which is reinforced

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1. Note in particular Beal and Collins 1996:308-318; cf. also, Tischler:1977-:415-416. I am immensely grateful to Professor Itamar Singer for making these references known and available to me.

now by the recognition 'that at least one word for an animal tail is *ši/eša-*, with the alternate stem *šišai-*'[2]. Moreover, the reading of *wartae-* as "turn" has been disclaimed by H. Craig Melchert.

Beal and Collins (1996:312-314) have argued persuasively for the meaning 'hair' rather than 'tail' in their reassessment of ritual texts such as those where an animal, ox or sheep, is described as passing through a thorn bush and having its *pankur* 'plucked, drawn' from it, just as evils might be 'plucked' from the human subject of the ritual. In this category is the text KBo 21.10 (CTH 427.D), 5', cited by Starke to illustrate his interpretation. Notably the verb used in these contexts is *huittiya-* which may be interpreted in context, among other meanings, as 'pluck (wool)' (Oettinger, 1979:517). Tischler (1977- :415) has noted further fragmentary passages in the Kikkuli texts where *pankur* (of horses) occurs in the context of washing with cold water and greasing with sheep's fat. It is conceivable that the 'hair' of the horse, that is of the mane or tail, was the object of these procedures, but 'greasing' suggests that it was the surface with closely matted hair, the hide, which was actually designated by *pankur*. Beal and Collins (1996:310 f., with note 19) came to such a conclusion regarding the 'pelt/hide' (*pankur*) of a nanny-goat parallelled in a ritual passage by the 'pelt/hide of a lion ...pelt/hide of an auroch/wild ox'. However, Starke's (1990:606) derivation of *pankur* from **bhengh-* 'thick, be thick', that is to say, 'many, be numerous', is still regarded as the best interpretation. Apart from possibly explaining how *pankur* came to describe (animal) 'hair/pelt', this linguistic analysis has a favourable bearing on my own interpretation of *pankur* in a human context as 'kindred'. After offering my argument for the latter, I shall return to the interesting problem of the derivation of these two terms.

In a previous fascicle of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (1983:208, under *mašiwan*), *pankur*, as a relationship term, was translated as 'clan'. Beal and Collins in their analysis of certain Hittite texts, to be noted later, regarded 'the current translation of "(wolf-)pack" or "clan"' as making 'excellent sense', while commenting in a preceding note that it might refer "to some other close circle of friends who are not kin, but who are bound together more strongly than simply as *areš* 'friends'". T. R. Bryce (1982:102, with reference to KBo 1.16 ii 46) opted for 'kindred' in his translation of *pankur* as it occurs in the political testament of King Hattusilis I, although there was no mention of this in his commentary. The term is often applied in a loose and imprecise manner in modern usage, and since I consider that 'kindred' with its proper connotation interprets best the Hittite *pankur*, I will attempt in the following an explanation and definition of this term.

Being a Middle English derivative of Old English *cyn* 'blood relatives' and *raedan* 'condition, reckoning', with *d* interpolated to aid pronunciation, 'kindred' described a form of Teutonic family organisation when the Anglo-Saxon kindred had lost much of its solidarity and social importance, as explained by J.D. Freeman in his study 'On the concept of Kindred' (1961:192-220). In northern Europe the Teutonic kindred consisted of a person's legitimately born or adopted blood relatives, for whom the Roman legal term *cognati* would be apt: 'They are all those who trace their blood to the legitimate marriage of a common pair' (Freeman 1961:205). The potential number of these agnatic and uterine relatives was very great, but for the purpose of the *wergeld*, 'the price set on a man's life in successive Anglo-Saxon and Germanic law codes' (Collins English Dictionary 1979:1646), the degree of kinship seldom extended beyond fourth cousin while the third was more usual (Philpotts 1913:106). It is notable that the Hittite expression *ešhanaz šarnikzel* 'compensation with respect to the bloodshed', having the same connotation as *wergeld*, occurs in line 19 of a rather damaged passage of the Hittite text KUB 16.77, 18, in the context of '(namely a member of) his *pankur*' (CHD 1994:93b; see also Tischler 1977- :415, c.).

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2. This quotation comes from the most useful comments made on an earlier draft of this paper by Professor H. Craig Melchert, to whom I should like to express my gratitude.

Middle and Late Medieval documents throw a clear light upon the nature and function of the kindred, a description of which agrees generally with that of a modern kindred, such as that of the Malaysian Iban studied by Freeman and others, while the bilateral γχιστεία of ancient Greece, formed with the (aristocratic) patrilineal 'conical clan', and the γένος and o κος 'household', subsystems of the Greek kinship structure, are also notable (Freeman 1961:207-217, 204). It is characteristic of an active kindred that while it is always potential, being based on a cognatic kinship category of persons, 'it can only be said to exist when it groups itself round a given kinsman'; it will form temporary 'organisations' or 'action groups', the motivation being the bonds of blood-relationship which unite the kindred to act on behalf of their kinsman (see Freeman 1961:203, 211; Philpotts 1913:256, 3; Firth 1963:24).

There are many more possible examples one could cite (e.g. Friedrich 1964:141). However, regarding my interpretation of Hittite *pankur*, I find support in broad comparisons between the recently attested kindreds and textual evidence for the meaning of *pankur* in the Hittite Old Kingdom and later periods. For example, in certain 'curse' texts an errant individual was threatened for breaking an oath or contravention of royal directives in the following terms: 'May they (the gods of the oath) destroy him, the human, together with [his] wi[ves], his [childr]en, his *pankur*' (CTH 427.B, iii 9-11; Oettinger 1976:19-13); and again, '...of [h]im, the name, "seed", (and) hi[s] *pankur* [may] they (the gods of the oath) [destr]oy.' (Oettinger 1976:39); '[ ]x and of that evil [person] may (his) "seed" (and) *pankur* perish in like manner, [and for him?] let not seed (NUMUN-*an*) nor grass(/plant) come (up)' (KBo 16.56, 9-19; Kühne 1973:161-167).

In Hittite texts *laman* 'name', frequently represented by ŠUM (CHD 1980:31-36), could designate someone's enduring reputation, 'memory', the elimination of which could be as devastating as that of the 'name' of his descendants, from which it would result. Notably, in such contexts the logogram NUMUN meaning 'seed' is used, usually with a syllabic determinative which indicates that it concealed a Hittite (/Luwian) word having both the literal agricultural sense, and a reference to human descendants, whether royal or of common lineage. Thus it had a similar semantic spread to *zēru* which NUMUN represents in Akkadian texts (CAD *Z*: 89-97). In my 1993 study I argued that NUMUN(-) in such personal contexts in Hittite texts meant 'clan' as we would understand it, with its reference to forbears and descendants in direct inheritance from an ancestor, in contrast to a person's contemporary kindred.

It is also necessary to refer to my conclusions in that study regarding the Hittite verbal noun *hanšatar/haššatar* 'family' derived from *haš(š-)*, 'beget, give birth' (see Puhvel 1991:212-218). It was frequently represented by the logogram MÁŠ with or without syllabic determinatives, to which I devoted a lengthy comment. Here I will note that there have been various interpretations regarding this unusual choice of logogram. E. Forrer (1929:161) had suggested that one reason for the Hittite scribes' (mistaken) borrowing as a logogram of the Old Babylonian MÁŠ, meaning 'male goat', was its similarity in form to MUD which represented 'blood', and thus, for the Hittites, blood-relationship, with which argument F. Sommer (1932:136, n. 3) disagreed. Nevertheless it is worth bearing in mind Forrer's interpretation, since Hittite *ešhar* 'blood' could refer to blood-relationship, as when Hattusilis III explained he was being merciful to his enemy Arma-Tarhundas: 'because he was a person (related) by blood (literally, of blood) to me' (Otten 1981:18,19; Puhvel 1984:307). However, as Akkadian MUD also meant 'give birth', this indicates why, mistakenly, Hittite scribes adopted the so similar MÁŠ as a logogram for *hanšatar/haššatar*, a possibility conceived also by Forrer, and indeed, Sommer (1932:136).

When considering MÁŠ in relation to and in contrast to NUMUN(-) and *pankur*, it is necessary to stress its 'generational' meaning, and indeed the *tri-generational* aspect of the Hittite family. This is well illustrated in a passage from the treaty made by the Hittite king Muwattallis with Alaksandus of Wilusa

(KBo 21.1, III 33'-36'; see Friedrich 1930:72-73; cf. Beckman 1996:85), in which the former explains that one Kupanta-Kuruntas (of Arzawa) and he, Muwattallis, belonged to the same MÁŠ through the former's mother, Muwattallis' father's sister, their common link, as we know, being that Muwattis and Mursilis II were children of the same father, Suppiluliumas I, and of the same mother. Otherwise, Muwattis and Mursilis would have been related only ŠA NUMUN 'of the seed', that is, lineally. Thus, a father and mother shared the same descendant haššatar, consisting of their children and the offspring born to those children in their (the parents') lifetimes. Each parent belonged to his or her own collateral and ascendant 'families'. Their children shared membership in the MÁŠ / haššatar instituted by their parents, and they and their own children shared it with their siblings' children. Sommer (1932:137) had suggested that MÁŠ could have the same nuances as German 'Familie' in the narrow and wider senses of the word, including 'die nebenehelichen Verwandschaft'. Nephews and nieces may be added to uncles, aunts and cousins.

In the light of these arguments I consider particularly illustrative the following passage from a directive by King Tuthaliyas to local officials, which may be translated as follows (cf. CHD 1994:93; Alp 1947:392-395; Hoffman 1984:132; Puhvel 1991:216. See also Beal and Collins 1996:309): "Let no one (of you) do it (i.e. make a judgement) for (consideration of) a consignment of bread (or) beer for his house, of that (person), for (one) of his brother(s), for his wife, for (one) of his family (literally: for his 'of generation /begetting'), for (one) of his pankur (i.e. 'for his member of the kindred'), for (his) affine (or) for his companion ..."

The nature of his command implies that every possible category of contemporary person to whom a man might be attached by virtue of blood, marriage, residence and responsibility or affection, was covered by the terms in line 33 of this text (KUB 13.20; CTH 259. 2nd Tablet.A). Some overlapping occurred since a man's brother or sister (included in a generic ŠEŠ(-ŠU) 'sibling'), would have belonged to his 'family', literally: 'of generation/begetting'. His wife and children and siblings, some female as well as male, would have belonged to his household. Thus, the first four terms refer to those most closely related by blood, marriage and residence. The 'affine' and companion, following 'his pankur', leave it to designate the 'middle ground' between close blood relatives and household dependants and those unrelated by blood and co-residence.

As suggested also by the curse formulae, not only would pankur designate a wider kin group, but indicate also that a man's identity might be sought in its midst, the other members of which were his relatives. Given the bilateral nature of the MÁŠ, and positing that of the pankur, we would expect that certain kinsmen belonged to both, the latter being in a sense an extension of the former. In a passage from Instructions to Temple Servants (KUB 13.4 (CTH 264, A1): 27-35; transliterated in Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935:148) pankur does not appear, while MÁŠ alone, contrasting with NUMUN, seems to indicate the 'wider (bilateral) family', as interpreted also by V. Korošec (1950:199, with n. 67). 'Does the god av[eng]e it (a man's offence) upon him alone? Does he not [a]venge it upon his wife, [his child(ren)], his ['se]ed', his (wider) family, his servants, male and female, his cattle, his sheep, [his] harvest?...'

That pankur referred to a consistently large body of kin capable of forming an important social organisation within the state, is further indicated in two fragmentary Hittite passages, both of which were evocations to the gods for the well being of the Hittite King and Queen:

1. 'They stand by the hearth, and as [numerous as? (i.e., mašiwan?)] her pankur [let them] make her years for Tawannannas, the Queen. May their children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren (and) years (of life) be as numerous (mašiwan) for Taba[rnas, the King] (and) Tawannannas, the Queen, as a pankur in/for a hikkirmahi' (KBo 13.49 [CTH 459.5], 7'-11'; CHD 1983:208, translates 9'-11', treating hikkirmahi as a hapax).

2. '...]the King, Queen, sons of Hattus[as...] Let the [x] be numerous (mašewan mašewan) as his/its pankur... (KBo 36 107 4'-6'; see CHD 1983:208).

Whatever hikkirmahi- may mean - and it might be very helpful to know - the context in both texts indicates that a pankur consisted of a great number of persons.

Further, the admonitions of Hattusilis I regarding the pankur of his 'subject(s)', coming in the wake of the turmoil created by rebellious factions (from all levels of persons) concerning the royal succession, demonstrate the social importance of the pankur in the Old Kingdom: 'And of you my subject(s) let (your) pankur be united (literally 'one') like (that of) the wolf!' (KBo 3.27 [CTH 5] obv. 15'-16'; Sommer/ Falkenstein 1938:75, and note Beal 1983:125 f.). The reference to the wolf (UR.BAR.RA) is interesting, since these animals have been scientifically observed to mate monogamously for life, to live in basic family units of parents and cubs, possibly augmented by one or more relatives and possibly orphaned cubs of another female, while maintaining harmonious relationships with other interrelated units in the roaming territory of the pack, and joining for hunting occasions into cooperative groups (Pocock 1943-1972:724 f.; also, Mowat 1964). Doubtless the Hittites, for whom the ethos of the hunting existence remained important as attested in their art and religion (see Güterbock 1989:119; Alp 1983:Abb. 6a-h), were fully aware of the habits of the wolf, the wild hunter, indigenous then to Anatolia as also to Europe. By idealising the characteristics of the wolf pankur, harmony within smaller units and their instinctive cooperation in larger mutually supportive groups, Hattusilis was expressing the ideal, the principle and ethic of the pankur of his own people. Another text, written presumably in the same period (cited in CHD 1994:93.2a.), records a further exhortation of the (King's?) audience 'May [your(?)] p. be [united] like that of the wetna-animal', was apparently based on a similar concept (see Beal and Collins 1996:309, with n. 10, and further reference to Collins 1989 on wild animals in Hatti, including the 'wetna-animal'). Remembering now the exhortation of Hattusilis I to his subjects that their pankur should be like that of the wolf, we can be sure, I believe, that he was actually referring to the wolf pack, and not its 'pelt'.

Obviously there is no clear evidence as to which designation was conceived first, nor the actual process whereby a physical attribute of an animal, a social familial animal grouping, the 'pack', and the Hittite's human kinship organisation, the 'kindred', should all be derived from the same proto-Hittite form bheng^h, meaning 'thick, numerous'. While the relationship of the 'pack' and 'kindred' may be accepted, the independent derivations of the animal and human organisations from the same root with concept, 'thick, that which sticks together', has been proposed recently (Beal and Collins 1996:309, n. 10, with ref. to Collins 1989). The same thought could apply to the animal 'pelt', consisting of myriad individual hairs found growing on many animal skins. Melchert has pointed to the suggestive pairing in one of the curse formulae cited above (KBo 16.56, 9-19) in which the threatened destruction of the human 'seed' (NUMUN) and pankur the 'kindred', is paralleled in the following lines by the threatened failure of (agricultural) 'seed' (NUMUN) and 'grass' (welku-). I trust he would not mind if I quote his following comment (written communication): "While I would not insist on the point, the latter comparison would seem to make good sense if pankur indeed refers to a mat or clump of hair (I happen to know by accident that 'camel hair' is rendered in a Bible translation in Tok Pisin as 'gras bilong kamel', so the comparison is not far-fetched). This is the kind of analogy that Hittite ritual is fond of. But it would remain play with two words pankur that surely were thought of as separate by the time of attested Hittite."

In the present state of our knowledge, this seems the best conclusion with which to end my reconsideration of the first two categories and meanings of pankur, as listed in the Chicago Hittite Dictionary and cited at the beginning of this paper. The pankur listed in its category 3 'designation in KIN oracles', obviously a technical term (see refs. also in Tischler 1977- :416), remains to be understood.

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THE NEW VALUES OF LUWIAN SIGNS L 319 AND L 172

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The Luwian hieroglyphic signs L 319 and L 172 are traditonally read as <ta₄> and <ta₅> . The combinatory and etymological analysis of the lexemes where these signs frequently occur leads us to suggest their new transliteration values <la/i> and <lá/í> for the Iron Age. Our conclusion is compatible with the implicit suggestion of J. David Hawkins that the antecedents of these signs had the readings <ali> and <ala> in the Bronze Age. The sporadic use of <la/i> and <lá/i> for the etymological sequences */rV/ and */da/ in late Luvian inscriptions reflects the merger of the postvocalic /l/, /d/, and /r/ into the flap [ɾ] in the Luvian dialects of the first millennium BCE.[1]

1. INTRODUCTION AND FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE.

It has been assumed since the dawn of Luwian studies that the Luwian hieroglyphic signs assigned the numbers 319 and 172 in Laroche's catalog encode open syllables beginning with coronal sounds. Laroche 1960 assigned to them basic values *té/tí* and *tì* respectively, while Meriggi 1962 offered essentially similar readings *tí* and *tì*. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies (1975:130-132) reexamined the attestation of these signs and presented abundant evidence for the *-a-* vocalism in both cases, arguing at the same time that the *-i-* vocalism is likewise possible, but not equally well attested. In their subsequent publications, Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies consistently transliterate L 319 and L 172 as <ta₄> and <ta₅> respectively. The majority of Anatolianists have accepted this provisional convention, although Melchert (2003:181 fn. 12) insists that evidence for *-i-* vocalisation is sufficient to justify the more inclusive transliteration <ta/i₄> and <ta/i₅>.

The consonantal values of L 172 and L 319 have generated no less discusion, but the debate has not been conclusive and failed to bring about any changes in transliteration. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies (1975:132) formulate a legitimate question: why is it that some words ("name", "bad", "place", "servant") are regularly written with these two signs and are never written with the other dental signs? They observe, furthermore, that in the first two cases the likely Hittite cognates of the Luwian words in question, *laman* 'name' and *idalu-* 'evil, bad' contain laterals rather than dental stops. They state that in most of the clear cases the Luwian consonant involved was (etymologically) voiced and add that they could "speculate about possible lateral or retroflex phonemes but do not have sufficient data to proceed". Melchert (1994:38) made one step further claiming that the respective signs denoted exclusively voiced or lenis sounds, but insisted that they were stops and did not comment on the lateral hypothesis. Later, however, he returned to the same issue and claimed that "there are indications that the change of intervocalic **d* to something other than a stop took place already in the prehistory of Luwian" (Melchert 2003:180).

The theory that "<ta/i₄>" and "<ta/i₅>" differ from the rest of the *ta*-signs through their voiced/lenis character is no longer tenable. Rieken (2008) has demonstrated that the sign <tà> (L 41) fulfills precisely this function, alternating with <ta> / <tá> in those positions where lenition is expected. Thus the Luwian ending of 3sg. pret. act. is regularly spelled <tà> when attached to verbal stems ending in a long vowel. By contrast, the number of alternations between <tà> and "<ta/i₄> / <ta/i₅>" is rather small and they all belong to the last two centuries of the Luwian hieroglyphic tradition (cf. section 3.3 below). This suggests that the prototypical function of the last two signs is to be sought elsewhere.

It was, however, David Hawkins, the honorand of this volume, who has collected crucial evidence leading to the present reevaluation of the consonantal values of L 172 and L 319. He persuasively argues for the identification of L 319, attested exclusively in the Iron Age sources, and L 416, known from YALBURT, SÜDBURG, and several other hieroglyphic texts dating back to the Hittite Empire. With regard to the value of L 416, he observes that in all the lexemes that have parallels in cuneiform sources, it corresponds to the segment *li* (Hawkins 1995:114-115). These ideas are developed further in the recent publication of the NIŞANTEPE seals, where Hawkins cautiously suggests that L 416 may have been used in the Empire Period to "write the element *ali*- with the initial *a*- either omitted or implicit". In addition, he shows that all the cuneiform parallels to the lexemes containing the sign L 172 in the Bronze Age texts speak for the identification of this sign with the sequence *a-la* (Hawkins 2005:289-90). The comparisons provided by Hawkins are summarized below.

TABLE 1

416-LEO (NIŞANTEPE, # 644, Herbordt 2005:227)	Ali-UR.MAH (Laroche 1966, #34)
416-mu-tá (NIŞANTEPE # 645-646, Herbordt 2005:227)	Alimutta (Laroche 1981, #32b)
416-SARMA (NIŞANTEPE, #98, Herbordt 2005:130)	Ali-Sarruma (Laroche 1966, #33)
416-VIR.ZI/A (TARSUS, #13, Laroche 1958:257)	Aliziti (Laroche 1966, #36)
ka-416 (Cruciform Seal, Dinçol *et al.* 1993)	Kāli (Laroche 1966, #484)
pi-na-416 (YALBURT bl. 12+13, Poetto 1993: 80 and Hawkins 1995:68-70)	Gk. Πίναρα, Lyc. Pinale (Zgusta 1984, §1062-1)
172-416-mi (NIŞANTEPE, # 3-10, Herbordt 2005:115-16)	Alalimi (Laroche 1966, #22)
172-tara/i-ma (KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, Masson 1980:107-118)	Alatarma (Del Monte and Tischler 1978:6-7)
172-zu(wa) (YAZILIKAYA, #45)	Allanzu (Van Gessel 1998:20-21)

The probative value of these comparisons is not uniform. The digraphic seal NIŞANTEPE, #3 prompts the direct equation between the hieroglyphic spelling *172-416-mi* and the cuneiform spelling of the same name *a-laˈ-li-mi* (written *a-ad-li-mi*).[2] The name *ka-416* occurring on the cruciform seal next to the name of Mursili I virtually guarantees that it belongs to the Hittite queen Kāli known from offering lists. The goddess YAZILIKAYA, # 45 was independently identified by Laroche (1969:85-89) as Allanzu, which was accepted by Güterbock (1975:172, 187), while the writing of the first sign of the name as <ta₅> was only established by Hawkins in 1991 by collation (Hawkins 2006b:62, 75 fig. 12c). The identification of *pi-na-416* with the Lycian toponym Πίναρα/Pinale finds strong support in the juxtaposition of *pi-na-416* and Awarna/Xanthos in the YALBURT inscription. To be sure, the final

vowel of Luw. *Pinali*- (stem-form) is not identical to that of Lyc. *Pinale* (loc. pl.), but it is possible that the second form is derived from the plurale tantum *Pinali*. Gk. Πίναρα represents a very weak argument for the alternative reconstruction of nom.pl. **Pinala*: cf. another Lycian town name nom.pl. *Zēmuri*, loc. pl. *Zēmure* rendered in Greek as Λίμυρα (Neumann 2007:433).

In the rest of the cases, the readings of Hawkins are derived from the combinatory analysis alone. There are no positive reasons to believe that any of the personal names beginning with L 416 must refer to the same individual as its cuneiform counterpart beginning with *Ali*-, but the formal parallelism between the four matching cuneiform and hieroglyphic spellings is striking (none of these four names can be identified if we assume the reading **<da/i> for 416). *Ali*- as the first component of Luwian personal names is probably related to Luw. *ala/i*- 'high' (Melchert 1993:6). It is noteworthy that *ali*- and *ura*- 'great' appear in onomastic compounds with the identical second component, e.g. *416-SARMA* vs. MAGNUS+*ra/i-SARMA-ma-sa-'* (KARKAMIŠ A4a §2) or *416-LEO* vs. MAGNUS.LEO (Laroche 1966, #1140). The weakest identification is the town name *172-tara/i-ma* = *Alatarma*: Alatarma known from cuneiform sources is to be sought in the area of Isuwa and Pahuwa in the eastern part of the Hittite Empire, while the inscription KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA has been found *in situ* in central Anatolia.

On the other hand, there are virtually no examples to support the hypothesis that L 416 and L 172 encoded syllables beginning with dental stops in the Empire period. To be sure, Poetto (1993:29, fn. 43) connected the Luwian stem *416-wa/i-ni*- with the Lycian title *tewinaza*. This suggestion, however, has a purely hypothetical status. On the one hand, the precise meaning of Luw. *416-wa/i-ni*-, occurring in the SÜDBURG and the YALBURT inscriptions, is a matter of much debate, and even its syntactic function has not been fully clarified. On the other hand, the precise function of the *tewinaza*-office in Lycia likewise remains unknown. Instead of deriving the value of L 416 from the comparison between two obscure words, one would fare better waiting till the reading of this sign can be established on independent grounds, and then using it for the elucidation of Luw. *416-wa/i-ni*-.[3]

Thus there are no real synchronic obstacles to assuming that the Bronze Age signs L 416 and L 172 encode phonetic sequences containing the lateral sound. One can, however, go a step further and transliterate these Empire Period signs as <ali> and <ala> respectively in all their occurrences, even when they appear in word-medial position. This is, of course, primarily an issue of scholarly convention, but doing otherwise would be inconsistent with the established practice of transliterating L 133/134 as <ara/i> even in those cases where the initial vowel is strictly redundant, e.g. *sa-ara/i-ri+i* 'above' (KARATEPE (Ho.) § 49), *á-pa-ara/i* 'afterwards' (MARAŞ 4 § 15), or *wa-ara/i* 'and them' (KARKAMIŠ A 6 § 26).

This brings us back to the original question about the values of L 319 and L 172 in the Iron Age. It is clear that it cannot be <ali> and <ala>, not only because the signs of such shape would have fewer parallels in the first millennium orthography, but, more importantly, because the two signs under discussion almost never occur word-initially in the texts of this period (see 2.4. for an orthographic exception). In addition, they begin to alternate frequently in the same lexemes, which indicates that their phonetic values have become identical. Cf. LOCUS-*319-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §23) vs. LOCUS-*172-za* (SULTANHAN §43), ˈ*á-sa-tú-wa/i-319-ma-za-si-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §1) vs. ˈ*á-sa-tú-wa/i-172-ma-za-si* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §1), SERVUS-*319-sá* (KARATEPE (Hu) §1) vs. SERVUS-*172-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 §4) etc.

We propose that the signs L 319 and L 172 had the basic values <la/i> and <lá/i> in the post-Empire period. As mentioned above, these values were implicit as an option in the discussion of Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1975, but there were not enough arguments at the time to defend such a proposal.

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2. The Luwian male name *Alalimi*- can be analyzed as an etymological participle from the stem **alalī*- 'to wish', a direct cognate of Hitt. *ilaliya*- 'id.'. This popular name is attested both in Hittite texts and in an Akkadian document from Ugarit (Laroche 1966, #22). The same root can be seen in the Iron Age Luwian forms (COR)*á-lu/a/i-na-za*- 'to be covetous' (KARATEPE §66) and ("COR")*á-lu/a/i-na-ma*- 'covetousness' (KARATEPE §71). These considerations are sufficient to refute the hypothesis of Melchert (2003:181), according to which the form *Alalimi*- represents a specifically Hittite adaptation of Luwian **Dadimi*-.

3. For the further analysis of this formation, see Yakubovich 2008.

The progress in the understanding of the Empire period signs L 416 (the precursor of L 319) and L 172 has now tipped scales in favor of this alternative. In what follows, we are going to survey the lexemes containing the two Iron Age signs under consideration in order to see whether the lateral hypothesis complicates or facilitates their interpretation.

2. ANALYSIS

It is appropriate to begin our analysis with those lexemes that occur in a variety of well-understood contexts. In all the seven cases discussed below, the basic meaning of the relevant forms can be established on synchronic grounds, and therefore their formal analysis does not involve circular reasoning.

2.1. MALUS-*319/172*- 'evil'.
The two Luwian words with the basic meaning 'evil, bad' attested in cuneiform texts are *adduwal(a/i)-* and *haniya-* (Melchert 1993:41, 51). The Hieroglyphic Luwian orthography uses the signs MALUS and MALUS$_2$ as logograms and determinatives for these forms. Although Laroche 1960 booked both signs under the same number 368, their shapes are clearly distinct, the second one representing the reduplicated form of the first one (Hawkins 2000:27). In each and every case where a direct judgement is possible, *adduwal(a/i)-* and its derivatives are accompanied by MALUS, while the cognates of *haniya-* take MALUS$_2$. Thus (MALUS)*á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi* in the Hu. Version of KARATEPE 1 § 20 corresponds to MALUS-*la/i-zi* in the Ho. version of the same passage. This pair can be contrasted with ("MALUS$_2$") *ha-ní-ia-ta* (Hu.) and ("MALUS$_2$")*há-ní-ia-ta* (Ho.) occurring in KARATEPE 1 § 12. Furthermore, KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) § 72 shows the contrast between MALUS-*la/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i* 'from evil' and (MALUS$_2$)*ha-ní-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti* 'from badness'.

The sequences MALUS-*la/i-* and MALUS-*lá/i-* correspond to the stem /atuwal(a/i)-/ in a large number of cases. The instrumental form /atuwaladi/ can be seen in MALUS-*la/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A31+ § 10, ADIYAMAN § 3, ANCOZ 2 1. 2*, (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1b*), MALUS-*la/i-a-ti* (ALEPPO 2 § 24), MALUS-*la/i-ti-i-'* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 19, 20). In addition, one observes the same consistent use of L 319 / L 172 in the instrumental forms of the abstract noun /atuwalastr-/ 'malice', e.g. MALUS-*lá/i-sa-tara/i-ti* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 5, BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 15, 19), MALUS-*la/i-sa-tara/i-ti* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 10), MALUS-*la/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i* (KARATEPE (Hu./Ho.) § 72), ["]MALUS"-*la/i-tara/i-ti* (ANCOZ 7 § 9, the emendation belongs to Hawkins (pers. comm.)). One can also compare the stem /atuwalahi(t)-/ 'id.' fragmentarily attested as MALUS-*l[á/i]-hi-x[...]-'* (TELL AHMAR 5 § 17).

The alternation in KARATEPE 1 § 20 mentioned above provides a crucial piece of support for the new transliteration. (MALUS)*á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi* reflects /atuwarinzi/, the "rhotacized" variant of the earlier *atuwalinzi*. Therefore MALUS-*lá/i-zi* in the Ho. version of the same passage yields the legitimate historical writing.[4] Hittite *idālu-* 'evil', a cognate of *adduwal(a/i)-*, shows that the final lateral consonant does not represent a recent development in Luwian. Thus the analysis of the Luwian words for 'bad, evil' clearly argues in favor of the lateral hypothesis. In addition, it vindicates the view that L 319 is compatible with both the -*a*- and the -*i*- vocalism.

2.2 *á-172/319-ma-* 'name'.
The paradigm of the Luwian word for 'name' is represented by the nom./acc.sg. form *á-lá/i-ma-za* (KARKAMIŠ A14a § 5 etc.), *á-lá/i-ma-zi'* (KÖTÜKALE § 5), *á-lá/i-ma-zá*, (KARKAMIŠ A18e § 3), (KARATEPE Ho § 63), *á-lá/i-ma-za-'* (KARKAMIŠ A 6 § 29, ANCOZ 6 § 1, HAMA frag. 6, TELL AHMAR 6 § 10), *á-lá/i-ma-za* (KARATEPE 7x, ANCOZ 2 1.1*) and the dat. sg. form *á-lá/i-ma-ni* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 19), *á-lá/i-ma-ni-i* (TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 11). This fragmentary paradigm allows one to reconstruct the neuter *n*-stem, which is unfortunately not attested in Luwian cuneiform texts. Nevertheless, the obvious Anatolian comparanda, Hitt. *laman* and especially Lyc. *alãma* (TL 83.8) 'name',[5] clearly speak in favor of the lateral interpretation of L 172/319 in this word.[6] The preponderance of forms containing L 172 reflects the vestige of the stage when this sign still had the stable phonetic value *<la$_x$>.

There is also internal evidence to corroborate this conclusion. The Luwian lexeme under discussion is contained in the personal name attested in the spelling variants ¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la-ma-za-*, *á-sa-tu-ʳwa/ i⁷+ra/i-ma-za-*, and ¹*á-sa-tú-wa/i-lá/i-ma-za-* showing the graphic alternation L 172 ~ *la* ~ *ra/i*. The first variant supports the etymological interpretation of this name as /astu-alamanza/, 'Let there be the name (to him)' while the second one shows that the rhotacized variant /astu-aramanza/ also existed in Late Luwian. The last spelling, which is the regular one in the royal inscriptions from Carchemish, strengthens the connection between this compound and *á-lá/i-ma-za* 'name'. Thus the new transliteration gains support from a synchronic alternation, which plainly contradicts its traditional counterpart *á-ta$_5$-ma-za*.

The earliest assured attestation of the Luwian word for 'name' is *á-lá/i-ma-zi'* (KÖTÜKALE § 5). Hawkins (2000:299) tentatively dates the KÖTÜKALE inscription to the 12th century B.C.E, shortly after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Therefore, we are forced to conclude that the new "Iron Age" value *<la$_x$> of L 172 was introduced as early as the last two centuries of the second millennium BCE The denominative verb (LOQUI)*la-ma-ni-sa-* 'to proclaim' may represent not a borrowing from Hittite, as usually thought, but rather an outcome of /alamanisa-/ with either phonetic or graphic aphaeresis. The hypothesis that the alternation between /lamanisa-/ and /alama-/ reflects the Indo-European ablaut is, in our opinion, possible, but less likely.

2.3 *á-lá/í-* 'Ala (DN)'.
The Luwian texts coming from the state of Kummuh make a frequent reference to the local deity that was transcribed as ATA Kubaba in Hawkins 2000. The element "ATA", invariably written with L 172 and preceding the name of the goddess Kubaba, has remained without explanation up to now. Its attested forms are nom. *á-lá/i-sá* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 10, 2 § 20), *á-lá/i-sa'* (ANCOZ 5 1.1), acc. *á-lá/i-na* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §1, 10) and dat. *á-lá/i* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 8, ANCOZ 1 § 2, ANCOZ 7 § 4, 9). The determinative FEMINA sometimes appearing in front of *á-lá/i(-)* implies that we are dealing here not with an adjectival epithet, but rather with a different local name of Kubaba.

We suggest that the mysterious *á-172-* can be identified with the name of the Anatolian goddess Ala, the consort of the tutelary deity, whose attestations in Hittite sources are discussed in detail in McMahon 1991:11-14. The frequent co-occurrence of Ala and the tutelary deity ᵈLAMMA (KUB 43.23

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4. The claim made by Melchert (2003:179-80, fn. 10) that some of these forms may be instead derived from the stem /haniyada-/ runs afoul of the distribution between MALUS and MALUS$_2$ illustrated above and the spelling *ha-ni-ia-ta(-ia)* in KARATEPE 1, § 12 and (MALUS$_2$)*ha-ní-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti* in KARATEPE 1, § 72b (Hu.) with the sign <ta> for voiceless [ta]. MALUS-*tà-ti-i* 'with evil' (SULTANHAN § 21) can be read /atuwalahidadi/.

5. Melchert (2004:1) transliterates the Lycian word for 'name' as [...]*adãma*, but admits that his reading is prompted by etymological considerations. The autograph of the relevant inscription (Kalinka 1901:87) confirms the spelling with lambda, and therefore Melchert's reading amounts to an emendation.

6. The Lydian noun *ẽtam(v)-* 'decree, designation (vel sim)' is sometimes adduced as a further cognate of this family of words. This suggestion, however, is both phonetically and semantically arbitrary, as per Kloekhorst 2004:40 and Yakubovich 2006:78, fn 17.

ii 42, KUB 55.12 ii 13-14, KUB 20.99 ii 7 etc.) is to be compared with the juxtaposition between Ala-Kubaba and the tutelary deity Runtiya (Stag-god) in ANCOZ 1 § 2, ANCOZ 7 § 4, and ANCOZ 5 1.1. The emphatic femininity of the goddess Ala, expressed in the unusual sequence of determinatives $^{DINGIR.}$$^{MUNUS}A$-$la$-$a$-$aš$ in KUB 6.45 ii 5 finds a counterpart in the determinative FEMINA preceding $á$-$lá/í(-)$ in its three separate attestations (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 10, ANCOZ 1 § 2, and ANCOZ 5 1.1).

Ala was apparently syncretized with the Syrian goddess Kubaba in the state cult of the principality of Kummuh, so that the hybrid deity Ala-Kubaba came into being, but this must have been a relatively recent phenomenon. The Bronze Age EMİRGAZİ inscription mentions several times the deity $á$-(FEMINA.DEUS.)461, in which Forlanini (1987:78-79) recognized the same goddess Ala. Forlanini's tentative identification was largely based on the association between Ala and Mount Sarpa in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts. Today, it can be corroborated through additional observations. The goddess Ala is mentioned together with the Stag-god of the Open Country in EMİRGAZİ § 26, while the unusual determinative FEMINA.DEUS represents a close correspondence of DINGIR.MUNUS. It can be assumed that the sign L 461 is a logogram representing the name of the deity (cf. Hawkins 2004: 366, 2006b:56f.).

We find it significant that all the occurrences of Ala in Iron Age Luwian texts are spelled with <lá/í>, and never with <la/í>. The name of the goddess Ala possibly had the Luwian origin and its etymological meaning may have been "Her Highness", but unlike the base adjective ala/i- 'high', it shows no traces of the i-mutation. Therefore, neither the stem-form, nor the direct cases of her name contained the segment /li/. One must hypothesize that at the moment when the spelling $á$-$lá/í(-)$ came into being, the signs L 172 = *<la$_x$> and L 319 = *<li$_x$> were still kept distinct from each other.

2.4. *(a)-la/i-(lu/a/i)-ni- 'enemy'.
The Iron Age Luwian word for 'enemy' is attested in several contexts that are not always easy to reconcile with each other phonetically. These are:

(1) KARKAMIŠ A23 § 4-5, cf. Hawkins 2000:119
     wa/i-mu-´ mi-zi||-´ **la/i-ni-zi-´** |pi-pa-sa-ta mu-pa-wa/i-´ **la/i-na-za-´** |NEG$_2$ |pi-ia-ta
     'She gave my **enemies** to me but did not give me to my **enemies**'.

(2) TELL AHMAR 6 § 5, cf. Hawkins 2006a:12
     |mu-pa-wa/i-´ mi-[i]-zi-´ |tá-ti-zi **la/i-ni-zi-´** (DEUS.ORIENS)ki-sà-ta-ma-si-zi
     (DEUS.ORIENS)ki-sà-ta-ma-ti |ARHA |"DELERE"-nú-[sà]-ha
     'I eliminated my father's eastern **enemies** from the east'.

(3) TELL AHMAR 6 § 21, cf. Hawkins 2006a:14
     la/i-ni-zi-pa-wa/i-mi-i-´ |ARHA |("DELERE")mara$^{+ra/i}$(?)-nu-wa/i-ha
     'I destroyed my **enemies**'.

(4) BABYLON 1 § 11-12, cf. Hawkins 2000:392
     |ma-pa-wa/i-sa a-tá-ti-li-i-sa | **la/i-la/i/u-ní-sa-´** |ma-pa-wa/i-sa |ARHA-ti-i-li-sa **la/i|-la/i/u-ni-sa-´**
     (a curse formula) '...whether he is an internal **enemy**, or whether he is an external **enemy**...'

(5) SULTANHAN § 9, cf. Hawkins 2000:466
     |wa/i-tu-u |**á-ru-ni-zi** |á-pa-si-i-zi |("PES")pa+ra/i-za |SUB-na-na |tu-wa/i-ta
     'And he (Tarhunt) put his (Wasusarma's) **enemies** under his feet'

The presence of the initial vowel in (5), compared with its apparent absence in (1-4), does not represent a serious difficulty. The first four examples feature the a sign (L 450) in word-final position, where it cannot reflect a real vowel and therefore is transliterated as ´. This is no doubt a continuation of the phenomenon known as "initial-a-final" in Bronze Age Luwian, where the initial a-vowel is sometimes placed at the end of the verbal form (e.g. pa-ti-li-a for Abd-ili, see Hawkins 2003:159-61 for further details). Thus the spelling of (5) is phonologically more faithful, whereas the other cases feature the graphic transposition of word-initial *a- and can be alternatively transliterated as *a-la/i-ni-zi.

The alternation between -la/i- and -la/i-$lu/a/i$- is hard to explain within the traditional framework, and this is the reason why examples (1-3) and (4) have not been considered as one lemma in the previous literature. The lateral hypothesis, however, makes their interpretation much less problematic. The graphic variants *a-$lá/í$-ni- in (2) and *a-$lá/í$-$la/i/u$-$ní$- in (4) can be interpreted as different renderings of the stem /(a)lVni-/ and the latter may be transcribed as *a-$lá/í^{+la/i/u}$-$ní$-, since there are, as Craig Melchert reminds us, similar alternations involving redundant spellings in the case of i-zi-ia+ra/i-ru (KARATEPE (Hu.) § 50) vs. i-zi-ia-$rú$ (KARATEPE (Ho.) § 50) or ka-$mara/i^{+ra/i}$-zi (ASSUR f+g § 28) vs. ka-$mara/i^{+ra/i}$-ra+a-na (ASSUR f+g § 31). The subsequent rhotacism illustrated by example (5) has likewise several parallels in late Luwian texts (cf. 2.1 and 2.2 above).

The most serious problem concerns the vowel following the disputed consonant. Example (5) indicates that it must be -u-, while the values of L 319 considered so far imply that it should be -a- or -i- in (1-3). One has to hypothesize that as the values of L 319 and L 172 were confused in the Iron Age, these signs came to be compatible with all the coda vowels, including /u/. The rare use of the original <lu> sign (L 445) with the la and li values in the Iron Age would provide a suitable parallel for such a development. This would remain, of course, a sheer speculation, if not for an independent instance of L 319 used for /ru/, which is discussed below in 3.2. Therefore, one might consider a shape /aluni-/ (and /aruni-/ with rhotacism) for the word in the Iron age period.[7] In any event, the hypothesis that *a-319-ni-, *a-319-$la/i/u$-$ní$-, and $á$-ru-ni- represent three unrelated words for 'enemy' is, in our opinion, beyond the limits of credibility. Thus the combinatory evidence provides a solid argument for the new interpretation of L 319 in this case.

2.5 SERVUS-172/319- 'servant'.
The root of the word for 'servant, slave' and its derivatives is normally rendered by the Sumerogram ARAD in both Hittite and Luwian cuneiform texts. While the reading of the Hittite word for 'servant, slave' remains unknown (we only know that it ended in -na-), the Luwian possessive adjective ARAD-ya- 'belonging to a slave' (KUB 35.45 ii 3) corresponds to hu-u-tar-li-i-ya- in the parallel version of a Kuwatalla ritual (KUB 35.49 i 7). Therefore, one can reconstruct the Luwian word for 'slave' as */hudarla(/i)-/. The only direct attestation of this stem in cuneiform Luwian is the clause-initial form hu-tar-la-a-an appearing in a fragmentary context in the Songs of Istanuwa (KUB 35.136 iv 16). It is also attested in Old Assyrian transmission as the personal name hu-da-ar-$lá$ (Laroche 1966, # 411) and as the derivational base of the personal name hu-tar-$lá$-ni (Carruba 1992:251).

The lateral hypothesis advocated in this paper leads to the identification of the same stem in Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, which is written SERVUS-172/319-. SERVUS (formerly read as syllabic <mì>) is now clearly shown to represent a logogram (Hawkins 2000:58f., Hawkins $apud$ Herbordt 2005:309). The meaning of SERVUS (graphically VIR$_2$+VIR$_2$, i.e. "man's man") is assured through KARATEPE

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7. As opposed to unsyncopated /aliwanni-/ in Empire Luwian, for which a full treatment including all the relevant evidence is given in Yakubovich 2008.

1 § 1, where SERVUS-*lá/i-sá* (Hu.) corresponds to '*bd* 'slave, servant' in the Phoenician version. Its attested paradigmatic forms are nom. sg. SERVUS-*la/i-sa* (TELL AHMAR 2 § 1 etc.), SERVUS-*la/i-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 4, SHEIZAR § 9, SULTANHAN § 1), SERVUS-*la/i-sá* (KARATEPE (Hu) § 1), SERVUS-*la/i-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A17b § 1, ALEPPO 2 § 1, TELL AHMAR frag. 10 1, ÇIFTLIK § 4, TELL AHMAR 6 § 1), acc. sg. SERVUS-*lá/i-na* (HISARCIK 1 § 5), dat. sg. SERVUS-*lá/i-i* (SILTANHAN § 13), SERVUS-*la/i-ia* (MALPINAR § 5), nom./acc. pl. SERVUS-*la/i-zi-i* (ANCOZ 8 § 6), SERVUS-*lá/i-zi* (ANCOZ 5 1. 2), as well as the stem-forms SERVUS-*lá/i* (CEKKE § 1) and SERVUS-*la/i* (CEKKE § 6 etc.). The nominative singular forms ending in -*i-sa* indicate that we are dealing with the thematic stem that has undergone *i*-mutation, while the variant without *i*-mutation is preserved as the personal name SERVUS-*lá/i-a-sa* (BABYLON 2 § 1).

The comparison made above vindicates the transliterations SERVUS-*la/i-* and SERVUS-*lá/i-* corresponding to the phonological /hudarla/i-/. Note that both L 319 and L 172 appear at the end of the "mutation-stem" /hudarli-/ in nom./acc. sg./pl., thus supporting the optional reading of the respective signs with the embedded *i*-vowel. The derivatives of this lexeme attested in hieroglyphic texts are the possessive adjective SERVUS-*la/i-ia-* /hudarliya-/ (MALPINAR § 18) and the stem SERVUS-*la/i-ti-*, SERVUS-*lá/i-ti* /hudarlati/ having approximately the same meaning as the base noun (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 7, KÜRTÜL § 1).

2.6. PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la/i-* 'to serve; to subdue'.

The forms containing the logogram PUGNUS.PUGNUS have been discussed in Hawkins 1995:118-20, but without any definite conclusions. There is only one context, given immediately below, where the phonetic complement -*la/i-* is attached to this logogram. We have, however, grounds to believe that all the lexemes hidden under PUGNUS.PUGNUS are cognate with each other, and therefore we will use their cumulative evidence in our discussion.

(6)   KARATEPE 1 § 21, cf. Hawkins 2000:51
Hu.   (Hu.) NEG₂-*wá/í* REL-*zi* |SUB-*na-na* **PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la/i-ta*** |mu-ka-sa-sa-na |DOMUS-*ní-i*
Ho.   (Ho.) NEG₂-*wa/i* REL-*zi* |SUB-*na-na* |**PUGNUS'.PUGNUS'-ta** mu-ka-sá-sá-na || DOMUS-*ní-i*
        '...who had not **served** under Muksa's house'.
Phoen.   (Phoen.) '*š bl 'š 'bd kn l-bt mpš*
        '...none of whom had been servant to the house of MPŠ'

PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la/i-ta* of the Hu. version of the KARATEPE inscription matches '*bd kn* 'was a servant' in its Phoenician version. The correspondent predicate of the Ho. version can be read as *tà-tà-ta*, which is frequently interpreted as the phonetic reading of PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la/i-ta*. After Rieken (2008) has established that *tà* is normally used with the phonetic value /da/ and does not alternate with *ta* / *tá*, this interpretation becomes less likely. The only Luwian verb beginning with this sign is *tà-*/CAPERE 'take', but it is rather difficult to find a common denominator between the semantics of taking and being a servant. Consequently, more credence accrues now to the cautious suggestion of Hawkins (1995:119): "one may suspect that *tà-tà-* is simply a graphic error for the very similar PUGNUS.PUGNUS".

We would like to propose that PUGNUS.PUGNUS*(-la/i)-* represents a denominative formation based on SERVUS-*172/319-* = /hudarla/i-/ 'servant'. This identification, consistent with the lateral hypothesis, explains the meaning of (6) and can also account for the semantic and derivational peculiarities of several other verbal forms beginning with PUGNUS.PUGNUS. Thus, it helps to make sense of the

suffix vocalism of PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*i-ta* in (7), which can hardly be reconciled with the reading *tà-tà-ta* in (6). Under our hypothesis, two alternative accounts are possible. One can either assume that both PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*i-ta* in (7) and PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la/i-ta* in (6) stand for the phonological /hudarlita/, which shows variation between dative and accusative direct objects.

(7)   SULTANHAN § 43-45, cf. Hawkins 2000:467
       |a-wa/i-´ |REL-sá |REL-sá |za |LOCUS-lá/i-za |**PUGNUS.PUGNUS-i-ta**||
       |wa/i-tà |NEG₂-´ |HWI-sa-ha |mu-wa/i-ta
       |a-wa/i-tà |á-pi-i |sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sá |á-tà |wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-sa-a-ri+i
       |wa/i+ra/i-ia-ri+i |sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i-ha
       'Whoever **took care of** (lit. "served") this place, none could improve it (lit "make it strong"), (but) Sarwatiwaras has restored it, by Wasusarma's help and goodness'.

The assumption of two denominative stems becomes a necessity once we take into consideration the context listed below. It is obvious that the ruler Azatiwada, who commissioned KARATEPE 2-4, could not boast of serving a particular city, and therefore one has to look for a different meaning of PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*ta* in this context. The derivation suggested above offers the straightforward solution: besides /hudarli-/ 'to serve, to take care of' it is possible to assume the existence of /hudarlā-/ 'to make subservient, to subdue, to conquer'. It is the latter stem that probably underlies the aggressive iconography of the logogram PUGNUS.PUGNUS. The Hittite cognates of the reconstructed stative and factitive suffixes are -*(i)ye-* and -*ahh-*, respectively. The semantics of PUGNUS.PUGNUS in (8) may, in fact, be directly compared with that of the parallel Hittite denominative ARAD-*(n)ahh-* 'to subdue'.

(8)   KARATEPE 4 § 1, cf. Hawkins 2000:69
       REL-pa-wa/i "PORTA" ku-rú-pi-ia+ra/i(URBS) |PRAE-i |pi-ia-tà-na(URBS) **PUGNUS.PUGNUS-ta**
       'He has indeed **conquered** the city Piyada up to the gates of the city Kurupiyara'.

The two occurrences of PUGNUS.PUGNUS in the SÜDBURG inscription of the last known Hittite king Suppiluliyama II dramatically confirm the coexistence of the stative and the factitive stems. The subject of (9) must be the king himself, while the subject of (10) is his defeated and surrendered enemy. The assumption that we are dealing with separate verbs in each of the two cases makes it possible to arrive for the first time at the coherent understanding of the passage describing the campaign of Suppiluliyama II against the country MONS.IUDEX?.QUINQUE.

(9)   SÜDBURG, § 8, Hawkins 1995:22
       MONS.IUDEX?.QUINQUE 416-wa/i-ní INFRA á-ka **PUGNUS.PUGNUS**
       '(I) subjugated and **subdued** the enemy forces[8] of MONS.IUDEX?.QUINQUE'.

(10)   SÜDBURG, § 11, Hawkins 1995:22
       CAPUT.VIR MONS.IUDEX?.QUINQUE zi/a-la HATTI **PUGNUS.PUGNUS**
       'From now on, the prince of MONS.IUDEX?.QUINQUE **will serve** Hatti'.

The additional occurrences of PUGNUS.PUGNUS in Iron Age texts can be discussed only briefly. An indirect confirmation of relationship between stems hidden under SERVUS and PUGNUS.PUGNUS comes from the co-occurrence of both logograms in HISARCIK 1 § 5. The approximate translation of this sentence may be "I assign? your superior? KURATIS servant (SERVUS-*172-na*) to scribal service (PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la*)". ÇIFTLIK § 11 is not completely preserved, but one can suggest the translation

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8. For /aliwanní(t)-/ 'enemy forces' as abstract noun of /aliwan(ni)-/ see Yakubovich 2008.

"Let Tuwati ... take care of (PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*tu-u*) all the gods" for the better understood fragment. The formula occurring at the beginning of the ASSUR letters (a § 2, b § 2, d § 2), in the light of ÇAYAĞZI § 3 where Muwatali greets his lord Tuwati, can be understood as a general way of greeting both superiors and inferiors (Hawkins, pers. comm.) and can now be translated: "You take care (PUGNUS.PUGNUS-si) well" (cf. typologically the English imperative greeting "take care"). The only sentence containing PUGNUS.PUGNUS that remains completely opaque is ASSUR f+g § 6. The large number of *hapax legomena* renders any attempt to interpret it hopeless, and one can only say that PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*nu* must represent 2sg.impv. of a causative verb.

2.7. LOCUS-*319/172-t°* 'place'.

KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) § 23 assures the meaning of dat. pl. *á-pa-ta-za* |LOCUS-*la/i-ta-za-'*, which corresponds to Phoen. *b-mqmm hmt* 'in those places'. The form "LOCUS"-*la/i-ta-za* also corresponds to Phoen. *b-mqmm* in KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) § 33. The logogram L 201 "LOCUS/TERRA" is used not only in the meaning 'place', but also for the frequent word **taskwira-* 'land'. Therefore, even in those cases when the context is not sufficient to determine the meaning of forms containing this logogram, it is normally assumed that their semantics is local.

The available data are compatible with the hypothesis that all the forms beginning with LOCUS-*319/172-* are etymologically related to each other, but their precise morphological relationship deserves some discussion. There is no doubt that dat. sg. LOCUS-*la/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 23, A15b § 29, A 27e § 4, BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 11), LOCUS-*la/i-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 9), "LOCUS"-*lá/i-ti* (MARAŞ 7, side a), and LOCUS-*lá/i-ti-i* (BOHÇA 13) belong to the same word-form meaning 'place'. Likewise one can be reasonably sure that acc. sg. LOCUS-*la/i-ta-li-i-na* (MARAŞ 14 § 2), instr. LOCUS-*la/i-ta-la-ti-i* (MARAŞ 14 § 12), and probably LOCUS-*la/i-[t]a?-li[-x]* (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag.5a-b) reflect the -*alla/i-* derivative of the same dental stem meaning something like 'precinct'. The possessive form "DOMUS.LOCUS"-*tà-ta-la-si-[...]* (KAYSERİ § 2a) is surely derived from the last noun, but shows the rare use of *tà* instead of L 319 / L172, which occurs in late inscriptions (cf. 3.5 below). More problematic is the group of contexts illustrated by (11).

(11)   ADIYAMAN 1 § 3-5, Hawkins 2000:345
      za-pa-[wa/i] CAELUM *i+ra/i-ni-li-za-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*na* REL-*i-sa* MALUS-319-*ti* ARHA+MALLEUS
      ni-pa-wa/i-na a-tá ||(OCCIDENS)[*i-ma-ni-t*]*i ni-pa-wa/i-tá* **LOCUS-*la/i-za*** (SA₄)*sa-ni-ti*
      'One who maliciously effaces this IRNILI-ean Tarhunt, or IMANI'es it, or SANI'es it with respect to (its) place...'

Other examples illustrating LOCUS-*319/172-za* (with minor graphic variations) occurring in curse formulae with the predicate *san(na)i-* are KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 23, KARKAMIŠ A18e § 5, ANCOZ 7 § 12, BABYLON 1 §13, and MEHARDE § 7.[9] Hawkins (2000:100) leans toward the hypothesis that these forms represent plural datives. In our opinion, this analysis is rather unlikely. In (19) and several other loci, LOCUS-*319/172-za* occurs in the same clause with a singular direct object, which is not expected to have multiple places. In addition, the dat. pl. interpretation forces one to assume the existence of two separate stems with very similar meanings, LOCUS-*319/172-* and LOCUS-*319/172-t°-*. On the other hand, LOCUS-*319/172-za* must be taken on syntactic grounds as acc. sg. n. extended by the particle -*sa/-za* in a different group of contexts (KARKAMIŠ A31+ § 7, SULTANHAN § 43, AKSARAY § 7). We prefer, therefore, to follow Tischler (2004: 808), who takes all the forms of this shape as acc. sg. n.

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9. cf. also LOCUS-*za-'* occurring in the same context in KARKAMIŠ A11a § 23, 24.

The translation of LOCUS-*319/172-za* as 'with respect to its place' is strictly provisional, since the exact function of this accusative complement cannot be determined without knowing the precise meaning of the predicate *san(na)i-*.[10]

Other forms confirming the analysis of LOCUS-*(319/172)* as a dental stem are the distributive adverb LOCUS-*tá* LOCUS-*tá* 'everywhere' (KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) § 12) and the personal name [I]LOCUS-*la/i-ti-mu-wa/i-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 11). The first form is probably based on the nom. pl. n. of the *t*-stem under discussion, while the second one can be interpreted as the exocentric compound "having might in his place (vel sim.)". The only form for which the existence of a different base without the *t*-extension needs to be postulated is LOCUS-*319/172-wa/i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A 2+3 § 12, TELL AHMAR 6 § 31). Unfortunately, this noun, occurring in a curse formula, remains semantically opaque (Hawkins 2006a:30).

The most promising piece of evidence for the phonetic reconstruction of our stem is the collocation (LOCUS)*pa-tà-za za-ia* (ÇİNEKÖY § 10, cf. Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000:970).[11] The corresponding passage of the Phoenician version of the ÇİNEKÖY inscription is mutilated, but one can still read *BMQ*[M ...] 'in the place(s)' (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000:994, line 13). Since L 319 / L172 can occasionally alternate with *tà* in late inscriptions (as in "DOMUS.LOCUS"-*tà-ta-la-si-*[...] cited above), one can take *pa-tà-za* as an orthographic variant of **pa-319/172-za*. The ending of this form causes more difficulties. The syntax of ÇİNEKÖY § 10 requires one to interpret *pa-tà-za* as nom. pl. n. agreeing with *za-ia* 'these', but one should rather expect that the reconstructed *t*-stem would form nom. pl. n. **pa-tà-ta*. In order to account for the form under consideration, it is necessary to assume that the nominative singular form *pa-tà-za* was reinterpreted as a plural formation.[12] This reinterpretation would be particularly likely if the native language of the designer of the ÇİNEKÖY bilingual were Phoenician rather than Luwian. One must, however, recognize that the independent collation of the ÇİNEKÖY inscription is required in order to arrive at the definite reading of this passage.[13]

Since Luwian neuter stems ending in a simple dental/alveolar stop are extended with -*sa* and not -*za* in nom./acc. sg., the Luwian word for 'place' must represent an -*nt*- stem (the hieroglyphic orthography

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10. Pace Starke (1980:80 with fn. 28), not all of the occurrences of Luw. *sann(a)i-* suggest the meaning 'to overturn', as opposed to 'to hide, remove'. Thus one can translate |**a-mu-pa-wa/i za-a-zi* |DEUS-*ni-zi-i* |(SA₄)*sá-na-i-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A1a § 4) as '(Hatanima smote Tarhunt of (I)smerga), but these gods concealed me', while |*za-wa/i-ta-a* ("STELE")*wa/i-ni*(A)-*za-i* |*z*[*i-i*]-*na* LOCUS-*lá/i-ta-la-ti-i* ("SA₄")*sa-ni-wa/i-i* (MARAŞ 14 § 12) can be understood as 'I will remove this stele from this location'. Consequently, we would like to withhold the final judgement about the meaning of this lexeme before additional transparent contexts become available.

11. The transliteration *piₓ-tà-za* adopted in the *editio princeps* of the ÇİNEKÖY inscription appears to be based solely on etymological considerations, which are in addition not fully justified. Luw. **/padda-/* would represent the legitimate reflex of IE. **/pédo-/*, cf. Melchert 1994:244. Pace Hawkins (2000:105) and the sources he quotes, the verbal stem (LOCUS)*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-* (of uncertain meaning) cannot represent a compound with the reflex of IE. **/pédo-/* as its first component because the signs <ta> and <tà> never alternate in the same root.

12. Starke (1990: 47) argued on the basis of a group of cuneiform passages that the Luwian nominal forms in -*anza* must be analyzed as nom./acc. pl. n. It is significant, however, that all of his examples feature forms in -*anza* attached to possessive adjectives. Consequently, they can be analyzed as the combination of the element -*(a)nz-* marking the plurality of the possessor (for which see Melchert 2000) and the regular nom./acc. pl. n. ending -*a*. On the other hand, Starke disregarded the overwhelming evidence of Luwian hieroglyphic texts that pleads for taking the nominal forms in -*a(n)za* as singular.

13. Another piece of evidence that could be adduced in order to determine the phonetic shape of LOCUS-*319/172* is of dubious value. Example (11) above can be compared with the very similar formula BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 10-12, which contains *á-là/i-za* instead of LOCUS-*là/i-za*. In this case, however, one must suspect that *á-là/i-za* represents a scribal error for the expected LOCUS-*là/i-za*, because the graphic sequence *á-là/i* occurs earlier in the same sentence, and several more times in the inscription under discussion.

does not reflect the syllable-final -*n*-). The reconstruction of the Luwian stem *paddant-* 'place' finds confirmation in the existence of its cognate *pddānt-* 'place' in the closely related Lycian language, as already seen in Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1975:130, fn. 21. Furthermore, Lyc. *pddēn-* 'place, precinct', related to these forms at the root level, probably represent the lexical cognate of Luw. LOCUS-*319/172-wa/i-za* < **paddawan-za*. Both stems are formed from the cognate of the nominal base attested in Hittite as *pēda-* 'place', with the "individualizing" suffix -*ant-* and the possessive suffix -*wan(ni)-*, respectively. The lexical correspondence between two independent stems formed from the same root in Luwian and Lycian fully vindicates the tentative reading of this root emerging from the ÇINEKÖY bilingual.

The suggested reading is obviously more compatible with the traditional values L 319 = *ta₄*; L 172 = *ta₅* than with their new lateral interpretation. If one accepts the lateral hypothesis on independent grounds, one might postulate the special phonetic development of Luw. /dd/ in **paddant-* and **paddawan-*, derived from the application of Čop's Law to the earlier **pedant-* and **pedawan-* (cf. Melchert 1994:253). When the etymological plain voiceless stops were in process of being reinterpreted as *lenis* in Luwian, the voiced geminate /dd/, still preserved in a more archaic dialect, may have been borrowed as /l/ into its more innovative counterpart. For the possible adaptation of foreign *fortis* stops as /l/ in Luwian, cf. Luw. *La-tà-pa-nu* rendering the Akkadian personal name *Dādī-Bānu* (Melchert 2003:181, fn. 13 with ref.). Unfortunately, we cannot say when the postulated dialectal borrowing has taken place because the transliteration LOCUS-*319/172-* came about relatively late. The KARAHÖYÜK inscription of the late second millennium BCE shows the spelling LOCUS-*tá* LOCUS-*tá*, which may stand for /paddanta paddanta/ as well as /palanta palanta/. One of the earliest incriptions containing the sequence LOCUS-*319/172* is probably KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, carved about 900 BCE. This is the *terminus ante quem* for the proposed irregular sound change in the lexemes under discussion.

2.8 Synthesis.
The words for 'evil' and 'name' discussed in 2.1-2.2 support the lateral hypothesis both etymologically and through synchronic alternations. The analysis of the divine name Ala-Kubaba in 2.3 offers the etymological support for the new reading of L 172, while the new reading of L 319 allows to combine several words for 'enemy' into one lemma in 2.4. In all these instances, the new gains come at zero price. In 2.5 and 2.6, the application of the lateral hypothesis allows us to establish the readings of several related lexemes, which previously defied phonetic interpretation. In these two cases, however, one faces complications. In 2.5 one has to give up attempts to derive the syllabic value of L 387 <mí> from its known logographic value (KARATEPE (Ho.) § 51), while in 2.6 one has to accept that the sign PUGNUS.PUGNUS was misspelled as *tà-tà* in one of the versions of the KARATEPE inscription. Finally, in 2.7 the new readings bring no tangible benefits, but force us to accept an interdialectal borrowing that is not supported through independent evidence. The pros and cons of our analysis are summarized in the table below.

TABLE 2

MALUS-*319/172/la-* ~ CLuw. *adduwal(i)-*	
á-172/319/la-ma- ~ Lyc. *alāma*	
(FEMINA) *á-172-* ~ Hitt. [dLI]*Ala*	
*a-319-ni- = **a-319-lu/a/i-ni-*	
SERVUS-*319/172-* ~ CLuw. *hutarla/i-*	Unreliable spelling L 387 = SERVUS = <mí> (1x)
PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*(319)-* = **/hutarli-/*	Aberrant spelling PUGNUS.PUGNUS = *tà-tà* (1x)
	LOCUS-*319/172-t°* ~ Lyc. *pddānt-*

Thus the final score is 4:2:1 in favor of the lateral values. This result is positive in itself, but perhaps not inspiring full confidence. At this point, however, one should remember that the new readings of L 319 and L 172 came about as an attempt to make the value of these signs compatible with those of their antecedents in the Empire Period. In other words, as long as the comparisons of Hawkins summarized in Table 1 are valid, the lateral hypothesis remains the preferable solution also for the Iron Age period, and the burden of proof rests with those who would like to defend the traditional values <ta/i₄> and <ta/i₅>. The data in Table 2 certainly do not contribute to the proof of the traditional theory.

A significant distributional result emerging from Table 2 is that all the lexemes frequently written with L 319 / L 172 either begin with the *a*-vowel, or show the relevant signs after a logogram. These are precisely the forms where L 416 = <ali> and L 172 = <ala> would not be redundant in the Empire period. At the same time, the scenario for their reinterpretation is easily available. The position after a logogram is in principle compatible with both the Bronze Age and the Iron Age readings of our signs, which would simply yield longer or shorter phonetic complements. On the other hand, some words beginning with *a-* might have been spelled with word-initial L 416 / L 172 in the second millennium B.C.E (e.g. **172-ma-* 'name'). After the phonetic or graphic aphaeresis was implemented in Iron Age Luwian, such spellings could have been anachronistically reanalyzed as instances of aphaeresis, and this possibly triggered the subsequent restoration of the initial *a-*.

3. RARE WORDS

Below we discuss rare words containing L 319 / L 172, as well as those cases where the relevant signs were secondarily introduced by the very end of the Luwian hieroglyphic tradition. The significance of these examples for establishing the prototypical values of L 319 and L 172 in Bronze Age Luwian and early Iron Age Luwian is relatively small. They are, however, important for tracing the development of Luwian phonology and the evolution of hieroglyphic conventions in the 9th and the 8th centuries BCE. In addition, the application of the new sign values established on independent grounds is conducive to new lexical recognitions in a number of cases.

3.1. Value **/IV/*.
The most easily recognizable piece within this group is the personal name [I]*á-lá/i-*|FRATER.*LA-sá* (KARKAMIŠ A18j § 1).[14] The first component of this name may be read *ali-* 'high', in which case it is identical to the first components of Ali-mutta and similar Bronze Age names discussed in Section 1. Alternatively, its first component may be *ala-*, in which case it remains unclear whether it conveys a reference to the goddess Ala, or to the same adjective 'high' without *i*-mutation. In any event, the Luwian names beginning with *ala-* are well known (Laroche 1966, # 24, 28-30). Unfortunately, neither of the two elements is otherwise attested in a compound with the word for 'brother', and so one cannot make a choice between these two options at the present time.

Another very suggestive example is the divine name (DEUS)*462+ra/i-172* accompanying the image of the Stag-god on the archaic relief MALATYA 5. Although the basic value of L 462 was <ma_x>, the

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14. The sign <la> (L 175) always accompanies the logogram L 45 used in the meaning FRATER 'brother'. Contrary to current practice, we suggest interpreting it not as a part of the phonetic complement, but rather as a phonetic indicator. This allows us to reconstruct the standard thematic declension with *i*-mutation on the basis of various inflectional forms of the word for brother cited in Hawkins 2000:237 (e.g. nom. sg. FRATER.LA-*is*, dat. sg. FRATER.LA-*ni*, nom. pl. FRATER.LA-*i-zi*). Under the traditional interpretation, these forms resisted unification into a single paradigm. The functional reason for using the phonetic indicator in this case was the necessity of disambiguating between words for 'brother' and 'son / child'.

convergence between L 462 and L 463 in the Iron Age period appears to justify the hypothesis that in this case it serves as the logogram for the Stag-god of the Field, which is the normal function of L 463 in the Bronze Age period (cf. Hawkins 2004:364, 367). If this is correct, then the theonym under consideration can be transcribed (DEUS)*IMRA₂+ra/i-lá/í* and read /imralli-/, a productive derivative of Luw. *im(ma)ra-* 'field' (Melchert 1993:89).

Hawkins (2000:453) takes *zi-sa₆-172* in TOPADA § 11 as a 3sg. pret. verbal form. This reading, however, appears to be epigraphically impossible, since *sa₆* is placed below and to left with respect to the sequence *zi-172*. We suggest that the sentence in question must be read *a-wa-sa₆ II-sú zi-lá/í* 'And then he (appeared) twice (again)', where *zi-172* represents a variant of *zi-la* 'subsequently'. This interpretation yields a natural, though not the most straightforward order of signs, and fits well the general context of the passage. Presumably, TOPADA § 11 refers to the repeated attacks of the Parzutean forces against the army of Great King Wasusarma.

Beyond this, our examples become more conjectural, since their meaning cannot be synchronically proven and they lack assured lexical cognates. Thus we take the sequence *á-lá/í-mi-sa-sa* as the free-standing genitive of the neuter noun *alamis* 'haughtiness, arrogance' derived from *ala/i-* 'high'. For its derivational model, one can compare Luw. *sarlamis* 'exaltation' related to *sarla/i-* 'superior' (Melchert 1993:191). While the noun *alamis* is not independently attested, the suggested analysis yields an excellent sense in the following passage.

(12) ASSUR c § 2-4, Hawkins 2000:535
|á-pi-wa/i-za |ha-tu-ra+a |**á-lá/í-mi-sa-sa**-ha-wa/i+ra/i |u-zuᵓ-za||-wa/i-ma-za |ha-tu-ra+a
'Is it for us again to write? You (sg.) are **arrogant**! It is for you (pl.) to write!'

Although the logogram in [TERRA]-*la/i-lá/í* (KARKAMIŠ A 31+ § 6) is now lost, it is clearly visible on the hand copy of KARKAMIŠ A 31 made by George Smith in March 1876 (Hawkins 2000: 142). The likely collective form */walila/ hidden behind this sequence should be considered together with the reflexes of Luw. *ulili-* / *walila/i-* / *walilita-* 'land, field' discussed in Hawkins 2000:59 (sub § 5, 23). Although the other occurrences of this family of words in hieroglypic texts are accomanied by the complex logogram TERRA+*LA*+*LA*, a simplified spelling need not be excluded in our case.

The stem *á-ia-lá/í-* occurs in three passages, TELL AHMAR 1 § 2, TELL AHMAR 2 § 2, and TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, all emanating from the same principality. The position of the *ia* sign in this lexeme, somewhat unclear in the first two texts, has been confirmed through the recent discovery of TELL AHMAR 6. The contexts in which *á-ia-lá/í-* appears are all very similar to each other and can be illustrated through (13).

(13) TELL AHMAR 1 § 2-4, Hawkins 2000:240
wa/i-mu-ᵓ |**á-ia-lá/i-na** |INFANS(-)ni-wa/i-ra+a-282 |"CAELUM"-si-i-sa || (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-sa …
(LITUUS)á-za-ta wa/i-mu-ᵓ |á-ma-za |tá-ti-ia-za |("LIGNUM<">)||s[à-la-h]a-za |pi-ia-t[a]
'Celestial Tarhunt (*and the other gods*) loved me, the **first-born** child, and they gave me my paternal power".'

In each of the three contexts, the rulers appear to stress the legitimacy of their succession. The meaning 'first-born', compatible with these contexts, is tentatively assigned to *á-ia-lá/í-* primarily on etymological grounds. Its likely cognates are Luw. *ayawala* 'equal', Hitt. /aᵓant-/ (*a-a-an-t°*) 'equal, identical', and, most significantly, Hitt. *ānki* 'once' (Goedegebuure 2002:67, 2006:165). All these forms, in our opinion, are ultimately derived from IE. *oi-* 'one'. Although Rieken (2005) argued that *-y-* disappears in the history of Luwian between the identical vowels, this sound law is sometimes violated

at the morpheme boundary. In our case, the development /ayalli-/ > /aᵓalli-/ > **/ālli/ would have led to the complete obliteration of the root morpheme. Therefore, one can hypothesize that the vocalic contraction in these forms was not implemented.

3.2. Value */rV/.

The significance of the alternation between "LONGUS"-*lá/i-ia* 'long' (KARATEPE (Hu) § 51) and ("LONGUS")*a+ra/i-ia* in the Ho. version of the same passage has been already noted (Melchert 2003: 179, fn. 10). Although CLuw. *ārray(a)-* 'long' strongly suggests the reconstruction of the sequence */rra/ in this lexeme, as long as this remains the only example illustrating the use of L 172 / L 319 for etymological */rV/, one can speculate that "LONGUS"-*lá/i-ia* stands for a derived formation (cf. Hawkins 2000: 65). In what follows, however, we are going to adduce additional examples that illustrate original *r* spelled with L 172 / L 319.

The TOPADA inscription offers combinatory evidence for the use of L 319 for etymological */ru/. The two examples quoted below receive a satisfactory interpretation if we assume that they feature focalized adverbial forms derived from the adjective *aru-* 'high'. The cognate adverb occurs in Hittite as a part of the irreversible collocation *aru-suwaru* 'highly and mightily (vel sim.)' (KUB 33.106 iii 33), while the similar adjectival collocation *arus suwaru*[s] is attested in Palaic (KBo 19.155 5).

(14) TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 2a § iv, Hawkins 2000:370
|**á-lá/i**-ha-wa/i-mu |wa/i+ra/i-la-za |(BONUS)sa-na-wa/i-sa i-zi-i-tà (DEUS)PES₂-sa REX-ti-i-sa
'And Ea the King manifested his own goodness to me **in high measure**".'

(15) TOPADA § 32, Hawkins 2000:454.
á-la/i-ha-wa/i-mu wa/i+ra/i-lí-na MAGNUS+ra/i-zi/a-na *273+RA/I.*200-na […]-ti
'And he (Tarhunt) will [manifest] his own greatest power? to me **in high measure²**.'

The reading /aru/ in (14) and (15) would remain very conjectural were it not for the direct alternation between *á-ru* and *á-la/i* in the parallel contexts (16) and (17). This variation is reminiscent of the similar variation in the word for 'enemy': *la/i-ní-zi-ᵓ* in TELL AHMAR 6 § 5 vs. *á-ru-ni-í-zi* in SULTANHAN § 9 (cf. the discussion in 2.4). The full meaning of (16) and (17) unfortunately cannot be reconstructed, but since clause (15) comes immediately after (16) and immediately before (17) in the TOPADA inscription, in all likelihood we are dealing with the same adverb *aru* 'in high measure' in all the three clauses. Perhaps, (16) and (17) contain the reciprocal vows of Great King Wasusarma to the gods, whose favorable disposition toward him is predicted in (15).

(16) TOPADA § 31, Hawkins 2000:454
wa/i₅-mí-i **á-ru**ⁱ (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-na (DEUS)SARMA-ma-na (DEUS)*198-na (DEUS)BOS.*206.PANIS-na á-ru-na POST+ra/i-taₓ CAPERE.ARGENTUM-‹x›-sà-wa/i₅
'I will … Tarhunt, Sarma, god X, and god Y **in high measure**'.

(17) TOPADA § 33, Hawkins 2000:454
wa/i-mi **á-la/i** (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-na (DEUS)SARMA-ma-na [... ||
'[I will] … Tarhunt, Sarma, [god X, and god Y] **in high measure**'.

Another piece of combinatory evidence supports the use of L 319 for the etymological */ri/. PUGNUS-*ri+i-172-wa/i* 'I will raise' (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 20) contrasts with the usual spelling of the

same stem as PUGNUS-*ri+i-*. The underlying Luwian verb *ari(ya)-* 'to raise' is well attested in cuneiform transmission. Hawkins (1981:155) circumvents this issue by assigning the sign L 172 to the preceding prefix SUPER+*ra/i-a* 'up'. This deviation from the most natural order of signs does not seem necessary. We have seen in 2.4. that the redundant spellings of the /r/ sound are attested elsewhere in Luwian, and so one can hypothesize that the scribe of KARKAMIŠ A6 decided to resort to two alternative ways of rendering the syllable *-ri-* and wrote PUGNUS-*ri+i-^(lá/i)-wa/i* for /ariwi/.

The passages quoted below address the favors bestowed by Yarri, regent of Carchemish, upon Kamani, a young ruler under his protection (18), and his brothers (19). The sequence INFANS.*NI* is normally used as the logogram for 'son' or 'child', but in this context we must be dealing with something else than a kinship term, because Yarri refers to Kamani as 'my lord's son' (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 8).[15] We suggest that *ara/i-la-lá-172-la-* is to be read *aralla/i-* and that its original meaning was 'companion' (cf. Hitt. *ara-* 'colleague, associate' and *aral(l)ai-* 'to associate, join'). At the court of Carchemish, *aralla/i-* may have become an official rank reserved for the ruler's closest associates (one can think of Macedonian *hetairoi* or Late Roman *comites* as semantic parallels). As a speculation, we would like to suggest that Hitt./Luw. *aralla/i-* could be hidden behind the Sumerographic title for palace attendants DUMU.É.GAL and its hieroglyphic equivalent MAGNUS.DOMUS.INFANS (lit. "child of the palace") in the Empire period, hence the use of the determinative INFANS.*NI* in (19).

(18)   KARKAMIŠ A6 § 19, Hawkins 2000:125
        |wa/i-ná **ara/i-la-´** ("3")tara/i-su-u "4"-su-u |("MANUS")pa+ra/i-si ("CRUS")ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i
        'I will promote (lit. "establish") him to **aralla/i-** three times, four times'.

(19)   KARKAMIŠ A15b §§ 15-16, Hawkins 2000:131
        POST+ra/i-zi-pa-wa/i-tú |FRATER.*LA*-zi-i MAGNUS+ra/i-nu-ha |wa/i-ta |(**"INFANS.NI"**)**á-lá/i-la-za**
        |a-ta sa-sa-ha
        'I elevated his younger brothers. I admitted (lit. "threw") them to **aralla/i-'s**'.

The sequence *á-lá/í* in the ASSUR letters (e §§ 15, 17; f § 14) can be formally compared with Hitt. *āra* 'right'. This identification yields a good sense for sentences where it occurs (cf. the example below), but is not conducive to their pragmatic interpretation. This is not necessarily the problem of our analysis, since the immediate context of the relevant passages remains largely obscure. Nevertheless, pending further progress in the interpretation of the ASSUR letters, our suggestion must remain provisional.

(20)   ASSUR e §§ 15-17, Hawkins 2000:536
        | **á-lá/i**-wa/i-za |REL-sà-ha |a-sa-ti |NEG₂-wa/i-ma-za-´ [|²]u-zuʾ-za | **á-lá/i**-ha-wa/i-ma-za |u-zuʾ-za
        'One who is right for us, is (he/she) not also (right) for you? (He/she) is also right for you!'

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15. Pursuing the hypothesis suggested as an alternative in Hawkins 2000:148, we advocate the existence of the optional phonetic indicator *NI* (rarely *Nì*), accompanying the sign L 45 used in the meaning 'son' or 'child'. The origin of this indicator ís the first syllable of words *nimuwizza-* 'son' and *niwaran(n)i-* 'child' attested in the phonetic spelling in the Iron Age Luwian corpus. The functional reason for using this phonetic indicator in abbreviated spellings was the disambiguation between the words for 'brother' and 'child/son' expressed by the identical logograms. Besides explaining forms like INFANS.*NI-za-sa* as a graphic, and not phonetic abbreviation, this new reading eliminates the necessity of positing the extra stem INFANS-*nini-*, whose existence was tentatively proposed in Hawkins 2000:128. KARKAMIŠ A6 § 30 instr. INFANS.*NI-na-ti-i* and similar spellings may simply reflect the familiar word *niwarann(i)-* 'child'.

3.3. Value */da/.

There are seven instances of the sporadic use of L 172 for rendering syllables beginning with etymological dental stops (it is remarkable that L 319 is never used in a parallel fashion). Most of the examples cited below are already listed in Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1975:130-131 and it is fair to say that they constituted the principal justification for the transliteration <ta₄>/<ta₅> adopted in their subsequent publications.

TABLE 3

A	KARKAMIŠ A6 § 4	wa/i-ma-lá/i	(clitic complex)
B	KARKAMIŠ A6 § 11	("PES₂+PES")tara/i-pa-lá/i	'he tramped''
C	KARKAMIŠ A 15b § 12	("PES")pa-lá/í-´	'at (her) foot'
D	KARKAMIŠ A 15b § 21	("VIA")ha+ra/i-wa/i-ta-hi-lá/i-ti-i	'through travel'
E	KARATEPE (Hu.) § 49	sa-pi-sá-lá/í-ri+i	'with health'
F	KARATEPE (Hu.) § 67	i-zi-lá/i	'he made'
G	MARAŞ 3 § 4	EDEREʾ-lá/í-ti-wa/i-li-na	'fat (acc. sg.)'

Example (A) contains the clitic pronoun */=ada/ 'it', which is spelled in the next sentence as *-(w)a/i+ra/i*. In (B) and (F), we are dealing with the lenited forms of 3sg. pret. ending */-ta/ ~ */-da/, otherwise always spelled with <tà> (Rieken 2008). The usual hieroglyphic spelling of the Luwian stem for 'foot' (C) is *pa-tà-*, and the etymological **d* in this word is further vindicated through CLuw. *pāda-* 'id.' (Melchert 1993: 173) and the rhotacism in ("PES")*pa+ra/i-* (SULTANHAN § 9). The stem of (D) must be analysed as an abstract form in /-ahid-/ ultimately derived from *harwa-* 'path'. The spelling *sa-pi-sá-lá/i-ri+i* in (E) contrasts with the variant *sá-pi-sa-ara/i-ri+i* in the Ho. version of the same passage, while the form /sapisura/ occurring in the greeting formula of the ASSUR letters must represent a cognate of this noun. Hawkins (2000:65) is no doubt correct in his analysis of the two formations as derivatives in */-ada-/ and */-u(wa)r/ from the basic stem **sapis-*. The adjective (G) is used as an epithet of sheep and its variant *ara/i-ti-wa/i-li-na* appears in a parallel context in MARAŞ 5 § 1. Hawkins (2000:270) plausibly reconstructs this stem as */adantiwali/, a derivative of Luw. *ad-* 'eat' (Melchert 1993:39).

What appears to have been ignored in previous scholarship is the late character of the forms under consideration. The inscriptions KARKAMIŠ A6 and KARKAMIŠ A15b belong to the regent Yarri, whose activity must be dated to the late 9th or the early 8th century B.C.E (Hawkins 2000: 78). As for the KARATEPE bilingual, individual scholars determine the date of its execution slightly differently, but it appears to fall in the interval between the mid-8ᵗʰ century (Lipiński 2004:116-119) and the early 7ᵗʰ century (Hawkins 2000:45). There are no historical clues to the date of MARAŞ 3, but (Hawkins (2000:268) tentatively assigns it to the 8th century. In those cases where we have enough data to judge, the sign <tà> was used instead of L 172 for the same morphemes in the earlier period. Futhermore, none of the lexemes discussed above is spelled with L 172 more than once. It follows that the spellings addressed in this section reflect the experiments of scribes that were active in individual Luwian principalities toward the end of their existence. As such, they should be distinguished from the use of LOCUS-*319/172-* for */paddant-/ and */paddawan-/, which represented a common practice in the Luwian epigraphic community in the first millennium BCE.

3.4. Unclear value.

The etymology of the items listed below is unknown, and consequently they are useless for our analysis. We are listing them merely for the sake of the complete representation of data and in hope that some of them may be explained in the future. Thus, the connection of the toponym *wa/i-319-sà-ti-ni-* and *pa-319-sà-ti-ni-* with the Philistines of the Biblical tradition is explored by the honorand of this volume.

a) *Complete words:*

TABLE 4

(X) á-172 (KARKAMIŠ A15b §5)	Unclear
nom. á-lá/í-ia-za-sá (MALPINAR §1) nom. ⌈á⌉-lá/í-ia-za-sa (MALPINAR §18) dat. sg. poss. adj. ˡá-lá/í-ia-za-sa-na 　　　　　(MALPINAR §5, 26)	Personal name
(CAPUT) á-lá/í-ti-na	Unclear; order of signs uncertain
acc. sg. sá-pa-la/i-li-na (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §5) dat. sg. sá-pa-la/i-li-ia (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §5)	Adjective modifying 'city'
wa/i-la/i-sà-ti-ni-za-sa(REGIO) (MEHARDE §2) wa/i-la/i-sà-ti-[ni-s]i(REGIO) (SHEIZAR §1) wa/i-la/i-sà-ti-ni-⌈za-sa⌉ (REGIO) 　　　(TELL TAYINAT 1, frag 3-5, l. 1) pa-lá/í-sà-ti-ni-za-sa (ALEPPO temple inscription)	Possessive forms derived from a Syrian toponym
x-la/i-za-sa(URBS) (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §5) ⌈x⌉-la/i-za-sa(URBS) (MALPINAR §1)	Adjective derived from a city name

b) *(Possibly) fragmentary forms:*

　　[...]ha-li(-)la/i[...] (JISR EL HADID frag. 2 1.3), "FRONS"-su°-lá/í°[...], (KARKAMIŠ A15b §28), [...]wa/i-lá/í-zi-sa (KULULU 8 §1), [...]zi-lá/í (KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3 §12).

3.5. Phonetic interpretation.

We have seen that, in addition to the expected */lV/, the signs L 319 / L 172 can be also used for original */rV/ and */da/ in Iron Age Luwian. The forms that provide the relevant evidence form into two main groups: those belonging to lexemes with low textual frequency, the orthography of which was probably never fixed, and those representing deviations from the earlier scribal tradition. What unites these two groups is the observation that in none of them we are likely to be dealing with the pressure of historical spelling. It follows that these forms are particularly relevant for discussing the phonetic and phonological changes in Luwian in the first millennium BCE.

Morpurgo-Davies (1982/1983) described the phenomenon that she labeled "rhotacism", namely the change of voiced/lenis dental stop into a rhotic sound in Iron Age Luwian. Although she tentatively viewed this development as very late, subsequent philological work has revealed its traces in the texts written before 950 BCE (Melchert 2003:172). A related, although less studied phenomenon is the development /l/>/r/, which can be illustrated through such examples as *wa-la-* (KARKAMIŠ A23 §9) vs. *wa/i+ra/i-* (KULULU 2 §3) 'to die', *pa-la-sa-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §22) vs. *pa+ra/i-si* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §19) 'way', *ka-la/i/u-na-* (MARAŞ 8 §7) vs. *ka-ru-na-* (KARATEPE §7) 'granary'), MALLEUS-*la/i/u-* (KARKAMIŠ A14b §3) vs. MALLEUS-*x+ra/i-* (MARAŞ 8 §12) 'to erase', or *tu-ni-ka-la-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §22) vs. *tu-ni-ka-ra+a-* (ASSUR f+g §45) 'baker'. In rare cases, the development /n/>/r/ can likewise be observed (Melchert 2003:180).

From the phonetic point of view, it is easier to assume that the sounds /d/, /l/, (rarely) /n/, and /r/ collide into the flap [ɾ] rather than the trill [r]. Therefore, "flapping" would be a more specific

descriptive term than "rhotacism" for this type of sound change. Phonologically speaking, this change was a merger in some cases and a primary split in others. Thus there is no graphic indication that either /l/ or /n/ ever changed its articulation in word-initial position. Accordingly, the signs such as <la> or <na> preserved their etymological phonetic values, and this explains the lack of hypercorrect spellings <la>, or <na> for syllables beginning with other etymological consonants. By contrast, the phoneme /d/ either never occurred or was extremely rare in word-initial position in Luwian, and so the original syllabic value /da/ of the <tà> sign was probably no longer recoverable after the merger of /d/ and /r/. Consequently, we encounter cases where <tà> was hypercorrectly spelled for the etymological */la/, e.g. *zi-tà* (KARATEPE §31) and *za/i-tà* (TOPADA §23) written for /zila/ 'thereupon'.

The case of the signs L 319 and L 172 is similar to that of <tà>. If we recognize the cases of non-spelled /a-/ (see Melchert, this volume), L 319 and L 172 always occur in intervocalic position. This implies that all the lateral consonants hidden under these signs may have undergone flapping without exception, and so their original phonetic value <la/i> and <lá/í> was no longer synchronically retrievable. In those cases where the etymological spelling <la/i>/<lá/í> was preserved, it was due to the established graphic convention. By contrast, the instances where these signs were introduced secondarily show a nearly haphazard distribution between the original */lV/, */rV/, and */da/. What unites these three cases is that phonetically they were all realized as syllables beginning with the flap [ɾ] in late Luwian.

3.6. Practical implications.

How should one render signs such as L 319 / L 172 in transliteration? As argued in the previous section, the secondary etymological values of <la/i> and <lá/í> came into being as a result of sound changes that were gradually implemented in the first millennium Luwian. A close typological parallel to this development is the evolution of the syllabic *m*-series in the dialects of Akkadian. At some point in the second millennium BCE the Akkadian intervocalic -*m*- changed into -*w*-, while the word-initial *w*- disappeared. As a result, *m*- and -*w*- became allophones of the same phoneme, for the rendering of which Middle and Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian adopted the syllabic *m*-series with no regard to the etymology of particular lexemes (cf. von Soden 1995 § 21d and especially Militarev and Kogan 2000: LXXI-LXXII). For example, Old Babylonian *a-wi-lu-* 'man' came to be spelled *a-me/i-lu-* in Middle Babylonian, even though its pronunciation did not change.

It is significant for our purposes that the Assyriologists do not use a special transliteration for the *m*-series signs reflecting the synchronic and etymological /w/. Likewise, there is no reason for the scholars of Luwian to shy away from occasionally using <lá/í> for the syllable [ɾa] going back to etymological */da/. It is probably less clear how one should treat the secondary values for the origin of which we cannot fully account at the present time, such as the use of <la/i>/<lá/í> for synchronic [ɾu]. Yet, given the small number of the relevant examples, we prefer not to use them as a pretext for further complicating the transliteration. We hope that the refinement of Luwian historical phonology will eventually enable scholars to find a linguistic explanation for this orthographic development.[16]

The transition from the Bronze Age values <ali> and <ala> to the Iron Age values <la/i> and <lá/í> is another matter. Here the change is abrupt, its historical correlates are well definable, and reasons for it were apparently not linguistic. One can speculate that the political events of the 12th century BCE complicated the uninterrupted transmission of the scribal lore in Anatolia. A partial break in scribal

16.　C. Melchert (pers. comm.) turns our attention to the parallel case of the sign <tara/i> (L 389) apparently used for the synchronic value [taɾu] in *tara/i-sà* (İVRİZ 1 § 3) and *tara/i-sa* (NİĞDE 1), which both reflect the phonological /taru-sa/ 'statue' (cf. Hawkins 2000:518).

tradition could be conducive both to the confusion between individual signs and to conscientious attemps at re-specifying their readings. This would explain both the interchangeable character of L 319 and L 172 in the Iron Age period and their new values, consistent with the CV structure of the majority of the other syllabic signs. The development of the hieroglyphic script in the period after the collapse of the Hittite Empire is marked by a number of other formal innovations. These include new syllabic signs (notably L 210 = *ia* and L 277 = *za*), new shapes of the existing signs (e.g. L 416 > L 319), and a large number of new determinatives (Hawkins 2003:163). Therefore, differences in the transliteration of genetically related signs in the Empire and post-Empire periods appear to be justified.

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AFTER THE EMPIRE: OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLY IRON AGE IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA

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The sequence of events at the end of the Hittite Empire is still very little known. It seems clear, however, that the capital Hattusa was given up rather than being conquered and burnt down. The exodus of the ruling class – royalty and priesthood – deprived the city of its main functions and prompted a particularly rapid population drain. In the 12th century BCE new settlers appeared in the ruins of Hattusa, bearers of the Early Iron Age culture. Their handmade pottery shows close resemblance to survey finds in Çorum, Amasya and Samsun province, i.e. the area between Hattusa and the Black Sea coast. This is the area where the Kaska tribes lived and fought off Hittite occupation efforts. In view of the pottery parallels it seems reasonable to assume that the Early Iron Age settlers at Hattusa were descendants of these tribes. But it looks as if the Kaska did not always live in this northern area – they appear in cuneiform texts only after the Old Hittite period, a time when the Hittites still controlled the region. It is argued in this paper that the resemblance of the material culture of the Central Anatolian Early Iron Age with Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age cultural remains especially in northwest Anatolia may indicate the area from where the Kaska – or at least a substantial number of them – originated.

In his work on Hittite history and geography David Hawkins has focused repeatedly on the end of the Hittite Empire and the transition to the Iron Age. He has tried to cast some light on the 'Dark Age' (Hawkins 1994; Hawkins 2002). In this contribution I would like to shed that light a little further. With it I send my best wishes on his 70th birthday as well as my eager hope that he may have many more creative years ahead of him.

THE LATE PHASE OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE AND THE END OF THE CAPITAL

In the late 13th century BCE Hattusa probably no longer enjoyed a position as the unrivalled centre of power in Anatolia: "The dominance of Hattusa within the Hittite Empire and its larger sphere of influence could have been declining in relation to these three other power centres of the west, centre and east" (Hawkins 2002:151) – the power centres alluded to here are Arzawa-Mira, Tarhuntassa and Karkemish. This proposition is consistent with the observation that 16 of the 25 temples in the central temple district in the Upper Town were abandoned and partly used as a quarry already in the Hittite period (Neve 1999:146). The downfall of the city can be dated to the late 13th century BCE, contemporaneous with the weakening of the Hittite empire of the Great Kings of Hattusa.[1]

Exactly how the decline of the city of Hattusa is to be envisaged is of some importance to the topic of this contribution. In the course of past research the notion arose that Hattusa fell as a result of a catastrophic fire caused by an enemy attack (e.g. Bittel and Naumann 1952:27; Macqueen 1986:50-52;

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1. The assumption made by early excavators at Hattusa that the Hittite capital expanded suddenly and went through a monumental construction phase only in the middle and second half of the 13th century BCE does not stand up to critical scrutiny. As a matter of fact, the date of construction has been established neither for any sections of the city wall – except for the Old Hittite Postern Wall – nor for the various temples and palace buildings of Büyükkale. In fact there is growing evidence that many structures date from very much earlier (Seeher 2006:208-211; Seeher 2008).

Klengel 1999:312 ff). Various burnt ruins in the city were interpreted as evidence of such a conflagration and were initially supposed to be connected with the Egyptian tradition of raids by the Sea Peoples, to which Hatti was thought to have fallen victim too. While most researchers later came to accept that the Sea Peoples could not have mounted any attack so far inland in Anatolia, the notion of the destruction of Hattusa persisted – with the Phrygians now frequently being held responsible (Strobel 2005:195-196).

On closer analysis, however, it is clear that the excavated finds argue against the hypothesis of a catastrophe (in detail Seeher 2001; Bryce 2005:345-347): 1) There is no burnt 'horizon', only a certain number of burnt ruins the date of whose destruction is not established; 2) for the most part these burnt ruins contained no finds, which suggests that they burnt down only after they had lost their function and had been emptied of artefacts; 3) the emptying was presumably carried out by inhabitants of the city – after all, an enemy that is attacking a city does not go to the trouble of emptying buildings virtually down to the last pot before torching them; 4) the only buildings to have burnt are official ones – temples, palace buildings – while the residential districts remained unscathed; this too argues against an assault from outside.

From these findings the following scenario may be deduced. For reasons still unknown to us, before the end of the empire the decision was taken to relocate the residence of the ruling family and the sanctuaries outside the city; this had happened once before a few decades earlier under Muwatalli II (Singer 1998; Bryce 2007). This means that the city was deprived of its principal functions as the centre of political power, civic administration and religion. Along with the functions went the various functionaries – royal family, priests, bureaucrats – and sooner or later a large number of people dependent on those functions also departed, such as craftsmen, tradesmen, suppliers, etc. They took with them a large portion of the inventory from the buildings which had been in use and were thereupon abandoned. A residual population of unknown size remained in the city. These remaining inhabitants, trying to cope with the novel situation, stripped the abandoned buildings of everything (except for the unusable cuneiform tablet and clay bullae archives and the stationary pithoi). This process may have gone on for some time.

THE POWER IS GONE – ADJUSTMENT AND CHANGE OF LIFESTYLE

No enemy we know of could have supplanted the existing political system and taken control of the country. It is improbable, moreover, that the inhabitants of the Hittite heartland in Central Anatolia were systematically expelled, since evidently nobody needed the land. The population density certainly appears to have fallen off rapidly, but it is unlikely that the inhabitants of areas formerly under Hittite rule would have migrated as a whole. At least some of those who were not totally dependent on the old system for their livelihood would have held out in their ancestral homeland in spite of the altered circumstances: such as craftsmen whose skills were needed, or farmers who preferred to stay on their land rather than face an uncertain future as emigrants without any means of supporting themselves.

Nevertheless, it could well be the case that especially in the capital de-population proceeded particularly quickly. There is much to suggest today that the city, at least in the 13th century BCE, was indeed almost exclusively a religious and administrative centre. Decades of excavation activity have so far unearthed only few traces of economy (except for the communal storage of cereals), handicraft and trade in the city during the Empire Period. If no fairly substantial, as yet undiscovered settlements existed in the surrounding area – and a first survey has yielded scant evidence of such – then we will probably have to assume that the city as an organism was severely limited in its ability to function. It was kept alive by dependent and independent enterprises operating and producing in the vicinity of the city.

If this were the case, it would explain why the downfall was so radical in nature: it was here in Hattusa that the power that kept the state together was concentrated – the monarchy and the chief gods of the country, represented by their effigies and the priesthood. Both of these "institutions" were mobile and could be easily evacuated in case of need. Once this had actually happened, little remained in the city that could ensure economic vitality, dependent as this was on storage capacity, workshops, economic areas and trade routes. This would by necessity have soon led to the collapse of the infrastructure and to the more or less total depopulation of the city. This is consistent with the assertion of Glatz and Matthews (2005: 52) that "Cultic attachment to their capital city, home to a thousand gods, and its surrounding sacred landscape, appears to have kept the Hittites pinned down in a region open to attack from several sides, and especially from the north, the home of the Kaska." When the pressure became too great, "the balloon burst" and the city suddenly vanished from the map.

As already mentioned, however, this scenario applies to the capital city. In the rural areas surrounding the city and certainly in more remote parts of the country, by contrast, the situation may have been quite different. At the present time unfortunately we do not have the ability to date habitation layers with sufficient accuracy to provide a detailed picture. If a site in Central Anatolia yields material similar to the material found in the most recent layers in the capital, that is not evidence of contemporaneity – it could also be decades younger. The depth of focus of ceramic analysis is a long way from being able to make such differences visible.

ARRIVAL OF NEWCOMERS – THE IRON AGE BEGINS

In the 12th century BCE new settlers appeared in Hattusa, bearers of a totally different culture. We don't know if they were already present in the area of the capital when it lost its function, or indeed if they really were involved in the decline of the Hittite city. They might equally have not established themselves there until the city was already deserted. Searching for new settlement locations and agricultural land, they might have found their way there only after long migrations from their territory beyond the frontiers of the Hittite Empire. The repopulation of Hattusa might have begun after a hiatus of many years.

The new settlers did not come as well-organised colonists, but rather as occupants and squatters who filled the vacuum left by the disappearance of the Hittite power apparatus. They were simple farming communities who perhaps at that time possessed a subsistence model superior to that of the remaining Hittite population. While the latter were victims of the collapse of the infrastructure of the ancient capital since they had been strongly dependent on the city's function for their livelihood, different criteria altogether applied for the new settlers. They were self-sufficient and brought their own infrastructure with them in the form of the agrarian way of life with cattle and agriculture. They were attracted to the urban area for its natural features: there were water sources active all year round, there were ruins that were inhabitable and/or provided building materials, and there were fortifications behind which they could withdraw for protection should there ever be a need for it.

THE BÜYÜKKAYA SETTLEMENT

The first and thus far only habitation layers from the Early Iron Age settlement in the Hattusa urban area have been found on the high ridge of Büyükkaya (Seeher 1998:235-236; Genz 2004:7-10). The finds from the older phase are limited to numerous post-holes and some pits. In the middle phase several rectangular, fairly shallow pits measuring up to 8 x 5 m were dug here. They were frequently found to contain traces of wood, possibly the remains of revetments and/or supports for earth walls. The soil in some of these pits and in the surrounding area had a pronounced yellow colour, which indicates the long-term action of urine and excrement. Animals must have been kept in them – they were probably pigsties. In the most recent phase of the Early Iron Age, finally, the remains of a small building with quarry-stones as the base for walls have been unearthed; it was used as a smithy. In addition, the Iron Age layers are characterised by the presence of a number of mostly round pits – some small, some quite large – which is the most distinctive feature of Iron Age layers, not only in Hattusa, and certainly also evidence of a different food storage technique which was common among the new settlers and was retained for centuries.

It is known from scattered finds that the settlers began the occupancy of other parts of the urban area no later than the middle or latest phase of the Early Iron Age – potsherds from this period have been found in the Lower Town, on the ridge of Büyükkale, in the vicinity of the Nişantepe and in the valley at the foot of Sarıkale; the ruins of temple 7 even served as a habitation according to the testimony of Early Iron Age ceramic finds which were discovered on the Hittite floor of a cellar room (Parzinger-Sanz 1992:33).

H. Genz has presented the Early Iron Age pottery of the settlement at Büyükkaya in detail (Genz 2004:24-28). It displays obvious differences to Hittite pottery and originates from a discrete cultural tradition. A notable circumstance is that wheel-thrown ware makes up 31% of the pottery in the older phase, while in the two following phases the proportion drops to 8% and 4% respectively. Hittite traditions of shape and manufacture appear to have been imitated here, but the distinctly better-smoothed surfaces make it easy to distinguish it from Hittite wheel-thrown ware from the Empire Period, which is left with a rough texture. Unfortunately the older phase has only been investigated on an area of approximately 70 m². The number of finds is correspondingly low: the 121 rim sherds found here (= 7.4% of the total quantity of Early Iron Age sherds) can only give a first impression; they do not suffice to define the spectrum of the pottery in this phase. The middle phase by contrast has yielded 744 rim sherds and the younger phase 760, which represents a very much more solid basis (Genz 2004:25 tab.3-5).

A surprising discovery was that certain shapes and decorative elements of Early Iron Age pottery can be traced back to precursors from the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Seeher 1998:236-239; Genz 2004:37ff). There must therefore have been regions where the Hittite influence on the material culture was so slight that ancient traditions were able to survive for many centuries. Interestingly, this observation has been supplemented and confirmed by handmade ceramics from the horizon of the square-plan building in the valley below Sarıkale in the Upper City of Hattusa dating from ca. 1500 BCE (Seeher 2004:65). In this case, too, the Early Bronze Age form tradition is unmistakable (Fig. 1).
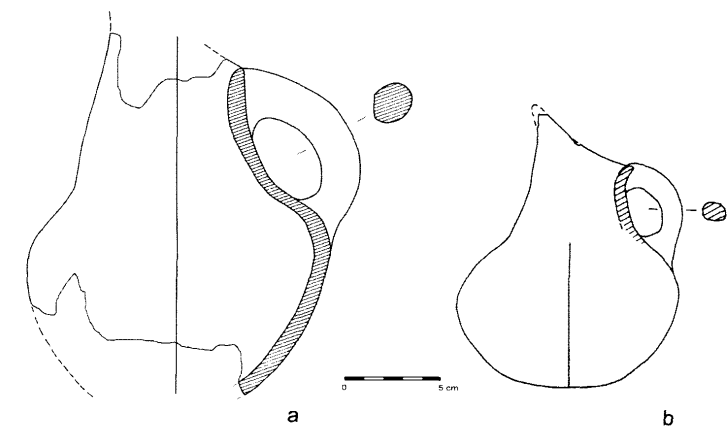

Fig. 1: a) Handmade pitcher, dark brown, found in a layer dating ca.1500 BCE in Square-plan Building 1 in the western Upper City in Hattusa; b) handmade pitcher from an EBA burial in the necropolis of Demircihüyük-Sarıket, dating ca. 2650-2450 BCE (after Seeher 2000: Fig. 42,G.352,a).

Pre-Hittite forms are evident among small finds, too (and at the same time there are distinct differences from the corresponding Hittite find-categories). Thus, for example, the Early and Middle Iron Age layers at Büyükkaya have yielded hundreds of spindle whorls. They are mostly globular or biconal and generally undecorated, but occasionally incised with simple lines. In the Early Bronze Age, spindle whorls of this type were numerous and widely diffused above all in Central and Western Anatolia. In the Middle Bronze Age and the Hittite Old Kingdom period they became much rarer, and more often were semi-rounded with a dent on the flat side.

WHAT REGION DID THE EARLY IRON AGE SETTLERS COME FROM?

Apart from Büyükkaya there are as yet no other sites within the crescent of the Halys river where layers from the Early Iron Age have been identified and investigated. The very distinctive pottery with facetted rims and red paint is known, however, from some old excavation sites (Genz 2004:27) and from survey sites in the western part of Amasya Province and the eastern part of Çorum Province as well as in the south of Samsun Province (Özsait and Özsait 2002; Özsait 2003).[2] The northernmost site at which this pottery has been discovered to date is Oymaağaç near Vezirköprü[3], barely 50 km from the Black Sea coast, while in the south the distribution reaches as far as Çadırhöyük in Yozgat Province (Genz 2001: Fig.1). But a distribution to the north-west is observable, too: in the Paphlagonia survey by R. Matthews in Çankırı Province a total of 19 Iron Age sites were localised; at seven of them sherds were found which are comparable to the Early Iron Age finds from Büyükkaya, including facetted rims and two red-painted sherds (personal information from R. Matthews).[4]

These parameters define a distribution area measuring at least 200 x 180 km in northern Anatolia (Fig. 2). It seems conceivable that the people who established an Early Iron Age settlement at Büyükkaya could have originated from this area. Hence the talk of "metal-working craftsmen from the Pontic Mountains" (Czichon, Flender and Klinger 2006:164). Moreover, the increase in the prevalence of pigs in the fauna at Büyükkaya from 2.4 to 5.4 percent between the Hittite period and the Early Iron Age has given rise to speculation as to whether the occupants may be identified with the "swineherds and weavers of linen" – as the Kaska are referred to in the Plague Prayers of Mursili II (Glatz and Matthews 2005:57). Both theories may be correct, but in my view it should be borne in mind that they are based on find contexts from a relatively small excavation area. The sample is not representative since it comes from a zone of activity which arose under particular conditions: the metal-working activities are presumably connected with the hilltop location, chosen to take advantage of the winds for the smelting process; and the concentration of pigs on the ridge, inferable from the pigsties, may be responsible for the heightened frequency of pig-bone finds – the slaughtering was done near the sties. Only if settlement excavations in Hattusa or its environs produce similar results are such generalisations admissible.

Nevertheless the question of whether it was indeed the Kaska who settled in the former Hittite capital in the Early Iron Age is a legitimate one. The distribution area of Early Iron Age pottery north of Hattusa almost as far as the Black Sea lies within the very region that was inhabited by the Kaska according to Hittite sources. J. Klinger (2002) recently demonstrated in detail that the texts in question contain no evidence of the presence of the Kaska in the northern part of Central Anatolia in the Old

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2. The assertion of Dönmez 2003:214 ff and 2005:68 that these finds date from the Middle and Late Iron Age is incomprehensible.
3. Illustration at http://www.nerik.de/publikation/artikel.php?artikelid=1&abschnitt=119, Bild 4.
4. These sherds are comparable to sherds from the middle and late phase of the Early Iron Age at Büyükkaya. However, in view of the small number of sherds recovered there in the early phase (121 sherds - see above) this dating is not really reliable – an earlier dating cannot be excluded.

Fig. 2: Map of West and Central Anatolia. Triangles mark find spots of Early Iron Age red painted pottery (after Genz 2003: Fig. 1, with additions); hatched area indicates extension of Paphlagonia survey by R. Matthews (cf. Mathews, this volume).

Hittite period, and that the Hittites still controlled the region at the time; only later was it lost to the Kaska.[5] They evidently were immigrants whose origins are obscure. After their seizure of the territory no fixed frontier came into existence, but rather a porous boundary across which there was frequent interaction between an "internal civilization", i.e. the Hittite state, and "external barbarians with divided and shifting loyalties" (in detail Zimansky 2007). Evidence of this is provided, for example, by the discovery of Hittite pottery at some 30 sites identified in the Paphlagonia survey: "[...] it is possible that such pottery was made or used by non-Hittite groups, including the Kaska". It must be stated, however, that these sites are all said to be large and fortified settlements – there are no small villages or hamlets among them (Glatz and Matthews 2005:59-60). This would actually suggest a Hittite presence in this disputed territory, which led to the dissemination of Hittite material culture there – especially in times of peace when trade and exchange between the ethnic groups was easier.

And precisely this could be an explanation for the relatively high percentage of wheel-thrown ware in the earliest Iron Age layers at Büyükkaya, which moreover imitates Hittite forms. I no longer believe that the high proportion of wheel-thrown ware in these layers is the work of Hittite pottery workshops

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5. A different possibility is pointed out by Singer 2007:176f. He reckons that the Kaska were actually remnants of the indigenous Hattian population of northern Central Anatolia which was pushed northward by the Hittites. Their absence in early Hittite texts is paralleled by the absence of written records on other local population groups in the Ancient Orient who suddenly rose on the historical horizon when the opportunity presented itself.

remaining in or near Hattusa, which modified their production for the newcomers in the early 12th century BCE, but disappeared soon afterwards owing to lack of interest (Seeher 1998:236). A much more satisfactory explanation is that this Early Iron Age wheel-thrown ware developed in the provinces at an earlier date, under the influence of Hittite models. For example in the 14th to 13th century BCE when, in areas lying to the north, Hittite pottery was known from imports and perhaps also from the products of Hittite workshops active in the locality – and was adapted to suit local tastes with the careful smoothing of surfaces. With the disappearance of Hittite pottery manufacture and the Hittite state, this ware quickly lost its attractiveness. The Early Iron Age immigrants to the Hattusa area still carried some of it in their packs, but production of the distinctive ware soon died out. The potter's wheel was forgotten and individually manufactured, 'home-made pottery' gained the upper hand once more.

TRACING THE ROOTS OF THE KASKA?

If we accept that the Early Iron Age immigrants to Hattusa might have been the Kaska, then their material culture can provide us with clues as to where this people could have originated before migrating to Northern Anatolia some time around the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE. The comparisons compiled in Genz 2005 show that the models for many Early Iron Age ceramic forms are to be found above all at Early and Middle Bronze Age sites in western Central Anatolia, but also to some extent in the middle of Central Anatolia within the Halys river crescent.[6] In this latter territory a development in the material culture took place during the genesis of the Hittite Empire which led to the abandonment of most of the ancient form traditions, not only in ceramic production. Given the centralistic organisation of the empire it seems improbable to me that such fundamentally different ceramic traditions should have continued to exist in this of all places. After all in rural areas, too, people would have been orientated towards the centre and would have sought to follow the fashions displayed there as best they could.

This leaves the western part of Central Anatolia to Eskişehir and beyond. The development of the material culture at the end of the Early Bronze Age and in the Middle Bronze Age shows that this region was in contact with the middle part of Central Anatolia, later the Hittite heartland (Kull 1988:176 ff; Efe 1994:20 ff). Unfortunately however we do not know how things then progressed, since only in Gordion, situated much further to the east, has a manifestly Hittite-empire material culture been documented (Henrickson 1995). As yet, the few finds from Şarhöyük/Dorylaion near Eskişehir (Darga 2004) do not permit any definitive statements to be made, and the finds from the surveys from Efe in the Eskişehir-Bilecik-Kütahya area merely prove that an empire-era settlement existed, but say nothing about what culture it belonged to. The political geography of this region is also utterly obscure; researchers give it various names in their maps without being able to offer any adequate justification.

Thus it would appear, at the present stage of research, that the Hittite rulers of the Empire Period had no particular interest in the land within the Sakarya crescent and in the adjacent region to the north and north-east of it. The Empire's military campaigns into the lands of Western Anatolia passed along routes that essentially lay to the south of the Sakarya crescent. Consequently this region, which supplied many models for the Early Iron Age ceramic forms, could in fact be the one in which the ancient form traditions persisted more or less undisturbed from the Early and Middle Bronze Age onwards. The same is true of the region extending northwards from it as far as the Black Sea, where for example near Karadeniz Ereğli an Early Bronze Age culture has been discovered which has clear parallels throughout the entire Eskişehir-Afyon area (Efe and Mercan 2002). Population groups from these regions could

have migrated north and eastwards and have settled in Paphlagonia and the western Pontus in the 14th-13th century BCE. We then encounter them in Hittite sources as the Kaska, part of a non-homogeneous ethnic group living to the north of the Hittite Empire, for whom the name was perhaps more of a collective term.

This proposition would incidentally find some support from the testimony of spindle whorls. In the middle part of Central Anatolia spindle whorls become increasingly rare after the Early Bronze Age – virtually none are found in the karum-era layers at Kültepe, and in the Hittite settlements too they are very rare, especially in the Empire period. Evidently an alternative had been developed – for example spindle constructions made completely of wood such as are still known in Anatolia today. The Early Iron Age spindle whorls by contrast are evidence of the persistence of the technology of the "composite" spindle as was common in Central and Western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age. The spindle whorl might have migrated along with the ceramic traditions to Hattusa from the west-central Anatolian region indirectly via Northern Anatolia in the Early Iron Age.

WHERE WE ARE NOW?

The biggest problem with the above connections and conjectures is the completely unsatisfactory state of research. We have to be aware of the fact that the Early Iron Age culture that has been stratigraphically recorded at Hattusa for the first time is a well-developed, self-contained culture. It must therefore have had a genesis, and that is why it is dangerous to date comparable survey-finds automatically to the same period – they could equally be older artefacts from the same tradition! The sherds in the Çorum-Amasya region appear to date from the Early Iron Age, but they could also come from the 13th century BC; at present we are not able to determine this. And the same kind of trap lies in wait in other parts of the country. In Hattusa, for instance, we have handmade pottery from c. 1500 and from the 12th century BCE which resembles pottery 500-700 years older in western Central Anatolia; if traditions were capable of surviving for so long, it will be all but impossible to date individual finds from surveys, especially in the north-west and north of Anatolia. A survey in the district around Kastamonu for instance indicates "a tremendous population increase in the region during the EBA. [...] In contrast, the settlement pattern during the Hittite period is rather dispersed" (Özdoğan 2001:299). The risk of familiar-looking sherds, especially in this locality, having a different date to comparable finds from other areas is evident. Why is there a lack of finds that can be dated to the Early Iron Age, for example? Is it because they are concealed among ostensibly Early Bronze Age material?[7]

The solution to this confusing situation can only lie in excavation work. What would be ideal is a multilayer site in North or Northwest Anatolia where the genesis of Early Iron Age pottery from local Late Bronze Age forms can be discerned. With one caveat: We must always bear in mind the frequency of finds having been moved in antiquity, a fact still ignored by many excavators. Countless pits were dug at all Iron Age settlements; in the digging process older items got transferred to younger layers where they are no longer identifiable as such. And conversely if a filled-in pit is not recognised as such during the archaeological excavation then younger finds will be erroneously attributed to older find layers. By investigating a series of single-phase settlements which can be safely dated by radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology, it would be possible to develop a chronological framework to assist in analysing the findings from multi-phase settlements. But this is an ideal from which we are still light years away.

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6. The citing of artefacts from Cilicia as comparisons for the painting of triangular fields filled with dots is less convincing.

7. That this is a real possibility is demonstrated by our experience with handmade Early Iron Age pottery from Büyükkaya. Several archaeologists with a great deal of material experience have stated that, when examining these sherds, they would have attributed many of them with certainty to the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age.

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A LOST SEAL OF TALMI-TEŠUB

Itamar Singer

Tel Aviv

In November 2003 Dr. Amir Sumakai-Fink kindly brought to my attention a letter that was sent to Sir Leonard Woolley in 1937, which came to his attention while browsing through documents kept in the Special Collections of the University College London. In July 2005 I examined the relevant documents at the UCL library services and obtained permission to publish them. I am grateful to Ian Carroll, to Dan Mitchell and to the Institute of Archaeology, UCL, for the permit and for the scanned photographs reproduced below.

The letter (Fig. 1), dated 6.IX.1937, was sent from Beirut by a certain Dikran A. Sarrafian, Dealer in Antiquities:
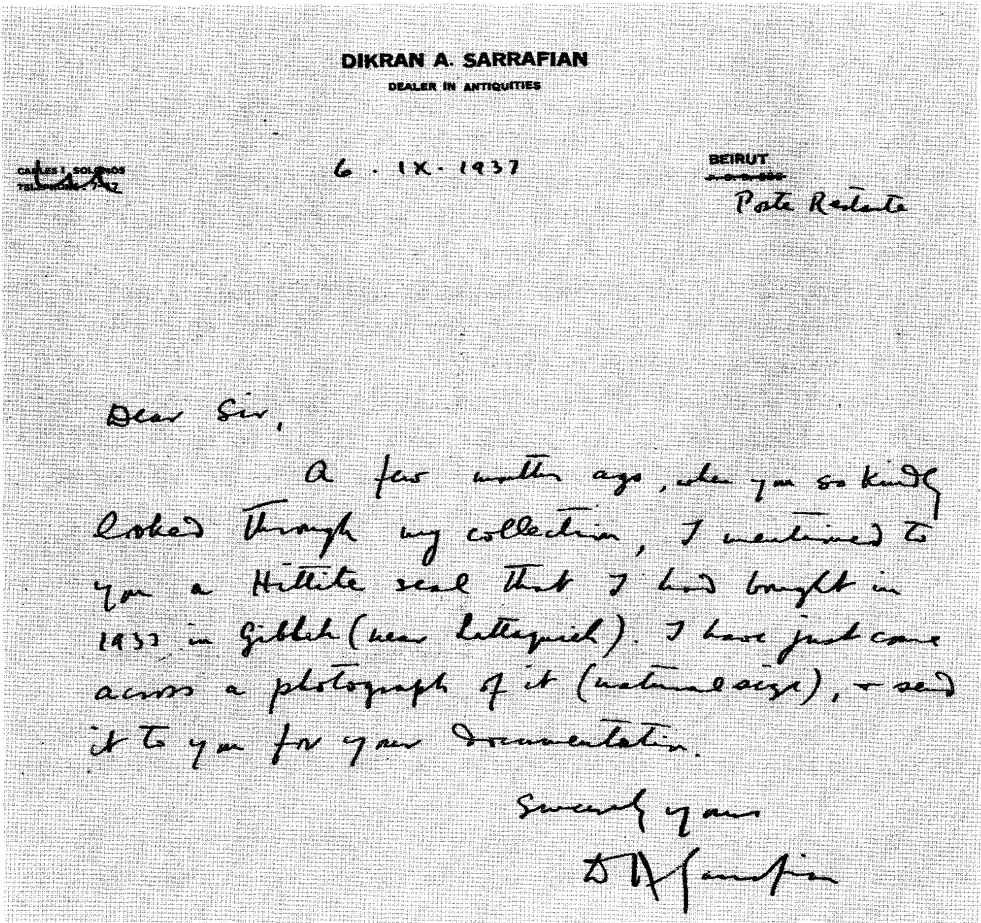
Fig. 1: Photograph of letter from Dikran A. Saraffian.

Dear Sir,

A few months ago, when you so kindly looked through my collection, I mentioned to you a Hittite seal that I had bought in Gibleh (near Lattaquieh). I have just come across a photograph of it (natural size), and send it to you for your documentation.

Sincerely yours
(signature)

The black-and-white photograph attached to the letter (Fig. 2 left) shows a slightly concave stamp seal, 4.8 cm in diameter. It belonged to Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš (REX *Tal-mi-TEŠUB-pa* REX *Kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO). On the back of the photograph is written: "Material: Black soap stone (?); Provenance: Gibleh; Size: life size". The photograph and the letter were tucked together in a folder with the drawing of two Hittite seal impressions from Tell Atchana (ATT/39/186). The whereabouts of this seal is unfortunately not known.[1] There is no doubt, however, that it is genuine, since in 1937 the seal impressions of Talmi-Tešub from Ras Shamra and from Boğazköy were still unknown.
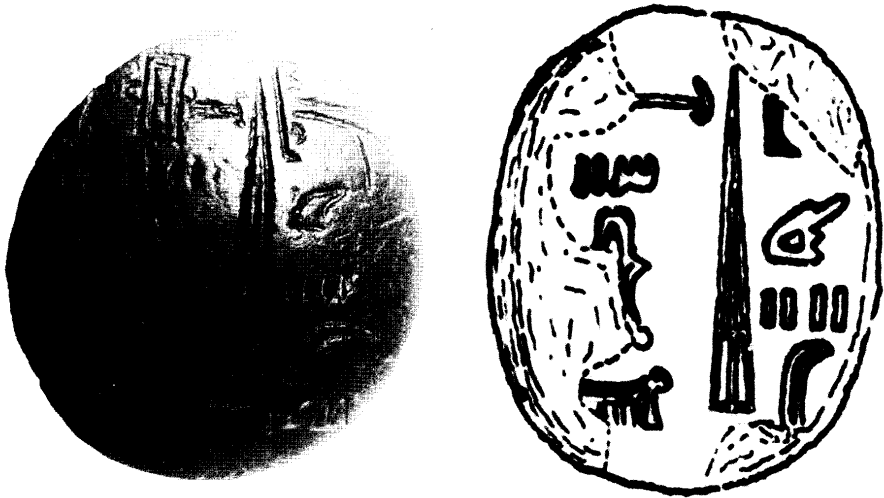
Fig. 2: *Left*) The 'Saraffian' seal; *Right*) SBo I 110.

The main interest in this new seal is of course the fact that Hittite royal seals are extremely rare, the only others being the silver seal of "Tarkondemos", i.e., Tarkašnawa king of Mira (Hawkins 1998:2 ff.) and the steatite seal of Muršili II from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956:87-93, 161-163). The latter has long been suspected to be an ancient forgery (Hawkins 1998:4, n. 9), but it seems to be now authenticated by an almost identical seal impression from Nişantepe (Herbordt *et al.* 2010: No. 27).

1. My attempts to receive information on the seal from the descendants of Mr. Saraffian (some of whom live in the US) have not met with any success. The fact that the seal was purchased at Gibleh may perhaps indicate an Ugaritan source, like the seal of Muršili II. Another possibility could be Tell Kazel which also yielded Hittite seals.
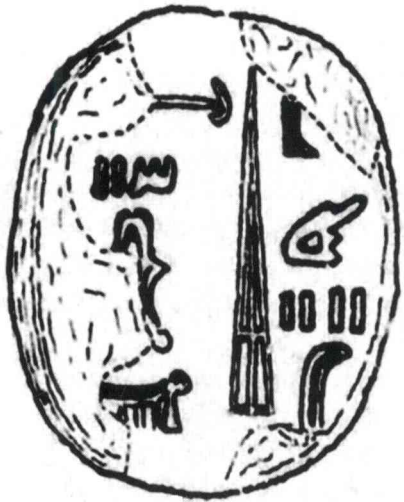
Fig. 2: *Left*) The 'Saraffian' seal; *Right*) SBo I 110.

At present there are two known seal impressions of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš: SBo I 110 (*Boğazköy I*: Taf. 29, 12) and RS 17.226 (Schaeffer 1956:29 f.).[2] A third glyptic attestation appears on the elaborate seal of his son and successor Ku(n)zi-Tešub (Hawkins 2000:574f.; cf. also Poetto 2000).

SBo I 110 (Fig. 2 right) looks very similar to the Saraffian seal and, taking into account some imprecision in the drawing, it could actually have been impressed by it. The eroded surfaces on SBo I 110 could have been caused by insufficient pressure on the seal or by subsequent damage to the seal impression.
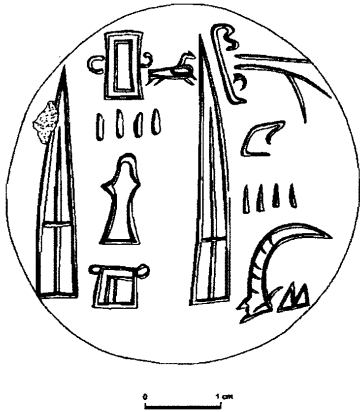
Fig. 3: Drawing of the 'Saraffian Seal'.

The 'Saraffian seal' exhibits exceptionally clearly carved signs which may perhaps lead to a more accurate description of some hieroglyphic signs, especially the CVC signs *kar* and *tal*.[3] For the sign *367, *tal*, a ligature *ta+li*, of the type used in the names Muršili and Hattušili, has been suggested by Laroche (*apud* Schaeffer 1956:129 f.). On the Saraffian seal, however, the horizontal sign is certainly not the "knife" *278. The vertical rectangle has two asymmetrical handles or hooks attached to it, one on each side, and to its right there is a separate sign which resembles a crouching bird or duck. This elaborate sign is a far cry from the far more rudimentary representations of *tal* on other seals and on the ALEPPO 1 inscription.

The royal seals of Karkamiš, representing all its Late Bronze Age kings except for Piyašili/Šarri-Kušuh, exhibit a wide variety of Anatolian and Syro-Hittite glyptic styles (Mora 2004:428-432; 2005: 233 ff.; this volume). One can only hope that this first actual seal of a late 13th century BCE Karkamišian king will resurface somewhere in the future. Meanwhile, its photograph, which turned up in London under unusual circumstances, may be regarded as a distant greeting from Woolley to Hawkins, the two scholars who have contributed more than anyone else to the reconstruction of the history of Karkamiš.

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2. There are many seals bearing the name MAGNUS.TONITRUS (van den Hout 1995:157-164; Herbordt 2005:83, 88), but none of them may positively be identified as belonging to the (future) king of Karkamiš whose name is invariably spelled *Tal-mi-TEŠUB-pa*. Cf. also the Neo-Hittite king of Karkamiš MAGNUS.TONITRUS, whose name must be read as Luwian Ura-Tarhunza rather than Hurrian Talmi-Tešub (Hawkins 1988:104, n. 33; 2000: 81).
3 A north-Syrian origin for the CVC signs, frequently used at the courts of Karkamiš and Halab, has been suggested by Mora 1998:204.

THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN SIGNS L. 255 AND 256 AND ONCE AGAIN KARATEPE XI

Theo van den Hout

Chicago

Rarely has a scholar shaped an entire field as David Hawkins has Hieroglyphic Luwian studies. He has done so, moreover, in a wholly open, accessible and generous manner, always welcoming and thereby stimulating younger colleagues. It is due largely to the seeds he sowed that in recent years Luwian has become an absolutely essential branch of Hittite studies. To continue the agricultural metaphors in the spirit of this modest contribution, I wholeheartedly wish him many more years of fruitful labour and for us to continue to reap those fruits for a long time to come.[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

Hieroglyphic Luwian (HLuw.) inscriptions contain several attestations of a word (L. 255/L. 256)*kaluna*- or (L. 255/L. 256)*karuna*- c. "granary." With its sg. acc. *kal/runan* it belongs to those *a*-stems that do not show *i*-motion. The meaning "granary" seems well established based on a combination of contexts with the verb *suwa-/susu-* "to fill" (see below 1, 4, 5, 6), the mention of cereal (6 and possibly also 5) and a (cereal?) measure (3) as well as the shape of one of the inscriptions in the form of a grinder or a scoop of some kind (3). The Phoenician version of the bilingual KARATEPE inscription gives *'qrt* as the corresponding word but its meaning is based on the HLuw. text (See Younger 1998:14 n. 21, and Röllig *apud* Çambel 1999:58). The attestations are as follows:

(1) KARATEPE VII
("MANUS<">)su-wá/í-ha-ha-wa/i | pa-há+ra/i-wa/i-ní-zi(URBS) | (<">L. 255")ka-ru-na-zi
"and I filled the Paharean granaries."
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:49; for the photo and handcopy see Çambel 1999:Pls. 59-60

(2) HAMA 8 §2
a-wa/i ("L. 255")ka-la/i/u-na-na ‖ EGO | (MANUS+MANUS)pa-ha-la-x-x ...
"(This) granary I myself for Ba'alatis ..."
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:410 w. Pl. 214.

(3) ISKENDERUN §§3-4
a-wa/i | za ‖ -na⁻ⁱ ("L. 255/6")ka-ru-na-na ("CAPERE")u-pa-ha⁻ⁱ
wa/i-tu-u-ta⁻ⁱ 4×MILLE 4×CENTUM a-ta ("CAPERE") | u-pa-ha | zi-i-na ("L. 255/6")zi-pa-ta-na-ti
"I brought/established this granary and I brought into it 4400 <measures of cereal?> here with this *zipatani*."
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:259 w. Pls. 110-111. The circle or square inside the determinative is missing,

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possibly abraded, so that one cannot distinguish between L. 255 and L. 256; note that similar details are missing in other signs in this inscription. Instead of taking it as a variant of DOMUS (likewise without the inner markings) as suggested by Laroche 1960: sub 255, Meriggi 1962:213 (sign no. 220), and Marazzi1990:184, I read it as L. 255/L. 256 following Hawkins. According to Hawkins 2000:259, the monument has the form of a "grinder." On *zīn* as the abl. of the demonstrative *za*- and the shape of this monument as a kind of scoop see P. Goedegebuure 2007:323 with n. 19. On the verb *upa*- used twice in this passage see Melchert 2004 and Yakubovich 2005.

(4) KARKAMIŠ A30h
⌜(DEUS)KU+⌝AVIS (L. 256)ka-*282-na NEG₃ REL-i-sa-ha su-su-tá
"No one used to fill Kubaba's(?) granary."
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:177 w. Pl. 61.

(5) MARAŞ 8
(L. 255/256)ka-la/i/u-na-⌜wa/i?⌝ | (L. 255/256)ka-la/i/u-na x-ta | (⌜MANUS⌝?) su-wa/i-ha
"I filled granary on granary."
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:253 w. Pls. 106-107. Hawkins reads twice L. 255 but the hand copy gives L. 256; the photos are difficult to judge. For the sign rest preceding *suwa/iha* see Hawkins, ibid. 254.

(6) TEL AHMAR 5 §2
a-wa/i za-a-zi | (L. 256)ka-la/i/u-na-zi *a-mi-i-sa-' | tá-ti-i-sa | MANUS.HORDEUM su-wa/i-ta ... | za-a-zi-wa/i | (L. 256)ka-la/i/u-na-zi | REL-sa | x x [...]
"My father filled these granaries (with) ... barley ... and whoever ... [...] these granaries [...]."
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:232 w. Pls. 95-96.

(7) TEL AHMAR 5 §16
za-a-zi-pa-wa/i | (L. 256)ka-la/i/u-na-zi | REL-i-sa | (SA₄)sa-n[i]-ti-i
"He who will topple these granaries"
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:232 w. Pls. 95-96.

The determinative signs L. 255 and 256 preceding *kal/runa*- "granary" both represent a square with in its center either a small circle (L. 255) or another smaller square (L. 256). Probably due to its resemblance with DOMUS, Emmanuel Laroche (1960 sub no. 255) tentatively interpreted it as a "Sorte de bâtiment." Based on the meaning of the word, Massimiliano Marazzi (1998:103 n. 3) suggested to assign it the value HORREUM "granary."

The same signs are used as determinatives in two other instances: once with the word *zipatana/i*- in ISKENDERUN §4 (see above 3) and once with *mariyana(/i)*- in KARATEPE XI. The use of the determinative with *zipatana(/i)*- presents no problem. Although often depicting a single specific object, the use of determinatives in HLuw. can be extended to a wider range of words all sharing a certain association with the object depicted by the determinative. Think of the foot sign that is used not only with the word for foot itself but also with a series of words denoting different activities that imply movement. In the case of *zipatana(/i)*- we are dealing with a measure of content that is well-known from Hittite sources (*zipadanni*-) where it is often but not exclusively used with cereals (see van den Hout, RlA 7, 525a). That this word shares the determinative with a word meaning "granary" is hardly surprising.

More problematic is the occurrence of L. 255 with the word ma_x+ra/i-ia-ni-zi in

(8) KARATEPE XI

REL-pa-wá/í | ("L. 255")ma_x+ra/i-ia-$ní$-zi | ARHA | ma-ki-sa-ha

The Phoenician version (Phu/A I 8, Pho/B I 5' and PhSt/C I 14-15) reads

(9) wšbrt mlṣm

This passage has been discussed by many scholars. The main difficulty is that three of the four key terms, the two HLuw. words *mariyana/i-* and *makisaha* and Phoen. *mlṣm* (in this particular form), are all hapax legomena. The fourth, Phoen. *šbrt* might be a hapax as well depending on whether it occurs once more as a sg.1 pers. imperfect (*ʾšbr*) on the statue of the Stormgod at KARATEPE (PhSt/C IV 20). The likely context is that of the destruction of a statue of Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ. The most recent editor, Röllig (*apud* Çambel 1999:66-68), notes how "the reconstruction and reading of this part of the text [is] extremely difficult … [and] a satisfactory elucidation … impossible." Yet, instead of the reading *ʾšbb* from *šbb* "to cut out, hew, destroy" in earlier editions he follows a reading by Lipiński with an *r* for the last letter.

Although differing considerably in the details, there are two basic interpretations of KARATEPE XI, both taking their cue from the Phoenician version. In the first of these *šbrt* is taken as a verb "I broke" from the root *šbr*, known from Hebrew and, for instance, Akkad. *šebēru* "to break." Phoen. *mlṣm* is much less straightforward but with the next clause referring to the removal of evil in the land (XII-XIII: "and the evils which were in the land, I [remov]ed out of the land") and the verb "breaking" in XI being compatible at least with adversaries, it has been derived from the root known in Hebrew as *lyṣ* "to be unruly" and rendered as "proud, rebels, dissenters" vel sim. (see the very useful discussion of the Old Testament evidence by Schwemer 1996:33-34).

Completely different is the explanation by Stanley Gevirtz (1990) who took Phoen. *šbrt* as a noun and the clause as a further extension of the preceding phrase "thanks to Baal and the gods" and then continued "and the assembly of the (divine) intermediaries." He arrived at the meaning "assembly" by linking Phoen. *šbr* to Hebrew *ṣbr* "to heap (up)."

On the HLuw. side *ma-ki-sa-ha* is an obvious sg. 1 pret. indicative of an imperfective (*-sa-*) verbal stem *makis(a)-* which makes Gevirtz' analysis of XI as a noun clause less plausible (cf. Younger 1998:31f.). Although nothing is said about it in the commentary the *sa* in *ma-ki-sa-ha* is not visible in the handcopy and at best only with difficulty on the photo (for both see Çambel 1999:Pls. 59-60): the stem therefore might as well be *maki(ya)-*. The translation of HLuw. *maki(sa)ha* as "I broke" is completely dependent on the Phoenician *šbrt* in its verbal interpretation. If so, the Phoenician "proud, rebels" vel sim. would have to find its equivalent in ma_x+ra/i-ia-$ní$-zi. Hawkins (2000:60) tentatively wondered whether we have here a first millennium reference to or reminiscence of the Hurrian *maryannu*, the Mittanian warrior elite. It is, however, a problem that the *maryannu* are otherwise attested in second millennium sources only. Quite ingenious and avoiding the *maryannu* problem is Daniel Schwemer's (1996:30-35, now also mentioned as a possibility by Hawkins 2004: 364) derivation of *mariyaninzi* from the Hitt. verb *mad-* "to resist" with rhotacism of the dental: "ich zerbrach?/vernichtete? die Rebellen." However, none of the explanations mention the fact that ma_x+ra/i-ia-$ní$-zi shares its determinative with *kal/runa-* "granary" and *zipatana(/i)-* (a cereal) measure) or tries to account for it.

2. THE SIGNS L. 255 AND L. 256

In the late 1990's the excavators at Boğazköy-Ḫattuša brought to light a series of underground silos meant for the storage of cereals and other agricultural products. Similar structures have been found at Alaca Höyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük and Kuşaklı. As explained by Jürgen Seeher (2000 and 2006) underground silos provide a secure method for long-term storage successfully keeping out rodents, all kind of bacteria and fungi as well as water. Such silos were found on Büyükkaya in the north-east corner of Boğazköy and in the Lower City lining the postern wall about halfway between the acropolis Büyükkale and the area surrounding Temple 1. In most cases the walls of the silos did not yield much information on how they were once prepared, that is, whether they were plastered or covered with other materials like straw or reed. But well preserved in all cases are the floors of the silos. The silos are either rectangular or square, and the floors are paved with stones. Three types of silo can be distinguished depending on the drainage system. The square ones on Büyükkaya have a small drain still clearly visible in the center of the floor (see Fig. I[2]). The more rectangular ones on Büyükkaya had a drain hole on the side. Those in the Lower City, finally, had a floor consisting of multiple layers of stones through which excess water could simply trickle down. According to Seeher (2000:278 and 270 respectively) the latter date at the latest to around 1400 BCE, the ones on Büyükkaya with the drain hole to the (later) 13th century.
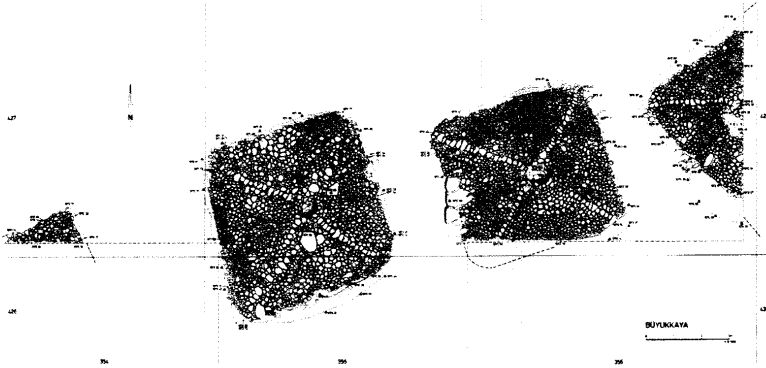

Fig. 1: Underground silos in Büyükkaya

The term used in Hittite texts to refer to such silos is the Sumerogram ÉSAG. In his *Alimenta Hethaeorum* Harry Hoffner (1974:34-37, see also A. Fairbairn/S. Omura 2005:15-23) already described them as being structures dug into the ground. Given the general meaning of *kal/runa-* as "granary" the design of both L. 255 and L. 256 makes perfect sense as two-dimensional renderings of the later type of silos with the central drain as they would have appeared to any viewer and Marazzi's suggestion (1998:103 n. 3) to transcribe them as HORREUM is therefore fully justified. As far as the supposed view from above is concerned, there does not seem to be an overall principle in depiction for the recognizable pictographic signs of the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign inventory other than the way objects normally appeared to the viewer. An interesting interchange between a bird's eye view vs. a (more frequent) side view can be seen, for instance, in the LIS sign ("quarrel, disagreement") which in its Iron Age form (L. 24) shows a stamp seal seen in side view between the profiles of two individuals facing each other while the Empire Period shape (L. 23, cf. Hawkins *apud* S. Herbordt 2005:300) has one or two plain circles between them in which I propose to see the seal impression(s) left on a tablet as seen from above by the reader of the tablet. The difference between the two signs L. 255 and 256 (having either the small circle or the small square) does not seem essential and if necessary one could think of HORREUM and HORREUM[2] to keep them apart. If the

2.   Reproduced from Seeher 1997 with kind permission of the author.

identification proposed here is correct the meaning of *kal/runa-* can be narrowed down to 'underground silo/granary' as opposed to architectural structures with a silo function above ground.[3]

According to Hawkins (2000:261, 371) the word *zipatani* would also occur in TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 1b, but preceded in the latter text by the determinative for stone objects LAPIS. This would suggest "that the latter is some variant of" L. 255/L. 256. However, the reading of *zipatani* in TELL TAYINAT requires an order of reading the signs that is not found elsewhere in the same monument: as Hawkins himself (ibid. 261) concedes, the more "natural" reading would yield *zi-ta-pa-ni-i*. Given the extremely fragmentary context it seems safer to keep *zipatana/i-* separate from a possibly different noun *zitapana/i-* in TELL TAYINAT than to draw conclusions on the nature of the determinatives on the basis of this very uncertain reading.

3. HLUW. *MA$_x$+RA/I-IA-NÍ-ZI* AND PHOEN. *MLṢM*

If we assume that the determinatives L. 255 and 256 depict a concept belonging to the world of agriculture (underground silo) a direct link for *mariyana(/i)-* with Hitt. ᴬ·ˢᴬ*mariyana-* (since only the dat.-loc. *mariyani* is attested an *i*-stem *mariyani-* is equally possible) seems attractive. The CHD L-N s.v. glosses it as "a kind of field" as do others based on the Sumerian determinative A.ŠÀ "field" (cf. J. Tischler, HEG L-M s.v. *mariyani*, J. Puhvel, HED M s.v. *mariyana-*, B. Christiansen 2006:359). It is attested only in a single composition, one of the rituals of the woman Ambazzi (CTH 429), performed for a child or even a baby (for which cf. van den Hout 2006:282):

> (10) ("The one who has uttered an evil day, an evil word over the child, [may he/she ...]
> it back to that place! May you (pl.) give back to the child life, health, long years, future,
> growing up, heroism, valour (and) strength!'") ᴳᴵˢ*paddur≈ma≈kan apiy[a ʾAN.]Aᴬ·[ˢ]ᴬmar[iyan]i
> *šuḫḫai* "He/She dumps (the contents of) the basket there on the *mariyana*-field." (§ ... §)
> *k[aša* ḪUL-*la]muš* EME.MEŠᴬ·ˢᴬ*mariyanī šuḫḫ[a]i* "N[ow] he/she scatters the [ev]il tongues
> on the *mariyana*-field. ('[What evil] the evil person has spoken against me before the deity,
> be it [the Sun deity, b]e it the Stormgod, be it the Tutelary deity,') *kinun≈a* x[...]x ḪUL-*luš*
> EME.MEŠ-*uš INA*ᴬ·ˢᴬ*mari[ya]nī šuḫḫawe[ni ʾANA* DUMU-*RI≈]ia–kan* ḪUL-*luš* EME-*aš*
> *QĀTAMMA merdu* 'now w[e] dump ... (and) the evil tongues on the *mari[ya]na*-field and
> [for the child] let the evil tongue likewise vanish!'"

Note: KBo 10.37 12-17, 21-26, ed. Christiansen 2006:198-201.

Jaan Puhvel suggested a *figura etymologica* between *mariyana-* and the verb *mer-, mar-* "to vanish, disappear" tentatively analyzing it as coming from a PIE **mryono-* "lethal place." Although not expressing herself quite as explicitly, the most recent editor of the text Birgit Christiansen also saw the *mariyana*-field as "eine Art Abfallstätte" (2006:240) where the evil tongues are brought in order to get rid of them. Disposing of ritual ingredients in places with a negative connotation was certainly practiced but also remote areas or even holy spots could be used as such (see V. Haas, RlA Bd. 7, 253f., see also Haas *apud* H. Hauptmann 1975:64-70, for the burial of a piglet nailed to the ground in Yazılıkaya Felsspalte D). So, although a play of words between *mariyana-* and *mer, mar-* is possible or even likely, the *mariyana*-field was not necessarily a place rife with feelings of taboo. Looking for a connection with cereals or crops one might adduce HLuw. *mara/iwali-* (SULTAN HAN §§6 and

15, see Hawkins 2000:466, 2004:364 "beneficial vegetation, 'barley'?"; for a possible Hitt. derivation *marawalliya/i-* "Kornfeld" see J. Lorenz/E. Rieken 2007:476f.; to what extent *mar-* in Hitt. *marnuwa-, marnuwant-*, a beverage "made from a cereal" [CHD L-N s.v.] might be related remains unclear). In this case a *mariyana*-field would be a field for the growing of cereal crops, a grain field. The determinative L. 255 might either go with the field or, perhaps more likely, *mariyaninzi* could stand for *mariyaniyinzi "that which belongs to the *mariyana*-field > *mariyana*-field crops" with the regular contraction of *-iyi-* > *-i-* in HLuw. For the latter phenomenon compare, for instance,

(11) KARATEPE XVI (Ho.)
á-pa-sa-há-wa/i-ta-' tá-ti-i ("THRONUS")i-sà-tara/i-ti-i ("SOLIUM")i-sà-nu-wà/i-há-'
"and I made them sit on their father's (lit. fatherly, paternal) throne"
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:50. The dat. sg. *tatī* stands for contracted *tatiyi* from the derived stem *tatiya-* "fatherly, paternal, father's ..."

4. Phoen. *(w)šbrt* and HLuw. *ma-ki-sa-ha*

With this reinterpretation of (L. 255)*mariyaninzi* it is clear that the rendering of the verb *maki(sa)ha* as "I broke" vel sim. based on the Phoen. version is no longer possible. As already mentioned, Gevirtz' interpretation of Phoen. *šbrt* as a noun leaves the sentence without a verb which is difficult to reconcile with the obvious HLuw. verb *maki(sa)ha*. Theoretically, if we were to combine Gevirtz' derivation of the Phoen. form from a root linked to Hebrew *ṣbr* "to heap up" with the verbal interpretation of other scholars we would arrive at "I heaped up, accumulated." The Hebrew root is attested with grain as object, for instance, in the Biblical story of Joseph when he accumulates grain for Pharaoh (Gn 41, 49 "Joseph garnered grain in quantities like the sands of the sea" [tr. New American Bible).[4] However, although Gevirtz's conclusions on the writing of Semitic sibilants in the Phoenician version and the possibility of linking the Phoen. radicals *šbr* to Hebrew *ṣbr* instead of *šbr* seem not to have been objected to, at least not explicitly, such a link seems unlikely.[5] But there is a second root *šbr* in Hebrew meaning "to buy grain" with a noun *šéber* "grain." It is not inconceivable that in Phoenician a contamination of the two roots **ṣbr* "to heap up" often used with grain and a root **šbr* "to buy grain" led to a merger. For the latter note also in KARATEPE LIII the use of *šb'* "(new) grain" as "a rare synonym of the common word *dgn*" following H.L. Ginsberg (1973:138).

The HLuw. stem *maki(sa)-*, with the *-sa-* extension forming an imperfective from the shorter stem *maki-*, can be considered a cognate of Hitt. *mekk(i)-* "much, many, numerous, plentiful." To what extent this word is attested in other Anatolian languages beside Hittite, has been a matter of some debate (see Tischler, HEG M 181-185). Given the regular loss of initial and intervocalic voiced velars in Luwian, it has been claimed that CLuw. **maya-* (in *mayalla/i-* "adult" and its gen. adj. *mayašša/i-*) continues PIE **meg'h₂-*. According to Craig Melchert (1987:184 n. 5, cf. also *ibid.* 1994:255), however, the velar should be preserved when followed by a laryngeal as is the case here. Hypothetically, he expects the Luwian continuation of that stem to have been either **makk-* or **mazz-*. The latter form would show the assibilation before a high vowel. The only form of **meg'h₂-* attested thus far would be HLuw. *ma* "much" from the endingless sg. nom.-acc. neut. **meg'h₂ > *mak* with regular loss of the final stop. This proves an original **mak*, because if it had been **maz* the sibilant would have been preserved (cf.

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3 Hoffner 1974:36f., identified the Hittite term behind ÉSAG as being a stem ending in *-na-*. Although Luw. *kal/runa-* would fit this, to my knowledge no Hitt. **kaluna-* or **karuna-* is attested. A Hitt. term for above-ground grain storage is (ᴱ)*šeli/a-* for which see CHD Š s. v. forthcoming.

4. If one accepts the reading *šbr* (PhSt/C IV 20) on the KARATEPE statue as discussed above (§1) one must assume for Phoen. a homophone pair I *šbr* = Hebr. *šbr* "to break" and II *šbr* = Hebr. *ṣbr* "to heap up." As pointed out, however, this reading is highly uncertain.

5. I am grateful to my colleague Rebecca Hasselbach for pointing this out to me and alerting me to the Hebrew *šbr* "to buy grain."

Melchert 1994:278). Just like the Hebrew *šbr* in the Joseph story, the Hitt. root is attested with grain (or more general crops) as well. In his Proclamation the Hittite king Telipinu (c. 1500 BC) proudly says: *nu≈kan ḫalkiuš* EGIR-*an ma*[(*knunun*)] "I made the crops abound again" (KBo 3.1 iii 44 w. dupls. KUB 11.1 iii 8, KBo 3.67 iii 1 + KUB 31.17:5, ed. I. Hoffmann, THeth. 11, 46f.).

5. KARATEPE XI IN CONTEXT

The resulting interpretation of KARATEPE XI REL-*pa–wa* ("L. 255")*mariyaninzi ARHA maki(sa)ha* would be something like: "so I accumulated the *mariyana*-field crops" with the adverb *ARHA* reinforcing ("in great quantities" vel sim.) the meaning of the verb as in KARATEPE §LI (DEUS)TONITRUS-*huzas ARHA usanuwamis* "Tarhunzas the highly (*ARHA*) blessed." This has consequences for the function of the initial REL-*pa*. As convincingly argued by Petra Goedegebuure (1998) the initial REL-*pa* is a focus particle with "emphatic or reinforcing use." In KARATEPE the particle generally functions to mark a climax or to conclude a string of clauses in a resumptive manner. As noted by Hawkins (2000:60, 62, 66) in his commentary the latter function seems the one most frequently used. Compare the following two sequences:

XIX-XXIV "And I built strong fortresses [...] on the frontiers, wherein were bad men, robbers, who had not served(?) under Muksas's house, and I, Azatiwatas, put them under my feet. So (REL-*pa*) I built fortresses in those places, so that Adanawa might dwell peacefully."
Note: tr. Hawkins 2000:51.

LI-LV "And may Tarhunzas the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, to Azatiwatas, long days and many years and good abundance , and let them give him all victory over all kings. And so (REL-*pa*) let this fortress become (one) of the Grain-God and the Wine-God, and so (REL-*pa*) the nations that dwell in (it), let them become (those) of sheep, oxen, the Grain-God and the Wine-God!"
Note: tr. Hawkins 2000:55f.

This explanation accounts for six (XXIII, XXXI, XXXV, XL, LIII-LIV) out of the seven instances of REL-*pa* in KARATEPE, the seventh one being XI, the clause under consideration here. The same usage of REL-*pa* can be observed in other HLuw. texts (see Goedegebuure 1998, Melchert 2002). All cases have in common that the use of the particle is tied to the preceding context. It never serves to introduce a new topic. As rightly noted by Hawkins, the climactic or resumptive function is not discernable in XI in any of the previous interpretations. Rather, it seems to introduce something new, contrasting his constructive contributions with the destructive one of "breaking the rebels." After having listed all his benefactions for the material life of the people of Adana:

IV-X: "I caused Adanawa to prosper, and I extended(?) the Adanawa plain on the one hand towards the west and on the other hand towards the east, and in my days there were to Adanawa all good things, plenty and luxury, and I filled the Paharean granaries, and I made horse upon horse, and I made army upon army, and I made shield upon shield, all by Tarhunzas and the gods"
Note: tr. Hawkins 2000:49f..

Azatiwata continues in XII by saying:

XII-XIII: "but (–*pa*) I removed the evils which were in the land, out of the land."

This may have been a reason for Melchert's claim (2002:227) that the REL-*pa* in XI is not the focus (or asseverative particle as he calls it) but the subordinating REL-*i* with the regular contrastive -*pa*, functionally equivalent to Hitt. -*ma*: "while on the other hand I un-__ed the *mariyanni*." However, in this case the following -*pa* of XII no longer has any function. In KARATEPE, once a contrast has been introduced by -*pa* subsequent clauses continuing the contrast do not repeat the particle. Compare:

XXV-XXX: "I defeated the strong fortresses towards the west that eminent kings who were before me had not brought down but (-*pa*) I, Azatiwata, did defeat them, brought them down and settled them towards the east in my territory.
Note: ed. Hawkins 2000:52.

Contrastive -*pa* thus occurs only once in a series of related clauses in KARATEPE while there is one instance of serial -*pa* just like Hitt. -*ma* "marking the correlation of single words in adjacent clauses appended to all but the first member of a series" (CHD L-N -*ma* 91). This is the case in the sequence KARATEPE VIII-X just quoted ("Horse (Ø) upon horse I made, army (-*pa*-) upon army I made, shield (-*pa*-) upon shield I made").

In the interpretation of KARATEPE XI offered here, REL-*pa* has its resumptive function and caps the long list of Azatiwata's positive contributions to the land of Adana while the -*pa* of §XII has its full force contrasting the good things he brought into the land with the evil ones that he forced out. Azatiwata's filling of the granaries created the conditions that made his land and people prosper so that animals bred, armies marched and the land was safe. The final sentence of this sequence, XI, takes up again the theme of agricultural wealth that made it all possible:

IV-XIII: "I made Adanawa prosper and extended(?) the Adanawa plain on the one hand towards the west and on the other hand towards the east, and in my days Adanawa enjoyed all good things, plenty and luxury. I filled the Paharean granaries, and I made horse upon horse, army upon army, shield upon shield, all through Tarhunzas and the gods. I thus accumulated the *mariyana*-field crops in great quantities while I removed out of the land the evils that were in the land."

The above interpretation thus offers an explanation for the HLuw. determinative L. 255-256 in combination with clear Hittite-Luwian cognates for the key terms *mariyaninzi* and *makisaha* as well as a more consistent usage of the element REL-*ipa* in the Hluw. version. Moreover, it seems that the Phoen. *šbrt* may be reconciled with this. The latter cannot be claimed for Phoen. *mlṣm*, however, which formed the basis for the rendering of HLuw. *mariyaninzi* thus far. Either one has to look to the HLuw. version now in order to establish its meaning or, abiding by the traditional interpretation for the entire Phoenician clause, one has to take recourse to the unsatisfactory option that the HLuw. and Phoenician went separate ways here.

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NOTES ON THE HITTITE FUNERARY RITUAL FOR A PRINCE OR A PRINCESS

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KUB 39.6 (CTH 450 II 1 A) rev. 18-19 reads *nu kuitman* ALAN *āššan INA* UD 4 KAM *ēšzi*. All the interpreters to date, Otten, Kammenhuber, Puhvel, Kassian *et al.*, have taken ALAN/ALAM *āššan* as 'seated image', with the participle of *eš-/aš-* 'sit', and identical to the ALAM *ašan* 'seated image' first noted by von Brandenstein in 1943. This identification cannot be correct. The participle of 'sit' (like that of 'be' on which it is modeled) is *ašānt-*, and *āššant-* can only be the participle of 'remain'. The verb moreover is an unaccusative intransitive, and can take suffixed subject pronouns and the auxiliary 'be' in periphrastic tenses, like *pai-* 'go'. Just as *pānt- ēšzi* is 'has gone', so *āššan … ēšzi* can only be 'has remained', agreeing with the neuter subject ALAN (*ēšri*). The distraction (hyperbaton) of the two constituents of the periphrastic perfect "around" an argument or adjunct is quite rare in Hittite, but can be paralleled.

In the Hittite Funerary Ritual for a Prince or Princess KUB 39.6 (CTH 450 II 1 A)[1] we read:

_____

rev 18 *nu ku-it-ma-an* ALAN *a-aš-ša-an I-NA* UD 4 KAM

19 *e-eš-zi nu ši-pa-an-tu-u-wa-an-*   *zi*

20 UD-*at* UD-*at ki-iš-ša-an da-aš-kán-zi*

21 1 UDU *ták-na-aš* ᴰUTU-*i* 1 UDU ᴰUTU AN-*E*

…

Otten (1958:50 f.) translated the passage as follows:

18   Und solange das Sitzbild für 4 Tage

19   bleibt, nehmen sie um zu opfern

20   Tag für Tag wie folgt:

21   1 Schaf der Sonnengöttin der Erde, 1 Schaf dem Sonnengott des Himmels,

…

In translating ALAM *āššan* as 'Sitzbild' (so also Eichner 1975: 158 n. 2) Otten follows KUB 30.25 + 39.4 + KBo 41.117 Vs. 1-2 (Otten 1958: 320-21, restored after Kassian *et al.* 2002: 320) *nuʾA-NA* ALAM *a-ša-a[-an-ti]* ŠU[.MEŠ-*aš w*]*a-a-tar pí-an-zi*, with a footnote comparing the well-attested ALAM *ašan* in von Brandenstein 1943: 24f. Puhvel 1984: 295 cites a number of instances of ALAM *ašan* after von Brandenstein, including one of *a-ša-a-an* (KUB 38.2 i 8, broken context) with *scriptio plena* in the second syllable. Puhvel also includes our passage KUB 39.6 Rev. 18 ALAM *a-aš-ša-an … e-eš-zi*, translating 'the seated likeness sits'. This translation is qualified as 'probably incorrect' by Kassian *et al.* 2002: 623, without comment, but presumably referring to taking *ēšzi* as 'sits' rather than 'is'. The Russian scholars were able to incorporate Groddek's join of KBo 41.117 to KUB 30.25 + given above, thus filling the lacuna in line 2: 'to the seated statue they give hand-water'.

_____

1. Otten 1958: 50-51; Kassian *et al.* 2002: 607-625. For a finely nuanced appreciation of the Hittite royal funerary ritual as a whole, see van den Hout 1994 (a reference I owe to Itamar Singer). My attention was drawn to the passage on reading Valentina Cambi's 2006 dissertation , now published as Cambi 2007, where the imperfective aspectual value of *daškanzi* with the distributive adverb UD-*at* UD-*at* 'day by day, every day, daily' is correctly asserted and explained.

For our passage in the Funerary Ritual for a Prince or Princess the Russian scholars offer the following translations (Kassian *et al.* 2002: 617 f.):

(English)   18 While the seated statue remains for four days,

               19 they begin/prepare to sacrifice

               20 daily as follows:

               21 one sheep to the Sun goddess of the Earth…

(Russian)   18 I v to vremja kak statuja sidjaščaja v tečenii cetyrëx dnej

               19 ostaëtsja, to žertvoprinošenje soveršat'

               20 každyj den' sledujuščim obrazom načinajut:

               21 odnu ovcu Zemli bogyne Solnca …

For lines 18-19 they simply follow Otten's version – though the English is scarcely grammatical –, while for lines 19-20 they twist both sense and syntax into a periphrastic ingressive which they admit is 'non-standard' and 'abnormal', and they further assume that the sacrifices to the seated likeness only begin on the fourth day and continue for the rest of the ritual: "'daily', i.e. on the fourth and following days of the ritual." It is surely preferable to keep to Otten's straightforward version of lines 19-20: [infinitive] *šipantūwanzi* UD-*at* UD-*at kiššan* [3 pl. pres. Imperfective] *daškanzi* '… nehmen sie um zu opfern Tag für Tag wie folgt: '1 Schaf…'

For Friedrich-Kammenhuber 1980, also preferring 'Sitzbild', v. *infra*.

Cambi in her 2006 dissertation basically followed Otten both on lines 18-19 and on 19-20, while properly marking the imperfective aspect of *daškanzi* in 20:

18 E finché l'immagine resta seduta per 4 giorni,

19 prendono ad offrire regolarmente

20 così giorno per giorno:

But in Cambi 2007: 121 she adopts the version presented in this paper for lines 18-19.

So far all five interpreters (Otten, Eichner, Puhvel, Kammenhuber, and Kassian *et al.*) have taken ALAM/ALAN *āššan* as 'seated image', a noun phrase explicitly or implicitly with the participle of *eš-/aš-* 'sit', and identical to the ALAM *ašan* 'seated image' first noted by von Brandenstein 1943. But is this justified? The participle of 'sit' is given by Puhvel 1984: 29 and Kassian *et al.* 2002: 789 as *aš(š)ant-*. But the only example in all of Hittite of -*šš*- in this participle is precisely our KUB 39.6 rev 18. And our instance shows *scriptio plena* in the root, *a-aš-ša-an*, while we have one and probably two examples of the participle of 'sit' with *scriptio plena* in the suffix, *a-ša-a-an* and *a-ša-a-[an-ti]* (*supra*). None other of the many attestations of *ašandaš* = TUŠ-*aš* 'seated', including one in Old Script (Neu 1970:41,83) ever shows *scriptio plena* in the root syllable, nor do any of the other related derivatives of *ašant-/ašand-* given by Puhvel.

The solution is clear. We have two separate words, both participles: *ašānt-* is from *ēš-* 'sit' and *āššant-* is from *āšš-* 'remain, stay'. The latter verb always shows -*šš*- between vowels, and very frequently initial *a-aš-*; see the many examples collected by Puhvel 1984:187-189, Friedrich-Kammenhuber 1980:366-369, and Oettinger 1979.

Kammenhuber in fact correctly identified the form in our passage, but then assumed it was a scribal error for ALAM *ašan*.

The verb *āšš-* moreover is an unaccusative intransitive (see Garrett 1996), and can take suffixed subject pronouns and the auxiliary 'be' in periphrastic tenses like *pai-* 'go'. So just as *pānt- ēšzi* is 'has gone', so our *āššan ... ēšzi* must be 'has remained', agreeing in gender and number with the neuter subject ALAN (*ēšri*) 'image, statue'.

The distraction (hyperbaton) of the two constituents of the periphrastic perfect "around" an argument or adjunct is quite rare in the Hittite texts we have, but can be paralleled. Craig Melchert, who first called my attention to this problem in an email of 11 Nov. 2006 (and still has misgivings), cited Maşat, HKM 68: 4-6:

> *ammuk ŪL kuitki kuit dammišḫān ḫarmi ŪL=ma=kan dān kuedanikki kuitki*
>> *ḫarmi*
>
> Since I have not done any oppressing, and have not taken anything from anyone
> (why are they oppressing me thus?),

where *dān ... ḫarmi* "straddles" *kuedanikki kuitki*. We should expect to find such examples in an Indo-European language of the second millennium BCE. Melchert stated earlier (email of 28 Sept 06) that " 'wh-words' in Hittite can break up <u>anything</u> in order to be placed in the required position following one accented element." Note that in the first clause of the Maşat letter the (wh-)conjunction *kuit* follows two accented elements, itself a rarity: both the emphatic subject pronoun *ammuk* and object *ŪL kuitki* have been fronted to TOP(icalization slot). The same is found in a parable in the Hurrian-Middle Hittite bilingual, KBo 32.14 ii 53-4: *kuwat=wa* URUDU-*an kuin lāḫun nu=wa=mu āppa ḫurzakizi* 'Why is the copper which I cast cursing me back?' The interrogative is extracted from the "downstairs" matrix-clause and fronted to the "upstairs" relative clause, thus with two topicalized elements, *kuwat=wa* and URUDU-*an*.

The sentence from the Middle Hittite Maşat letter is particularly interesting in that the author, an UGULA NIMGIR.ERÍN.MEŠ 'Army Inspector General', is exculpating himself by emphatically denying a very specific act of malfeasance. For his wording corresponds exactly to a passage in the Instructions for the *bēl madgalti*, CTH 261, a likewise Middle Hittite composition. See Pecchioli Daddi 2003:176-9 (her sigla B: KUB 13.2 [MH/NS]; A: KUB 13.1 [MH/MS]; L: KUB 13.24 [MH/NS]). B alone offers a complete text, but L and the older A can be restored to an almost identical text. B iv 13-17:

———————————————————————————————————

[m]aniyaḫḫiya=ta=kkan kue É.GAL-*LIM.ḪI.A-TIM?* É.ḪI.A *BELUTI-ya*

(A: É.ḪI.A *BELUTIM* É.GAL-*LIM* ; L: *ᴱḫa]lentuwa=ya=ta=kkan* É.GAL.ḪI[A)

[and]an=ašta EGIR-*an arḫa punuški* [A: para. line] *naššu dammišḫān*

kuiški kuitki ḫarzi našma=za dān kuiški kuitki ḫarzi

našma=za ḫappiran kuiški kuitki ḫarzi našma

ÉSAG *kuiški* [A adds ZI-*it*] *kinuwan* [A: *kinuan*] *ḫarzi* ...

"The palaces and residences which are in your jurisdiction

investigate thoroughly. (If) someone either has done any oppressing,

or has taken something for himself, or has sold something for himself,

or has [A: intentionally] broken open a granary ..."

The remaining 2-3 parallel clauses show no distraction of participle and auxiliary. But the first three show not just one but three distractions of participle and AUX: in each the participle has been fronted to TOP(icalization slot), probably to provide an accented word on which to hang the weakly stressed indefinites *kuiški kuitki* (I presume *naššu ... našma...* do not "count"). I therefore conclude that distraction of the constituents participle plus AUX is perfectly grammatical in Hittite, however rare in the prose texts we have. If we didn't have *alati awinta Wilušati* "they came from steep Wilusa" in the Cuneiform Luvian Ištanuwa songs we would not have predicted the grammaticality of distraction of Adjective plus Noun around the finite verb, a figure of Indo-European poetic grammar.

We are now in a position to offer a revised translation of the funerary ritual for a prince or princess in KUB 39.6. For context I begin with rev. 14-17, the paragraph beginning the special case proper, which is relatively uncontroversial save for the unclear last sentence. I end with 21-24, enumerating the nature and recipients of the animal sacrifices; my focus is on 18-20.

———————————————————————————————————

14 But if a male child or a female child becomes
15 a god, and if he/she is already grown,
16 they set up for him/her all
17 the figurines. There is no wood.

———————————————————————————————————

18 And until the image has remained for 4
19 days they continue taking for sacrifice
20 every day the following:
21 1 sheep to the Sun goddess of the Netherworld, 1 sheep to the Sun god of Heaven,
22 1 sheep to the grandfathers and grandmothers, but they sacrifice 1 ox,
23 either a fatted ox or (?) a fatted sheep to the soul of the dead person,
24 and 1 sheep to the Favorable Day.

For *kuitman* 'until', as correctly seen by Cambi 2007: 121 ['finché l'immagine è rimasta per 4 giorni'], see the many examples in Puhvel 1997: 227. Otten's original version captured the sense of 18-20 well enough, but my translation alone satisfactorily accounts for orthography, lexicon, morphology and syntax of the Hittite. The grammarian knows that it is well to pay attention to such details.

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A HITTITE SEAL FROM KAMAN-KALEHÖYÜK

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David Hawkins often says that he prefers large, well-preserved seals or seal-impressions, preferably bigraphic. Unfortunately it has not been possible to come up with an example of this type for his delectation. I do hope however, that he will be sufficiently interested by what is presented here and await suggestions from him for the solution of the enigmas of this seal. It is worth mentioning that none of my work on Hittite-related issues would be possible without years of teaching, support and friendship from David, as indeed work on Anatolian studies in general would be so much poorer without his considerable contributions.

The excavations at Kaman-Kalehöyük have produced a wealth of seal material with hieroglyphic writing. Of particular importance are the ca. 450 seal impressions found in an abandoned grain silo, known as Round Structure 1, in the North Sector of the site. These date mostly to the Middle Hittite period, or the first half of the 14th century BCE, and offer very interesting if difficult to interpret data concerning the earlier phases of the hieroglyphic script. Old Hittite sealings are also attested from an Old Hittite level, as are a number of Empire period sealings from a separate and later, as yet only partially excavated, pit also in the North Sector.[1]

Furthermore, a number of Empire period button seals have been found, although these are all from later (refuse) pits, and thus without secure archaeological context. The seal presented in the following most probably belongs to the later Empire period and is of interest from the point of view of stylistics, dating and the hieroglyphs attested upon it. It is, however, very difficult to interpret and illustrates some of the difficulties involved in tackling a corpus of hieroglyphic material from a site that was clearly provincial by contrast to imperial Hittite centres.[2]

This slightly biconvex button seal, KL 92-5, is quite crudely carved and mostly impossible to decipher at present with certainty. It appears to carry different personal names on each side. It was found in a pit (No. 711) in the North Sector of the site.[3] Pit 711 belongs to the earliest stage of the Iron Age inhabitation of the site (Kaman-Kalehöyük level IId3).[4] It is 2.2cm in diameter and is pierced through transversely by a small hole (Fig. 1).

1. The hieroglyphic seal material from Kaman-Kalehöyük, with its well documented archaeological contexts, provides an excellent opportunity to review the chronological stylistic development of Hittite sealing from the perspective of a provincial town. For details of the copious Middle Hittite/Early Empire Period bullae found at the site see Yoshida 1999; 2006. I am grateful to Dr. Yoshida for discussing issues with me relating to the majority of the seals from Kaman-Kalehöyük. For details of the excavation the reader is referred to the regular publication of the dig, *Anatolian Archaeological Studies, Kaman-Kalehöyük* (abbr. *AAS*) published by the Middle East Cultural Centre of Japan, especially the Preliminary Reports therein written by the excavator, Dr. S. Omura. I would like to thank Dr. Omura for allowing me to publish this seal here and for arranging and facilitating a collation in Kırşehir museum, as well as thanking the director of the museum and his staff for their helpfulness.

2. Collation shows that the seal is considerably better cut than the photo might lead one to imagine. It is not, however, a masterpiece of seal-craft.

3. North Sector VI (XXXIV-54 (M), Provisional Layer 55.

4. I am indebted to Dr. K. Matsumura from the Kaman-Kalehöyük excavation for this information concerning the find-spot.
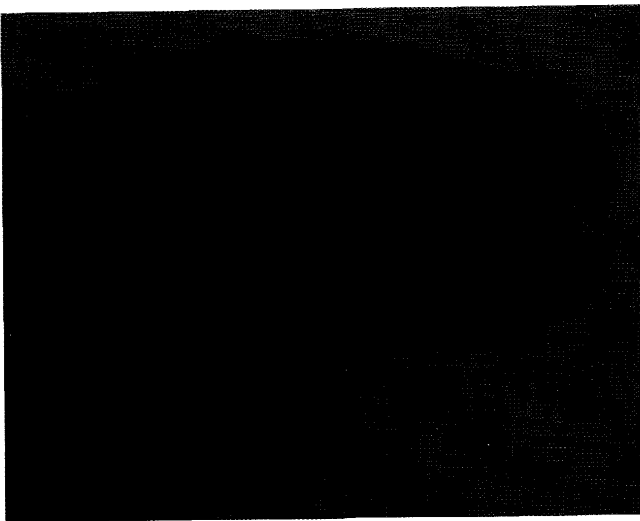
Fig. 1: Transverse view of the button seal
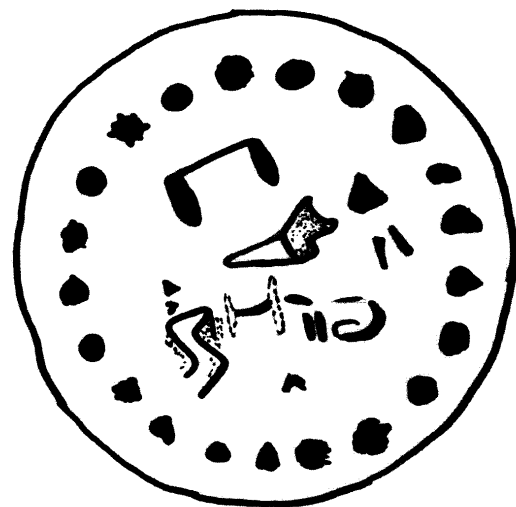KL 92-5
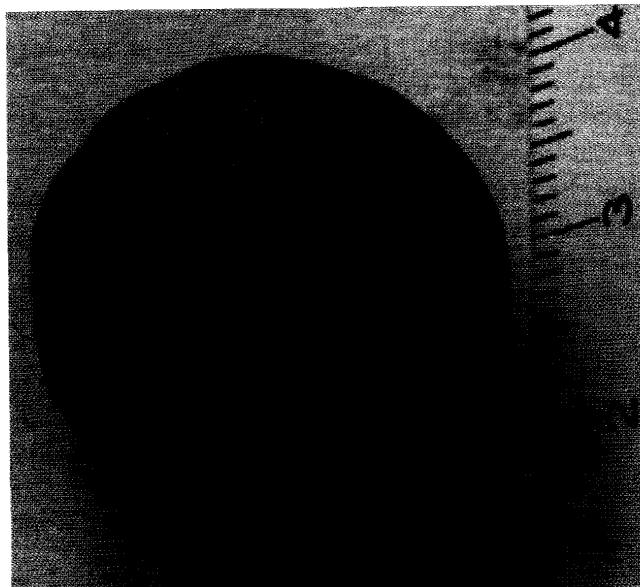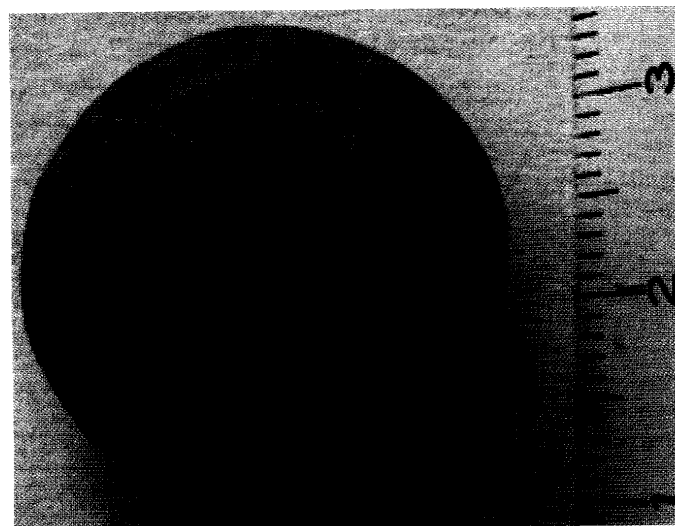
Fig. 2: KL 92-5 Side A.

Fig. 3: KL 92-5 Side B.
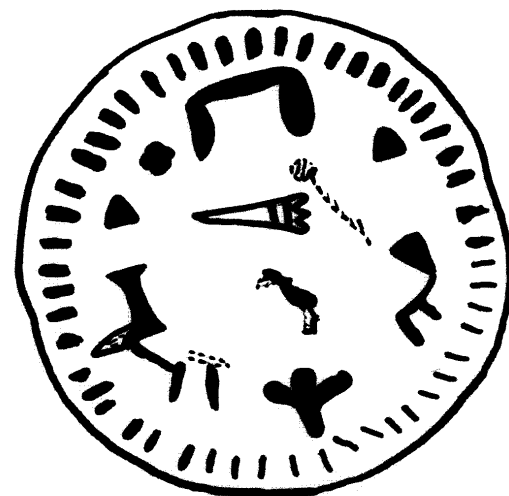
Side A of the seal (Fig. 2) is decorated with a band of dots, as opposed to the notches used on side B, around the border. A name is written in the central vertical axis which may be read:

(MANGUS' -)li-mu(wa)' or (Ura)limu(wa)

although there are numerous problems with every aspect of this.

The first sign is far too rectangular to be a form of MAGNUS, but this is the only sign approaching this shape. It is perhaps wiser, especially in view of the fact that the name on the other side begins with exactly the same sign, to assume an as yet unattested sign until MAGNUS is attested more clearly in this form.

The second sign is by no means a usual form of L. 278: li.

The third sign appears to be an animal's head of some kind. The signs L.105 BOS, L.107 BOS+MI can both be used for the sounds muwa and uwa on Empire period seals. To accept this as L.107, which is usually muwa, requires that we see the four upright strokes of the -MI partially lost in the jaw of the animal. It is also the case that the snout is far too long for this sign, although a long animal's head+MI may well be used on a Middle Hittite seal from Kaman-Kalehöyük to represent mu(wa).[5]

To the viewer's right of the central name we see the typical BONUS₂ VIR₂, "good man", apparently consisting of only two verticals. To the viewer's left we have what appears to be a long-necked bird's head, right-facing, without any depiction of the wings. This is again highly subjective. A wingless, but crested bird (L. 135.2) occurs on seals from Boğazköy and has been tentatively identified with cuneiform ᴸᵁIGI.MUŠEN, ᴸᵁMUŠEN.DÙ, the "bird-diviners".[6] The dimples above the head of the bird on KL 92-5 may be an attempt to represent this crest. A long-necked wingless bird (L. 135.8), with a similar vertical protrusion from its mouth to that on KL 92-5 may be part of a man's name on Güterbock 1942: 171. The protrusion may be a THORN, or -RA/I, but this is of little help without a plausible word containing an /r/ in a plausible position to explain it. One may note the uses of AVIS₃ (bird with backward pointing wing) as a logogram in the writing of the name Arnuwanda, as collected at Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005:298, but the lack of wing should exclude it from the equation.

Side B (Fig. 3) has rough cut notches in decoration around the edge, a simplistic variation on the typical ladder shape decorating the edges of many button seals of the later Empire period.[7] The name occupies the central vertical axis and may possibly be read:

MAGNUS'' -la-á?-nu = Ur(a)lanu, or better x(-)lanu

although a high degree of subjectivity is involved in this reading. As before, the writing MAGNUS is highly suspect, in view of the shape of the sign, and the plene-writing of the vowel is not immediately convincing.[8]

Left and right the name is flanked by what appear to be professional designations. To the viewer's right the sign BONUS₂ over an unidentified sign, possibly a schematic representation of a plough, or of an animal, although this is highly speculative: "good ploughman(?)".

One might also entertain the possibility that the seal conforms to the relatively common genre of "Man and Wife" button-seals, where the good lady appears on the reverse.[9] The triangle shape under

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5. KL 93-15, with the woman's name Mu(wa)tti.

6. Hawkins and Hazenbos apud Herbordt 2005: 311, with other attestations of L. 135.2. Also Bo. 2005/12 (Herbordt 2006:185-186).

7. e.g. Boehmer/Güterbock 1987: n. 211. For an example similar to ours without the double ring encircling the notches from Kaman-Kalehöyük see AAS 16 (2007:19, Fig. 37).

8. On Empire Period middle plene-writings see Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005:279 ad 522.

9. One side of an Empire Period example of this type from Kaman-Kalehöyük is published at AAS 6 (1997), third page before page numbers begin. On man and wife seals see Güterbock 1980:55-57; Herbordt 2006:185. The author saw another unpublished Empire Period seal of this type in Yozgat museum when visiting it in the company of David Hawkins, this time with Mu(wa)tti on one side and Tarhundapiya on the other.
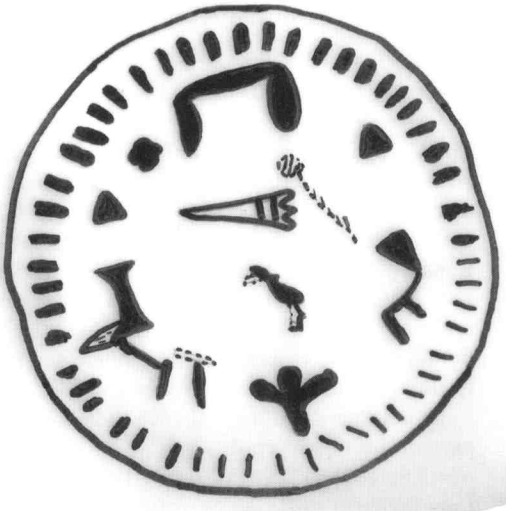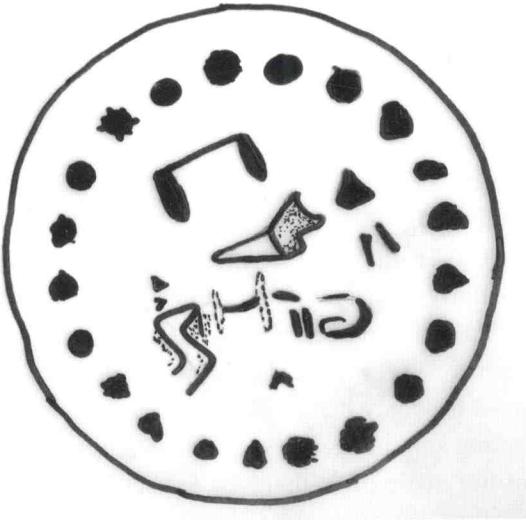
Fig. 1: Transverse view of the button seal
KL 92-5

Fig. 2: KL 92-5 Side A.

Fig. 3: KL 92-5 Side B.

the BONUS$_2$, however, is on collation too triangular to pass as the oval shape that is FEMINA. It is also unclear what one would then make of the further additions under the triangle. However, the triangle itself is difficult to interpret if either of the other somewhat desperate proposals here presented are entertained.

To the viewer's left we have another professional designation, this time apparently BONUS$_2$ PES$_2$-RA/I(-x?). It is unclear whether there is a further sign after PES$_2$-RA/I, or whether this is damage or a rough kind of filler. If the traces are to be interpreted as a sign at all it should perhaps be VIA (L. 221), although the corners are somewhat sharp for this sign.

The form of PES$_2$ is different from that of the clear attestation of PES$_2$-RA/I at KARAHÖYÜK §2, although it shares the same alignment, with the toes pointing left and the "Thorn" for -RA/I proceeding diagonally rightwards from under the sole. Problematic, however, is the orientation with regard to the "profile" á, if that is what it is, although signs are usually oriented facing outwards on the side axes of a seal. It is also clearly a boot, with a high, splayed top, and not a foot that is here represented, by contrast to the foot represented in KARAHÖYÜK §2. This is highly unusual, and must be said to cast a certain degree of doubt on the identification of the logogram as PES$_2$, although it is difficult to see what else it could be.[10] It is possible, of course, that it is CRUS-RA/I, using L. 82, although the orientation of the foot is not usual.[11] Furthermore, some effort appears to have been made to emphasise the foot of the sign.

OTHER EVIDENCE FOR PES$_2$-RA/I, CRUS-RA/I

David Hawkins identified a graphically endingless verbal form PES$_2$-RA/I on KARAHÖYÜK §2:

MAGNUS$^{(LÚ)}$.REX i(a)+ra/i-TONITRUS MAGNUS.REX REL+ra/i-i(a) || POCULUM.PES.*67 (REGIO) PES$_2$-RA/I

"When Ir-Tešub, the Great King, came to the land POCULUM." (Hawkins 2000:289, 291)

He considered the -RA/I most likely a phonetic indicator and thought of the Hittite verb ar-, "to arrive, come", as a likely candidate for a relation to the underlying Luwian word.

A full phonetic writing of this verb appears to occur in the Assur letters:

ASSUR a §6:
|NEG$_2$-a-wa/i |tara/i-pa^i-mi-i-sa |za-na |a-pa-ha ("PES$_2$") a+ra/i-ta-' |ka+ra/i-mi-sà (URBS)

"Did not Tarpamis come now and then to Kar(ka)miš?" (ibid. 534, 542)

ASSUR f+g §24:
a-wa/i-wa/i ("PES")pa+ra/i-ri+i |ARHA-'|("PES$_2$")a+ra/i-wa/i

"Come, shall I go out on foot". (ibid. 534, 542)

He further adduced a graphic parallel in the writing CRUS-RA/I, also graphically endingless, and suggested that it might correspond to the homophonous Hittite verb, ar- "to stand". It occurs in the following instances:

KARKAMIŠ A11a §5:
mi-zi-pa-wa/i-mu-ta-' |20-tá-ti-zi ARHA CRUS-RA/I

"But my 20-TATI's revolted against me".[12]

ADIYAMAN 1 §1:

[... (DEUS)TONITR]US-[s]a [i+ra/i]-ni-la-' PRAE-i CRUS+RA/I

"Tarhunz]as(?) stood/stands in front of the IRNILA."[13]

ALEPPO 2 §11:
|"VAS"-tara/i-pa-wa/i-na NEG$_2$-' |REL-i-ha a-tá |CRUS+RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha

"but I did not set him up (as) any figure".[14]

In all cases PES$_2$ is clearly indicated by having the toes of the sign pointing in the direction of the script, while CRUS has the toes facing against the direction of the script, similarly to PES (= ti). The semantic distinction in the use of these logograms thus appears to be fairly clear. PES$_2$(-RA/I) is a verb of motion, while CRUS-RA/I is used of a verb meaning "to stand", or in the causative "to set up".

If we can accept that the relevant sign on KL 92-5 is a form of PES$_2$, then what precisely a BONUS$_2$ PES$_2$-RA/I(-VIA?) could be is not immediately clear. Firstly it is clearly a noun. The above-mentioned use of PES$_2$-RA/I as a logogram to indicate a verb of motion possibly cognate with Hittite ar-, "to come, arrive", suggests a noun derived from this. The only plausible candidate is arnuwala-, "moveable person, deportee", although this is derived from the causative stem of this verb: arnu-, "to bring, move". The use of the graphically and phonetically parallel CRUS+RA/I to mean "to stand", possibly representing the Luwian cognate of Hittite ar-, "to stand", shows, however, that the causative stem is phonetically represented in the verb, at least: CRUS+RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha (ALEPPO 2 §11). (BONUS$_2$) PES$_2$-RA/I (-VIA?) would thus have to be an ideographic representation of the word $^{(LÚ)}$arnuwala-.[15]

This assumes that the relationship between arnuwala- "deportee", arnu- "bring", and ar- "come" would have been transparent to the speaker who created the ideographic representation. The regular verbs used for the transportation of arnuwala- are dā-, "to take" and pē har-, "to have away", but arnu- is also sufficiently attested, as documented at HWb^2 330b-331a.

One will object that arnuwala- is hardly fitting as a professional designation. The Sumerogram NAM.RA$^{MEŠ/HLA}$, which represents Hittite arnuwala- in cuneiform texts, is never prefaced by the professional determinative LÚ.[16] The phonetic writing of the word, however, is sometimes thus prefixed: ^{LÚ}ar-nu-wa-la-aš-ša KUB 26.57 obv. i 5 (Instructions of Suppiluliuma I, NS copy).

The definitive study of the status of the arnuwala- remains that of S. Alp 1950-51. The social status of this category is below that of a free man but above that of a slave. One might object to the interpretation of PES$_2$-RA/I(-VIA?) as arnuwala- on the grounds that an arnuwala- simply would not have had property to seal as his possession. This is an assumption. There is no indication that an arnuwala- would not have had property.

The arnuwala- is at the disposal of the king (after Laws §40). If an arnuwala is given by the king to a settlement (URU^{LIM}), said arnuwala- has to be given fields and "becomes a TUKUL-(man)" according

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10. Collation shows that the end of the 'foot' is slightly miscut, at least not as deeply cut as the rest of it, which leads to the slightly misleading shape in the photograph.
11. See Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005: ad No. 534, 549. In No. 549 the orientation of CRUS is similar to here.
12 ibid. 95, with discussion (ibid. 97) of phrasal similarity to Hittite arha ar-/arha tiya-, "to secede, revolt".

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13. Text after Hawkins 2000:345, but translation differing somewhat.
14. ibid. 236, discussion 238. See further SULTANHAN §11.
15. It is unclear whether the Luwian equivalent of VIA, harwan- "road", can ever have a similar ambiguity of meaning to Hittite palsa-, Sumerographically KASKAL, "road, campaign" (CHD P/1: 71, 75) . If it did, this might make some sense in this context: e.g. "deportee of campaign" vel sim. This would more likely be a compound ideogram for arnuwala- than a representation of two words: *harwanas arnuwala- vel sim.
16. This rule is so rigid that RS 25.421, the trilingual from Ugarit (Ugaritica V: pp. 314, 775; supposedly a Hittite import), writes NAM.RA-az in the Hittite column when translating what was clearly pronounced lu-na-am$^?$-r[a] in the phonetic Sumerian column in line 65!

to H. Hoffner's interpretation of the passage.[17] It would thus not be entirely surprising that an *arnuwala-* needed a seal in order to mark his produce or property. This rough little seal from a provincial town would, if this interpretation turns out to be correct, be of considerable interest for social history.

Other interpretations are of course also possible, if equally unappealing. A rebus writing for Hittite [LÚ]*ara-*, "friend", "colleague", is one possible explanation. This is attested relatively frequently with the "professional determinative", LÚ (HWb²: 221-224; HED vol. I: 116-118). It may also be the Hittite correspondent to Akkadographic [LÚ]*TAPPÛ* (HWb²: 221; HED vol. I: 117). One might compare the rebus usage of GUB/DU-[D]10/IŠKUR in the writing of the name *Ari-Teššob* in cuneiform writing. The logogram for standing (GUB) or walking (DU) is used to represent Hurrian *ari*, meaning "gave", on the basis of phonetic similarity with either Hittite *ar-* "to stand", or *ar-* "to come".[18] On the other hand, this again falls foul of the objection that it is hardly a professional designation. Indeed, the occurrence of the determinative LÚ in [LÚ]*ara-* may indicate male rather than female as opposed to profession, as the female equivalent [MUNUS]*ara-* is rarely attested (HWb²: 222). However, the attestation of two male names, if we can in fact exclude the name on side B being a woman, in combination with the designation of one of them as an *ara-*, may be a sign of a business or other partnership. Neither of these possibilities is eminently likely.

Very unclear as well, is the relation of the Nişantepe officials' seals No. 534 and 549 (Herbordt 2005), where CRUS, without *-RA/I*, appears pointing both inwards and out and is also clearly a professional designation. It is interesting that CRUS in No. 549, where the orientation is identical to PES₂-*RA/I* in KL 92-5, occurs in combination with L. 135.2, the crested bird (AVIS₃), as is the case here, although the two are on different sides in KL 92-5. Possibly there is a connection between the two professions.

THE QUESTION OF DATING.

This attestation of PES₂+*RA/I* is likely to be earlier than the KARAHÖYÜK example, the early Iron Age pit in which it was found providing a *terminus ante quem*. The seal type itself, as well as its decoration, would usually encourage a dating to the Hittite Empire Period, although the omnipresent ridge or rill surrounding the edge of Empire period seals is missing.

R.L. Gorny has argued that the biconvex button seal should not be dated later than the 13th century BCE. In an article providing an overview of biconvex button seals from securely dated archaeological contexts from other Anatolian sites, Gorny raised the dating of the biconvex button-seals from Alişar Höyük, which show some similarities in style and execution to the present example, on palaeographic and stylistic grounds to the Late Bronze Age II period (1400-1200 BC) from the Iron Age, where they had been put by the excavator, van der Osten (Gorny 1993: 163-191). Gorny's assumption carries with it the implication that the biconvex seal as such went out of use after the 13th century.

Another issue of debate remaining is whether the apparently hastily executed and crudely carved examples of this biconvex style, such as this one, belong to a later (even post-Hittite) stage in the development of the biconvex type, as suggested as a working hypothesis by H.G. Güterbock, or to an earlier one, as maintained by Gorny.[19] The evidence of this slightly biconvex seal, possibly partly belonging

to an *arnuwala-*, may suggest that this particular stylistic feature should not necessarily be interpreted chronologically, but perhaps in terms of social standing or wealth. This character couldn't afford a beautiful seal. The interpretation does not sit well with the *Auspex* attested on the other side, however.

While a number of Kaman-Kalehöyük stone button-seals conform to the usual Empire Period biconvex type found at Alişar, Boğazköy and elsewhere, some deviate, as does this one, in not having a ridge or rill surrounding the seal at its circumference. Instead this seal has notches on side A and dots on side B. This indeed differs from the clearly Hittite Empire period button-seals and their impressions that have been excavated at Kaman-Kalehöyük. One might speculate that this is a sign of changing style, perhaps at the very end of the Hittite Empire period or even after it. Our knowledge of the stylistic development is not as secure as it could be here. Other explanations are of course possible, such as a social significance that otherwise escapes us.

The above suggestions are of necessity provisional interpretations based on the ongoing work in the publication of the seal material from Kaman-Kalehöyük. Firmer ground will only be obtainable once this has been fully investigated, both in regard to hieroglyphic interpretation and stylistic development. Nothing is here proven, merely suggested, and we still have more questions than answers.

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17. *ták-ku* LUGAL-*ša* NAM.RA[ḤI.'A]-*an*] *pa-a-i nu-uš-še* A.ŠÀ[ḤI.A]-*an pí-an-zi ta-aš* [GIŠ]TUKUL-*li ki-i-š*[*a*], translated by Hoffner (1997:48, 187): "if the king gives an *arnuwala*-man, they will give him land and he will become a TUKUL-(man)."

18. GUB and DU are two Sumerian readings of the same sign. Whether one reads GUB or DU is dependent on which Hittite verb one wishes to see as the basis of the choice of this logogram. See Miller 2007:131; Weeden 2007:35 with fn. 88.

19. Boehmer/Güterbock 1987:65; Gorny 1993:190 tentatively assigns the "sketchy" biconvex seals to the period LB IIa, 1400-1280 or earlier.

REMARKS ON THE HITTITE CUNEIFORM SCRIPT

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Palaeographic research in Hittitology has been successful in distinguishing different forms of cuneiform signs used in different periods. The distinction between Old, Middle and New Script has become commonplace among Hittitologists. This and still further distinctions are widely used for dating manuscripts. However, research into Hittite palaeography is far from having reached an end. For example, defining individual hands has hardly started. It might also be rewarding to analyse the shape of styluses by using technical methods, or to determine the sequence in which the individual wedges of the signs were impressed. In addition, it has to be admitted that the correlation between palaeography and the historical time-scale is still insufficient. The redating of the earliest donation tablets as well as the ongoing debate on the emergence of writing texts in the Hittite language undoubtedly illustrates this.

Dating manuscripts, however, is not the only value of palaeography, although of prime importance for research in Anatolian lingual and cultural developments. Palaeographic research has a strong potential to detect the paths of intellectual transfer within the whole of Ancient Near Eastern cuneiform culture. This avenue of asking questions demands a wider perspective on second millennium cuneiform palaeography in general, whereas a limitation only to the tablets produced within the Hittite sphere would certainly lead to misjudgements.

A central question within this line of reasoning was unavoidable as soon as Hittite tablets appeared: When did the Hittites adopt cuneiform writing, and where was their source of inspiration?

It was evident ever since the days of the pioneers of Hittite studies that there was a discontinuity in the way of writing between the Assyrian colony period and the period of the Hittite kingdom. The contrast between the archaic Old Assyrian script used at Kültepe and the script written by Hittite scribes is obvious. Forrer (1922) and Goetze (1931[1]) observed that the Hittite cuneiform script cannot be derived from the Old Babylonian script of the Hammurapi period and suggested an independent tradition going back to an archaic Old Babylonian script or even to the script of the Ur III period. Landsberger and Güterbock (1937-39) accepted the argument that the Hittite script displays archaic sign forms, but they rejected the view that after branching off at the time of Ur III it further developed in isolation. "The script introduced at the Hittite royal court is undoubtedly a scholarly creation: it has to be admitted that its tradition skipped the development of the Hammurabi period with its tendency to simplification; it, however, participated in the later process of development that led to the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian script." (my translation)

These and other early remarks on the origin of the Hittite script could not yet take into account the role that Syria played as an important region of the cuneiform culture. This only changed with the discovery and subsequent publication of the Mari and Alalaḫ (VII) tablets.

In addition to this, the chronological relevance of variants in Hittite sign forms had not yet been discovered. Even when in 1952 an Old Hittite fragment was found in a stratigraphically pre-Empire

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1. To be corrected according to Güterbock 1989:307-09. cf. also Goetze 1933:63, similar still 1957:66.

level, the palaeographic difference from (late) Empire-period sign forms was not immediately evident even to the experienced excavation epigraphist (Otten 1953:63).[2]

As soon as the Alalaḫ tablets were published (Wiseman 1953), Güterbock 1954 noticed "the similarities between the system of writing used in Alalaḫ Level VII and Boğazköy". In the following decades, especially since the early 70s, palaeographic criteria were increasingly refined, foremost by H. Otten and his students ('Marburg School'). Particularly important were the sign-lists with photographs compiled by Rüster 1972 and Neu and Rüster 1975.

Concerning the question of the origin of the Hittite script, there was wide-spread agreement that the script was introduced by Hattusili I and that it followed the model of a north Syrian scribal school that used a "type of cuneiform script that was developmentally older than the Old Babylonian script" (Kammenhuber 1968:31 [my translation], 1969:163; equally von Schuler 1969:113; see also Gamkrelidze 1961; Gurney 1973:248f.; Neu and Rüster 1989:16; Klengel 1998:333, 339; 1999:55).[3]

Some authors, however, considered an earlier adoption of a north Syrian cuneiform script in Anatolia. Neu 1974:135 ventured an explanation for the existence of the Old Hittite inscription of Anitta by accepting the possibility that Anitta's father Piṭḫana might have brought this script home from a campaign to Syria. If this were correct, both the Old Assyrian and a forerunner of the Old Hittite script would have been used simultaneously during the later phase of the Kültepe period. Güterbock 1983:172f. acknowledges the possibility "that Anitta employed Assyrian-trained scribes when dealing with Assyrian merchants, but Babylonian, or rather Syrian-trained ones for writing Hittite" and refers to "sealed bullae and inscribed dockets found at Acemhöyük" some of which "are inscribed in Babylonian characters, not Assyrian". Wilhelm 1991b:91 argued that the number of texts and the variety of genres that go back to the time of Hattusili I cannot easily be reconciled with the assumption that this king introduced the script to a country without a scribal culture.

The letter kt k/k 4 edited by Hecker 1992 and 1996 and recently commented on by Wilhelm 2008 displays sign forms that in some points deviate from the conservative Old Assyrian script. As Hecker observed, the LA begins with only one horizontal wedge instead of two as in the Old Assyrian and the Hittite forms. In the address the scribe uses the archaic form of NA as in the Kültepe letters, but in the next instances switches to a simpler 'modern' form. The IŠ and LI signs are still rather complicated, but differ from both the Old Assyrian and the Old Hittite forms. In general, the signs have hardly anything specific in common with the Old Hittite script. They strengthen the suspicion that there was much variation in the Middle Bronze Age at the northern and north-western periphery of the cuneiform writing world.

The only tablet that can unquestionably be attributed to Hattusili I's reign - the letter of Labarna to Tuniya of Tigunanu concerning a campaign against Ḫaḫḫu (Salvini 1994; 1996) – supports this assessment. The sign forms do not lead to the Old Hittite inventory of sign forms. Here again, LA begins with one horizontal wedge only, ŠA is written with three or four horizontal wedges, KI has a vertical wedge immediately following the *winkelhaken* and NI (except perhaps in one case) has two small vertical wedges (for further detail see the sign-lists provided by Salvini).

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2. According to his first impression (soon to be corrected by Otten himself), the tablet proves "that the script in its once adopted shape existed at this outpost for centuries without development" (my translation).

3. Kammenhuber, followed by von Schuler, claimed that the same script was borrowed by the Hurrians of Mittani. This obviously false statement is meant to contradict Speiser 1941:13f., who thought that the Hittites received the script through Hurrian mediation. The script used in Mittani, however, was not inspired by North Syrian but by Mesopotamian traditions, presumably by a North Babylonian variant of writing that spread north to Arrapḫa and Assyria; for this script, coined „Assyro-Mittanian" by the present author (Wilhelm 1991a:V, Nr. 28, 29, 34; Wilhelm 1992:88), see the sign-list compiled by Schwemer 1998:17-39, that compares the Assyro-Mittanian, the Mittanian, and the early Middle Assyrian sign forms (14th century BCE).

At this point we should look at the Hittite sign inventory and question the statement that it is "developmentally older than the Old Babylonian script". Fig. 1 shows a selection of Old Hittite signs in comparison with the archaic forms of the Monumental Babylonian Script and with the latest Old Babylonian forms used for writing on clay tablets. It is obvious that there are two profoundly distinct groups: The first deviates strongly from the complicated 'archetype' and perfectly resembles the simplified forms of the late Old Babylonian tablets. In the second group the Hittite forms are still close to the 'archetype' with many more wedges than the late Old Babylonian simplified forms. For these, Fig. 2 offers detailed information and compares these signs with the corresponding signs of the 13th century BCE Hittite script. Hence it is evident that the Old Hittite sign inventory is a mixed system as far as the sign forms are concerned. Conservative forms are mixed with the most modern forms available at the time.

Fig. 1: "Modern" and "Archaic" sign forms in the Old Hittite script
compared to the corresponding sign forms in the Monumental
Babylonian script and the Late Old Babylonian script.

It is not likely that this merger of different traditions took place in Anatolia. Even if we assume that writing continued throughout the Dark Age between the end of the Assyrian colonies and the time of Hattusili I, there was certainly not a scribal culture comparable with that of northern Syria. The tablets from Alalaḫ Level VII represent various genres of administrative and juridical texts (see Zeeb 2001:30), which point to an extensive use of the script for everyday purposes. There is no reason to believe that this was not the case in other towns south of the Anatolian plateau.

Fig. 2: New Hittite sign forms of the 13th century and their antecedents in the Late Old Babylonian sign inventory (based on Finkelstein 1972; see Wilhelm 1984:649).

There is indeed clear correspondence between the Old Hittite and Alalaḫ VII sign forms, though there is considerable variation in sign forms within the Alalaḫ VII corpus. ŠA, e.g. sometimes shows the form familiar from Hittite texts (e.g. Zeeb 2001:532, Text 20:8, 18; 21:2). In many other cases, however, it has three or four horizontal wedges. IG often shows the older Hittite shape, but it may also appear in the simplified form (e.g. Zeeb 2001:517, Text 10:15). NI is often written without vertical wedges as in older Hittite, but sometimes the vertical wedges are still present (e.g. Zeeb 2001:506, Text 4:16; 508, Text 5:17). The URU sign often shows a retracted upper horizontal wedge corresponding to the „archetype"[4] of the sign (e.g. Zeeb 2001:500, Text 1:21; 504, Text 3:14), differing from the older Hittite URU.

The degree of variety is particularly astonishing when one compares the inauguration document for Yarimlim of Alalaḫ, AlT 1, presumably written at Ḫalab. Though this document was written at least 17, if not 32 years (based on the calculations of Zeeb 2001:103) after Hammurapi's destruction of Mari, the script is highly archaic (or archaizing?) and differs remarkably from the simultaneously produced tablet AlT 126 that refers to the same event. These observations fit well into the picture Dominique Charpin sketches when commenting on the letters written at Ilān-ṣurâ: „This example shows us again to which extent the history of writing is non-linear: in the same region, in the same epoch, ways of writing coexisted that in terms of ‚genealogy' did not belong to the same ‚generation'. The Old Assyrian script evidently depends on the Akkadian tradition of Ur III and it continued to be used with minor modifications until the reign of Samsuiluna, at a time when in the same region the tradition of Mari flourished." (Charpin 1989:40, my translation).

4. This term should be taken *cum grano salis*. It refers to the sign forms from which the conservative Old Assyrian forms as well as the simplified Old Babylonian forms are derived.

In this sense, the Old Hittite script in its archaic elements continued the tradition of Old Assyrian sign forms – not directly by picking up the Kültepe tradition, but by adopting a north Syrian tradition that had partially maintained Old Assyrian traditions but at the same time was open to the most modern developments in Babylonia.

As is well known, during the course of the Empire period the so-called New Script gradually replaced the older one. This process cannot be placed on the same level with the shift from the Old Script to the Middle Script, which took place during the Middle Hittite period. The Middle Script basically maintains the essential sign forms of the Old Script, though there are a number of typical peculiarities which today make it easy for us to distinguish the Middle Script. The New Script, however, did not gradually develop from the Middle Script, but was (at least in a number of crucial sign forms) influenced by foreign patterns. This immediately becomes evident when we compare a set of signs which are more complicated in their younger forms than in their older forms. Though younger in Hattusa, they represent a script which is developmentally older.

The source of influence can be easily identified. It was not Babylonia or Assyria, but the Mittani Empire which Suppiluliuma I had conquered in the second half of the 14th century BCE. Fig. 3 shows that there are three different groups of signs:

(1) Developmentally young forms that are replaced by developmentally older forms, e.g. the NI without vertical wedges by the form with two wedges that are part of the „archetype" of the sign, preserved in the Mittanian and Assyrian script.

(2) Developmentally young and simple forms that the Hittite scribes refused to replace by the more archaic and complicated forms of the Mittani repertoire. This is particularly evident with the forms of UM and AH.

(3) Developmentally old forms that are replaced by developmentally young forms which, however, had been in use in Mittani and Assyria long before the Hittites adopted them. The ‚young' forms of AK and KÙ appear in deeds from the time of Abi-ešuḫ of Babylon, who reigned approx. 70 years before Hattusili I. The ‚young' IG and LI can be found in texts from the time of King Ammiditana who is at least one generation older than Hattusili I (see Fig. 2).
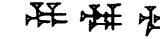
		Old Script	New Script	Mittanian Script
New Hittite sign-forms developmentally older than the Old Hittite sign-forms	NI			
	AL			
Old Hittite sign forms, developmentally young, preserved in the New Script	UM			
	AH			
New Hittite sign-forms developmentally younger than the Old Hittite sign-forms	AK			
	IK			
	KÙ			
	LI			

Fig. 3: "Modern" and "archaic" Old Hittite sign forms compared to the corresponding sign forms in the New Hittite script and the Mittanian script.

It follows that the ‚young' sign forms are only ‚young' in the context of the ‚Boğazköy School', not in the development of cuneiform writing in general. If we take into account that foreign scribes worked at Hattusa and that tablets from foreign libraries came as booty to the Hittite capital, we have to accept the possibility that the Hittitological criteria for dating tablets need not apply. Fortunately, all the tablets in the Hittite language found at Hattusa are likely to have been written by scribes trained on the spot according to the local standards. Here the palaeographic criteria are well-founded and applicable. However, as soon as we deal with tablets from Hattusa written in the Akkadian language, we face a different situation. Here we have to determine whether these texts were written by a scribe trained in the Hattusa School, like the scribes who wrote the Sunassura treaty and the Gilgameš tablets found in the Upper City of Hattusa. In these cases the dating criteria – Middle Hittite script - could be applied (see the sign list in Wilhelm 1988:117-121). In many cases, however, scribes used a set of cuneiform signs for writing Akkadian, which cannot be dated according to Hittitological dating criteria.

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