

- Puhvel, J. 1975: 'Greek Attestations of Indo-European **dhyagh*^w', *Incontri linguistici*, 2: 129–34.
- 1979: 'Some Hittite Etymologies', in *Florilegium Anatolicum: mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris: de Boccard), 297–304.
- Rieken, E. 1999: *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, 44; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
- Schindler, J. 1969: 'Die idg. Wörter für "Vogel" und "Ei"', *Die Sprache*, 15: 144–67.
- Schrijver, P. 1991: *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi).
- Sivertsen, E. (ed.). 1958: *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists* (Oslo: Oslo University Press).
- Starke, F. 1990: *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, 31; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
- Szemerényi, O. 1964: *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of Indo-European Accent* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli).
- Wackernagel, J. 1888: 'Miscellen zur griechischen Grammatik', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 29: 124–52.
- Weitenberg, J. J. S. 1979: 'Einige Bemerkungen zu den hethitischen Diphthong-Stämmen', in Neu and Meid (1979), 289–303.

25

The Stag-God of the Countryside and Related Problems

J. D. Hawkins

To Anna, to commemorate a forty-year struggle with the Hieroglyphs

The Hittite Hieroglyphic signs registered by Laroche in *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites* (1960), nos. 461–3, form an entangled nexus of problems. Fortunately the steady accumulation of new examples permits here as elsewhere gradual progress in our understanding. My attempt in this article to sort out these signs and their usages does lead to some revisions, alterations, and additions to Laroche's *HH* nos. 461–3, which are presented at the end (§6). This is a small offering to Anna Morpurgo Davies in gratitude for our many years of profitable collaboration on these inscriptions. Unlike most of my papers, this one will not have been scrutinized by her before publication, so I can only hope that she does not find too many points requiring revision.

1 The Empire Period Deity CERVUS₃.DEUS.L.463-*ti*

The Hieroglyphic Empire period sign L.463 has become much better understood since Laroche registered it, thanks to an increase in clarifying attestations. In the god's name in the EMİRGAZİ altars text written CERVUS₃.DEUS.L.463-*ti*, L.463 was recognized as an epithet of the Stag-God by E. Masson (1979: 43–4), though equated with the wrong Cun. correspondence. Since then the nature of the writing and its correct Cun. correspondence have been amply established. It is now clear that when the Stag-God's name occurs, as it does frequently, as the second element of a personal name, the first element is regularly written behind the tall antler sign CERVUS₃ in the angle between it and its phonetic complement -*ti*, and the same arrangement of the signs is visible in the writing of the god's name with epithet (Hawkins, ap. Herbordt forthcoming: VIII.3.2, excursus 2). Thus the EMİRGAZİ god's name which may be understood as

(DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti L.463 'Stag-God of L.463', is now exactly paralleled by CERVUS₃.DEUS.REX-ti, to be understood as (DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti REX, '(Stag-God =)Tutelar Deity of the King' (Herbordt forthcoming: no. 497). See Fig. 25.1(a)–(b).

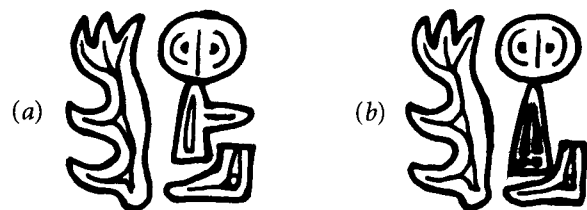



FIG. 25.1. (a) 'Stag-God of L.463'; (b) 'Stag-God of the King'

It is thus clear that in Laroche's L.463, the DEUS sign should be removed, leaving the entry only as the sign form .

The new EMIRGAZI fragment published by Sedat Alp (1973: 11–13, fig. 1(a)–(c)) gave a context, albeit fragmentary, which recurred at YALBURT on a pair of blocks, and thereby permitted their juxtaposition:

1. EMIRGAZI frag.

CERVUS₃.DEUS.L.463-ti wa/i-sà-ti

wa/i-mi-i(a)-' VITELLUS.L.485 L.463. L.398 [...]

2. YALBURT blocks 16+10

(16) [(DEUS)] CERVUS₃ (+10) wa/i-sà-ti

a-wa/i-mi HEROS L.463.L.398 VITELLUS.L.285 MAGNUS REX

See Fig 25.2; and Hawkins (1992: 260–1, 263; 1995: 78–9).

In these two attestations the sign L.463, besides appearing as the god's epithet, recurs together with L.398, and though this pair is obscure (perhaps a title rather than a verb, see now Hawkins forthcoming), it is noteworthy that the YALBURT attestation of L.463 faces in the opposite direction to that of the EMIRGAZI fragment, i.e. with its horizontal projection pointing towards rather than away from the beginning of the line. We may distinguish the form thus oriented as L.463(2). It occurs in this form also on the inscription BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG) as an epithet of the goddess Sauska (see Fig. 25.3(a) below), and it was this attestation that permitted Dr Ilse Wegner to equate Hier. L.463(1–2) with Cun. LÍL (see Hawkins 1995: 33–4), thus identifying it as a logogram reading Hitt. *gimra*-,

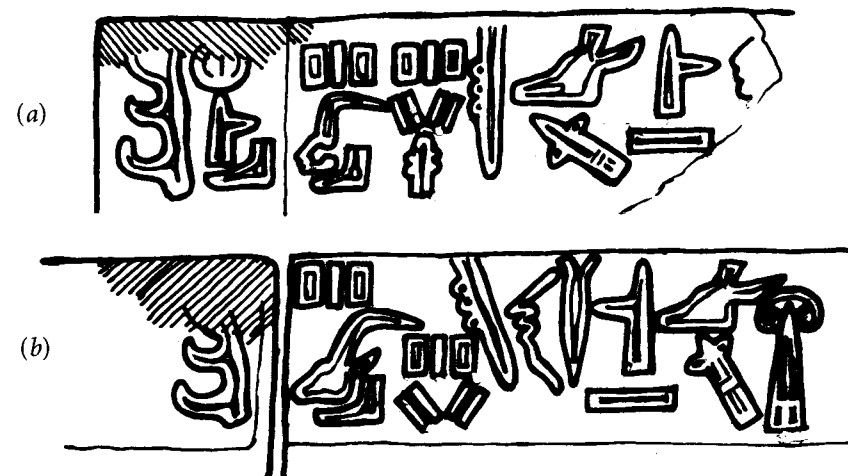


FIG. 25.2. (a) EMIRGAZI frag.; (b) YALBURT, blocks 16+10

Luw. *imra*- 'field, country(side)'. This identification gives us the reading of CERVUS₃.DEUS.L.463-ti as *imrassi-Kurunti(ya)* - 'Stag-God of the Country(side)' (for CERVUS₃-ti read *Kurunti(ya)*, see Hawkins 1995: 62 n. 251 and ap. Herbordt forthcoming: VIII.3.2 excursus 2).

The other occurrences of L.463 remain to be elucidated: besides the obscure L.463. L.398 noted above, also the EMIRGAZI altars word á-CERVUS₃.L.463(1)-zi/a (altars §§2, 30; see Fig. 25.3(b)), which indicate object(s), acc. sing. N or plur. MF, placed on Mount Sarpa ('Table Mountain') in the course of establishing the cult of the Stag-God of the Country there.



FIG. 25.3. (a) (DEUS)L.463(2) sà-US-ka; (b) á-CERVUS₃-L.463(1)-zi/a

2 The Late Period Deity i-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS₃

These EMIRGAZI Empire period attestations of the Stag-God of the Country may be connected with a Late group apparently presenting the same

deity: see *CHLI* i/1–2. 37 (xviii), 357, 524, where it is transcribed *i-pá*² (DEUS)CERVUS₃. This group was in the process of becoming clearer as *CHLI* i made its ten-year journey through the press, though the key evidence, that of the later ANCOZ fragments (7, 10, also 5), only became available very late, just in time to be included and for last-minute cross-references to be inserted. It was too late to alter the text to present the evidence in the most logical way, so the opportunity to do this here is now taken.

In collecting the examples, I had assumed that the second sign of the Stag-God's epithet was L.462, transcribed then with increasing reservations *pá*², but I was basing this only on the attestations *ŠIRZI* and *MARAŠ* 1 (cit. 8, 9 below), which do resemble L.462, and ANCOZ 1 (cit. 4), which now together with the new ANCOZ attestations (cit. 3, 5, 6, 7) raises doubts on the identification. This indeed is the problem which must be addressed here. In anticipation of my conclusion that this sign is a Late form of Empire L.463, I transcribe it here in the following citations as L.463(3). The relation of L.463(1–3) to L.461–2 will be examined subsequently.

ATTESTATIONS OF L.463(3)

3. ANCOZ 7, §§4, 9 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

§4. | *za-zi-i-pa-wa/i* URBS-*mi-i-zi-*' DEUS-*na-si-i* DOMUS.PONERE²-*ti-zi* | *za-a-zi-ha u¹-x(-)* PRAE-*ia-zi* REL-*i-sa* i-L.463(3) + *ra/i-sa-na* (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ia á-ta₅* (DEUS)AVIS (DEUS)SOL-*ti* (DEUS)*i-ku + ra/i* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku* ARHA *tà-i* . . .

§9. *ni-pa* | *za* MENSA | REL-*sa* i-L.463(3) + *ra/i* (DEUS)CERVUS₃ *á-ta₅* (DEUS)AVIS (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ha* ["MALUS"-*ta-tara/i-ti* PRAE-*ha* *tà-i*

These cities, habitations (?) of the gods, and these . . . (he) who shall take away from the Stag-God of the Country, ATA Kubaba, the Sun, the god Ikura, the god Tasku . . .

or who shall take . . . this table from (?) the Stag-God of the Country, ATA Kubaba and Tasku with malice . . .

Notes

§4. Sequence of gods, Stag-God, Kubaba, Sun, Ikura, Tasku, recurs with variations throughout the Commagenian inscriptions; cf. especially the next citation.

§9. PRAE-*ha*: apparently preverb, where ARHA would be expected.

4. ANCOZ 1, ll. 1–2 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

l. 1 *a-wa/i za-ia* (ARGENTUM.DARE) *ti-na-tá* (LIBARE)*sa₅ + ra/i-la-i-ti* i-L.463(3) (DEUS) CERVUS₃ (FEMINA) *á-ta₅* (DEUS)*ku + AVIS-[pa]-pa* ||

l. 2. | (DEUS) SOL¹ | (DEUS) *i¹-ku + ra/i* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia-ha* 1 GAZEL-LA (ANIMAL)-*sa* CORNU(-)*ku-wa/i-ha² á-pa-si-ti-ta*

and they will offer these tithes . . . the Stag-God of the Country, ATA Kubaba (. . .?)

the Sun, Ikura, and to the god Tasku one gazelle . . .

Notes

That the god sequence runs on from ll. 1–2 seems probable but is not certain, since l. 1 might have continued round the corner of the block to the lost next side—note the traces of writing there at the bottom of l. 2. The last two words in the citation of l. 2 are unknown and unintelligible.

5. ANCOZ 5, §1


§1 . . .]-*za²* [i-L.463(3)] + *ra/i* [. . .?]-*sá* (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti-[sa]* (FEMINA)*á-ta₅-sa* (DEUS)AVIS-*sa* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-sá* (MONS)*hu + ra/i-tu-la-sa-ha* MONS(-)*wa/i-ti-sa-*' ARHA | ("MANUS")*pa + ra/i-nu-wa/i-tu*

. . . the Stag-God [of the Country(?)], ATA Kubaba, Tasku, and Mount Hurtula, let them ARHA PARANUWA.

Notes

When I saw and photographed ANCOZ 5 in Adiyaman Museum in 1990, it was still partially covered with dirt and I did not have the opportunity to clean it. Subsequently Massimo Poetto did clean and photograph it and kindly sent me photographs and his transliteration. His publication of this is to appear in the *Gedenkschrift E. Neu* (*Hethitica*, forthcoming), which will supersede my *CHLI* edition. I am most grateful for his permission to quote this passage here.

[i-L.463(3)] + *ra/i* [. . .?]-*sá*: it seems likely in this god-sequence context that the epithet of the Stag-God was represented by these traces.

On l. 2 (§§3, 4) it is now clear from Poetto's photographs that the verb *sakatalisa(n)ta* occurs twice (3 plur. pret.), each time determined by a sign which is very similar to if not identical with the form of L.463(3) in all these contexts, i.e. : §3, subjects Hattusili and Suppiluliuma, object 'the mountain'; §4, subjects H.'s and S.'s servants. The verb *sakatalisa-* without the determinative is found on BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§4, 7. The context here and there seems to identify it as a favourable action.

6. ANCOZ 10, ll. 1–2 (sign-form of L.463(3): 𐤀𐤃𐤕)

1. 1 . . . AVI]S² (DEUS)SOL (DEUS)*i-ku + ra/i-na* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ha* | ARHA (L.69)*la-la-ti*

1. 2 . . .] 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)

(DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia* 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)

hu + ra/i-tu-la-wa/i-tà MONS(-)*wa/i-ti* REL-*i-sa* i-L.463(3) [(DEUS)]CERVUS₃ x [. . .

. . .] shall take away [the Stag-God², Kubab]a², Ikura, and Tasku . . .

. . .]one gazelle,

for Tasku one gazelle.

And (he) who on Mount Hurtula the Stag-God of the Country [. . .

Notes

As noted in my edition, it seems likely in the context that the god sequence was headed, as elsewhere in the Commagenian inscriptions, by the Stag-God of the Country and Kubaba, whose name may be represented by a trace of AVIS.

7. ANCOZ 3, l. 2 (sign-form of L.463(3): 𐤀𐤃𐤕)

. . .]x-wa/i[. . .] | za-[. . .] (MONS)*hu + ra/i-tu-la* . . .] MONS(-)[. . .] i-L.463(3) *tara/i-pa-mi*[. . .] | a-[. . .] FRONS-*la/i/u*[. . .] za[. . .

Notes

The interest which can be gleaned from this fragment attaches to the association of an i-L.463(3) *tarpami* with ‘this Mount Hu[rtula]’, and the connection with i-L.463(3) PES₂.PES-*pa-mi*-, following cit.

8. ŞIRZI §§1–6 (sign-form of L.463(3): 𐤀𐤃𐤕)

§1. [z]a-wa/i [i]-L.463(3) PES₂.PES-*pa-[mi]-na* L.417-*ti*-CERVUS₃-*ia-sa* . . . (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ia-sá* BONUS-*mi-sa* SERVUS-*ta₄-sa* | i-zi-i-tà

§2. | wa/i-ta | á-mi-i-na DOMINUS-*ni-na* i-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ia-na* (“LIGNUM”)ha-zi-wa/i + ra/i-ti | u-sa-nu-sa-ha

§3. i-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ia-sa* MONS-*ti-zi* “DOMUS+SCALA[”]-ha-ti-i | PRAE-na | a-ru-wa/i + ra/i-tu

§4. wa/i-tu | L.356-sà(-)mì-wa/i-sa | HWI-ta-ni-ia-za | sù-pu-na pi-pa-sa-tu

§5. | za-pa-wa/i i-L.463(3) PES₂.PES-*pa-mi-na* | REL-sá | ARHA li-L.375-ti

§6. | á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i + ra/i-ta | i-L.463(3)-sá | (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti-sá* | (L.464) ha + ra/i-ma PES₂.PES-*pi-tu*

This TARPAMI of the Country . . . ti-Runtiya, the Stag-God’s dear servant, made.

I kept blessing my lord the Stag-God of the Country with ritual(s),

may the mountains of the Stag-God of the Country bow down (?) before . . . ,

may they keep giving to him the wild beasts’ milk (??) to suck(?).

This TARPAMI of the Country (he) who shall . . . away,

for him may the Stag-God of the Country HARAMA TARPI it/them.

Notes

The points of relevance to our enquiry are the prominence of i-L.463(3) (DEUS) CERVUS₃ (read nom. *Runti(ya)s*, acc. *Runtiyan*, gen. *Runtiyas*), and his association with the construction of an i-L.463(3) PES₂.PES-*mi*- (= *tarpami*-, see commentary in *CHLI* i/h, ad loc., and JISREL HADID frag. 3, l. 3 (“PES₂.PES”) *tara/i-pa-ma-za*, dat. plur.?).

9. MARAŞ 1, §§6, 11 (sign-form of L.463(3): 𐤀𐤃𐤕)

§6. | wa/i-mu-ta | LIS + la/i/u-si-sá (DEUS) [. . .]-ti-i-sa i-L.463(3)-si-ha-’ (DEUS)*ru-ti-ia-sá-’* | (“IUDEX”) *tara/i-wa/i-na-za-ta-’*

. . .

§11. i-L.463(3)-si-pa-wa/i-muⁱ DEUS CERVUS₃-*ti-ia-sá* REL-za<<-wa/i>> | (BESTIA) HWI-*tara/i* | pi-pa-sa-ta

Me the [Sun(?)]-God of the Lawsuit and the Stag-God of the Country made ruler . . .

. . .

The wild animals which the Stag-God of the Country used to give to me . . .

Notes

The probability of restoring (DEUS)[SOL]-*ti-i-sa* (*Tiwtis*) is argued in my edition. Note the writing of the nominative *Runtiyas* as against the *Runtis* of cit. 5 §1, and cit. 8 §6.

10. BULGARMADEN, §7 (sign-form of L.463(3): 𐤀𐤃𐤕)

| “L.463(3)”-i-sa-pa-wa/i (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti-ia-sá-ti-i* | (BONUS) wa/i-sa₃ + ra/i-ti-i | á-mi-i | DOMINUS-*ni-i* (BESTIA)HWI-sa₃ + ra/i-’ | pa (+ ra/i?) -ti-i | u-ta-ti-na-ha

And by the favour of the Stag-God of the Country I UTATINA-ed the wild animals there (?) for my lord.

Notes

It was in my *CHLI* commentary to this section that I collected the examples of this epithet of the Stag-God. However, the ANCOZ fragments only became available when my text was already in press, and I was only able to insert brief cross-references. This is now rectified here.

SUMMARY OF ATTESTATIONS

cit. 3	<i>i</i> -L.463(3) + <i>ra/i</i> - <i>sa-na</i>	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃ - <i>ia</i>	(dat. sing.)
	<i>i</i> -L.463(3) + <i>ra/i</i>	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃	(dat. sing.?)
cit. 4	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃	(dat. sing.?)
cit. 5	[<i>i</i> -L.463(3)] + <i>ra/i</i> -[...?]- <i>sá</i>	(DEUS)CERVUS ₂ - <i>ti</i> -[<i>sa</i>]	(nom. sing.)
cit. 6	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)	[(DEUS)]CERVUS ₃	(not nom. sing.)
cit. 7	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)	<i>tarpami</i> [...]	(?)
cit. 8	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)	PES ₂ .PES- <i>pamin</i>	(acc. sing. MF)
	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)- <i>sá</i> (gen. sing.?)	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃ - <i>ti-sá</i>	(nom. sing.)
	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃ - <i>ia-na</i>	(acc. sing. MF)
	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃ - <i>ia-sa</i>	(gen. sing.)
cit. 9	<i>i</i> -L.463(3)- <i>si</i> (gen. sing.)	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃ / <i>ru-ti-ia-sá</i>	(nom. sing. MF)
cit. 10	"L.463(3)"- <i>i-sa</i>	(DEUS)CERVUS ₃ - <i>ti-ia-sá-ti-i</i>	(gen. adj.)

RECOGNITION OF THE DEITY

In the ANCOZ inscriptions in which the majority of the attestations occur, the deity *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS₃ heads a group of Commagenian gods which normally follow with ATA Kubaba, the Sun, Ikura, and Tasku, or with Mount Hurtula, and they receive offerings, specifically gazelles. In the occurrences of the deity outside Commagene, in Malatya (ŞIRZI), Gurgum (MARAŞ 1), and Tuwana (BULGARMADEN), he appears in each case associated with the wild animals. His character as the specific Stag-God 'of the Country' seems adequately clear, and this links him to the Empire L.463 (=Cun. LÍL) (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti* also recognized as this deity.

FUNCTION OF THE SIGN L.463(3)

If Empire L.463/LÍL/*imrassi*-(DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti* is the same as Late *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti(ya)*-, how may we understand the function of the sign L.463(3)? That it is a Late form of Empire L.463(2) is suggested by its appearance, an elongated triangle with a projection towards the beginning of the line. An examination of its usage shows peculiarities. Cit. 10 (BULGARMADEN) seems explicitly to mark it as a logogram (but cf. my not very convincing attempt to reconcile this with the other writings, *CHLI* i/2. 524); and as determinative of the verb (L.463(3)) *sakatalisa*- (see cit. 5, notes) it can only be a logogram. In the other examples, however, where it stands as second sign in the word, it should be a syllabogram. There we find *i*-L.463(3) either alone (cit. 4, 6, 7, 8 §§1, 2, 3, 5), or +*ra/i* (cit. 3 §9), or with case-ending alone (cit. 8 §6, -*sá*, gen. sing.?, 9, -*si* gen. sing., twice), or most significantly +*ra/i*-*sa-na* (cit. 3 §4, clearly dat. sing. of gen. adj., which should represent *imrasan*). In this last example L.463(3) could simply be given a value *ma_x*, but this does not easily fit with the more numerous examples without +*ra/i* and/or case-endings, i.e. *i*-*ma_x* hardly seems

a likely abbreviation for *imrasi*-. Perhaps an explanation may be found in the proposed derivation of Late L.463(3) from the Empire logogram L.463 (= *imra(ssi)* -): thus the writing *i*-L.463(3) might be understood as *i*-*IMRA*-, to which +*ra/i* and/or case-endings might be added as phonetic complements, while *i*- might have originated as a preposed phonetic indicator parallel to the postposed ones found in the Empire period, e.g. VIR.*zi/a* = *ziti*-. The BULGARMADEN writing remains difficult to explain: perhaps "*IMRA*"(*i*)-*sa* = *imras*, gen. sing.? The use of a logogram *IMRA* to determine the verb *sakatalisa*- is not readily understood.

3 The Late Sign L.462 (+*ra/i*)

As noted above, this sign is similar in appearance to L.463(3) but may be different and should be considered separately in an attempt to decide the question. The regular form of L.462 (𐤊𐤌) differs somewhat from the ANCOZ examples of L.463(3) (𐤊𐤌), though the ŞIRZI and MARAŞ 1 forms of L.463(3) are much closer to L.462 (𐤊𐤌, 𐤊𐤌).

In reassessing the examples of L.462 collected in *CHLI* i/1. 36–7, it is appropriate to take them in a different order here (the original numbering is included in brackets). A provisional transliteration of L.462 as *ma_x* will be seen as appropriate.

Note that cit. 11–23 are all +*ra/i*, only cit. 24–6 lack it.

ATTESTATIONS POSITIVELY POINTING TO *ma_x*

11. (viii) (DEUS) *ma_x* + *ra/i*-*wa/i*-*zi-i* (KULULU 2, §6), identified with Cun. DINGIR^{MES} *mar-wa-a-in-zi* (see *CHLI* i/2. 489–90).
12. (vi) ("DELERE") *ma_x* + *ra/i*-*nu-wa/i*- (TELL AHMAR 6, §21), new attestation confirming Melchert's proposal to recognize a full phonetic writing of the verb on KARKAMIŞ A28g (see *CHLI* i/1. 154), and at the same time his *ma_x* value for the sign L.462 by association of this verb with Hitt. *me/irnu*-, *marnu*-(?) 'make disappear' (for which see *CHD*, s.v.) is further supported by this comparison.
13. (vii) (DEUS.BONUS) *ku-ma_x* + *ra/i*-*ma*- (TELL AHMAR 1, §2), identified as a Late appearance of the grain-god *Kumarbi* (Hawkins 1981: 166–7).
14. (iii) ("LOQUI") *ma_x* + *ra/i*-*ta* 'commands (?)' ((nom.)/acc. plur. N), identified by Melchert with Hier. ("LOQUI") *ma-ra* + *a-ti*-, same meaning (sing. MF). To my objection that the sing. of plur. ("LOQUI") *ma_x* +

ra/i-ta is “LOQUI”-*tà-zà* (KAYSERİ, §20, see *CHLI* i/1. 37, 143; i/2. 475), Melchert points out (pers. comm., 23 July 2002) that both *marati-* (MF, *i*-mutation) and *marata(n)(za)* (N) could represent the singular of *marata*.

ATTESTATIONS WHERE *ma_x* READING PRODUCES IDENTIFIABLE STEMS

15. (x) (“ANNUS”) *ma_x + ra/i(-i)* following (“ANNUS”) *u-si*, = Phoen. *zḇḥ ymm* ‘annual sacrifice’ (KARATEPE, 57), compared by Melchert with Hitt. *wetti* (MU) *me(a)ni*, for which see now *CHD*, s.v. *meya(n)ni*; Rieken (2001).
16. (xi) (L.255) *ma_x + ra/i-ia-ni-*, = Phoen. *mlšm* (KARATEPE, 57), possibly = Cun. *mariannu* ‘chariot-warrior’ (*CHLI* i/1. 60); or alternatively associate with stem *mari-* < *madi-*, Hitt. *mad-* ‘resist’ (Schwemer 1996: 30–5).
17. (i) (L.349) *sà-ma_x + ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-* (URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§3, 37), ethnicon, epithet of Storm-God, compared by Melchert with Cun. toponym (Empire) *Ismerikka* (*CHLI* i/1. 89).

ATTESTATIONS WHERE *ma_x* READING DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE TO UNDERSTANDING

18. (v) (LOQUI) *ma_x + ra/i-li-i-li-i-sa-*, ‘?’ (JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 3); how associated with cit. 14?
19. (iv) *ma_x + ra/i-ta-mi-*, ‘?’ (KULULU 1, §12); associated with cit. 14?
20. (xii) *ma_x + ra/i-wa-i-li-*, beneficial vegetation, ‘barley’? (SULTANHAN, §§6, 15), see *CHLI* i/2. 468.
21. (ix) (DEUS) *ma_x + ra/i-ta-*, a name of the Stag-God (MALATYA 5). This might be expected to connect with the Stag-God’s epithet *i-L.463(3)* (+*ra/i*) ‘of the Country’, but it is not clear how.
22. (ii) [...] *ma_x + ra/i-s[à...]* *x-sa-pa-wa/i-na* (URBS) city name + particles (TELL AHMAR frag. 2).
23. Add also (a) PNN ¹*ma_x + ra/i-sà-ta-* (KULULU lead strip 2, §1.2); ¹*à-ma_x + ra/i-MAGNUS + ra/i-* (KULULU lead frag. 1, i. 2, ii. 2).
(b) *ka-ma_x + ra/i(-ra + a)-* (ASSUR letter *f* + *g*, §§28, 31—omitted from consideration *CHLI* i/1. 36–7); and as PN ¹*ka-ma_x + ra/i-*, CEKKE, §17e.

ATTESTATIONS OF L.462 WITHOUT +*ra/i*

24. (xiv) (L.462) *mu-wa/i-i-ta-* ‘seed (?)’ (KARKAMIŠ A11b + c, §28, cf. §29), (xv) (L.462) *mu-wa/i-si-*, ‘?’ (KARKAMIŠ A27c l. 1), and (xvi) REX.L.462, ‘potent (?) king’ (MALATYA 5 etc.) all appear to be logograms.
25. (xiii) (“CASTRUM”) *tara/i-pa-ma_x-za-ha*, ‘?’, (ÇALAPVERDİ 1, §2; also 2, §3), obscure form but supports *ma_x* reading, so Melchert comparing (“PES₂.PES”) *tara/i-pa-ma-za* (see above, cit. 8, notes).
26. (xvii) L.462-*ti-i*, obscure form (KULULU 2, §3), cf. L.462-*i-ti* (ÇİFT-LİK, §12), and see *CHLI* i/2. 489, 450.

4 The Origin of the Late Sign L.462: Empire L.461

We have seen reason to consider that L.463(3) is the Late form of the Empire logogram L.463 on the grounds both of sign-form and context, though L.463(3) seems to have shifted its character from logogram to a type of syllabogram.

The sign L.462, on the other hand, appears to be descended from Empire L.461. The main reason for so thinking is that in the logogram EXERCITUS (L.269), the Empire form consists of two signs, *zi/a* + L.461, while the Late form is *zi* + L.462, see Fig. 25.4. (The Empire examples of EXERCITUS have been much increased recently—besides BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3, see below, Fig. 25.5—especially by the Nişantepe archive of seal-impressions, for which see Herboldt forthcoming: nos. 192–3, 194, 195–8, also 494–6. Late attestations since Laroche have been increased by PORSUK, §5; KÖRKÜN, §6; ÇİNEKÖY, §4; and TELL AHMAR 6, §§2, 7, 17, 23, 26, 28.)

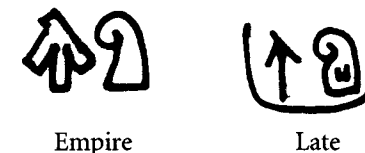


FIG. 25.4. L.269 (EXERCITUS)

Outside the logogram EXERCITUS, Empire L.461 occurs as follows.

(1) In the EMİRGAZİ altars text, §10, the word L.461-*tá*, in a context suggesting identification with Late (LOQUI) *ma_x + ra/i-ta* (above, cit. 14; see Hawkins 1975: 129, where the absence of +*ra/i* was noted as a difficulty; cf. Hawkins 1995: 94). The context is the infringement of the monument:

Empire L.461-*tá* object of *arha tupi-* 'erase'; Late *ma_x+ra/i-ta*, in most attestations the object of *arha* MALLEUS 'erase'.

(2) In the divine name *á* (FEMINA).DEUS.L.461 (EMİRGAZİ altars, §§26, 29, 37), which has been recognized by Forlanini (1987: 78–9) as a writing of the name of the Stag-God's consort Ala (recognition omitted by oversight in Hawkins 1995: 88, 98). The writing, however, remains problematic: Forlanini suggests that *á* represents the initial of the deity's name, FEMINA her female gender, and L.461 the logogram for the name itself. While this is quite probable, it is difficult to tie in with the other L.461 attestations.

(3) In personal names in the Nişantepe archive, twice as the second element, *ma_x+ra/i-* (Herbordt forthcoming: nos. 573 and 693), and in the even more obscure name, *ibid.*, nos. 698–700, with which may be compared Kennedy (1959: nos. 45–7). I can suggest no readings for any of these attestations. But an Ashmolean seal (Kennedy 1958: no. 23) may read *ki-ma_x+ra/i-i(a)*, which could render a name *Gimriya*, unparalleled but not implausible, perhaps derived from Hitt. *gimra-*.

The postulated descent of Late L.462 with its presumed reading *ma_x+ra/i-* from Empire L.461 does not assist in the reading of the latter, where attestations (2) and (3) may be logograms and (1) lacks the *+ra/i-*.

We should note that L.461 and L.463 (1–2), the Empire originals of Late L.462 and L.463(3) respectively, are separate signs. Usefully they may be seen in juxtaposition on BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3, in the pair (DEUS)TONITRUS EXERCITUS (DEUS) L.463 *sà-US-ka*, Storm-God of the Army, Sauska of the Countryside, see Fig. 25.5.

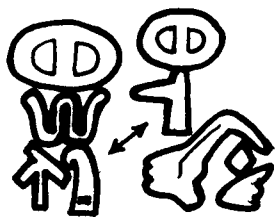


FIG. 25.5. Empire-period juxtaposition of the signs L.462 and L.463(2) (from BOĞAZKÖY 21, §3)

5 Summary

Empire: L.461	logogram? syllabogram?	L.463 (2, 1)	logogram =Cun. LÍL
Late: L.462	logogram also <i>ma_x+ra/i-</i>	L.463(3)	logogram also <i>IMRA/MARA (+ra/i-)</i>

Empire L.463(1–2) is found as a logogram, =Cun. LÍL, Luw. *imra-*, standing as the epithet of the deities Sauska and the Stag-God 'of the Countryside'; also combined with L.398 in a pair of parallel but obscure clauses, YALBURT block 10 §2 // EMİRGAZİ fragment, §2, perhaps here as a title.

Late L.463(3), a sign resembling L.463(2) occurs in the writing of the epithet of the Stag-God 'of the Countryside', especially in Commagene, where it seems to be a type of syllabogram, written with/without *+ra/i-* and/or case-endings. The explanation best fitting all attestations may be that it functions as a syllabogram of the type CVCV, like most such with the second syllable *-RA*. This could be derived from the Empire logogram *IMRA*, and a transcription *MARA*^(+ra/i-) seems appropriate in all cases.

Empire L.461 occurs as the second sign in the composite logogram EXERCITUS 'army'. It is found independently as a logogram (?) in the writing of the name of the goddess Ala; as a logogram (?) alone and with *+ra/i* in personal names; and without *+ra/i* in a word L.461-*tá*, perhaps an Empire writing of Late (LOQUI) L.462 *+ra/i-ta*.

Late L.462, apparently descended from Empire L.461 since it too is found as the second sign of the logogram EXERCITUS, is used as a syllabogram *+ra/i* in a number of words where it seems to correspond to Cun. *mar*, or where a reading *mar(a)* yields a recognizable word. It also appears without *+ra/i* apparently as a logogram, but possibly once or twice as a syllabogram.

Late L.462 and L.463(3), though of different Empire origins, seem to be converging in usage, both tending towards a reading *mara(+ra/i)*. The most common attestations of L.463(3), those from Commagene (ANCOZ), show a sign-form differing somewhat from L.462 and closer to its Empire forerunner; but occurrences on ŞIRZI (Malatya) and MARAŞ 1 (Maraş) show forms much closer to if not indistinguishable from L.462, apparently a further convergence, in this case of sign-forms.

6 Conclusion

The entries in Laroche, *HH* nos. 461–3, may be revised as follows.

461

variants:

1. Divine name

EMIRGAZI altars, §§26, 29, 37: á (FEMINA).DEUS.461, *Ala*

2. Second element of logogram EXERCITUS (L.269)

3. Seals: *SBo* ii. 122; *Newell* 394; *Kennedy* (1959: nos. 45–47; 1958: no. 23) Nişantepe, nos. 573, 693, 698–700

462

variants:

(As listed above, cit. 11–26)

463 (1) (2) (3)

(1–2) Empire

(1) EMIRGAZI altars, §§26, 29, [35], 37, fragment, §1: CERVUS₃.DEUS.463(1)-ti ‘Stag-God of the Country’ altars, §§2, 30: á-CERVUS₃.463(1)-zi/a, ‘?’ fragment, §2: 463(1).398, title?

(2) YALBURT, block 10: 463(2), 398, title? BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3: (DEUS)463(2) sà-US-ka ‘Sauska of the Country’

(3) Late

variants: (ŞIRZI) , (MARAŞ 1)

(As listed above, cit. 3–10)

REFERENCES

Abbreviations follow the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*.

- Alp, S. 1973: ‘Eine weitere Hieroglypheninschrift aus Emirgazi’, in E. Nien and C. Rüster (eds.), *Festschrift H. Otten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 11–13, figs. 1a–c.
 Forlanini, M. 1987: ‘Le mont Sarpa’, *Hethitica*, 7: 73–87.
 Hawkins, J. D. 1975: ‘The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian’, *Anatolian Studies*, 25: 119–56.
 — 1981: ‘Kubaba at Karkamiš and Elsewhere’, *Anatolian Studies*, 31: 147–76.
 — 1992: ‘The Inscriptions of the Kızıldağ and the Karadağ in the Light of the Yalburt Inscription’, in Otten *et al.* (1992), 259–75.

- 1995: *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa* (*StBoT* suppl. 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
 — Forthcoming: ‘Tudhaliya the Hunter’, in *Festschrift J. de Roos*.
 Herbordt, S. Forthcoming: *Die Prinzen- und Beamstensiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit* (Boğazköy-Hattusa, 19; Berlin).
 Kennedy, D. A. 1958: ‘The Inscribed Hittite Seals in the Ashmolean Museum’, *Revue hittite et asianique*, 16/63: 65–84.
 — 1959: ‘Sceaux hittites conservés à Paris’, *Revue hittite et asianique*, 17/65: 147–72.
 Laroche, E. 1960: *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*, i. *L’Écriture* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique).
 Masson, E. 1979: ‘Les inscriptions louvites hiéroglyphiques d’Emirgazi’, *Journal des savants*, pp. 3–49.
 Otten, H., *et al.* (eds.). 1992: *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi).
 Ricken, E. 2001: ‘Hethitisch *ḫitti meḫani* und das urindogermanische Wort für “Monat”’, *Historische Sprachforschung*, 114: 73–9.
 Schwemer, D. 1996: ‘Hethitisch *mad-* “widerstehen” und hieroglyphen-luwisch *mariianinzi* “Rebellen” in der Karatepe-Inschrift’, *Die Welt des Orients*, 27: 30–5.