### DAVID HAWKINS

### THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN STELAE OF MEHARDE-SHEIZAR1

A stele which forms a pair with the curious Meharde stele of the Aleppo Museum<sup>2</sup> has recently become available. In the summer of 1974, I was able to identify the lower part of a stele in the Museum of Hama, Syria, as joining the upper part of a stele on display in the National Museum, Beirut. I communicated this information to the late M. Henri Abdelnour, Secretary of the French Institute of Archaeology in Beirut, who was able to draw the attention of the Departments of Antiquities of the two countries to the fact<sup>3</sup>.

The new stele is registered in Hama Museum as coming from Sheizar, near Meharde, close to where the Hama-Qal'at el Mudiq road crosses the Orontes. Even a superficial observation suggests its similarity with Meharde, while the text itself reveals how close the connection is. In addition, a reading of the two together is able to cast light on some obscurities in the text of Meharde. I have much pleasure in dedicating the study of this pair, Meharde and Sheizar, to that scholar whose work has illuminated for us the entire Luwian language group including the Cuneiform, Hieroglyphic, and Alphabetic Lycian corpuses.

When the two halves of Sheizar can be brought together, I am confident that they will join exactly. The remains of the top line of the lower piece appear to form the bottom of line 5 of the upper piece, thus providing a complete inscription. Of Meharde the lower part is missing, though the figures on the front, of which only the feet are missing, suggest that the lost portion was not large, and the lacunae in the text, as will be seen, need not be assumed to be substantial. The lower part of Sheizar preserves the dowel by which it would have been fixed into its stone base in the manner of, for example, the Sultanhan stele and base<sup>4</sup>. Since the inscription

<sup>(1)</sup> In this article, the logograms and syllabograms will be transcribed according to the system proposed in An. St. 25 (1975), Tables 1-2, pp. 153-155; and abbreviations as noted ibid., 119 note 1

<sup>(2)</sup> Aleppo Museum no. 5051. First published by P. Meriggi, in *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg, 1959), 325-337 and Abb. 2.; reedited, id., *Manuale* 11/2, no. 316, pp. 251-254. In this study reference is made direct to the latter edition. For photographs and some general remarks, see H. T. Bossert, *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 220-223 and pls. LI-LIII.

<sup>(3)</sup> I am most grateful to the General Directorates of Antiquities of Syria and the Lebanon, and to their Directors General, Dr. Afif Bahnassi and the Emir Maurice Chehab, for permission to study the inscriptions and subsequently to publish them.

<sup>(4)</sup> See Bossert, JKF I (1950), 218 ff. and pl. XIX.

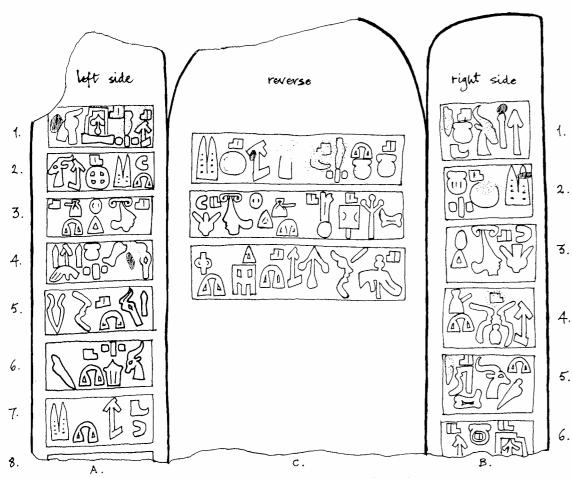
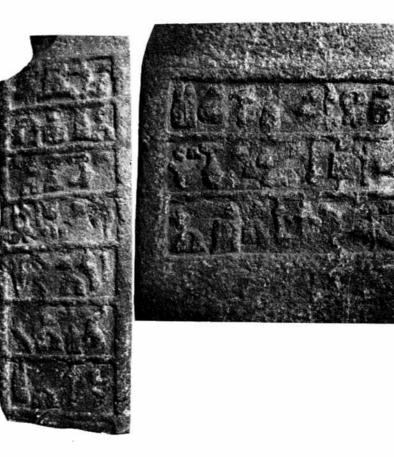


Fig. 1.-MEHARDE stele (in Aleppo Museum).

ends well before the full space of the stele—and indeed two panels prepared for the inscription but unused are visible at the bottom of the right-hand side—it would seem that the missing base was probably uninscribed.

Points of external similarity between the two stelae are the following:—

- (1) Shape: both are round-topped, straight-sided stelae with flat backs.
- (2) Inscription: both bear this on their sides and back.
- (3) Palaeography: some of the sign forms are very peculiar, perhaps archaizing; especially typical are  $\Box$  (word divider, HH, no. 386);  $\Box$  (I) (





similar to that seen on the archaic Carchemish A14b. A similar graphic practice has been noted on the late Carchemish A 22, where it must be considered an archaism.

Points of difference, which turn out to be of little consequence, are the following:-

- (1) Sheizar is smaller than Meharde. It also has a plain undecorated smooth front, where Meharde has the two figures.
- (2) Sheizar's inscription begins on the top of the right-hand side (viewed from the reverse) and then runs straight across the reverse and left-hand side and then back again, and so on to the end. That of Meharde on the other hand starts at the top of the left hand side and runs boustrophedon all the way down that side; after a short lacuna it apparently resumes on the top of the right-hand side, and runs boustrophedon all down that side; and again after a short lacuna finishes on the reverse.

An explanation of the close similarities of the two emerges from the reading of the texts which reveal that the author of Sheizar was the wife (or mother) of the author of Meharde. Furthermore the circumstances presented in the Sheizar inscription make it likely that it was inscribed and erected a considerable time after Meharde, perhaps as much as a generation.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies,  $\it JRAS$  1975/2, 121 note 2; also  $\it Annali~Pisa$  (1978), 779 ff.

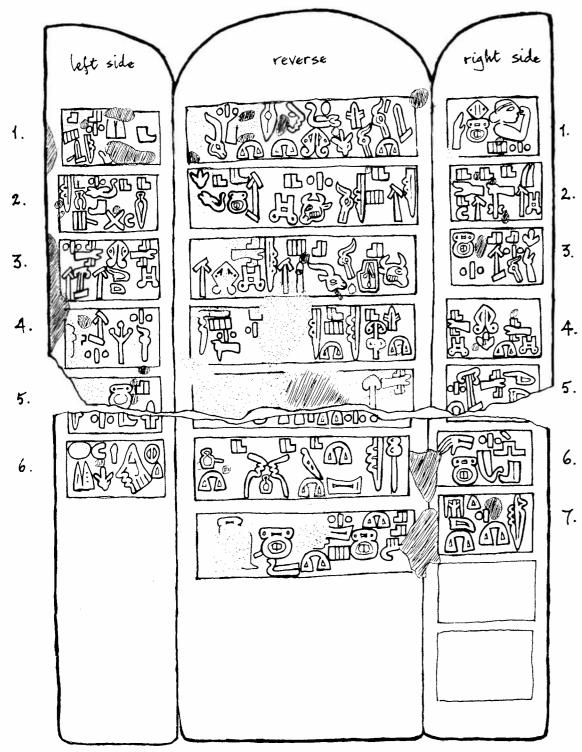


Fig. 2.—SHEIZAR stele (upper part in Beirut, lower in Hama).



As to the absolute date for this pair of monuments, little can be said beyond noting the archaic features of the palaeography shared by the two stelae described above. In addition to these features we may also note that Meharde uses the archaic (Empire period) form of tu (HH, no. 88) while Sheizar uses the normal Late Period form (HH, no. 89). Yet Sheizar uses the archaic form of i,  $\P$ , alongside the form noted above as common to the two stelae. Since the stelae do not form a part of a series in which stylistic development can be noted, but are on the contrary a notably isolated pair, we cannot be confident that these archaic features are not deliberate late archaisms. Orthmann inclines tentatively towards a late date for Meharde (Mahrada) on stylistic grounds.

# MEHARDE (see Fig. 1).

## Transliteration

- $\$  1  $^{(A1)}$  | za-à²-wa/i | ("STELE") ta-(2)sà-za | 292 (REGIO)-ni-sa  $^{(3)}$  | (MAGNUS.DOMINA) ha-su-sa\_5+ra/i-sa
- § 2 | (4) i-zi-i-tà-pa-wa/i-tu [1] ta-(5) i-ta-sa | Heros-(6) li-sa | wa/i-ta<sub>4</sub>-sà-(7) ti-ni-za-sa (REGIO)
- § 3 (8) [ ... ] (B1) REL?  $-i-s\dot{a}$
- § 4 | pa-ti- $'^{(2)}pa$ -wa/i | 292 (Regio)- $^{(3)}ni$ -si | (Magnus. Domina) ha-su- $^{(4)}sa$   $_5+ra/i$ -sa | 1RA(-)za- $^{(5)}sa$ -1i-sa | sa-1u-'
- § 5 (6) |za-pa-[wa/i]| | STELE (7) [ ...
- § 6 (c1) | pa-sa-pa- $\dot{a}$ ?-wa/i | x-x-za | 292 (REGIO)-(2)ni-si | (MAGNUS.DOMINA) ha-su-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-sa | arha | DOMUS+ra/i-nu-tu
- § 7 (3) | Manus+Malleus  $^{1}a$ -scalprum-za-sa | Bonus $_{2}$ . Scriba- $l\acute{a}/\acute{t}$ -sa

### Translation

- § 1 This stele (is) (of?) the Queen of 292-country.
- § 2 Taitas the Watasatinean (country) hero made (it) for her.
- § 3 Who(ever) (?) [shall ... it]
- § 4 against him may the Queen of 292-country be angry!
- § 5 This stele [who(ever) shall ...
- § 6 may the Queen of 292-country eliminate his ...!
- § 7 Ahuzas(?) the Good-Scribe carved (it).

# Sheizar (see Fig. 2).

#### Transliteration

- § 1 EGO-wa/i-mi ku-pa-pi-ia-sa ¹ta-i-ta-si FEMINA-na-tí-sa HEROS-sa wa/i-「ta₄¹-sà-ti-[ni-s]i (「REGIO¹)
  - (6) Untersuchungen zur spätheth. Kunst (Bonn, 1971), 104 f., 519.

- § 2 |  $wa/i-\grave{a}$  (!) | mi-ia+ra/i (2)-' | (IUDEX)tara/i-wa/i-na-ti | CENTUM-ni | ANNUS-si-na | PES  $_{2}$ (-)pa-za-300
- § 3 | wa/i-mu-ta-' | mi-zi-' | Infans-ni-zi | "Manus+x"-zi | 477-300-(3)-si<sup>2</sup> | Ponere<sup>2</sup>-wa/i-ta
- § 4 | za-pa-wa/i-mu | (STELE)la- $s\grave{a}$  | mi-i-zi-' | NEPOS-zi | NEPOS-ka-la-zi (INFANS) $n\acute{a}$ -wa/i-zi (4) x x(-) za-wa/i-nu-wa/i-ta
- § 6 [RE]L?-sa [ ... ]-i
- $\$  7 | pa-ti-[pa]-wa/i-' (6) 292(regio)-ni-i-si (domina)ha-su-sa  $_5+ra/i$ -sa | ira | -li-sa | sa-tu-'
- § 8 malleus.manus-pa-wa/i-na <sup>1</sup>terra-ti-<sup>(7)</sup>273-wa/i-sa bonus<sub>2</sub>.scriba-la-sa
- § 9 mi- $ta_5$ -sa-pa-wa/i-tu(-)mi[...] x-sa pa+ra/i-na x x

### Translation

- § 1 I (am) Kupapiyas, the woman of Taitas, of the hero of the country Watasatini.
- § 2 On account of my justice, I lived(?) one hundred years.
- § 3 My children put(?) me ...
- § 4 and my grandchildren, great-grandchildren (and) great-great-grandchildren caused to ———— this stele (for) me.
- § 5 Among my [posterity(?)] (he) who (is) my grandchild, great-grandchild (or) great-great-grandchild,
- § 6 [wh]o(ever) (?) shall [harm them (?)],
- § 7 against him may the Queen of 292-country be angry!
- § 8 Pedantimuwas(?) the Good-Scribe carved it,
- § 9 and as servant to him PN [was] pre[sent?].

# Philological Notes

#### Meharde

§ 1. (STELE) ta-sà-za: cf. Sheizar 3, (STELE) ta-sà; and for a note on the forms of this word, see Hawkins, An. St. 25 (1975), 145.

292 (REGIO)-ni-sa: cf. 292 (REGIO)-ni(-i)-si, below § 6 and Sheizar § 7. The first appears to be the genitive in -(a)s and the second that in -(a)si (cf. HHL, 29). The place-name thus shows a stem ending in -ni-. The sign HH, no. 292 (circle with St. George's cross) is of unknown but presumably logographic value. But cf. Meriggi,  $Manuale\ II/2$ , p. 252.

"Queen of 292-ni-Country": clearly a goddess from the invocations of her in the curse formulae. The title "Queen" as a title of a goddess is hitherto only attested of Kupapa, "Queen of Carchemish". Here Ba'alat (Pahalatis) of the neighbouring Hamath, or one of her local manifestations, may be invoked.

hasusaras: either genitive, a more usual sense; or perhaps, in view of the

female figure on the front, nominative (i.e. this stele is the Queen ...). Meriggi's edition seems to favour the latter (p. 252).

§ 2. Taitas: the name of the author was effectively illegible until the appearance of Sheizar with its clearer writings of the peculiar form of ta, seen especially in this name.

HEROS-li-sa wa/i-la<sub>4</sub>-sà-li-ni-za-sa(REGIO): cf. Sheizar § 1, heros-sa (genitive) wa/i-la<sub>4</sub>-sà-li-[ni-s]i (lagriculative). The country name, apparently Walasatini-, is found also, as Meriggi notes (p. 252 f.), on a fragment from Tell Ta'yinat. This could imply that it was a place of some importance and not simply a local name in the Meharde-Sheizar area, but until some identification can be suggested, preferably with some name rendered in cuneiform in Assyrian sources, little more can be said.

- § 3. This section, missing from the bottom of the left-hand side, and estimated by Meriggi as at least two lines, though perhaps only one, presumably carried through to the top of the right-hand side, where a possible relative pronoun would be all that remained of a relative clause expressing some sort of infringement of the dedication, followed by the curse of § 4. The appearance of the relative at the end of the clause however would imply that the clause consisted of no more than the verb of infringement followed by particles; cf. Kululu 2, l. 3: "sa<sub>4</sub>"(-)sa-ni-ti-pa-wa/i-mu-u REL-sà-', "who(ever) shall remove (it) from me, ...".
- § 4. IRA(-)za-sa-li-sà: we should probably recognize in this adjective the basic root which normally occurs in the form of a verb, IRA(-sa)-lá|i-sa|sá|za-, i.e. IRA-sala|i-with alternative iterative suffixes -sa|sá- and -za-. This identification would extend the basic root to (-)zasali-, which would rule out identifications with Hitt. šullai- (Meriggi, Glossar<sub>2</sub>, 103 f.) and haršallant- (Laroche, HH. no. 24), but we are still unable to decide whether we yet have the full phonetic spelling.
- § 5. za-pa-[wa/i] STELE [...]: alternatively perhaps za[-ti]-pa-[wa/i] STELE, "for/from this stele". Here too it seems we have no more than part of a clause missing, namely a second envisaged infringement, since the sense seems to continue directly at the top of the reverse with a second curse.
- § 6. x-x-za: the usual object of arha domus +ra/i-nu- is "name", less commonly "man" or "head". Only the first, alamanza, would provide the clearly seen -za, but it is difficult to reconcile the other traces with any known writing of this word.
- § 7. The Scribal Signature: these were elucidated by Laroche (Syria 35 (1958) 275-282), and further commented on by Bossert (Die Sprache 5 (1959), 10-14; Orientalia 29 (1960), 222 f.); see also Hawkins, An. St. 20 (1970), 91.

Among the inscriptions of the late period they are found, besides at Karatepe, associated with the inscriptions Topada, Karaburun, Boybeypinari 1+2, Gaziantep 1, and perhaps also at Ivriz (3). Bossert recognized that of Meharde, and Sheizar adds another fine example.

MANUS+MALLEUS: see below, SHEIZAR, § 8.

 $^{1}\dot{a}$ -scalprum-za-sa: scalprum (HH, nos. 268, 331) is not normally used as a syllabogram. When surrounded by a circle or semicircle it is used to write

huha-, "grandfather" (thus "scalprum" (/Avus)-ha-), but this is a restricted usage. (On til barsip 1, 1. 3 it is written without its circular surround). This usage in "grandfather" suggests a semi-syllabographic value hu, which is indeed attributed to it by Laroche; thus here a possible reading of the name as Ahuzas may be considered.

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Bonus<sub>2</sub>. scriba-lá/i-sa, (and cf. below Sheizar, Bonus<sub>2</sub>. scriba-la-sa): this writing is surely logographic, as on the seals of the Empire period, and not syllabic as taken by Meriggi (Festschrift J. Friedrich, 332-334; Glossar<sub>2</sub>, 112; Manuale II/2, 254). These seals besides Bonus<sub>2</sub>. scriba, show also Bonus<sub>2</sub>. vir<sub>2</sub> and Bonus<sub>2</sub>. femina, interpreted by Güterbock as "good (to) the scribe/man/woman" (verbally at the XXII R.A.I., Göttingen 1975; cf. also Boğazköy V, 73 f.; Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 36 (1977), 9). The latter might alternatively be interpreted, by comparison with Lú.sig<sub>5</sub>, simply as "nobleman" (and by extension "noblewoman"). This would be more appropriate to the context here, where the clear nominative scriba-las rules out the interpretation of "good (to) the scribe"; thus perhaps no more than "noble scribe".

### SHEIZAR

- § 1. FEMINA-na-ti-sa: this phonetic complement to FEMINA can undoubtedly indicate "mother" (as in Karatepe III, 15), with a presumed reading ana<sup>n</sup>tis. It may however also indicate "woman, wife", unknown reading; see Hawkins, An. St. 20 (1970), 80 f. Of the two options here, I feel that the context somewhat favours the latter, but it must remain an open question.
- § 2. wa/i-à: curious transposition of the normal à-wa/i.

CENTUM-ni ANNUS-si-na, "for 100 years": in Hieroglyphic, as in Hittite, nouns regularly appear in the singular after the larger numerals (Meriggi, Manuale I, cap. II § 108 n. 2), and an adverbial accusative is regularly found in expressions of time (Manuale I, cap. III § 12; and cf. Friedrich, Heth. Elementarbuch I², § 194).

 ${
m PES}_2(-)pa$ -za-300: the sign HH, no. 300 is not elsewhere attested in the syllabographic usage which appears here, where it presumably represents the ending of the verb. Contextually the most likely tense ending is 1 sing. preterite, hence a tentative value  $ha_{\rm x}$  may be attributed to 300.

pes<sub>2</sub>(-)pa-za-: several examples of this verb occur; see Meriggi, Glossar<sub>2</sub>, p. 90 f. s.v. pa-, and 83 paī-. The following rearrangement of the material is suggested:—

simple, 3 sing. imperative, PEs<sub>2</sub>(-)pa-tu (Assur e, iv 1) iter., 1 sing. preterite, PEs<sub>2</sub>(-)pa-za-ha (Carchemish A12, 4-5) PEs<sub>2</sub>(-)pa-za-ha<sup>2</sup><sub>x</sub> (Sheizar, 2) PEs<sub>2</sub>(-)pa-za/i-ta (Topada, 5)

same verb?:-

iter., 3 sing. present, pa-za-i (Babylon stele, l. 5) causat., 3 sing. present, pa-nu-wa/i-i (Sultanhan stele, top, l. 1)

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delete:—

pa-ti-a, CE VII, 4 | readings too doubtful pa-ta, XLIX 2E | readings too doubtful pa-ta, II 6E Satz 9 (see An. St. 25 (1975), 142 f.)

The forms preceded by PES<sub>2</sub> may be interpreted generally as verbs of motion, and the question arises as to whether we have here the full phonetic writings, and if so whether the verb is to be identified with either of the two forms written without PES<sub>2</sub>.

The present context might offer the possibility of identifying the verb. The cun. Hitt. wezzapant-, "old" has been analysed as wett-, "year", +pant-"having gone, passed, spent" (Güterbock, Cor. Ling., 64 f.; Neumann, Indogermanica, 143 f.; Hoffner, Orientalia, 35 (1966) 395 f.). The existence of the same formation in Luwian has been suggested in the Hieroglyphic u-su-pa-ti-, although there is difficulty in explaining the form (Carruba, Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo, Classi di Lettere 108 (1974), 581 f.; cf. Hawkins, An. St. 25 (1975) 137 for context). If, as seems plausible, we may connect the present passage with this form, we would recognize in Hier. a verb (PES<sub>2</sub>) pa- (iter. paza-), "to go" (cognate, Hitt. pai-), of which the iterative might be used to express the sense "to live" (cf. colloquial English, "to keep going"). However the other attestations do not offer unambiguous support.

The statement "I lived a hundred years" might be thought an implausible interpretation of a remark attributed to a woman on a stele. We may however eite the parallel case of Adda-guppi', mother of Nabonidus, whose first-person narrative inscription represents her as alive and well at the age of 104 (See ANET, supplement, 560 ff.). Like Kupapiyas here, she speaks of her great-great-grandchildren, the fourth generation. The end of the inscription relates her death and burial, which thus characterizes the stele as a funerary monument. In its much shorter and simpler way, the Sheizar stele belongs to the same genre.

- § 3. The reading of some signs and the interpretation of this clause is somewhat speculative. The problems are:—
  - (i) the verb: this ends in -wa/i-ta, which is preceded by a "hand" sign and probably a word-divider. The most obvious interpretation is | PONERE-wanta, "they put", yet doubt remains since the "hand" looks more like the "giving hand" (pi) than the "putting" (PONERE).
  - (ii) the preceding word: the most plausible reading of this is as given in the transliteration, and with the provisional value suggested above of HH, no. 300 as  $ha_{\rm x}$ , we may propose  $477(-)ha_{\rm x}$ - $si^2$ . This word is more easily construed as a dative sing. than an accusative.

A possible alternative reading of the last two words would be  $(477(-)ha_x-si^2-pi\mid wa/i-ta)$ . A verb wa/i- is not however attested.

(iii) "MANUS+x"-zi: the logogram, which appears elsewhere only at SUVASA and doubtfully on KAYSERI (Glossar<sub>2</sub>, no. 65 (2)), seems here to stand for an adjective, which from its ending might be taken to be nom./acc. plur. MF

in agreement with infans-ni-zi. In Hieroglyphic however, adjectives normally precede the qualified noun (but cf. za-à-zi deus-ni-zi ta-ni-mi-zi, "all these gods", Carchemish A 1a, 3), so it might be preferable to suppose that it was dative sing. agreeing with the following word.

- (iv) interpretation: since  $477(-)ha_x$ - $si^2$  is best taken as dative, we should probably seek the direct object in -mu-. The sense "my children put me in/on ..." seems plausible, and a guess would supply the sense "grave" or "funeral pyre". Some support for the latter could come from the possible interpretation of the logogram HH, no. 477 as "flames" (Meriggi,  $Glossar_2$ , no. 205)—it determines the verbs kinuwa- (Maras 3, l. 2; Cekke, obv. top, 1-2, restored), iterative kinusa- (Aleppo 2, l. 6, collated), and laslas- (with cognate adjective lazali-; Hamath V+VI, see An. St. 25 (1975), 138), which could both have some sense of "burn". To read (Flammae) hasi and associate the word with Hitt. hašša-, Luw. haššanitti-, "hearth" is tempting but perhaps too bold in view of the accumulated doubts of the passage.
- §§ 4-5 Cf. An. St. 25 (1975), 126. It was this passage which suggested the value  $n\acute{a}$  for  $\rat{r}$  and led to its identification in other contexts as the logogram used to write the factual negative.

x-x(-)za-wa/i-nu-wa/i-: although this causative verb is apparently from an otherwise unattested root, the context permits only a rather narrow range of possible interpretations, "made", "set up", "inscribed", or the like.

- § 6. Traces and context combined to suggest a restoration of sense as offered.
- § 8. Malleus.manus: this interesting separation of the usual ligature of two signs, HH, no. 330, found in all other attestations (Karatepe, Topada, Boybeypinari, Gaziantep, Meharde) shows that the tool held, at least in these two inscriptions is HH, no. 280 (malleus) not a variant of "chisel" (HH, no. 329). It is not however possible to determine the exact nature of the tool represented from the pictorial content of the logogram.

<sup>1</sup>LOCUS-ti-273-wa/i-sa: as regards the first element of the name, which may be compared with the scribe's name on Boybeypinari I A, I argued (in An. St. 20 (1970), 79) that LOCUS had a full phonetic reading titi. I now fully agree with the reservations expressed by Meriggi (Manuale II/2, 77), and have more recently argued that LOCUS- $ta_4/ta_5$ - corresponds to the Hitt. peda-, and that LOCUS- $ta_4/ta_5$ -ti is an extended form \*pedanti- (JRAS 1975/2, 130). I suggest therefore that the first element of this name, and of that in Boybeypinari, may be so read.

-273-wa/i-: the logogram is not elsewhere attested with this phonetic complement, but is used to determine two other nouns, warpi-, "skill?" and vis (perhaps read piha-), "power" (An. St. 25 (1975) 151 and 141). Both these words seem to be physical attributes, and both in the passages cited are also associated with the attribute muwa-. I therefore suggest a possible reading

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of -273-wa/i- as -muwa-. The resulting name *Pedantimuwa*- would be the same as the scribe's name on Boybeypinari I A, though the style and location of this inscription are so widely separated from Boybeypinari that no identification of the two scribes could be suggested.

§ 9. mi-la<sub>5</sub>-sa-: clearly this clause names another person involved in writing the inscription besides the scribe. Milas is attested as a PN (Babylon bowl; cf. Noms, no. 808), and if it is so here, the following damaged word would designate his office, thus "Mitas the [apprentice]". Alternatively as suggested in the translation milas denotes the office and the PN is the damaged word.

Additional logograms transcribed into Latin:

**Δ** BONUS<sub>2</sub> (HH, 370)

 $VIR_2$  (HH, 386)

 $\bigcirc$  DOMINA (HH, 15)

**©** CENTUM (*HII*, 399)