

CORPUS OF HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Volume I

Inscriptions of the Iron Age

Part 1: Text

Introduction, Karatepe, Karkamiš, Tell Ahmar, Maraş,
Malatya, Commagene

by

John David Hawkins



Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York

2000

Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft

Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture

Neue Folge / New Series

herausgegeben von

Roberto Gusmani, Anna Morpurgo Davies
Klaus Strunk, Calvert Watkins

8.1



Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York
2000

SEP/2e
MFW

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Förderungs- und Beihilfefonds Wissenschaft der VG WORT

⊗ Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier, das die US-ANSI-Norm über Haltbarkeit erfüllt.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication-Data

Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions.

v. <2>: ill. ; 32 cm. – (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft ; n.F., <8.2> = Studies in Indo-European language and culture ; new ser., <8.2>)

“Plan showing the disposition of the inscriptions of the North Gate” (1 folded leaf of plates) in pocket of v. 2.

Includes bibliographical references (v. 2, p. [xvii]–xxiii) and index.

Contents: – v. 2. Karatepe-Aslantas : the inscriptions – facsimile edition / by Halet Çambel.

ISBN 3-11-010864-X (v. 1 : alk. paper) – ISBN 3-11-014870-6 (v. 2 : alk. paper)

1. Inscriptions, Luwian–Turkey–Karatepe Site. 2. Inscriptions, Phoenician–Turkey–Karatepe Site. 3. Inscriptions, Hieroglyphic. I. Çambel, Halet. II. Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft ; n.F., 8.

P950.C67 1999

491'.998–dc21

98-038764

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – Cataloging-in-Publications-Data

Hawkins, John David:

Inscriptions of the iron age / by J. D. Hawkins. – Berlin : New York : de Gruyter

(Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions ; Vol. 1)

ISBN 3-11-010864-X

Pt. 1. Text introduction, Karatepe, Karkamis, Tell Ahmar, Maras, Malatya, Commagene. – 2000

© Copyright 2000 by Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, D-10785 Berlin

All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed in Germany

Typesetting and printing: Arthur Collignon GmbH, Berlin
Plate production: JUP Industrie- und Presseklischee GmbH, Berlin
Binding: Lüderitz & Bauer-GmbH, Berlin

To the Memory of my Parents

CONTENTS

Part 1

Preface	ix
Inscriptions listed alphabetically	xii
Abbreviations I: General	xviii
Abbreviations II: Bibliographical	xx

INTRODUCTION

A. General	1
B. Inscriptions and Script	6
C. The Corpus	17
D. Principles of Transliteration	23
E. Appendices 1–3	35

I. CILICIA

The Historical Context	38
The Inscriptions	
Karatepe-Aslantaş	45
Other	68

II. KARKAMIŞ

The Historical Context	72
The Inscriptions	
Archaic group	80
House of Suhis	83
House of Astiruwas	123
Genealogical fragments	165
Non-royal inscriptions	171
Miscellaneous	188
Fragments	197

III. TELL AHMAR

The Historical Context	224
The Inscriptions	227

IV. MARAŞ

The Historical Context	249
The Inscriptions	
House of Laramas (Palalam)	252
Non-royal and miscellaneous inscriptions	265

V. MALATYA

The Historical Context	282
The Inscriptions	
Archaic	288
House of Kuzi-Teşub	295
Other Genealogies	314
Miscellaneous	325

VI. COMMAGENE

The Historical Context	330
The Inscriptions	
House of Suppiluliumas (Uşpililume)	334
Miscellaneous	351

Part 2

VII. AMUQ

The Historical Context	361
The Inscriptions	365

VIII. ALEPPO

The Historical Context	388
The Inscriptions	391

IX. HAMA

The Historical Context	398
The Inscriptions	
House of Urhilina	403
Other	415
Epigraphic material from excavations	419

X. TABAL

The Historical Context	425
The Inscriptions	
Western (Hartapus) group	
Northern group	433
Rulers' and their servants' inscriptions	442
Non-royal inscriptions	483
Miscellaneous and uncertain	495
Lead strips	503
Southern (Tuwana) group	
Rulers' and their servants' inscriptions	513
Non-royal and unattributable	528

XI. ASSUR letters

The Texts	533

XII. MISCELLANEOUS

556

XIII. SEALS

Rulers' seals	574
Kubaba seals	576
Ownership seals	580
Name seals	583
Miscellaneous	585

Appendix 4. ALTINTEPE pithos inscriptions	588

Addendum. 11.74. KARKAMIŞ frag. a/b	590

INDICES

Inscriptions listed alphabetically (repeated)	593
Location of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions	599
Concordance	609
List of Signs	617
List of Logograms transcribed into Latin	621

Index of words discussed	625
1. Hieroglyphic Luwian	625
2. Hittite	636
3. Hittite-Luwian	637
4. Cuneiform Luwian	638
5. Akkadian	639
6. Cuneiform logograms	639

7. Lycian	639
8. Lydian	639
9. Greek	639
10. Latin	639

Part 3

List of Plates

PREFACE

The Genesis of the Corpus

The present Corpus has been many years in the making. The idea of its desirability goes back to my first visits to Turkey and its museums from 1965 onwards. Inspection of the wealth of Hieroglyphic monuments on display showed me how inadequate their state of publication frequently was, and how the provision of more reliable texts was an urgent desideratum. By the beginning of the 1970's, I had begun collecting photographs and making drawings ("copies") of these inscriptions. *Pari passu* with this "fieldwork" on the texts, I began research on the language in which they were composed, namely "Hieroglyphic" Luwian. This work produced a series of textual and philological articles published from the 1970's onwards, and in this I enjoyed the pleasure and privilege of an extended collaboration with Anna Morpurgo Davies.

The idea that it might be possible to produce a complete corpus of these inscriptions gradually came to appear realistic. This required work primarily in Turkey where the great majority of the inscriptions are physically located, but also in Syria (Aleppo), and major European and American museums. My assessment of the possibility of access to the original inscriptions was to prove considerably over-optimistic. It was not until the year 1987, in which the XXXIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale was held in Istanbul, that I was able to bring work in Turkish museums near to a satisfactory conclusion, and even since then further study trips for work on specific groups of material have been necessary.

The Corpus existed already in draft form by 1985, the year in which I was finally able to visit Berlin to study the small but significant group of Hieroglyphic inscriptions held by the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen. At the same time, while staying in the then West Berlin, I was able to visit the firm of Walter de Gruyter and to submit the draft Corpus to them for consideration, which was rewarded by their provisional acceptance.

My available research time in 1988–90 was occupied in writing and revising the Corpus into its final form and having it typed. I was able to deliver the completed manuscript to de Gruyter in September 1990, and the illustrations (photographs and drawings) in July 1991. A work of this size and complexity demanded lengthy preliminary work from de Gruyter, and it was four years before I received the first set of proofs, which reached me in sections in the course of 1994, though I

was not able to proceed seriously with proof correction until the long vacation the following year. The various stages of proof, paged proof and plates corrections have been my primary preoccupation for the long vacations 1995–98.

The idea of publishing Halet Çambel's *Karatepe-Aslantaş* in a companion volume to the present Corpus, actually designated volume II, goes back to a discussion between Hans Güterbock, Halet Çambel and myself at the time of the XXXIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Istanbul. This had the happy result that Halet Çambel contacted Walter de Gruyter, completed her preparation of the material and submitted it to the publishers in 1994. Its final appearance was greeted at the beginning of this year, anticipating the appearance of my part of the Corpus, volume I, parts 1–3, which at the time of writing still looks likely to bear the same year date, 1999.

The long gestation period of nine years, from the submission of my manuscript in 1990 to the final appearance of the Corpus, volume I, cannot but have affected the character of the work. The academic field does not stand still: new inscriptions appear, and fellow researchers publish their contributions advancing our knowledge and refining our perceptions. A considerable problem for me has been to what extent new advances since 1990, and more especially since the first proofs in 1994, could be incorporated into the text. In general, I have restricted the addition of new material to items of the most immediate concern. A rather extreme example is the appearance in July 1994 of the important inscription TELL AHMAR 5, communicated to me very rapidly by the kindness of its excavator Guy Bunnens. Since this appeared before the proofs had been paged, it did prove possible to include it, as its importance warrants. Smaller observations of most immediate relevance have been added where possible without disturbing the typeset text. These additions have been enclosed in square brackets, [...], to signal their nature as addenda and to warn that they may contradict, or at least not harmonize with their immediate contexts. But it must be admitted that many contributions to Hieroglyphic studies and its background from the last decade have not been noticed in this work. Doubtless reviewers will make good these deficiencies.

One development in the field which could not be integrated with the present Corpus was the colloquium held in Procida, Italy, in June 1995 to discuss and stand-

ardize the transcription of Hieroglyphic. This was because the Corpus was already in proof by the time of the colloquium. The modifications of transcription agreed there are not very extensive in relation to the system used here. They include principally greater refinements of detail (e.g. the distinction by means of diacritical numbers between Hieroglyphs showing merely the head or the whole animal, and the additions of further transcriptions into Latin particularly of signs restricted to the Empire period inscriptions and seals,

which of course do not appear in the present volume. The Procida colloquium will shortly appear in print, probably before the present Corpus, under the title *Il Geroglifico Anatolico. Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua "redécifrazione"*, edited by M. Marazzi in collaboration with Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo and Paola Dardano. The system introduced by this volume is represented in this Corpus in the Indices at the end of Vol. I, part 2, under the headings *List of Signs*, and *List of Logograms transcribed into Latin*.

Acknowledgements

In a work like the present, assembled over the period of some thirty years, the number of people and institutions to whom I owe gratitude and thanks is enormous. My research in these years has been supported financially particularly by my own institution the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, specially in the provision of funds for work abroad. Over the years, I have enjoyed much support from the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, particularly under the Directorship of David French, and it has always served as my base for work in Turkey. Other working trips to Turkey were funded by the British Academy from their Small Research Grants scheme. Also in earlier days, I received several grants from the Central Research Fund, London University.

In acknowledging personal debts, I should perhaps start in Turkey where the bulk of the material is located, and thus where most of the work has been done. The regional museums and their holdings of Hieroglyphic inscriptions are listed in the index "Location of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions", and include those of Adana, Adiyaman, Aksaray, Ereğli, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Maraş, Niğde and Sivas. In all these I have worked on the inscriptions, sometimes on more than one occasion, and have been received generally with courtesy and not unusually with great helpfulness and hospitality by the Directors and museum staff of the day. Of the national museums, I have worked extensively on the holdings in İstanbul, the Ancient Oriental Museum, and must acknowledge with gratitude, the help of two Directors, the late Necati Dolunay and Alpay Pasinli, as well as that of Edibe Uzunoglu. In Ankara I have had several long spells of work on the great collection of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and must record my deep indebtedness to my friend İlhan Temizsoy for his invaluable support and many kindnesses.

I have enjoyed relations over many years with Turkish academic colleagues who have given me extensive

help in the Hieroglyphic field: Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç who have always encouraged me and apprised me of many new finds from their areas of archaeological research; Sedat Alp, whose generosity with Hieroglyphic material is acknowledged elsewhere; and especially my old friend Mustafa Kalaç with whom I have enjoyed a long collaboration on new Hieroglyphic discoveries; also Ali and Belkis Dinçol with whom it is always a pleasure to discuss progress. My debt to Halet Çambel for our collaboration of Karatepe needs no further elaboration here.

Outside Turkey, I have also worked in all the museums and institutions holding Hieroglyphic inscriptions: in the National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, then directed by Shawki Shaath, the Hama Museum, Syria, and the Beirut Museum, then under the late Emir Maurice Chehab. In Europe I worked in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen, with every help from Liane Jakob-Rost and Evelyn Klengel, and in the Louvre Museum with the help of Pierre Amiet, Béatrice André-Salvini and Dominique Beyer; in the National Museum, Copenhagen, on the excavation material from Hama at the generous invitation from P. J. Riis; also in the Biblioteca Bodmeriana, Geneva. Visits to Israel have enabled me to work on the inscriptions in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, where I had assistance from Joan Goodnick Westenholz. At home I have worked in the Ashmolean Museum with the help of Roger Moorey; and of course in the British Museum, Dept. of Western Asia, particularly under the Keepership of Terence Mitchell. In this context, I must remember much early encouragement in my project from the late Richard Barnett. In the U.S.A. I have worked on the two Maraş inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, I was enabled to work on the material collected by the Institute's Syrian-Hittite Expedition in the Plain of Antioch by the good offices of Hans

Güterbock and with every assistance from the Director Robert Adams.

My debt to Hans Güterbock extends much more widely, and over the years in discussion and correspondence I have relied on him for so much support, encouragement and advice. A similar debt I owe to Oliver Gurney, with whom I entered Hittite studies in the first place, and also first explored the Hieroglyphic inscriptions, as recorded elsewhere. Not only have I always been able to draw on his deep knowledge and experience of all things Hittite, but he has also provided the invaluable assistance of proof-reading the entire text of the Corpus, thereby eliminating many errors and infelicities. The other person who has rendered similar yeoman service is my old friend Maurits van Loon, whose proof-reading and corrections are also gratefully acknowledged. Another force behind the Corpus whose contribution can never be adequately acknowledged, is of course Anna Morpurgo Davies. Our many years of collaboration in Hieroglyphic studies have culminated in input into the Corpus which is unquantifiable but without which it would be much diminished. Our own collaboration with Günter Neumann marks a step in the decipherment of Hieroglyphic, and his close involvement in the subject and interest in the progress of this Corpus have benefitted me much over the years.

Many scholars have helped me with photographs and even drawings which I could not otherwise have obtained. As recorded elsewhere, the late Ignace Gelb gave me free access to his well-organized photographic collection; and reference to acknowledgement of photographs throughout the work attests my debt to him. Hatice Gonnet also appears frequently in this context. As an indefatigable traveller in her native Turkey with an unrivalled knowledge of its monuments, she can always be relied on to produce a good photograph of even the most evasive inscription. But my debt to her extends far beyond the many photographs which she has provided to years of help and advice in very various Turkish situations. Here I must remember too the late Friedrich Karl Dörner, who gave me much help on the Commagenian material. Others have provided me with photographs and even drawings of inscriptions which I have not myself been able to see. In particular for Syria, I am indebted to Alfonso Archi and Ali Abu Assaf; for Ain Dara photographs and information to Elizabeth Stone and Paul Zimansky; and for recent Tell Ahmar discoveries to Guy Bunnens and Stephanie Dalley. For

Ch. XIII, Seals, I have been fortunate to have special help including illustrations from Dominique Collon, Sir John Boardman, Gary Beckman, Harald Hauptmann, Massimo Poetto, Marie-Louise Vollenweider and Alfred Brown.

Discussions and correspondence with academic colleagues have naturally played a large part in forming the Corpus. Machteld Mellink, the doyenne of Anatolian archaeology, has always taken a close interest in the project and given advice and support. A long and fruitful correspondence with Frank Starke is recorded elsewhere, and more recently I have enjoyed a similar collaboration with Craig Melchert. Another contact of now many years standing is Massimo Poetto, whose work on Hieroglyphic complements my own. And it is always a pleasure to discuss Hieroglyphic among other Hittitological matters with Itamar Singer and Theo van den Hout, both of whom are generous with ideas. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of the organizers of the Procida colloquium, Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo, Massimiliano Marazzi and Clelia Mora.

Penelope Mountjoy assisted me with the drawings at a critical moment in Berlin, tidying them up and drawing in the scales. Catherine Lawrence drew the Map (part 3, inside back cover).

Invaluable practical help has been given by Sanna Aro Valjus, who studied Hieroglyphic with me before completing her Helsinki doctorate. She too read my proofs, making many corrections, and in the summer 1998 gave me essential assistance in preparing the preliminary matter (title page, etc.), bibliography, indices and concordance which she typed on to disc. Without her efforts the appearance of the Corpus would have been even longer delayed. I remember also the contribution of Joan Woods, who undertook the horrific task of turning my handwritten manuscript of the whole Corpus into clean typescript with unruffled patience and good humour.

Finally, I would like to thank all at Walter de Gruyter who have seen this work through the press: the late Heinz Wenzel, who was my first contact at the printing house and who accepted the Corpus; Brigitte Schöning, who has supervised it through press; Wolfgang Konwitschny and Marion Jung, who were first to process my material; and Monika Wendland who has carried it through to its conclusion.

J. D. H.
June 1999

INSCRIPTIONS LISTED ALPHABETICALLY

Inscription	Corpus no.	Page nos.	Plate nos.
[ADANA, unpublished	I.8.	71]	
ADİYAMAN 1	VI.4.	344	169–70
ADİYAMAN 2	VI.11.	351	177–78
AFRIN	VII.11.	386	207–208
AIN DARA	VII.10.	385	206
AKSARAY	X.16.	475	264
ALEPPO 2	III.5.	235	97–98
ALEPPO 3	XII.6.	562	320
ALİŞAR ostrakon	XII.13.	568	327
ALTINTEPE pithoi	Appendix 4	588	
ANCOZ 1	VI.5.	345	171–172
ANCOZ 2	VI.6.	348	173
ANCOZ 3	VI.7.	348	174
ANCOZ 4	VI.8.	348	174
ANCOZ 5	VI.9.	349	175–176
ANCOZ 6	VI.10.	350	173
ANCOZ 7	VI.16.	356	185–186
ANCOZ 8	VI.17.	358	187–188
ANCOZ 9	VI.18.	359	187–188
ANCOZ 10	VI.19.	359	187–188
ANDAVAL	X.42.	514	291
ANKARA (formerly "CARCHEMISH")	XII.4.	559	318
[ANTAKYA, unpublished	VII.12.	387]	
ARSLANTAŞ (Tell Ahmar)	III.10.	246	103–105
ARSLANTAŞ (Elbistan)	V.23.	329	
ASMACIK	XII.8.	564	322
ASSUR letters <i>a–f+g</i>	XI.1–6.	533	306–313
("ATHENS": see İSTANBUL)			
‘AZAZ	VII.9.	385	205
BABYLON 1	VIII.1.	391	209–210
BABYLON 2	VIII.2.	394	211
BABYLON 3	VIII.3.	396	212
BEIRUT stone bowl	XII.3.	558	317
BOHÇA	X.17.	478	265
BOR	X.44.	518	296
BOROWSKI 1	XII.1.	556	314–315
BOROWSKI 2	XII.2.	558	316
BOROWSKI 3	III.2.	230	93
BOROWSKI seal 1	XIII.6.	578	330
BOROWSKI seal 2	XIII.14.	583	333
BOSSERT seal	XIII.19.	586	333
BOYPEYPINARI 1	VI.1.	334	165
BOYPEYPINARI 2	VI.2.	334	165
BULGARMADEN	X.45.	521	297–299
BURUNKAYA	X.8.	437	243
ÇALAPVERDİ 1	X.28.	497	278
ÇALAPVERDİ 2	X.29.	497	279
("CARCHEMISH": see ANKARA)			
CEKKE	II.27.	143	42–43
ÇİFTLİK	X.11.	448	248–249
DARENDE	V.5.	304	145–146
DE CLERCQ seal	XIII.16.	584	333

Inscription	Corpus no.	Page nos.	Plate nos.
DELAPORTE seal	XIII.5.	577	331
DOMUZTEPE 1	I.6.	71	
DOMUZTEPE 2	I.7.	71	
DÜLÜK seal	XIII.17.	585	333
EĞREK	X.23.	492	274
EĞRİKÖY	X.26.	495	276
(EKİNVEREN: see TİLSEVET)			
[EREĞLİ, unpublished	X.52.	531]	
ERKİLET 1	X.24.	493	275
ERKİLET 2	X.25.	493	275
GAZİANTEP	XII.7.	563	321
GAZİANTEP seal	XIII.18.	585	333
GELB	XII.12.	567	326
GELB seals	XIII.11a-c.	580	332
GULBENKIAN seal	XIII.10.	580	331
GÜRÜN	V.2.	295	135-138
HACİBEKLI	IV.15.	277	129
HAMA 1	IX.8.	411	221-222
HAMA 2	IX.9.	411	221-222
HAMA 3	IX.10.	411	221-222
HAMA 4	IX.1.	403	213
HAMA 5	IX.2.	406	215-216
HAMA 6	IX.11.	412	223
HAMA 7	IX.12.	412	224
HAMA 8	IX.6.	409	214
HAMA 9	IX.7.	410	219-220
HAMA frag. 1	IX.15.	419	229
HAMA frag. 2	IX.16.	420	230
HAMA frag. 3	IX.17.	420	230
HAMA frag. 4	IX.18.	420	231
HAMA frag. 5	IX.19.	421	232
HAMA frag. 6	IX.20.	421	232
HAMA frags. 7-10	IX.21a-d.	422	233-235
HINES	IX.5.	408	218
HİSARCIK 1	X.19.	483	268-269
HİSARCIK 2	X.27.	496	277
HOGARTH seal 1	XIII.8.	579	331
HOGARTH seal 2	XIII.9.	579	331
HOGARTH seal 3	XIII.15.	584	333
İSKENDERUN	IV.3.	259	110-111
İSPEKÇÜR	V.4.	301	142-144
İSTANBUL (formerly "ATHENS")	XII.5.	561	319
İVRİZ 1	X.43.	516	292-295
İVRİZ 2	X.46.	526	300
İVRİZ frags. 1-3	X.50.	529	304
İZGIN 1 and 2	V.15.	314	153-154, 160
JISR EL HADID frags. 1-3	VII.5.	378	199
KARABURÇLU	IV.13.	276	127
KARABURUN	X.18.	480	266-267
KARADAĞ 1	X.6.	436	240-242
KARADAĞ 2	X.7.	437	240-241
KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan)	V.1.	288	133-134
(KARAPINAR: see TOPADA)			
KARATEPE 1	I.1.	45	
KARATEPE 2	I.2.	68	

Inscription	Corpus no.	Page nos.	Plate nos.
KARATEPE 3	I.3.	68	
KARATEPE 4	I.4.	68	
KARATEPE fragments	I.5.	71	
KARKAMIŞ A1a	II.6.	87	6-7
KARKAMIŞ A1b	II.7.	91	8
KARKAMIŞ A2	II.13.	108	18-19
KARKAMIŞ A3	II.14.	108	20-21
KARKAMIŞ A4a	II.28.	151	44
KARKAMIŞ A4b	II.1.	80	1
KARKAMIŞ A4c	II.48.	186	67
KARKAMIŞ A4d	II.10.	100	12-13
KARKAMIŞ A5a	II.45.	181	64-65
KARKAMIŞ A5b	II.46.	185	66
KARKAMIŞ A6	II.22.	123	31-33
KARKAMIŞ A7a-j	II.23.	128	31-35
KARKAMIŞ (A8 =) A11a	II.9.	94	10-12
KARKAMIŞ (A9 =) A11b	II.11.	101	14-15
KARKAMIŞ (A10 =) A11c	II.12.	101	16-17
KARKAMIŞ A12	II.15.	112	22-23
KARKAMIŞ A13a-c	II.36.	167	54-55
KARKAMIŞ A13d	II.16.	115	24-25
KARKAMIŞ A14a	II.5.	83	3-5
KARKAMIŞ A14b	II.4.	83	3
KARKAMIŞ A15a	II.50.	188	68-69
KARKAMIŞ A15b	II.24.	130	36-37
KARKAMIŞ A15c	II.51.	189	70
KARKAMIŞ A15d	II.60.	197	78
KARKAMIŞ A15e	II.38.	170	57
KARKAMIŞ A16a	II.52.	190	71
KARKAMIŞ A16b	II.21.	122	30
KARKAMIŞ A16c	II.2.	82	2
KARKAMIŞ A16d	II.61.	197	78
KARKAMIŞ A16e	II.62.	198	78
KARKAMIŞ A16f	II.49.	187	
KARKAMIŞ A17a	II.53.	191	72
KARKAMIŞ A17b	II.41.	175	60
KARKAMIŞ A17c	II.54.	192	73
KARKAMIŞ A17d	II.55.	193	74
KARKAMIŞ A18a	II.56.	193	74
KARKAMIŞ A18b	II.63.	199	78
KARKAMIŞ A18c	II.64.	199	
KARKAMIŞ A18d 1	II.3.	83	2
KARKAMIŞ A18e	II.57.	194	75
KARKAMIŞ A18f	II.47.	186	67
KARKAMIŞ (A18g =) A4a	II.28.	151	(44)
KARKAMIŞ A18b	II.44.	180	63
KARKAMIŞ A18i	II.65.	200	78
KARKAMIŞ A18j	II.58.	195	76
KARKAMIŞ A19	II.67.	201	80-81
KARKAMIŞ A20a 1-2	II.19.	118	28
KARKAMIŞ A20b 1-13	II.32.	157	48-49
KARKAMIŞ A21b+a (= A22b+a)	II.31.	157	48-49
KARKAMIŞ A22c	II.33.	164	50-51
KARKAMIŞ A23	II.17.	116	26-27
KARKAMIŞ A24a 1-22	II.25	133	38-39

Inscription	Corpus no.	Page nos.	Plate nos.
KARKAMIŞ A25a 1-4	II.20.	121	29
KARKAMIŞ A25b	II.30.	156	46
KARKAMIŞ A26a 1-2	II.18.	117	26-27
KARKAMIŞ A26b-e	II.68.	206	90
KARKAMIŞ A26f	II.37.	169	56
KARKAMIŞ A27	II.69.	207	82-83
KARKAMIŞ A27c	II.39.	171	57
KARKAMIŞ A27e frags. 1, 2	II.35.	165	53
KARKAMIŞ A27u	II.34.	165	52
KARKAMIŞ A28	II.70.	215	84-85
KARKAMIŞ A29	II.71.	217	86-87
KARKAMIŞ A30	II.72.	221	88-89
KARKAMIŞ A30b	II.42.	177	61
KARKAMIŞ A31 (= A32)	II.26.	140	40-41
KARKAMIŞ B33	II.59.	196	77
KARKAMIŞ B39a	II.66.	200	79
KARKAMIŞ sherd	II.73.	223	90
KARKAMIŞ stone bowl	II.25a.	139	47
KARKAMIŞ frags. a/b	II.74.	590	
KAYSERİ	X.15.	472	262-263
KELEKLİ	II.8.	92	9
KEŞLİK YAYLA	X.51.	531	305
KHORSABAD bullae	XIII.13.	583	332
KIRÇOĞLU	VII.8.	383	203-204
KIZILDAĞ 1	X.1.	433	236
KIZILDAĞ 2	X.2.	433	237
KIZILDAĞ 3	X.3.	433	237
KIZILDAĞ 4	X.5.	435	238-239
KIZILDAĞ 5	X.4.	435	239
KÖRKÜN	II.40.	171	58-59
KÖTÜKALE	V.3.	299	139-141
KULULU 1	X.9.	442	244-245
KULULU 2	X.21.	487	272
KULULU 3	X.22.	490	273
KULULU 4	X.10.	445	246-247
KULULU 5	X.20.	485	270-271
KULULU 6	X.33.	500	283
KULULU 7	X.35.	502	285
KULULU 8	X.34.	501	284
KULULU lead strip 1	X.36.	503	286
KULULU lead strip 2	X.37.	503	287
KULULU lead strip 3 + frag. 2	X.40.	503	289
KULULU lead frag. 1	X.38.	503	288
(KULULU lead frag. 2 (joined to lead strip 3))	X.40.	503	289)
KULULU lead frag. 3	X.39.	503	288
KÜRTÜL	IV.9.	271	122-123
KURUBEL	X.32.	500	282
("LENINGRAD": see MARAS 6)			
LİDAR bullae	XIII.1.	574	328
MALATYA 1	V.16.	318	155
MALATYA 2	V.21.	327	163
MALATYA 3	V.18.	321	156
MALATYA 4	V.17.	320	155
MALATYA 5	V.6.	306	147-148
MALATYA 6	V.7.	307	147-148

Inscription	Corpus no.	Page nos.	Plate nos.
MALATYA 7	V.8.	308	147–148
MALATYA 8	V.9.	309	149
MALATYA 9	V.10.	310	150
MALATYA 10	V.11.	311	150
MALATYA 11	V.12.	312	151
MALATYA 12	V.13.	313	151
MALATYA 13	V.22.	328	164
MALATYA 14	V.14.	313	152
MALATYA bulla (MALATYA 15)	XIII.2.	575	329
MALPINAR	VI.3.	340	166–168
MARAŞ 1	IV.4.	261	112–113
MARAŞ 2	IV.10.	273	124
MARAŞ 3	IV.6.	267	116–117
MARAŞ 4	IV.2.	255	108–109
MARAŞ 5	IV.7.	269	118–119
MARAŞ 6 (LENINGRAD)	IV.16.	278	129
MARAŞ 7	IV.17.	279	130
MARAŞ 8	IV.1.	252	106–107
MARAŞ 9	IV.11.	274	125
MARAŞ 10	IV.18.	280	131
MARAŞ 11	IV.8.	270	120–121
MARAŞ 12	IV.12.	275	126
MARAŞ 13	IV.14.	276	128
MARAŞ 14	IV.5.	265	114–115
MARAŞ 15	IV.19.	281	132
MARAŞ 16	IV.20.	281	
MEHARDE	IX.13.	415	225–226
NİĞDE 1	X.41.	513	290
NİĞDE 2	X.47.	526	301
(“NIMRUD”: see HAMA 9)			
NIMRUD	XII.15.	570	327
NINEVEH 1	XII.10.	566	324
NINEVEH 2	XII.11.	567	325
NINEVEH seal	XIII.7.	578	331
NINEVEH bullae 1–7	XIII.12.	581	332
PALANGA	V.20.	325	161–162
PERSEPOLIS	XII.16.	570	327
PORADA seal	XIII.4.	576	330
PORSUK	X.48.	527	302
QAL'AT EL MUDIQ	IX.4.	408	218
RESTAN	IX.3.	407	217
SAMSAT 1	VI.12.	352	179
SAMSAT 2	VI.13.	353	180
SAMSAT 3	VI.14.	353	180
SAMSAT frags. 1–10	VI.15.	354	181–184
SHEIZAR	IX.14.	416	227–228
ŞIRZI	V.19.	322	157–159
SULTANHAN	X.14.	463	258–261
SU'ASA	X.13.	462	254–257
TEKİRDERBENT 1	X.30.	498	280
TEKİRDERBENT 2	X.31.	498	281
TELL AHMAR 1	III.6.	239	99–100
TELL AHMAR 2	III.1.	227	91–92
TELL AHMAR 3 (Louvre)	III.7.	243	94
TELL AHMAR 4	III.4.	234	94

Inscription	Corpus no.	Page nos.	Plate nos.
TELL AHMAR 5	III.3.	231	95–96
TELL AHMAR frags. 1–9	III.8.	244	101–102
TELL AHMAR frag. 10	III.9.	245	94
TELL TAYINAT 1	VII.1.	365	189–192
TELL TAYINAT 2	VII.2.	367	193
TELL TAYINAT 3	VII.3.	375	194
TELL TAYINAT fragments	VII.4.	375	195–198
TİLSEVET (alias EKİNVEREN)	II.43.	178	62
TOPADA	X.12.	451	250–253
TRAGANA (Locris)	XII.14.	569	327
TULEIL 1	VII.6.	381	200
TULEIL 2	VII.7.	382	201–202
TÜNP 1	II.29.	154	45
TÜNP 2	XII.9.	565	323
VELİİSA	X.49.	529	303
VOLLENWEIDER seal	XIII.20.	586	333
YALE seal	XIII.21	587	333
ZINCİRLİ signet	XIII.3.	576	329

ABBREVIATIONS I: GENERAL

Abb.	Abbildung	imp.	imperative
abbr.	abbreviation	inf.	infinitive
abl.	ablative	instr.	instrumental
abstr.	abstract	intrans.	intransitive
acc.	accusative	iter.	iterative
ad loc.	ad locum	Kap.	Kapitel
adj.	adjective	I./II.	line(s)
adv.	adverb	lev.	levha
Akk.	Akkadian	lg.	length
anc.	ancient	lit.	literally
Anm.	Anmerkung	loc. cit.	loco citato
Bo.	Inventory number of Boğazköy tablets, excavations 1906 ff.	log.	logogram/logographic
c.	circa	Luw.	Luwian
caus.	causative	Lyc.	Lycian
cf.	confer	Lyd.	Lydian
ch.	chapter	LW	loanword
cit.	citation	m.	metre
conj.	conjunction	max.	maximum
Cun.	Cuneiform	med.	medium
dat.	dative	med.-pass.	medio-passive
dem.	demonstrative	MF	masculine-feminine
denom.	denominative	mod.	modern
det.	determinative	N	Neuter
dir. obj.	direct object	n./nn.	note(s)
disj.	disjunctive	(n.)	noun
DN(N)	divine name(s)	no(s).	number(s)
EA	El Amarna	nom.	nominative
ead.	eadem	num.	numeral
ed.	editor/edited	obj.	object
e. g.	exempli gratia	obv.	obverse
esp.	especially	Oct.	October
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i>	op. cit.	opere citato
etc.	et cetera	p./pp.	page(s)
eth.	ethnicon	part.	participle
euphem.	euphemism	Phoen.	Phoenician
excav.	excavation	pl(s).	plate(s)
f./ff.	following	plur.	plural
fact.	factive	PN(N)	personal name(s)
fig(s).	figure(s)	postpos.	postposition
frag(s).	fragment(s)	prec.	preceding
gen.	genitive	pres.	present
GN(N)	geographical name(s)	pret.	preterite
Gr.	Greek	prev.	preverb
ht.	height	prohib.	prohibitive
Hier.	Hieroglyphic	q. v.	quo vide
Hitt.	Hittite	rev.	reverse
ibid.	ibidem	sc.	scilicet
id.	idem	Sept.	September
i. e.	id est	sing.	singular

Sum.	Sumerian	X, x	broken or undeciphered sign (logogram, syllabogram)
s. v.	sub voce		
Taf.	Tafel		word-divider
Tav.	Tavolo		line-end
th.	thickness	†	personal determinative
trans.	transitive	[]	partly broken signs
(v.)	verb	[]	(in transliteration) broken/missing and restored signs
var.	variant		(around passages of English) late additions to text
vs.	versus		omitted by scribal error
w.	width	< >	erroneous inclusion
wr.	writing/written	« »	(before word) word not attested, reconstructed
Symbols in the Transliterations and Translations		*	(before numeral) number of Hier. sign in Laroche's <i>HH</i> .
§	section, clause	*	
?	uncertain reading		

ABBREVIATIONS II: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

<i>AAAS</i>	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes.</i>	<i>ANEP</i>	see Pritchard, <i>ANEP</i> .
<i>ABL</i>	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> I–XIV (London and Chicago, 1892–1914).	<i>ANET</i>	see Pritchard, <i>ANET</i> ³ .
<i>Acme</i>	<i>Acme.</i> Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell'Università statale di Milano.	<i>Annali Pisa</i>	<i>Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa</i> , classe di lettere e filosofia, serie III, vol. VIII/3 (Pisa, 1978).
<i>Acta Jutlandica</i>	<i>Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen à l'occasion de son soixantedixième anniversaire</i> , 7 avril 1937 (<i>Acta Jutlandica</i> 9/1; Aarhus, 1937).	<i>An. St.</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies.</i> Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
<i>ADD</i>	C. H. W. Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i> I–IV (Cambridge, 1898–1923).	<i>Antike Welt</i>	<i>Antike Welt.</i> Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte.
<i>AHw</i>	see von Soden, <i>AHw</i> .	<i>AQAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und altes Testament.</i>
<i>AJK</i>	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i> (continued as following).	<i>AQATS</i>	<i>AQAT</i> , Sonderreihe.
<i>AJO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>	<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen.</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>	<i>AOS</i>	<i>American Oriental Series.</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</i>	<i>APES</i>	see Ward, <i>APES</i> .
<i>AKI</i>	see King, <i>AKI</i> .	<i>ARAB</i>	see Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> .
<i>Akkadica</i>	<i>Akkadica.</i> Périodique bimestriel de la Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin.	<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
Akurgal, <i>AI</i>	E. Akurgal, <i>The Art of the Hittites</i> (London, 1962).	<i>ARLT</i>	<i>Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi.</i>
Akurgal, <i>BGA</i>	E. Akurgal, <i>The Birth of Greek Art: the Mediterranean and the Near East</i> (London, 1968).	<i>ARI</i>	see Grayson, <i>ARI</i> .
Akurgal, <i>SBK</i>	E. Akurgal, <i>Späthethitische Bildkunst</i> (Ankara, 1949).	<i>Ar. Or.</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalni.</i>
<i>An. Bib.</i>	<i>Analecta Biblica.</i>	<i>ARRIM</i>	<i>Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project.</i>
<i>Anadolu</i>	<i>Anadolu.</i> Revue annuelle des études d'archéologie et d'histoire en Turquie (continued as <i>Anatolia</i>).	<i>ARU</i>	J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, <i>Assyrische Rechtsurkunden</i> (Leipzig, 1913).
<i>Anadolu Araştırmaları</i>	<i>Anadolu Araştırmaları.</i> Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen.	<i>AS</i>	<i>Assyriological Studies.</i>
<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia.</i> Revue annuelle d'archéologie. Journal of the Institute for Research in Near Eastern Civilizations and Languages.	<i>Assur.</i>	<i>Assur.</i> Monographic Journals of the Near East.
<i>Anatolian Studies Güterbock</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday</i> , ed. K. Bittel et al. (Istanbul, 1974).	Astour, <i>Hellenosemitica</i>	M. Astour, <i>Hellenosemitica.</i> An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece (Leiden, 1965).
<i>Anatolica</i>	<i>Anatolica.</i> Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie antérieure.	<i>Athenaeum</i>	<i>Athenaeum.</i> Studi periodici de letteratura e storia dell'antichità.
Andrae, <i>ASV</i>	W. Andrae, <i>Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V. Die Kleinfunde aus Sendschirli</i> (Berlin, 1943).	Aynard, <i>Le prisme du Louvre</i>	J. J. Aynard, <i>Le prisme de Louvre AO 19.939</i> (Paris, 1957).
		<i>BANEA</i>	<i>British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology.</i>
		<i>B.A.R.</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports.</i>
		<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.</i>
		Belck, <i>Forschungsreise</i>	W. Belck, <i>Forschungsreise in Klein-Asien</i> (<i>Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte</i> , Jahrgang 1901, pp. 452–522).

- Belleten* Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten*.
- Beran, *Heth. Glyptik* I T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy* I (WTDOG 76; Berlin, 1967).
- Bildbeschr.* C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten* (MVAeG 46/2; Leipzig, 1943).
- Bing, *Cilicia* J. D. Bing, *A History of Cilicia during the Assyrian Period* (University Microfilms; Ann Arbor, 1973).
- Bi. Or.* *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.
- Bittel, *Die Hethiter* K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter. Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (Munich, 1976).
- Bittel-Güterbock, *Boğazköy* I K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy. Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt* (Berlin, 1935).
- BKO* *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*.
- BMR* *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*.
- Börker-Klähn, *Bagh. Forsch.* 4 J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Baghdader Forschungen 4; Mainz, 1982).
- Boğ.* III K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy* III. Funde aus den Grabungen 1952-1955 (Berlin, 1957).
- Borger, *Asarhaddon* R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (AfO Beiheft 9; Graz, 1956).
- Bossert, *Altanatolien* H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1942).
- Bossert, *Asia* H. Th. Bossert, *Asia* (Istanbul, 1946).
- Bossert, *HKJ* H. Th. Bossert, *Ein hethitisches Königssiegel* (Berlin, 1944).
- Bossert, *ŠuK* H. Th. Bossert, *Šantaš und Kupapa* (M-IOG VI/3; Leipzig, 1932).
- Braidwood, *OIP* 48 R. J. Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch* (OIP 48; Chicago, 1937).
- Bron, *Recherches* F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe* (École Pratique des Hautes Études; Geneva, Paris 1979).
- BSL* *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.
- Buchanan and Moorey, *Catalogue* III B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum* III. The Iron Age Stamp Seals (Oxford, 1988).
- Bull. Mus. Beyrouth* *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*.
- Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* R. F. Burton and C. F. T. Drake, *Unexplored Syria. Visit to the Libanus, the Tulul et Sajā, the Anti-Libanus, the Northern Libanus and the 'Alāb*, I-II (London, 1872).
- CAD* *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956-).
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*.
- Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş* H. Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Inscriptions: Facsimile Edition* (Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II; Berlin, New York, 1999).
- Carchemish* I see Hogarth, *Carchemish* I.
- Carchemish* II see Woolley, *Carchemish* II.
- Carchemish* III see Woolley, *Carchemish* III.
- Carter, *Cult Inventories* C. W. Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories* (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1962).
- Cavaignac, *PH* E. Cavaignac, *Le problème hittite* (Paris, 1936).
- Ceram, *NPBM* C. W. Ceram, *Narrow Pass, Black Mountain* (London, 1956).
- Charles, *III* B. B. Charles, *Hittite Inscriptions* (Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor; Ithaca, New York, 1911).
- CHD* *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1980-).
- CIH* see Messerschmidt, *CIH*.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Contenau, *M-IO* G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1931).
- CRAIBL* *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris).
- CRRAI* *Compte rendu de la ... Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*.
- CT* *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*.
- CTH* see Laroche, *CTH*.
- De Clerq, *Catalogue* L. de Clerq and J. Ménant, *Collection de Clerq, Catalogue* I-II (Paris, 1885, 1888, 1890, 1903).
- Delaporte, *Catalogue* L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux des cachets et pierres gravées de style orientale de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910).
- Delaporte, *Malatya* L. Delaporte, *Malatya-Arsilantepe* I. La porte des lions (Paris, 1940).
- Diakonoff, *PAP* I. M. Diakonoff, *The Prehistory of the Armenian People* (New York, 1984).

- Donner and Röllig, *KAT*² H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (second edition, Wiesbaden, 1962–64).
- DTCFD* *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara).
- E-1* J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2; Leipzig 1915).
- EH* (*EH*²) see Wright, *EH*.
- Eranos* *Eranos. Acta Philologica Suedana*.
- Essays Mellink* *Ancient Anatolia. Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, ed. J. V. Canby *et al.* (Wisconsin, 1986).
- Felsefe Arkivi* *Felsefe Arkivi*. İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Felsefe Bölümü.
- Forlanini, *Atlante Storico* M. Forlanini and M. Marazzi, *Anatolia: L'Impero Hittita (Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Fascicolo 4.3.*, ed. M. Liverani, L. Milano and A. Palmieri; Rome, 1986).
- Forrer, *HBS* E. Forrer, *Die hethitische Bilderschrift* (Chicago, 1932).
- Forrer, *Provinz-einteilung* E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1921).
- Frankfurt, *A.L.O* H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954).
- Friedrich, *HWb* J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952–1954).
- Friedrich, *HWb* J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 1–3 Erg., Ergänzungshefte (Heidelberg 1957, 1961, 1966).
- Friedrich, *SI* J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, I II (*MitAG* 31/1 and 34/1; Leipzig, 1926, 1930).
- Friedrich–Kammenhuber, *HWb*² J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (2nd ed.; Heidelberg, 1975–).
- Fs* *Festschrift*.
- Fs Alp* *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, ed. H. Otten *et al.* (Ankara, 1992).
- Fs Bittel* *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, ed. R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann (Mainz am Rhein, 1983).
- Fs Eissfeldt* *Festschrift Otto Eissfeldt*, ed. J. Fück (Halle, 1947).
- Fs Friedrich* *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet*, ed. R. von Kienle *et al.* (Heidelberg, 1959).
- Fs Houwink ten Cate* *Studia Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. T. J. van den Hout and J. de Roos (Uitgaven van het Nederlands historisch-archeologisch Instituut de Istanbul 74; Istanbul, 1995).
- Fs Matouš* *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, ed. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (*Assyriologia* IV; Budapest, 1980).
- Fs Moortgat* *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studien und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. K. Bittel *et al.* (Berlin, 1964).
- Fs Neumann* *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Tischler (Innsbruck, 1972).
- Fs Otten* (1) *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, ed. E. Neu und C. Rüster (Wiesbaden, 1968).
- Fs Otten* (2) *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Neu und C. Rüster (Wiesbaden, 1988).
- Fs Risch* *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Etter (Berlin, New York, 1986).
- Fs Röllig* *Ana šadi Labnāni lū allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeeerischen Kulturen. FS für Wolfgang Röllig*, ed. B. Pongraz-Leisten, H. Kühne and P. Xella (*A.O.A.T.* 247; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1997).
- Fs Szemerényi* *Festschrift für Oswald Szemerényi*, ed. B. Brogan-yi (Amsterdam, 1979).
- Fugmann, *Hama* II/1 E. Fugmann, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1932–1938*, II. *Les premiers habitants et la ville préhellénistique de Hamath* 1. *L'Architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques* (Copenhagen, 1958).
- Gartsang, *HE* J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London, 1929; revised edition of Garstang, *LH*).
- Garstang, *LH* J. Garstang, *Land of the Hittites* (London, 1910).
- Garstang and Gurney, *Geography* J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London, 1959).
- Gelb, *HH* I. J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs I–III* (Chicago, 1931, 1935, 1942).
- Gelb, *HHM* I. J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments* (*OIP* 45; Chicago, 1939).
- Genge, *NSR* H. Genge, *Nordsyrisch-südanatolische Reliefs. Eine archäologisch-historische Untersuchung, Datierung und Bestimmung* (Copenhagen, 1979).

- Gibson, *TSSI* J. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 2. *Aramaic Inscriptions*, 3. *Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1975, 1982).
- Glotta* *Glotta*. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache.
- Goetze, *AM* A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Mursiliš* (MIAeG 38; Leipzig, 1933).
- Goetze, *Kleinasien* A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasien*, 2nd edition (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III,2.; Munich, 1957).
- Goetze, *Tunn.* A. Goetze, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (AOS 14; New Haven, 1938).
- Goetze, *NeueBr* A. Goetze, *Neue Bruchstücke zum großen Text des Hattusiliš und den Paralleltexen* (MIAeG 34/2; Leipzig, 1930).
- Grayson, *ABC* A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, New York, 1975).
- Grayson, *ARI* A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions I–II* (Wiesbaden, 1972, 1976).
- Grayson, *RI.M.1 1* A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1; Toronto, 1987).
- Grayson, *RI.M.1 2* A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I* (1114–859 BC) (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2; Toronto, 1991).
- Grayson, *RI.M.1 3* A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II* (858–745 BC) (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3; Toronto, 1996).
- Grazer Beiträge* *Grazer Beiträge*. Zeitschrift für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft.
- Grothe, *Förderasiensexpedition* G. Grothe, *Meine Förderasiensexpedition 1906 und 1907*, Band I (Leipzig, 1911).
- Gs* *Gedenkschrift*.
- Gs Bossert* *Anadolu Arastirmaları* (JKF) II/1–2 (Istanbul, 1965).
- Gs Kretschmer* ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*, ed. H. Kronasser (Vienna, 1956).
- Gs Kronasser* *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*, ed. E. Neu (Wiesbaden, 1982).
- Güterbock, *Boğazköy IV* H. G. Güterbock, *apud* K. Bittel *et al.*, *Boğazköy IV*. Funde aus den Grabungen 1967 und 1968 (Berlin, 1969).
- Güterbock, *Kaniššumar* *Kaniššumar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock*, ed. H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman (Chicago, 1986).
- Güterbock, *SBo* H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, I–II (*AfO* Beiheft 5, 7; Berlin, 1940, 1942).
- Güterbock, *Yazılıkaya* H. G. Güterbock, *apud* K. Bittel *et al.*, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (Boğazköy-Hattuša IX; Berlin, 1975), Die Inschriften.
- Gurney, *Hittite Religion* O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (The Schweich Lectures, 1976; Oxford, 1977).
- Hagenbuchner, *TdH 15* A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (TdH 15; Heidelberg, 1989).
- Haines, *OIP 95* R. G. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II: Structural Remains of the Later Phases (OIP 95; Chicago, 1972).
- Hatt.* see *StBoT* 24.
- Hawkins, *IX TTK* J. D. Hawkins, Rulers of Karkamiš; the House of Astiruwas. (in *IX Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1981: *Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, I. Cilt (Ankara, 1986), pp. 259–271).
- Hawkins, *Mesopotamia 8* J. D. Hawkins, Late Hittite Funerary Monuments (in *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. B. Alster (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 213–225).
- Hawkins, *StBoT Bh. 3* J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa* (SUDBI RG). With an archaeological introduction by Peter Neve (*StBoT* Beiheft 3; Wiesbaden, 1995).
- Hawkins, *Morpurgo Davies, and Neumann, HHL* J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 6 (1973), pp. 143–197).
- Hb. Or.* (1969) J. Friedrich *et al.*, *Altkeleinsiasiatische Sprachen* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1/II, 1–2, 2; Leiden, 1969).
- HChI.* see König, *HChI.*
- HED.* see Puhvel, *HED.*
- Helck, *Beziehungen* W. Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1979).
- Herzfeld, *AMI* E. Hertzfeld, *Hettitica* (*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 2 (1930), pp. 132–164, 165–203).
- Hesperia* *Hesperia*. Journal of American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Hethitica* *Hethitica*. Bibliothèque des cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain.
- HH* see Laroche, *HH*.
- HHL* See Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, and Neumann. *HHL*.

- HHM* see Gelb, *HHM*.
- Historia* *Historia*. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte.
- Hoffmann, *TdH* 11 I. Hoffman, *Der Erlaß Telipinus* (*TdH* 11; Heidelberg, 1984).
- Hoffner, *Al. Hetb.* H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (New Haven, 1974).
- Hogarth, *Carchemish* I D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavation at Djerabis on Behalf of the British Museum* I. Introductory (London, 1914).
- Hogarth, *HS* D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920).
- Houwink ten Cate, *LPG* P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1961).
- Hrozný, *IHH* B. Hrozný, *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques* I–III (Prague, 1933, 1934, 1937).
- HT* *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1920).
- Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890).
- HWb* see Friedrich, *HWb*.
- HWb²* see Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb²*.
- IBoT* *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri* I–III (Istanbul, 1944, 1947, 1954).
- ICC* see Layard, *ICC*.
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*.
- IF* *Indogermanische Forschungen*. Zeitschrift für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.
- Ingholt, *Rapport* H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Copenhagen, 1940).
- Iraq* *Iraq*. The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Ist. Mitt.* *Istanbuler Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.
- Jacobsen, *OIC* 19 T. Jacobsen, A Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscription from Hines (*OIC* 19; Chicago, 1935, pp. 101–103).
- Jacob-Rost, *TdH* 2 L. Jacob-Rost, Das Ritual des Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung (*TdH* 2; Heidelberg, 1972).
- JANES* *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of the University of Columbia*.
- JAOS* *Journal of American Oriental Society*.
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*.
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JIES* *Journal of the Indo-European Studies*.
- JKF* *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen*.
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- JRAS* *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.
- Kadmos* *Kadmos*. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik.
- KAH* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*.
- KAI²* see Donner and Röllig, *KAI²*.
- Kalaç IX *TTK* M. Kalaç, Hiçeroglif Araştırmaları (in IX *Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1981: *Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* I Cilt (Ankara, 1986), pp. 255–258).
- Kammenhuber, *Hipp. Hetb.* A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia Hethitica* (Wiesbaden, 1961).
- Kanišunwar* see Güterbock, *Kanišunwar*.
- KAT³* see Schrader, *KAT³*.
- KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*.
- King, *AK-I* L. W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (London, 1902).
- King, *Bronze Reliefs* L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria* (London, 1915).
- Klauber, *PRT* G. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* (Leipzig, 1913).
- Klengel, *GS* H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.* I–III (Berlin, 1965, 1969, 1970).
- Knudtzon, *AGS* J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott* I–II (Leipzig, 1893).
- König, *HChI* H. W. König, *Handbuch der chaldäischen Inschriften* (*AfO* Beiheft 8; Graz, 1955, 1957).
- Koldewey, *WT DOG* 55 R. Koldewey, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon II* (*WT DOG* 55; Leipzig, 1932).
- Kratylos* *Kratylos*. Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.
- Kronasser, *Umsiedlung* H. Kronasser, *Die Umsiedlung der schwarzen Gottheit: Das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4 (des Ulippi)* (*Sitzungsberichte, Ost. Ak. Wiss.* 241.3; Vienna, 1963).

- KUB* *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*.
- Kupper, *Nomades* J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957).
- KZ* (*Kubns*) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1–100 (1952–1987), renamed *Historische Sprachforschung* (1988–).
- LAA* *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*.
- Lajard, *Mithra* M. F. Lajard, *Introduction à l'étude de culte publique et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* (Paris, 1847).
- Landsberger, *Fauna* B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamiens* (Leipzig, 1934).
- Landsberger, *Sam'al* B. Landsberger, *Sam'al. Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstätte Karatepe* (Ankara, 1948).
- Langdon, *NBK* S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1912).
- Laroche, *CTH* E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris, 1971).
- Laroche, *DIL* E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* (Paris, 1959).
- Laroche, *FdX V* E. Laroche, Les epitaphes lyciennes (*apud* P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos V* (Paris, 1974), pp. 123–149).
- Laroche, *FdX VI* E. Laroche, L'inscription lycienne (*apud* H. Metzger et al., *Fouilles de Xanthos VI* (Paris, 1979), pp. 49–127).
- Laroche, *Gloss. Hour.* E. Laroche, Glossaire de la langue hourrite, 1–2 parties (*RHA* XXXIV–XXXV (1976–1977)).
- Laroche, *HH* E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (Paris, 1960).
- Laroche, *Noms* E. Laroche, *Les noms des hittites* (Paris, 1966).
- Laroche, *Noms, suppl.* E. Laroche, *Les noms des hittites, supplement* (*Hethitica* 4 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981), pp. 3–58).
- Laroche, *Recherches* E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (*RHA* VII/46; Paris, 1947).
- Layard, *ICC* A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851).
- Levine, *TN:ASI* L. D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran* (Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 23; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1972).
- Lie, *Sargon* A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria* (Paris, 1929).
- Lloyd, *EHP:1* S. Lloyd, *Early Highland Peoples of Anatolia* (London, 1967).
- Luckenbill, *ARAB* D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I–II* (Chicago, 1926, 1927).
- Luckenbill, *Sennacherib* D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (*OIP* 2; Chicago, 1924).
- von Luschan, *AS* F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirdi*, II, III, IV (Berlin, 1898, 1902, 1911).
- Lyon, *Sargon* D. G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons, Königs von Assyrien* (Leipzig, 1883).
- Malli see Jacob-Rost, *TdH* 2.
- Manuale see Meriggi, *Manuale*.
- MAOG *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*.
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.
- MEE *Materiali epigrafici di Ebla*.
- Meijer, *Natural Phenomena* D. J. W. Meijer (ed.), *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East* (Amsterdam, 1992).
- Mélanges Dussaud *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud par ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris, 1939).
- Mélanges Laroche *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, ed. E. Masson and Cl. Brixhe (Paris, 1979).
- Melikišvili, *UKV* G. A. Melikišvili, *Urartské kelinooבראנע nad-pisi* (Moscow, 1960).
- Meriggi, *Glossar* P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* (Wiesbaden, 1962).
- Meriggi, *Manuale* P. Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico* I, II/1, II/2–3 (Rome, 1966, 1967, 1975).
- Meriggi, *MLAcG 39/1* P. Meriggi, Die längsten Bauinschriften in "hethitischen" Hieroglyphen (*MLAcG* 39/1; Leipzig, 1934).
- Meriggi, *Schizzo* P. Meriggi, Schizzo grammaticale dell'Anatolico (*Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie VIII, 24/3 (Rome, 1980)).
- Mesopotamia *Mesopotamia. Copenhagen Studies of Assyriology*.
- Messerschmidt, *CIH* L. Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hethiticarum* (*MLAcG* V/4–5; Leipzig, 1900).
- Messerschmidt, *CIH¹* L. Messerschmidt, *CIH*, Erster Nachtrag (*MLAcG* VII/3; Leipzig 1902).
- Messerschmidt, *CIH²* L. Messerschmidt, *CIH*, Zweiter Nachtrag (*MLAcG* XI/5; Leipzig 1906).

- Messerschmidt, *VS* L. Messerschmidt and A. Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I* (Leipzig, 1907).
- Met. Mus. Studies* *Metropolitan Museum Studies*.
- Meyer, *RKC* E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetbiter* (Berlin, 1914).
- MFO* *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale*, Université St.-Joseph (Beyrouth).
- Minerva* *Minerva*. The International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology.
- MIO* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*.
- Moortgat, *BK* A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (Berlin, 1932).
- Mora, *Glittica Anatolica* C. Mora, *La glittica anatolica del II millennio a.C.: classificazione tipologica I. I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica*. (*Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel*, Band II, *Studia Mediterranea* 6; Pavia 1987).
- MSS* *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*.
- Muscarella, *Ladders to Heaven* O. W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven. Art Treasures from Land of the Bible* (Canada, 1981).
- Le Muséon* *Le Muséon*. Revue d'études orientales.
- MIAG* *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*.
- MIAG* *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (continued as *MIAG*).
- NABU* *N.A.B.U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*.
- ND* *Field numbers of tablets excavated in Nimrud*.
- Neve, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XII* P. Neve, *Büyükkale. Die Bauwerke. Grabungen 1954–1966*. (Boğazköy-Hattuša XII; Berlin, 1982).
- Nougayrol, *PRL IV* J. Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiennes, archives sud* (Paris, 1956).
- OA* *Oriens Antiquus*.
- Oettinger, *Stammbildung* N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des bethitischen Irbums* (Nürnberg, 1979).
- OIC* *Oriental Institute Communications*.
- OIP* *Oriental Institute Publications*.
- OIZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- Or. Ex.* *Oriens Extremus*.
- Or. NS* *Orientalia, Nova Series*.
- Oriens* *Oriens*. Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research.
- Orthmann, *USK* W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst* (Bonn, 1971).
- von der Osten, *OIC 2* H. H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor* (*OIC 2*; Chicago, 1927).
- von der Osten, *OIC 6* H. H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor 1927–28* (*OIC 6*; Chicago, 1929).
- von der Osten, *OIC 8* H. H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor 1929* (*OIC 8*; Chicago, 1930).
- von der Osten, *OIC 14* H. H. von der Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia 1930–31* (*OIC 14*; Chicago, 1933).
- von der Osten, *OIP 6* H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük: season of 1927, part I* (*OIP 6*; Chicago, 1930).
- Otten, *StBoT Beiheft 1* H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV'* (*StBoT Beiheft 1*; Wiesbaden, 1988).
- Özgüç, *Kultepe* T. Özgüç, *Kultepe and its vicinity in the Iron Age* (Ankara, 1971).
- Parpola, *Neo-AT* S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (*AOAT 6*; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970).
- Parpola, *SLI I* S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I. Letters from Assyria and the West* (*State Archives of Assyria I*; Helsinki, 1987).
- Parpola, *SLI II* S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (*State Archives of Assyria II*; Helsinki, 1988).
- Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri* F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita* (*Incunabula Graeca* 79; Rome, 1982).
- Pecorella, *Malatya III* P. E. Pecorella, *Malatya III. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1963–1968. Il livello eteo imperiale e quelli neoetei*. (*Oriens Antiqui Collectio* 12; Rome, 1975).
- PEFQ* *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*.
- Peiser, *HI* F. E. Peiser, *Die bethitischen Inschriften: ein Versuch ihrer Entzifferung* (Berlin, 1892).
- Perrot, *Exploration* G. Perrot, E. Guillaume and J. Delbet, *Exploration de la Galatie et de la Bithynie (d'une part de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce, et du Pont)* (Paris, 1872).
- Perrot and Chipiez, *HA IV* G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Tome IV (Paris, 1887).
- Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal* A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal* (*AS 5*; Chicago, 1933).
- PJB* *Palästina-Jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts ... zu Jerusalem*.

- Poetto, *Stud. Med.* 3 M. Poetto and S. Salvatori, *La collezione anatolica di E. Borowski* (*Studia Mediterranea* 3; Pavia, 1981).
- Pokorny, *IEW* J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin–Munich, 1959, 1965–69).
- Pottier, *AH* E. Pottier, *L'Art hittite* (Paris, 1926).
- Porada, *Corpus* I E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* I. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library (Washington, 1948).
- Postgate, *FNALD* J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents* (Warminster, 1976).
- Postgate, *NARGD* J. N. Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees* (*Studia Pohl: Series Maior* 1; Rome, 1969).
- Postgate, *TC-Æ* J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (*Studia Pohl: Series Maior* 3; Rome, 1974).
- Pritchard, *ANEP* J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament* (2nd edition, with Supplement; Princeton, 1969).
- Pritchard, *ANET*³ J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd edition, with supplement; Princeton, 1969).
- PRU* IV see Nougayrol, *PRU* IV.
- PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*.
- Puglisi and Meriggi, *Malatya* I S. M. Puglisi and P. Meriggi, *Malatya* I. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1961 e 1962 (*Orientalis Antiqui Collectio* 3; Roma, 1964).
- Puhvel, *HED* J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, 1. Words beginning with A; 2. Words beginning with E and I; 3. Words beginning with H (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam, 1984, 1991).
- P-W, *RE* *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- QdGB* *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Glottologia* (Bologna).
- RA* *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*.
- RAI* *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*.
- RB* *Revue Biblique*.
- Recueil* *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
- RGTC* *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* (Wiesbaden).
- RGTC* 1 D. O. Edzard et al., *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der prä-sargonischen und sargonischen Zeit* (1977).
- RGTC* 2 D. O. Edzard and G. Farber, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur* (1974).
- RGTC* 3 B. Groneberg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit* (1980).
- RGTC* 4 K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit* (1991).
- RGTC* 5 K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittellassyrischen Zeit* (1982).
- RGTC* 6(1) G. F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der bethitischen Texte* (1978); 6/2, Supplement (1992).
- RGTC* 8 R. Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts* (1985).
- RGTC* 9 I. M. Diakonoff and S. M. Kashkai, *Geographical Names According to Urartian Texts* (1981).
- RHA* *Revue hittite et asianique*.
- Riemschneider, *WdH* M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954).
- Riis, *Hama* II/3 P. J. Riis, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938* II.3. *Les cimetières à crémation* (Copenhagen, 1948).
- Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 P. J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la fondation Carlsberg 1931–1938* II.2. *Les objets de la période dite syro-hittite (âge du fer)* (Copenhagen, 1990).
- RIM*-1 see Grayson, *RIM*-1.
- Ritter, *Klein-Asien* C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien* IX. *Klein-Asien*, Theil 1 (Berlin, 1858).
- RL*-1 *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und der vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.
- Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs* E. Rossner, *Die bethitischen Felsreliefs in der Türkei. Ein archäologischer Führer*. (2nd enlarged edition; Munich, 1988).
- Rost, *Tiglatpileser* P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III.* (Leipzig, 1893).
- RSO* *Rivista degli studi orientali*.
- SAAB* *State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin*.
- Salonen, *St. Or.* 38 E. Salonen, *Die Gruß- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen* (*Studia Orientalia* 38; Helsinki, 1967).
- SA-NE* *Sources of the Ancient Near East*.
- SBo* see Güterbock, *SBo*.
- Schiz̄zo* see Meriggi, *Schiz̄zo*.

- Schrader, *KAT*³ E. Schrader, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd edition; Giessen, 1903).
- Schramm, *EAK* W. Schramm, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften, II. 934–722 v. Chr.* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik*; Leiden, 1973).
- Schramm, *Tukulti-Ninurta* W. Schramm, *Die Annalen des assyrischen Königs Tukulti-Ninurta II* (*Bi. Or.* 27 (1970), pp. 147–160).
- Schroeder, *KAH. II* O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Zweites Heft. (*WVDOG* 37; Leipzig 1922).
- Schroeder, *KAV* O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (*WVDOG* 35; Leipzig, 1920).
- SCO* *Studi classici e orientali*.
- von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer* E. von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer. Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien.* (*UAVA* 3; Berlin, 1965).
- SEb* *Studi Eblaiti*. Missione archeologica italiana in Siria.
- Semitica* *Semitica*. Cahiers publiés par l'institut d'études sémitiques de l'Université de Paris.
- Sitzungsberichte, Ost.-Ak. Wiss.* *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SME-A* *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*.
- von Soden, *AHW* W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch I–III* (Wiesbaden, 1958–1981).
- Sommer, *HL-1B* F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I* (Munich, 1938).
- Sprache* *Die Sprache*. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Starke, *Stammbildung* F. Starke, *Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (*StBoT* 31; Wiesbaden, 1990).
- Starr, *SL-14 IV* I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria* (*State Archives of Assyria* IV; Helsinki, 1990).
- StBoT* *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wiesbaden).
- StBoT* 3 H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (1967).
- StBoT* 4 R. Werner, *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle* (1967).
- StBoT* 5 E. Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven I Verbformen* (1968).
- StBoT* ~ H. Otten and W. von Soden, *Das akkadisch-hethitische Lokular KBo. I 44 + KBo. XIII 1* (1968).
- StBoT* 8 H. Otten and V. Souček, *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (1969).
- StBoT* 9 K. K. Riemschneider, *Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung* (1970).
- StBoT* 16 C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag* (1971).
- StBoT* 18 E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (1974).
- StBoT* 22 N. Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter* (1976).
- StBoT* 23 F. Starke, *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen* (1977).
- StBoT* 24 H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der Überlieferung* (1981).
- StBoT* 27 I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival. Part One* (1983).
- StBoT* 29 G. M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals* (1983).
- StBoT* 30 F. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte im Umschrift* (1985).
- StBoT* 31 see Starke, *Stammbildung*.
- StBoT* Bh. 3 see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3.
- Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey* J. R. S. Sterrett, *An epigraphical journey in Asia Minor. The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 3 (Boston, 1884–85 [1888])).
- Streck, *Assurbanipal* M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninivehs I–III* (Leipzig, 1916).
- Studi ... Levi della Vida* II *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956).
- Studi Pugliese Carratelli* *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. F. Imparati (Florence, 1988).
- Studia Meriggi* *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata I–II. Studia Mediterranea* I, ed. O. Carruba (Pavia, 1979).
- Studia Naster* *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, ed. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun (*Homo Religiosus* 10; Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984).
- Studia Naster* II *Studia Paulo Naster oblata* II, ed. J. Quaegebeur (*Orientalia antiqua, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* 13; Leuven, 1982).
- Studies Cowgill* *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill. Papers from the Fourth East Coast Indo-European Conference, Cornell University, June 6–9, 1985*, ed. C. Watkins (Berlin, New York, 1987).

- Studies Lacheman* *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lachemann* (Winona Lake, 1981).
- Studies Oppenheim* *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964).
- Studies Nimet Özgüç* *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, ed. M. J. Mellink, E. Porada and T. Özgüç (Ankara, 1993).
- Studies Tahsin Özgüç* *Anatolia and the Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, ed. K. Emre et al. (Ankara, 1989).
- Studies Watkins* *Mir Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. J. Jasanoff, H. C. Melchert, and L. Olivier (Innsbruck, 1998).
- STT* O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets I–II* (London, 1957, 1964).
- Sumer* *Sumer. Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq*.
- Symbolae Böhl* *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, ed. M. A. Beck et al. (Leiden, 1973).
- Syria* *Syria. Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie*.
- TAD* *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*.
- Tadmor, Azriyau* H. Tadmor, Azriyau of Yaudi (*Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961), pp. 232–271).
- Tadmor, Introductory Remarks* H. Tadmor, Introductory Remarks to a New Edition of the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III (*Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 168–187).
- Tadmor, Tiglath-Pileser III.* H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*. Critical Edition, with Introductions, Translations and Commentary (Jerusalem, 1994).
- TdH* *Texte der Hethiter*.
- Tel Aviv* *Tel Aviv: Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology*.
- Thompson, Report* R. Campbell Thompson, *Report on the Excavation at Carchemish April 20–July 4 1911* (unpublished notebook in British Museum).
- Thureau-Dangin, Louvre – département des antiquités orientales, tome III; Paris, 1912).* F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.C.)* (Musée de Louvre – département des antiquités orientales, tome III; Paris, 1912).
- Thureau-Dangin, Til-Barsib* F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936).
- Tischler, HEG* J. Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck, 1977–).
- TL* *Tituli Lyciae* (Vienna, 1901).
- TPS* *Transactions of the Philological Society*.
- TSBA* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- TT-AED* *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*.
- UAVA* *Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Ergänzungsbände zur ZA*.
- UF* *Ugarit-Forschungen*.
- USK* see Orthmann, *USK*.
- VBoT* A. Götze, *Verstreute Boğazköi-Texte* (Marburg, 1930).
- Vieyra, HL* M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art 2300–750 B.C.* (London, 1955).
- V'O* *Vicino Oriente. Annuario dell'Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente*.
- Vollenweider, Catalogue* M.-L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux cylindres intailles et camées, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève I* (Geneva, 1967).
- VT* *Vetus Testamentum*.
- Ward, APES* H. Ward, *The Hamath Inscriptions (American Palestine Exploration Society, second statement; September, 1873)*.
- Ward, Cylinders ... Pierpont Morgan* H. Ward, *Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1909).
- Ward, Seal Cylinders* H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910).
- WdO* *Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
- Weidner, PD* E. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien. Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boğazköi. (Boğazköi-Studien 8 und 9; Leipzig, 1923)*.
- Weidner, Tukulti-Ninurta* E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger (AfO Beiheft 12; Graz, 1959)*.
- Weitenberg, HUS* J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Die hethitischen u-Stämme* (Amsterdam, 1984).
- Winckler, Sargon* H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen I–II* (Leipzig, 1889).
- Wiseman, CCK* D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626–556 B.C.)* (London, 1961).

Woolley, Carchemish II	C. L. Woolley, <i>Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum</i> II: The Town Defences (London, 1921).	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i>
		Z-A	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.</i>
Woolley, Carchemish III	C. L. Woolley, <i>Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum</i> III: The Excavations in the Inner Town; R. D. Barnett, <i>The Hittite Inscriptions</i> (London, 1952).	ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
		ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i>
Wright, EH, EH ²	W. Wright, <i>The Empire of the Hittites</i> (London 1884; 2nd edition, London, 1886).	Zgusta, Personennamen	L. Zgusta, <i>Kleinasiatische Personennamen</i> (Prague, 1964).
W ¹ DOG	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.</i>	Zuntz, Ortsadv.	L. Zuntz, <i>Die bethitischen Ortsadverbien arha, para, piran als selbständige Adverbien und in ihrer Verbindung mit Nomina und Verba</i> (Munich, 1936).

INTRODUCTION

A. GENERAL

1. Background and terminology
2. Date of the origin of the Script
3. Character and techniques of the Inscriptions
4. Nature, formation and usage of the Script

B. INSCRIPTIONS AND SCRIPT

1. Discovery and Publication
 - Earliest stage
 - Period 1900–1914
 - Karkamiš excavation and publication
 - Period 1920–1940
 - Karatepe: discovery and publications
 - Recent work
2. Decipherment and Interpretation
 - General problems
 - First attempts
 - Successful entry
 - The bilingual and after
 - The “new readings”
 - Recent progress

C. THE CORPUS

1. Definition of the Corpus
 - Empire and Late Periods
 - The Seals
 - Separation of the Empire Period corpus
 - Intermediate inscriptions

2. Arrangement of the Inscriptions

- Groups
- Order
- Summary of results

3. Presentation of the Inscriptions

- Photographs
- Copies
- Karkamiš
- Transliteration and translation
- Commentary
- Bibliography

4. Present Corpus and further volumes

D. PRINCIPLES OF TRANSLITERATION

1. Order of the Signs
2. The Logograms
3. The Syllabograms
 - The Regular Syllabary
 - Corrections
 - Modifications
 - Alternative Syllabograms
 - Values and modifications
 - Empire Period syllabic values only
 - Discarded values

E. APPENDICES

1. Boğazköy Hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone
2. *HH* no. 448 *su*
3. *HH* no. 462
4. The ALTINTEPE pithos inscriptions

A. General

1. Background and Terminology

The inscriptions which are the subject of this book are written in a script termed *Hieroglyphic*. This designation, taken from that of the Hieroglyphic script proper – Egyptian – is a convenient way of characterizing other such scripts which are pictorial (pictographic) in appearance. Early on in its rediscovery, the script was correctly linked with the Hittites,¹ and the designation “Hittite Hieroglyphs” (or “Hieroglyphic”) remains a perfectly valid term of reference.

The Hittites took their name from the Central Anatolian land of *Hatti*,² which they dominated for most of the IInd millennium B. C. Their history as known to us falls into two main periods: first, that of the Old Kingdom and Empire, c. 1650–1200 B. C., during which they ruled Hatti from their capital Hattusa (mod-

ern Boğazköy), and then conquered and ruled Syria from the city Karkamiš on the Euphrates;³ and second, a subsequent period, after the destruction of Hattusa and the dissolution of the Empire, when a number of independent “Neo-Hittite” states lacking the control of a paramount capital are found stretching from the south-east Anatolian plateau and northern Syria as far as the west bank of the Euphrates.⁴

1 By Sayce in 1876: see below p. 6 and n. 42.

2 See Güterbock, *RLA* IV/4–5 (1975), s. v. Hethiter, Hethitisch.

3 See *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, parts 1–2 (3rd ed., 1973, 1975): Gurney, *Anatolia c. 1750–1600* (ch. VI); id., *Anatolia c. 1600–1380* (ch. XV (a)); Goetze, *The Struggle for the domination of Syria (1400–1300 B. C.)* (ch. XVII); id., *Anatolia from Shuppiuliumash to the Egyptian War of Muwatallish* (ch. XXI (a)); id., *The Hittites and Syria (1300–1200 B. C.)* (ch. XXIV); Drower, *Ugarit* (ch. XXI (b)).

4 *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III/1 (2nd edition, 1982): Hawkins, *The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia* (ch. 9).

During the period of the primacy of Hattusa, the Hittites are best known from their royal library and archives excavated at that site, written in the Cuneiform script on clay tablets,⁵ a script and medium borrowed from Mesopotamia.⁶ These archives, comprising many thousands of tablets, contain every kind of royal chancellery document: annals; edicts, treaties and laws; verdicts, protocols and administrative texts; letters; and a large number of religious texts, rituals and festivals. The Cuneiform script was used throughout its history to write a number of different languages, and the Hattusa archives are composed for the most part in their writers' own language, generally termed by us "Hittite", but by them "Nesite",⁷ i. e. the language of Nesa or Kaneš (modern Kültepe), which had presumably been an earlier Hittite centre, before Hattusa in Hatti. This Hittite language on its decipherment in the years 1915–17⁸ unexpectedly turned out to belong to the Indo-European language group, of which it is the oldest known representative.⁹ The Hittites also used the language Akkadian ("Babylonian" to them) as the international language of communication.¹⁰ Besides Hittite and Akkadian, smaller groups of texts in other languages are found in the archives, mostly of ritual and mythological content. These include Hattian, the pre-Hittite language of Hatti,¹¹ and Hurrian, the language of the Hittites' eastern neighbours;¹² also Luwian¹³ and Palaic,¹⁴ languages closely related to Hittite, spoken by their kinsmen dwelling respectively to the south and south-west, and to the north-west of Hatti, and constituting with Hittite the IInd millennium B. C. section of the Anatolian group of Indo-European.¹⁵

Unlike the Mesopotamians, the Hittites did not use their borrowed Cuneiform script for writing monumental inscriptions on stone. For this purpose instead they used Hieroglyphic. The two scripts, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic, only appear together on one type of document, the royal seals, where the King's name is written in the centre in Hieroglyphic and in a circular ring around it in Cuneiform.¹⁶

Most of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Hittite Empire period on seals (from c. 1500 B. C. onwards) and stone monuments (from c. 1350 B. C. onwards) are simply names of persons or gods, and thus are not composed in any specific language. The surprise is however that the few historical and dedicatory inscriptions on stone of Hittite kings of this period are written not in the language Hittite but in Luwian, a curious fact for which various explanations have been offered.¹⁷

The Hittite Empire collapsed c. 1200 B. C. and the capital Hattusa was destroyed. The Hittite tradition of writing in the Cuneiform script on clay tablets ended with this collapse, but there are other indications of cultural continuity rather than an absolute hiatus. The Neo-Hittite states, from Tabal and Tuwana on the Anatolian plateau to Malatya and Karkamiš on the Euphrates, preserved many of the characteristic features of

Hittite civilization, notably its architecture¹⁸ and its sculpture.¹⁹ They also continued the practice of writing monumental stone inscriptions in the Hieroglyphic script; indeed they considerably expanded it, since for the post-Empire period, c. 1200–700 B. C. very many more Hieroglyphic inscriptions are found than for the Hittite Empire period. Each state seems to have developed its own tradition of monumental inscriptions. The evidence of a handful of letters and economic documents written on strips of lead suggests that by this period the Hieroglyphic script had been developed for writing such every-day administrative documents which

5 See E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (Paris, 1971); with supplement, *RH 1* XXX (1972), pp. 94–133.

6 T. V. Gamkrelidze, The Akkado-Hittite syllabary and the problem of the origin of the Hittite script (*Jr. Or.* 29 (1961), pp. 406–418).

7 See most recently *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* vol. 3/4 (1989), s. v. *nišili*.

8 See J. Friedrich *et al.*, *Hb. Or.* (1969), part III: A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch, und Hieroglyphenluwisch, 1. Forschungslage.

9 *ead.*, *ibid.*, 3. Das indogermanische Erbe im Hethitisch-Luwischen; see also the symposium *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch*, E. Neu and W. Meid ed. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 25; Innsbruck, 1979).

10 R. Labat, *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-Köi* (Bordeaux, 1932).

11 Kammenhuber, *RL 1* IV/2–3 (1973), s. v. Hattier, Hattisch; Laroche, *Catalogue*, ch. XI, A. Hatti.

12 Edzard and Kammenhuber, *RL 1* IV/6–7 (1975), s. v. Hurriter, Hurritisch. Note the series *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* I. Die Texte aus Bogazköy (Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo – Anatolici); also *Hurritologische Studien* (AOAT 3, AOAT 31, 36 etc.); and for recent discoveries, E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, 1988/3); *id.*, *Neue Wege im Hurritischen* (XXIII Deutscher Orientalistentag; Steiner, 1989).

13 E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue luwite* (Paris, 1959); E. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (StBoT 30; Wiesbaden, 1985); *id.*, *Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (StBoT 31; Wiesbaden, 1990).

14 O. Carruba, *Das Palaische: Texte, Grammatik, Lexikon* (StBoT 10; Wiesbaden, 1970); Laroche, *Catalogue*, ch. XI, B. Pala.

15 Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.* (nn. 8–9), 2. Die Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Hethitischen, Palaischen und Luwischen; B. Rosenkranz, *Vergleichende Untersuchungen der altanatolischen Sprachen* (Mouton, 1978).

16 H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy* I–II (*JrO* Beiheft 5, 7; Berlin, 1940, 1942); T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Bogazköy* (*II 1 DOG*, 76; Berlin, 1967); R. M. Boehmer and H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Bogazköy* (Berlin, 1987). Also C. Schaeffer, E. Laroche, H. G. Güterbock, *Ugaritica* III (Paris, 1956), ch. I.

17 E. g. that Luwian was the vernacular language (*Umgangssprache*) of the bulk of the population, while Hittite was only the chancellery language (*Amtssprache*). The theory was stated by Rosenkranz in its most extreme form, *IF* 56 (1938), pp. 265–284. Alternatively, it is possible that the script was invented by Luwians for their own language and borrowed as such by the Hittites without ever being adapted to write Hittite. Cf. Hawkins, *Writing in Anatolia* (*World Archaeology* 17 (1986), pp. 363–376).

18 R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien* (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1971).

19 W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), explores the derivation of Neo-Hittite art from that of the Empire Period.

would normally have been written on a perishable material, wood, leather or papyrus, and thus that the Neo-Hittite states practised a high degree of literacy, most of which has been lost for ever. They probably wrote in this way all the types of text that the Hittite Empire wrote in Cuneiform on clay, and we should remember that references in the Cuneiform clay documents of Hattusa to wooden documents and “scribes on wood” suggest the existence of a parallel lost corpus of literacy during the Empire period.²⁰

With the destruction of the Hittite Empire, the land of Hatti ceased to exist in central Anatolia, but the term “Hatti” continued to be applied to the former provinces of the Empire in south-east Anatolia and north Syria where the cultural descendants of the Hittites survived, hence our term “Neo-Hittite”.²¹ But the observation made for the Hittite Empire is even more clear for the succeeding period, namely that the language of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions is not Hittite but Luwian. The evidence of the letters and economic documents on lead as well as the personal names from these and from other sources combine to suggest that the bulk of the population, not only the ruling dynasties of the Neo-Hittite states, was Luwian-speaking. We may however note that no self-designation of the land, the people, or the language (whether as “Hatti” or “Luwia” or anything else) is found in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Our terminology “Hieroglyphic Luwian” as applied to these inscriptions should now be clear, designating first the script and second the language; similarly the use of “Hittite” as a general cultural term for the whole civilization rather than narrowly for the specific language Hittite (i.e. “Nesite”). Finally we may state that there is almost no indication that the Hittite Hieroglyphic script was ever used to write any language other than Luwian.²²

The bulk of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the Late Period may be dated to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. It has been supposed that the 12th and 11th centuries, following the fall of the Hittite Empire, were a complete dark age with no surviving monuments or written sources, and that these begin again during the 10th century. Recent evidence however is now tending to suggest that more of the monuments and inscriptions are to be dated to the period 1200–900 B.C., and that these point to greater continuity and less of a cultural break. This is one of the historical problems addressed in the relevant parts of the present book.

2. Date of the origin of the script

Historically the Hieroglyphic script's first common appearance is on royal seals of the 14th century B.C., specifically all seals of the kings of Hattusa from Arnuwandas I onwards, when the characteristic “digraphic” royal seals come into use, on which the name is written in Hieroglyphs in the centre surrounded by one or

more rings of Cuneiform rendering the same name.²³ The earliest datable example of such a seal is an isolated find excavated at Tarsus, an impression of the seal of Ispitahsus, king of Kizzuwatna, a contemporary of Telipinus, thus dating c. 1500 B.C.²⁴ Earlier seals and also graffiti on objects may show the odd sign later incorporated into the Hieroglyphic script system, especially the TRIANGLE and ANKH signs representing “good” and “life”. There is however no indication that these formed part of a regular writing system already in existence before 1500 B.C.²⁵

The appearance of the Hieroglyphs in monumental inscriptions as epigraphs to sculpture, though by no means precisely datable, would seem to be an extension from their use on seals. Substantial monumental inscriptions of the Empire Period on stone cluster round two of the latest kings of the Hittite Empire, Tudhaliyas IV and his son Suppiluliumas II. The earliest approximately datable example is ALEPPO 1,²⁶ the work of Talmi-Sarruma king of Aleppo, grandson of Suppiluliumas I, thus c. 1300 B.C., the generation of Muwattallis II and Hattusilis III.

To what extent Hieroglyphic was used for writing non-monumental documents remains, in the absence of any such discoveries, uncertain. Hier. graffiti on the paving stones and orthostats of the Great Temple, and on a boulder in the Lower City Gate, which give personal names and the sign for “scribe”,²⁷ suggest the existence of a group of public scribes. References in Cuneiform texts to “scribes on wood” and wooden documents and writing boards, as mentioned above, attest to a literate tradition parallel to that of the clay tablets. While some at least of these documents were written in Cuneiform,²⁸ it may well be that others were written in Hieroglyphic.

20 D. Symington, *An. St.* 41 (1991), pp. 111–123, examines this question in the context of the publication of an article on the writing-board recovered from the Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck off the southern coast of Turkey.

21 Hawkins, *RLA* IV/2–3 (1973), s.v. Hatti: the 1st millennium B.C.

22 This statement is not invalidated by the use of Hieroglyphic to write Hittite, Hurrian and Semitic names on the seals from Boğazköy, Ras Shamra and Meskene. Note also that the Hier. epigraphs of the gods at Yazılıkaya include phonetically written Hurrian divine names and even two Hurrian words as a title.

23 See the publications of the seals cited above, n. 16.

24 See Klengel, *RLA* V/3–4 (1977), s.v. Ispitahšu. The reading of the Hieroglyphic on the seal remains problematic.

25 See Laroche, *RLA* IV/4–5 (1975), s.v. Hieroglyphen, hethitische, § 5.2 (*De l'âge des hiéroglyphes*, with Bibliography); also S. Alp, *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya* (Ankara, 1968), ch. X, Der Beitrag der Funde von Karahöyük zur Geschichte der Schrift; and most recently, C. Mora, Sull' origine della scrittura geroglifica anatolica (*Kadmos* 30 (1991), pp. 1–28).

26 See below, p. 19.

27 See most recently Poetto, *O.A.* 26 (1987), pp. 187–189, quoting Bittel's publication and his inferences from the graffiti. The writing *pa-ti-si-na* represents the Hurrian name *Bentešina*.

28 See I. Singer, *StBoT* 27 (1983), pp. 33, 40–43. The Hittite word appears to be *zulcattar* (loan from Luwian: see Starke, *Stammildung* 271–272).

3. Character and techniques of the inscriptions

The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions survive mainly as monumental inscriptions on rock faces or dressed stone, often accompanying sculpture. The dressed stone elements may be orthostat slabs or blocks serving as wall-facings and door-jambs; free-standing stelae in various shapes; and statues ranging from colossal to small; bases for these monuments and other podia; tomb-stones and personal memorials of various types; objects of dedication, particularly stone bowls; and scarcely shaped boulders. As representatives of other types of written document the inscribed strips of lead have already been mentioned, as has also the use of Hieroglyphs on seals, though not many of these can be specifically characterized as Luwian.

The Hieroglyphs themselves are rendered in two main ways: either in relief, with the background cut away; or in linear forms incised into a smoothed surface. Generally the relief forms are rendered in a more elaborate and pictorial style which may be termed "monumental", and the incised forms in reduced, non-pictorial shapes to be characterized as "cursive". The boundaries between the categories are not however sharp: many relief inscriptions include cursive forms, as many incised ones include monumental forms. Nor is the distinction entirely a question of date. Though on the whole, Empire Period inscriptions are in relief, there are already examples of incised ones. In the Late Period, relief and incised inscriptions coexist from earliest to latest, though it does appear that the trend was towards ever-increasing use of incised forms. This phenomenon is probably to be explained by the supposition that incised stone inscriptions, like the "cursive" sign forms, do reflect a parallel tradition of handwritten documents using linear forms, though no examples of such are preserved until the above-mentioned lead documents, which belong to the latest stage of the script.

The signs comprising the inscriptions are normally arranged in horizontal lines separated by horizontal rulings ("line-dividers"), relief or incised according to the character of the inscription. These lines run alternately leftwards ("sinistroverse") and rightwards ("dextroverse"), so that the inscription follows a snaking course known as *boustrophedon* ("as an ox turns (in ploughing a field)"). In each line the non-symmetrical signs turn to face the beginning of the line (i.e. against the direction of reading the inscription), which is specially noticeable in the case of the human and animal heads. Inscriptions more commonly start in the upper right corner and run sinistroverse, although there are plenty of examples of the opposite. The most regular inscriptions are those placed on a single flat surface, but it is common for inscriptions to run around corners and

often, in the case of free-standing elements, to encircle them completely around all four sides. Indeed inscriptions are sometimes placed across very irregular surfaces, especially in the case of inscribed statues. For the purpose of publishing in drawing form on a sheet of flat paper, these inscriptions can be opened up and flattened out, and in cases which entirely surround an object, the left and right edges of the flattened inscription will of course represent different sides of the same vertical dividing line.

Within each line, the individual words are written with their component signs arranged in one or more vertical columns from top to bottom. Thus a short word may be rendered by 2–4 signs in one column, while a longer one will extend into a second column. But the signs come in a variety of shapes, long and slender, wide and flat etc., so that the scribe-mason executing the inscription had to exercise considerable ingenuity in arranging them. A problem for us is that it is by no means always clear in what order the signs are to be read. In the Late Period, a special sign was used as a word-divider (**ic**) placed normally at the top of the line at the beginning of a new word and used with greater or lesser consistency depending on the inscription – some inscriptions do not use it at all. When, as frequently happens in some inscriptions, words are begun not at the top of the line, the word-divider seems to be more often used, as one may understand to have been necessary.

4. Nature, formation, and usage of the script²⁹

The script resembles most of the other deciphered scripts of the Ancient Near East in its component parts. The signs may be divided into two main categories, the word-signs or *logograms*, and the sound-signs or *syllabograms*. A special group of logograms constitute a sub-category, that of *determinatives*, which serve as aids to reading by allocating the words to which they are attached to classes: "god", "person", "city", "country", etc. As a convention in this work, determinatives are enclosed in parentheses.

Logograms may be *pictograms*, i.e. stand very obviously for what they represent either in whole or in part: e.g. HORSE-HEAD = "horse"; FOOT = "foot" – although often these are so schematized that they may

²⁹ This topic is examined in detail by Günter Neumann in his study "System und Aufbau der hethitischen Hieroglyphenschrift" (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1992 Nr. 4, pp. 25–48). Evidence for most of the points made in this section will be found in Neumann's treatment.

or may not be recognizable to us. Logograms may also be *ideograms*, i. e. suggest a word or idea without actually representing it: e. g. POINTED HAT = "king"; schematic PAIR OF EYES = "god" (concept of "all-seeing"); FOOT = "go, walk, run, etc.". Thus ideograms are particularly used to write verbs, which of course cannot be actually drawn. Often the connection between the sign and its significance is by no means obvious to us or at best is an object of speculation. Why should the LITUUS be used, as it apparently is, to determine verbs of perception, why a POT, as it may be, to determine parts of the body?

The probability is that Hieroglyphic, like other neighbouring ancient scripts, such as Cuneiform and Egyptian Hieroglyphic, originated as a purely logographic script, although this stage of its development is lost to us. It is certainly the case that the Empire Period inscriptions remain preponderantly logographic, although as far as we can judge, a fairly complete syllabary had been evolved by that date. This process, again to judge from neighbouring parallels, was probably achieved by using logograms to represent single syllables which coincided with the stem of the word denoted, often reduced to the necessary minimum. Thus e. g. GIVING HAND = "give", Luw. *piya-*, syllabic *pi*; OX = "ox", Luw. *uwa(u)*-, syllabic *u*; TONGUE = "tongue", Luw. *lala-*, syllabic *la*. The comparatively small number of syllabograms in the regular syllabary, the origin of which can be identified in this way, does however suggest that other formative devices may also have been at work. In particular it is uncertain to what extent acrophonic formation was used, i. e. the isolation of the first syllable of a polysyllabic word to form a syllabogram. The few clearly established examples permit the speculative identification of many others.³⁰

The regular syllabary, as tabulated on p. 29, comprises besides the three vowel signs *a*, *i*, *u* (with a second *a* (*á*), used only initially) syllabograms of the type consonant+vowel (C+V) only, in a three-vowel series *Ca*, *Ca*, *Ca*. The script, like Cuneiform in Hittite usage, does not distinguish voiced and unvoiced consonants. Consonants registered are *p*, *k*, *t*, *s*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* (not initial), *b* (of uncertain quality), *z* (= *ts*?), *u*, *y* (partially). Some syllables are written by common alternative signs, a practice for which we can discern no special reason: e. g., *ni* and *ní*, *ha* and *há*, *nu* and *nú*.³¹ Only in the *s*- and *t*-series are there more than two common alternatives, thus *sa*, *sá*, *sà*, *sa*₄, *sa*₅; *ta*, *tá*, *tà*, *ta*₄, *ta*₅. This accumulation of apparent homophones is presumably to be explained in terms of original distinctions either lost or not yet established by us: e. g. it may be suspected that *ta*₄ and *ta*₅ actually represent *da* or *dí* [see now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 5].

It will be clear that the syllabary cannot easily render consonant clusters or final consonants. Where necessary, the vowel of a CV syllable is disregarded, and in

this case it is normally the *a*-series which is used: e. g. *-s* and *-n* (nom. and acc. sing. MF endings) are written *-sa*, *-na*. Where a closed syllable ends in *-n*, this is omitted: e. g. *-(a)nti* and *-(a)nta* (3 plur. pres. and pret.) are written *-Ca-ti* and *-Ca-ta*, though these are indistinguishable from *-(a)ti* and *-(a)ta* (3 sing. pres. and pret.). Such a script leaves many ambiguities and problems of interpretation.

Besides the "regular" syllabary, a number of inscriptions employ a greater or lesser number of alternative signs for common values, tabulated below, p. 32. The inscriptions which do this are mostly a relatively restricted group of Tabalian (south-east Anatolian plateau) inscriptions, all late in the period, and significantly the important bilingual of KARATEPE shows similar tendencies in a more marked degree.

In addition to the regular syllabary of syllables of the type CV, occasional syllabograms are used of the type CVCV: e. g. *tara/i*, *ara/i*, *hara/i*, *TANA*, *TAL-1*, and others. For further consideration of these, see below, p. 31.

The way in which logograms and syllabograms are combined in the practice of writing is comparable to that of other contemporary scripts. The earliest stage shows a predominantly logographic script with a sparing use of syllabograms, principally to write occasional noun and verb endings and words which cannot easily be rendered logographically, above all clause connectives and their attached particle chains, also pronouns, demonstrative and relative. The next stage is to add to the logographically written nouns and verbs not only their grammatical ending but also a phonetic complement indicating the end of the stem: e. g. *DFUS-ni-zi* (= **masani-(i)nzi*), "gods" (nom./acc. plur. MF); *REGIO-ni-ia*, (= **utniya*), "countries" (nom./acc. plur. N). This trend can lead to the full phonetic writing of a word, in which cases the original logograms may or may not also be written: e. g. *la-la-ha*, "I took"; *á-zi/a-tá*, "he loved"; (*273) *mu-wa/i-ha*, "I conquered".

All such writings are found together already on Empire Period inscriptions, and continue throughout the Late Period. The Late Period added the device of "logogram-markers", special small signs which identified logograms as such, and like the word-dividers are used more or less consistently according to the inscription. It is noteworthy that full phonetic writings, without but also with the logogram, are particularly characteristic of the latest group of Tabal inscriptions. Curiously, the latest Karkamiš inscriptions show a marked archaizing style, in which the earliest largely logographic practice is consciously affected. Two points

³⁰ See Neumann, op. cit.

³¹ It will be observed that homophonic signs are distinguished by diacritical marks following the practice of Cuneiform: ' for the second homophone of a series, ' for the third, and thereafter small inferior numerals: thus *sa*, *sá*, *sà*, *sa*₄, *sa*₅ etc.

here should be noted: first, that once a writing system had evolved an adequately working syllabary, logograms could be entirely eliminated, though ancient scripts, including Hieroglyphic, hardly ever took this logical step;

second, writings of the type logogram + full phonetic writing, though common in Hieroglyphic, are rare in Cuneiform both in the Mesopotamian and Hittite usage.

B. Inscriptions and script

1. Discovery and Publication

Earliest stage

Discovery and publication of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions have since the 1870's gone more or less hand-in-hand. Thus European and American travellers who first observed these inscriptions usually had the interest to publish them in their home journals and so to make them available to western scholarship without any great lapse of time.³²

Formally priority of discovery³³ goes to the "Hamathite stones" (HAMA 1–4), observed by Burckhardt as early as 1812, though not reported by him until 1822, and not published until 1872 by Burton and Drake.³⁴ In the meantime, the recognition of this genre of inscription was heralded during the middle years of the 19th century by the observation and reporting of rock reliefs with associated Hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Anatolian plateau. We may cite here the earliest appearances: YAZILIKAYA, published in 1839, 1842 and 1872, also NIŞANTAŞ in the last year;³⁵ KARABEL, published in 1843;³⁶ İVRİZ 1, published in 1858 and 1876;³⁷ and SIPYLOS, published in 1880 onwards.³⁸ Also at the same time these Hieroglyphs began to be found on seals and seal-impressions: the group of NINEVEH bullae excavated by Layard in 1851 and published in 1853;³⁹ and the famous "Tarkondemos" seal, which became known at the beginning of the 1860's.⁴⁰ Along with the first publication of the Hamathite stones in 1872 came that of the Aleppo mosque inscription, ALEPPO 1.⁴¹

It was on the basis of this nascent corpus that Sayce, in a lecture to the Society for Biblical Archaeology delivered on 2 May 1876 on the subject of "The Hamathite Inscriptions",⁴² felt able to apply the term "Hittite" to these inscriptions. He took this term from its Old Testament occurrences (Hebrew *ḥṭṭ*), but based his observations more particularly on the then recently deciphered records of the Egyptian New Kingdom and the Middle and Neo-Assyrian Cuneiform texts. These showed the presence of a country *Hatti* (Cuneiform; Egyptian *ḥṭ*; sometimes transcribed *Kbeta*) in Syria during the later IInd and early Ist millennia B. C., which could plausibly be identified as the source of Hieroglyphic inscriptions.

From this point on, discovery and publication proceeded at a more rapid pace as scholars followed in the footsteps of missionaries in south-east Anatolia and north Syria, and the first archaeological expeditions (or antiquities hunts) were mounted. Typical of the latter were the 1878–1881 British Museum operations at Karkamiş conducted by Henderson, the British Consul in Aleppo, which acquired an early collection of Karkamiş sculpture and inscriptions for its sponsors.

The expanding corpus can be followed in the publications. Rylands, the Secretary of the Society for Biblical Archaeology, in a preliminary study of the inscrip-

32 In this section the sign * placed before the name of an inscription indicates that the *editio princeps* of the inscription appears in the work discussed at that point. By *editio princeps* I understand the first full presentation of an inscription by clear photograph(s) and/or copy.

33 "Discovery" from the point of view of western (including Turkish) scholars, covers various degrees of cognizance from personal excavation to being shown a piece long known to local inhabitants. The point of "discovery" nowadays is most commonly when a piece is brought by villagers to a local Turkish museum, or even when it simply appears on the international antiquities market. Thus information on the provenance of a piece may not extend very far back towards its actual appearance in modern times. Examination of the information listed in the bibliography of each inscription under the heading "Discovery" will amplify this point.

34 See HAMA 4, Discovery, and Publication, for details.

35 By Texier, Hamilton and Perrot: see Bittel *et al.*, *Das hebr. Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (Berlin, 1975), p. 13 f. with nn. 9, 12, 15. These were all engraved drawings. A photograph of NIŞANTAŞ was published by Perrot, pl. XXXV.

36 By Kiepert: see Messerschmidt, *CIH*, p. 37 (note that the rediscovery of the monument by Renouard should be dated 1839, not 1859 as it is there misprinted).

37 By Ritter and Davis: see İVRİZ 1, Publication.

38 The monument has been described in various publications from 1880 onwards, but the presence of inscriptions was only gradually established: see Messerschmidt, *CIH*, p. 36.

39 See XIII.12, NINEVEH bullae, Discovery, Publication. A seal found by Layard was published later: see NINEVEH seal, here XIII.7.

40 Seal now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, U.S.A.: see recently H. G. Güterbock, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36 (1977), pp. 7–16, with historical survey of reading attempts and new proposals; also H. Nowicki, *Fs. Neumann* (1982), pp. 228–232; and note also now n. 130.

41 By Burton and Drake: see also below, n. 47.

42 Published in *TSAH* 5 (1877), pp. 22–32.

tions published in 1882,⁴³ presented new and comparatively clear drawings from casts of the Hamathite stones,⁴⁴ and photographs and drawings of the recently acquired Karkamiš ("Jerabis") material.⁴⁵ He also included a fanciful sketch by Sayce of the SIPYLOS inscription, his own drawings of Layard's NINEVEH bullae, and a photograph of a cast of the "Tarkondemos" seal. Rylands' work was reproduced in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites* (1884),⁴⁶ and the latter added a group of fairly unsuccessful attempts to copy ALEPPO 1,⁴⁷ Davis' drawing of İVRİZ with collations from Ramsay, Ramsay's copy of *BOR (upper half only), drawings (by Rylands) and photographs of some 18 seal impressions in the possession of Schlumberger,⁴⁸ and a photograph of KARABEL with Sayce's rendering of the inscription. In the second edition of *Empire of the Hittites* (1886), Wright was able further to add the remainder of the British Museum KARKAMIŞ fragments drawn by Rylands in 1885,⁴⁹ Perrot's drawings of YAZILIKAYA,⁵⁰ the Babylon bowl (BABYLON 2) drawn by Rylands, and engraved photographs of the Maraş lion (*MARAŞ 1).⁵¹ The corpus by this point comprised some twelve substantial pieces⁵² and twenty-one fragments,⁵³ besides the epigraphs⁵⁴ and the seals.⁵⁵

In the ensuing years travelling scholars added many new inscriptions as well as improved editions of already known texts: Humann and Puchstein, travelling in 1883, publishing in 1890 *MARAŞ 3, *MARAŞ 7, *MARAŞ 8, *SAMSAT 1;⁵⁶ Ramsay and Hogarth travelling in 1890, publishing in 1891 and 1893, *ANDAVAL, *BULGARMADEN, *GÜRÜN, *FRAKTİN, *MARAŞ 6, *IZGIN, *PALANGA;⁵⁷ Hogarth, travelling in 1894, publishing in 1895, *MALATYA 1, *MALATYA 2;⁵⁸ Anderson, travelling in 1900, publishing in 1901, *KARABURUN.⁵⁹

Large scale excavations in the area of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions were undertaken at Zincirli by von Luschan between 1888 and 1902, but though he found much architecture and sculpture executed in the Hittite style, along with alphabetic Phoenician-Aramaic inscriptions also clearly modelled on the Hieroglyphic inscriptions,⁶⁰ the dynasty of kings who bore both Semitic and Hittite names did not employ the Hieroglyphic script, except in the case of a single signet ring.⁶¹ Conversely Koldewey excavating at Babylon found unexpectedly in 1899 and published the following year a well preserved Hieroglyphic stele, *BABYLON 1. Later he found also a stone bowl with inscription, BABYLON 3.

Meanwhile museum collections of Hieroglyphic inscriptions and related sculpture were beginning to form. Beside the British Museum's collection of the Karkamiš material, the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Istanbul was receiving the pieces collected by scholars, and stray finds such as İSKENDERUN (sent in 1890). Peiser usefully listed the Museum's holdings at the end of 1897.⁶² The Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Berlin Museum already had MARAŞ 3, acquired by Puchstein

in 1893, and KIRÇOĞLU, already in the Museum by 1898. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, had the stele MARAŞ 2 and fragment MARAŞ 7, apparently donated in 1890 by the widow of Rev. Henry Marden (alias Marsden), a missionary working in Maraş at the time of the visit by Humann and Puchstein.

Messerschmidt's *Corpus*

Such was the extent of the monuments when Messerschmidt produced his *Corpus Inscriptionum Hittitarum*

43 The inscribed stones from Jerabis, Hamath Aleppo, etc. (*TSA* 47 (1882), pp. 429–442). Confusingly, the plates are only partially numbered, and the Hamathite stones as a separate series from the Karkamiš material.

44 Numbered H I (HAMA 1), H II (HAMA 2), H III (HAMA 4 side B), H IV (HAMA 3), H V (HAMA 4 side A).

45 Photographs: [plates I and II], *KARKAMIŞ A23, *KARKAMIŞ A21b; engraved drawings: plate III, *KARKAMIŞ A31; plate IV figs. 1–2, *KARKAMIŞ A26a2; fig. 3, *KARKAMIŞ A28b; fig. 4, *KARKAMIŞ A28e; plate V, *KARKAMIŞ A20b11 (along with Sayce's drawing of the SIPYLOS epigraph, and Layard's NINEVEH bullae); plate VI (figs. 1–2, sculpture fragments); fig. 3, *KARKAMIŞ A20b9; fig. 4, *KARKAMIŞ A21a.

46 Following the technology of the time, these were reengraved from Rylands' photographs and engraved drawings.

47 Of Drake, from Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* II (1872), p. 186; of Clermont-Ganneau, from *PEFQ* 1873, p. 73; of Boscauw (unpublished); of Crawford, redrawn by Rylands, from *PSB* 16 (1884), p. 132 f.; of George Smith, from his unpublished notebook.

48 Also (drawing only) of DELAPORTE seal (here XIII.5).

49 Pls. XIX–XXI, along with some sculpture fragments, the rest of *KARKAMIŞ A28 also *A30c, *A20b12; pl. XXII, *KARKAMIŞ A26f, *KARKAMIŞ A22c.

50 Of the epigraphs only the cartouches of Tudhaliyas are really visible (pl. XXIV).

51 Reported in *Empire of the Hittites* (1st edition), with general photograph of lion on *kale* gate of Maraş (pl. [III]); see 2nd edition, pls. XXV–XXVII.

52 HAMA 1, HAMA 2, HAMA 3, HAMA 4; ALEPPO 1; KARKAMIŞ A23, KARKAMIŞ A21, KARKAMIŞ A31; İVRİZ, BOR (upper), BABYLON 2, MARAŞ 1.

53 KARKAMIŞ A20b9–12; KARKAMIŞ A22c; KARKAMIŞ A26a2; KARKAMIŞ A26f; KARKAMIŞ A28a–n, KARKAMIŞ A30c.

54 SIPYLOS, KARABEL, YAZILIKAYA.

55 SCHLUMBERGER impressions, DELAPORTE seal (included in the present corpus, see XIII.5).

56 *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890).

57 Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia (*Recueil* 14 (1891), pp. 74–94; 15 (1893), pp. 89–97).

58 Note on Pre-hellenic finds (*Recueil* 17 (1895), pp. 25–27).

59 A new "Hittite" inscription (*JHS* 21 (1901), pp. 322–324).

60 Uniquely among Semitic alphabetic inscriptions the letters are executed in relief with the background cut away, in the manner of relief Hieroglyphic inscriptions, instead of the letters being incised.

61 The ZINCIRLI signet of Bar-Rakib, included in this corpus as XIII.3.

62 *OLZ* 1 (1898), pp. 6–9. The Hieroglyphic inscriptions were stored in a small room in the *Cinili Köşk* along with Aramaic, Palmyrene, and South Arabian antiquities. The collection comprised at this date HAMA 1–4, MARAŞ 1, MARAŞ 2, BOR (upper fragment), MALATYA 1, MALATYA 2, IZGIN, İSKENDERUN.

in 1900,⁶³ a work of grandiose name but modest proportions, comprising some twenty-six substantial inscriptions,⁶⁴ twenty-eight fragments,⁶⁵ also epigraphs,⁶⁶ and a now growing collection of seals.⁶⁷ Messerschmidt was dependent almost entirely on previous publications or on photographs and/or squeezes, from which he made his own hand copies. These are fair when the texts were clear, but not very helpful in the numerous dubious areas. He included only a single photograph (MARAS 1 lion). In his two supplements he was able to offer improved texts. In *Erster Nachtrag*,⁶⁸ following a visit to the British Museum in the summer 1901, he revised the KARKAMIŞ inscriptions, and from squeezes IZGIN and MARAS 1, and added the recently published KARABURUN. In *Zweiter Nachtrag*,⁶⁹ following a visit to Turkey to work in the Ottoman Museum, he revised PALANGA, MARAS 2, EGREK (with poor photograph), BOR (with recently acquired lower part), İVRİZ (which he visited during the making of the cast), and he added the recently acquired HISARCIK 1, EMIRGAZI block, EMIRGAZI altar B, *MARAS 4 (with poor photograph), *NİĞDE 1, also from a squeeze *BOHÇA, and from a squeeze and cast with a poor photograph, the Louvre's acquisition, MALATYA 3. The supplements thus added six substantial inscriptions to the corpus (and one fragment – EMIRGAZI block), bringing the total of substantial pieces to thirty-two. Messerschmidt's copies were not particularly elegant or accurate, and his inability to provide photographs a considerable disadvantage. Yet much of his work has still not been replaced, and Meriggi took over many of his texts for his *Manuale* often without much substantial correction.

Period 1900–1914

Curiously the travellers of this period, Belck in 1901 and Grothe in 1906–1907, did not produce a single *editio princeps*, though they improved some texts. Others were more fortunate. Rott discovered *SUVASA in the late autumn 1906 and published in 1908. Gertrude Bell and Ramsay in the summer 1907 discovered the *KARADAĞ and *KIZILDAĞ inscriptions which they published in 1909. De Jerphanion travelling the same summer saw *KURUBEL and *TAŞCI, which he published in 1908. The Cornell Expedition was also travelling later in 1907, and produced in 1911 *NİŞANTAŞ, *TEKİRDARBENT 1 and 2, *ARSLANTAŞ, *İSPEKÇÜR, *MALATYA 4 and *KELEKLİ, as well as giving new texts of inscriptions already known.⁷⁰ Their photographs were good though poorly reproduced, and their drawings were fair. Hogarth travelling in 1908 found and published the following year (1909) the stele *TELL AHMAR 1. Garstang, also travelling in 1908, published the same year *MALATYA 5, *MALATYA 6 and *GAZİANTEP. In 1909 Ronzevalle published *RESTAN which had been reported in 1902.

Garstang's book *The Land of the Hittites* (1910) formed, like the Cornell Expedition's *Hittite Inscriptions* the following year (1911), something of a corpus in itself. Garstang gave in Appendix B (pp. 395–401) an "Index of Hittite Monuments with bibliography", listing all inscriptions (also sculpture) known up to that date. He also gave photographs of a number of inscriptions.⁷¹

Meanwhile regular excavations produced an influx of material. Garstang's own work at Sakça Gözü uncovered sculpture and architecture of the period, but curiously no inscription, so that it remains unclear to which ancient state the city belonged.⁷² Winckler's initial excavations at Boğazköy 1906–1907 immediately located the two inscribed stele bases which were published forthwith,⁷³ *BOĞAZKÖY 1 and *BOĞAZKÖY 2. Beyond these two and the long-known rock inscription of NİŞANTAŞ and the epigraphs of YAZILIKAYA, the continuous series of Boğazköy excavations in the 1930's and since 1950 have recovered a number of small Hieroglyphic stelae, fragments and epigraphs,⁷⁴ but nothing of great significance until the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription of 1988.⁷⁵ It is the seals of Boğazköy that have been of great significance for Hieroglyphic (see below, p. 14), and of course the archives of Cuneiform tablets, the decipherment of which was a necessary preliminary for the decipherment of Hieroglyphic (see also below, p. 14).

63 *MIAG* 5 (1900/4), Berlin.

64 In addition to the twelve known in 1886, listed in n. 52 above, BABYLON 1, KIRÇOĞLU, İSKENDERUN, *KARKAMIŞ A14, MALATYA 1, GÜRÜN, IZGIN, MARAS 2, MARAS 3, MARAS 8, EGREK, ANDAVAL, BULGARMADEN, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA.

65 In addition to the twenty-one listed in n. 53 above, MALATYA 2, SAMSAT 1, PALANGA, MARAS 6, MARAS 7, *KARABURCLU, *BEYKÖY.

66 In addition to those listed in n. 54, FRAKTIN, DOĞANLI DERESİ.

67 Included in the present corpus, in addition to the NINEVEH bullae, NINEVEH seal and DELAPORTE seal already noted, only PORADA seal (see SEALS, XIII.4).

68 *MIAG* 7 (1902/3), Berlin.

69 *MIAG* 11 (1906/5), Berlin.

70 KARADAĞ 1 and 2, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, KARABURUN, HISARCIK 2, BOHÇA, İVRİZ, BULGARMADEN, FRAKTIN, KURUBEL, GÜRÜN, MALATYA 5 and 6, ALEPPO 1, SAMSAT 1, MARAS 8. They also reported but could not reach KÖTÜKALE.

71 HAMA 1 (squeeze), GAZİANTEP, MARAS 1, MALATYA 5 and 6, PALANGA, EGREK, FRAKTIN, BOHÇA, SİPYLOS, KARABEL, BOR, İVRİZ (Berlin cast), YAZILIKAYA.

72 See Garstang's reports in *L-44* 1 (1908), pp. 97–117; 5 (1913), pp. 63–72; 24 (1937), pp. 119–140. Also *Land of the Hittites* (1910), pp. 298–314; *The Hittite Empire* (1929), pp. 262–278.

73 *MDOG* 35 (1907), p. 57 f. figs. 6 and 7.

74 For a complete numbering to date of the Hier. stone inscriptions and fragments from BOĞAZKÖY see Hawkins *StBoT* B. 3, p. 121 Appendix 7; and here Appendix 1 (below, p. 35).

75 See below, p. 18 and nn. 189–190.

Karkamiš excavation and publication

The Karkamiš excavations under Hogarth, Campbell Thompson and Woolley, 1911–1914, produced all the *in situ* sculpture and inscriptions of the Temple of the Storm-God⁷⁶ with the Long Wall of Sculpture,⁷⁷ the Processional Entry⁷⁸ and the Royal Buttress,⁷⁹ as well as many pieces found out of context.⁸⁰ These were published in 1914 (*Carchemish* I, pls. A1–A11, essentially the complete inscriptions), and, with an interval occasioned by the First World War, in 1921 (*Carchemish* II, pls. A12–A18, essentially the incomplete inscriptions). The much delayed final publication in 1952 (*Carchemish* III, pls. A19–A33) contained principally a re-publication of the earlier-known inscriptions from the British Museum 1878–1881 excavations,⁸¹ with a few new pieces⁸² and the numerous fragments.⁸³ With the publication of *Carchemish* II in 1921, the site had produced some twenty-four major inscriptions, only three of which had been known to Messerschmidt, thus a considerable accession of new material over and above his total of thirty-two substantial pieces. Karkamiš as a site is the most prolific source of Hieroglyphic inscriptions, as befits the city which preserved a continuous tradition from the Empire Period.⁸⁴ Since the Karkamiš excavations, some more recently discovered major and minor pieces from other provenances may on internal reference be grouped with the KARKAMIŠ inscriptions: in the major category, CEKKI, KÖRKÜN, TÜNP 1 and TILSEVIET.

Period 1920–1940

The years between the wars were preeminently the time when, in the aftermath of the decipherment of Cuneiform Hittite (which involved also the recognition of the language Cuneiform Luwian), Hrozný, Forrer, Bossert, Meriggi and Gelb applied themselves seriously to the decipherment of Hieroglyphic (see further below). Besides the on-going German excavations at Boğazköy under Kurt Bittel, 1931–1939, which added a very important new access of Hieroglyphic seals (see further below, p. 14), several excavations took place at important Neo-Hittite sites during this period, which recovered Hieroglyphic inscriptions. The French excavations at Tell Ahmar 1929–1931⁸⁵ recovered and published in 1929 the recently discovered *TELL AHMAR 2 as well as restoring and republishing TELL AHMAR 1. The American Syrian Hittite Expedition of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, working in the Plain of Antioch 1932–1938,⁸⁶ excavated the fragmentary inscriptions *TELL TAYINAT 1, 2, and 3, published by Gelb in 1939. The Expedition also collected and published in Gelb's volume fragments of inscriptions *TULEIL 1 and 2 and *JISR EL-HADID frags. 1–3. The Danish Carlsberg Foundation Excavations at Hama, 1931–1938,⁸⁷ uncovered the Neo-Hittite citadel with substantial architectural and sculptural remains, but unfortun-

ately found only rather scanty and fragmentary inscribed material HAMA fragments 1–11 (as numbered in the present work). French excavations at Malatya-Arslantepe, 1932–1933,⁸⁸ uncovered the Lion Gate, source of most of the sculpture with epigraphs already found at the site, to which the excavators added *MALATYA 9–12, published in 1940 in the excavation report along with a re-publication of the previously found inscriptions.

At the same time excavations on Assyrian sites were finding odd pieces of Hieroglyphic. Campbell Thompson at Nineveh in 1932 found a unique clay tablet with an unfortunately largely illegible inscription, and a piece of stone plaque also Hieroglyphic and illegible.⁸⁹ The American excavations at Khorsabad found in 1929 and 1932 two clay bullae with impressions of the same seal as on one of the Nineveh bullae.⁹⁰ But quite the most peculiar find of this sort was made by Jacobsen and Lloyd in 1924 at Hines, where they found the fragment HINES,⁹¹ a copy of one of the inscriptions of Urhulina king of Hamath. Here too is the place to record one of the most significant of all Hieroglyphic finds, actually excavated in 1905 but not published until 1924, that of the ASSUR lead letters at Assur, found by Andrae and published twenty years later. Their provenance from Assur is almost as strange as that of the HINES inscription from Hines.

76 *KARKAMIŠ A2+3 (door jambs); *KARKAMIŠ A4b (archaic stele).

77 *KARKAMIŠ A1a and A1b (orthostats).

78 *KARKAMIŠ A8 (A11a) (door jamb) with *KARKAMIŠ A4d (statue inscription); *KARKAMIŠ A8+9 (A11b+c) (pair of door jambs, reused but restorable to the door remodelled by the Royal Buttress).

79 *KARKAMIŠ A6 and 7 (sculptured orthostats).

80 *KARKAMIŠ A4a (land deed), *A4c, *5a, *5b (tombstones); *A12 (orthostat), *A13a–c (statue base), *A13d (orthostat), *A14a and b (inscribed lions), *A15a (stele), *A15b (statue base), *A15c, d, e (fragments), *A16a (lion frags.), *A16b (orthostat frag.), *A16c (archaic stele), *A16d, e (frags.), *A16f (tombstone), *A17a, b, c, d (stelae), *A18a–g, i–j (frags.), *A18h (tombstone).

81 See above, nn. 52–53.

82 KARKAMIŠ A20a (orthostat frag.), KARKAMIŠ A24 (frags. of orthostat?), A25a (frags. of orthostat), A25b (stele frag.), A26a (orthostat frag.), *A30b (base).

83 *A19 (incised frags.), A20b1–13 (frags. of A21/22), *A26b–c (corner relief frags.), *A27 and *29 (relief frags.), A28 (British Museum frags.), *A30a–g (miscellaneous frags.), A33 (miscellaneous).

84 See II (KARKAMIŠ), The Historical Context, p. 73 f. and nn. 10–13.

85 See III (TELL AHMAR), The Historical Context, p. 225 and nn. 17–20.

86 See VII (AMUQ), The Historical Context, p. 364 and nn. 42–52.

87 See IX (HAMA), The Historical Context, p. 398 f. and nn. 5–11, p. 402 and nn. 59–65.

88 See V (MALATYA), The Historical Context, p. 282 and n. 3.

89 See XII (MISCELLANEOUS), 10 and 11.

90 See XIII (SEALS), 13.

91 See IX (HAMA), 5.

Among the travellers in Anatolia in the inter-war period an indefatigable example was H. H. von der Osten. He travelled far and regularly 1926–1931 and recorded his journeys in the series *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor*.⁹² He was often the first to see newly discovered inscriptions and the first to publish photographs: thus “CARCHEMISH” (here ANKARA), 1927; MALATYA 8, 1928; MARAŞ 11, 1929; *ÇALAPVERDİ 1 and 2, 1929, 1930; KARAKUYU, BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2, and DARENDE, 1931.

Other important inscriptions were appearing at this period. *KAYSERİ was seen and published by Lewy in 1925, and *ANKARA (“CARCHEMISH”) seen by Cameron in 1926 (publ. 1927). Construction of the Kayseri-Sivas railway cutting through the mound of Sultanhan in 1928 found the large stele base, reported in 1929 and 1930/31, and published as *SULTANHAN by Delaporte in 1934. The same year, Bossert published *TOPADA, which had been reported as early as 1908. Also in the same year, the Turkish teacher of French in the Kayseri Boys High School, Kara Mehmet Ağa Zade Kemaleddin (alias Kemaleddin Karamete), in a handbook on the local history published preliminary photographs of ÇİFTLİK and ERKİLET 1 and 2, along with other previously known inscriptions.

All the five scholars concerned with the decipherment at this period, Hrozný, Forrer, Bossert, Meriggi and Gelb, travelled widely in Anatolia at one time or another, in search of new inscriptions or better copies and photographs of known ones. In particular the travels of Hrozný and Gelb in these years led to the publication of new corpuses. Hrozný in 1934, July–November, worked his way through museums from Istanbul to Aleppo,⁹³ while Gelb had two long stints in Anatolia, June–September, 1932 and 1935,⁹⁴ thus straddling Hrozný’s journey.

During the 1930’s Hrozný edited the then known Hieroglyphic inscriptions mostly in a series of articles in *Archiv Orientalní*, and these were mostly collected and reprinted in his *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques*. Vol. I (1933) took the inscription KARABURUN as subject for decipherment, appending a long commentary, a grammatical sketch and signary. Vol. II (1934) contained a selection of published texts,⁹⁵ and Vol. III (1937) the texts on which Hrozný had worked during his Anatolia peregrination including six *editiones principes*.⁹⁶ He thereby covered all the fairly well preserved and substantial inscriptions available to him, and he continued beyond the end of the reprinted volumes with studies on NİĞDE, ANDAVAL, EGREK, HİSARCIK 1 and İSKENDERUN. His method was to acquire good photographs, usually acknowledged to the relevant museum authorities, and to copy the inscriptions which he had himself seen in a not very elegant but surprisingly accurate hand.⁹⁷ He then had each inscription type-set in a linear arrangement with facsimile representations of each sign, an astonishing feat of the

typographer’s art which has never been repeated. Unfortunately his decipherment was at a rather rudimentary stage and his transliterations and translations are somewhat over-ambitious.

Gelb’s book *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments* (1939) did set out to produce a new corpus of inscriptions, though he imposed certain limitations on this. Thus understandably he did not republish the KARKAMIŞ material from *Carchemish* I and II, nor did he include any of the Istanbul Museum material, which Bossert claimed to be preparing for re-publication.⁹⁸ He only included inscriptions from Turkey, on which he had worked himself, thus none of the material from the British Museum, the Louvre, the Berlin Museum or the Metropolitan Museum, New York, nor did he include TELL AHMAR 1 from Aleppo Museum though he did work on it.⁹⁹ Also he tended not to republish inscriptions already published in Messerschmidt or elsewhere, unless he could produce better photographs or a more reliable copy,¹⁰⁰ though, as he noted, his work overlapped with that of Hrozný. Gelb drew together a considerable accession of new material since Messerschmidt (1906) and *Carchemish* I and II (1914 and 1924), a total of some fifteen substantial inscriptions¹⁰¹ and some twenty-five fragments, epigraphs and seals.¹⁰² He gained comparatively few *editiones principes* (mainly the Plain of Antioch material), since he was generally anticipated by narrow margins by von der Osten, Hrozný, Delaporte and others. But his work was a fine collec-

92 *O.I.C.* 2, 6, 8, 14; Chicago, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1933.

93 *Jr. Or.* 7 (1935), p. 208–210.

94 *HHM*, pp. 1–6.

95 ASSUR letters, most of *Carchemish* I–II (KARKAMIŞ A1a–A18), KARABURUN (revised), BABYLON 1, BOHÇA, BULGARMADEN, MARAŞ 1, MARAŞ 4, SULTANHAN (base), HAMA 1–4, RESTAN.

96 *ERKİLET 1 and 2, *BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2, *KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3, ANKARA (“CARCHEMISH”), *KARKAMIŞ A20a, TOPADA, SUVASA, KAYSERİ, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, EMİRGAZI altars, KARAKUYU, FRAKTİN, KARADAĞ 1, KIZILDAĞ 1 and 3, IZGIN, İVRİZ, BOR, TELL AHMAR 1 and 2, DARENDE, MALATYA 1, 3, 5, 6, 7.

97 We may compare his Cuneiform copies, *KBo* V and VI.

98 *HHM*, p. ix. Bossert never produced any systematic re-edition.

99 *HHM*, p. 6. The “unknown Hittite inscription supposedly from Carchemish” was not apparently CEKKE, ALEPPO 2 or QAL’AT EL MUDIQ, none of which had entered the museum at this date (1935).

100 E.g. ANDAVAL, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA.

101 BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2, ANKARA (“CARCHEMISH”), KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3, *ÇİFTLİK, DARENDE, ERKİLET 1 and 2, İSPEKÇUR, KARAKUYU, “KARAPINAR” (TOPADA), KAYSERİ, *KÖTUKALE, RESTAN, SULTANHAN.

102 *ALACA HÖYÜK 1, KARKAMIŞ A20a1, KARKAMIŞ A25a1, KARKAMIŞ B39a, ÇALAPVERDİ 1 and 2, EGRIKÖY, HİNES, İMAMKULU, *JISR EL-HADID 1–3, KARGA, KURUBEL, *KHORSABAD seals, SİRKELİ, SUVASA, TAŞCI, *TELL TAYİNAT 1–3 and other frags., *TULEİL 1 and 2, *VELİİSA.

tion compiled with exemplary method, and has served as a model for the present corpus.¹⁰³

Effectively this phase of the investigation of Hieroglyphic, characterized as the expansion of the corpus (together with the initial phase of effective decipherment), was terminated by the outbreak of the Second World War, yet several important landmarks properly belonging with this phase occurred in 1940, and after. The publication of Delaporte's *Malatya-Arslantepe I* (1940) constituted a corpus of the MALATYA inscriptions by drawing together the previously found pieces and related material. A major inscription was added to the KARKAMIŠ material with the publication by Dunand in 1940 of the large and well preserved stele *CEKKE. A significant rock relief with epigraphs, *HANYERİ was published by A. Rıza Yalçın in 1940.¹⁰⁴ But most important was the publication of the Boğazköy seal impressions by Güterbock as *SBo I* and *II* (1940 and 1942). This constituted a final publication of the seal finds from the excavations 1931–1938, which had become available in preliminary publications as they were found. The contribution of this material to the decipherment is noted in the following section.

Karatepe: discovery and publications

It is appropriate that the next stage should have been inaugurated in 1946 with the discovery by Bossert and Halet Çambel of the great bilingual inscription of KARATEPE. Its implications for the decipherment are also assessed in the following section, but even for the expansion of the corpus, the discovery of this, the longest known Hieroglyphic inscription,¹⁰⁵ marks a very significant advance. Yet Bossert's publication of the text was tardy and still incomplete even in its unsatisfactory preliminary form at the time of his death in 1960. The preliminary publication was completed by Akurgal (1961, photographs), and Steinherr (1974, text), while the final publication has been reserved for Halet Çambel as a companion volume to the present corpus.

In the post-war years, the main scholars active in Anatolia collecting and publishing Hieroglyphic inscriptions included Bossert, Güterbock, Meriggi, Laroche, Sedat Alp and Mustafa Kalaç, also R. D. Barnett. Some important new inscriptions became available at this time: SULTANHAN stele (discovered 1939, published 1949), KULULU 1, KULULU 2, ŞIRZI, KARAHÖYÜK, ALEPPO 2, MEHARDE; also some minor fragments and epigraphs: BOĞAZKÖY 6–11, ÇAĞDIN, HANYERİ, İVRİZ frag. 1, MALKAYA, SAMSAT 2, AZAZ.

Bossert continued active up to the time of his death. In addition to his gradual publication of KARATEPE, he edited a number of known inscriptions, often improving the texts. He also travelled round recent discoveries, (re)editing these, though he did not score many *editiones principes*.¹⁰⁶ Güterbock at the same time was a frequent visitor to Hieroglyphic inscriptions, also

producing new editions of texts.¹⁰⁷ Barnett too contributed to the field.¹⁰⁸ Meriggi made a major study tour in 1958,¹⁰⁹ working on the inscriptions in the museums of Istanbul, Ankara, Kayseri, Sivas and Adana. His subsequent travels 1962–1971¹¹⁰ were on the whole more concerned with archaeology though he worked on some further Hieroglyphic inscriptions.¹¹¹ Laroche, working at the time on general Luwian studies as well as the digraphic seals from Ugarit,¹¹² offered two illuminating text editions.¹¹³

Both Laroche and Meriggi gave their major contributions to the study of Hieroglyphic during these years: Laroche with his book *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites* (1960); and Meriggi with his *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* (1962), followed by his *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico I, II/1* and *II/2–3* (1966, 1967, 1975). Laroche's book is actually a detailed signary, and is described as “première partie”, since it was intended to form the introduction to a volume giving the texts in transliteration, translation and commentary, together with a grammatical analysis of the language.¹¹⁴ This, unfortunately, has never appeared. The work as it stands is evaluated in the following section, Decipherment and Interpretation, as is also Meriggi's *Glossar*. The latter forms an index of words to the subsequently published *Manuale*, a work similar to that planned but not achieved by Laroche, a corpus of all inscriptions known, divided into texts of the Late Period and of the Hittite Empire, each given in copy, transliteration, translation and commentary. Unfortunately Meriggi's copies are largely based

¹⁰³ In one procedure I have not found it necessary to follow him, namely his somewhat over-elaborate method of producing a copy (see *HHM*, p. vii f.), which involved drawing on a given photograph with indian ink and then bleaching out the photograph. It is just as satisfactory to trace photographs on the clear acetate now (but perhaps not then?) available.

¹⁰⁴ *TTA:ED 4* (1940), p. 265 f. (photograph, republished by Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 564).

¹⁰⁵ Its 75 clauses may be compared with ASSUR letter *f+g*, 53 clauses; SULTANHAN, 51 clauses; TOPADA, 39 clauses; KARKAMIŠ A1a (incomplete, but longest KARKAMIŠ), 38 clauses.

¹⁰⁶ Long-known texts: KÖTÜKALE, DARENDE, KARABURUN, KIRÇOĞLU, MARAŞ 3, SAMSAT 1, KARKAMIŠ A20b2. Recent discoveries: KULULU 1, *KULULU 2, SULTANHAN, ŞIRZI, *MALKAYA, *SAMSAT 2, HANYERİ.

¹⁰⁷ KIZILDAĞ 4, *ÇAĞDIN, *ŞIRZI (with Sedat Alp), *İVRİZ frag. 1, *KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) (with T. and N. Özgüç), *KULULU 1, *SULTANHAN stele (with Kemalettin Karamete – for whom see above, p. 10 col. i).

¹⁰⁸ Besides his study on KARATEPE (*An. St.* 3 (1953), pp. 53–95), an edition of CEKKE and *ALEPPO 2.

¹⁰⁹ Reported in *QdBG 3* (1958), pp. 3–35. His main work here was on PALANGA, MARAŞ 2, MARAŞ 7, KARKAMIŠ fragments, TEKIRDARBENT 1, HISARCIK 2, TOPADA, ISPEKÇÜR, EMIRGAZI altars.

¹¹⁰ Reported in *O4 1–10* (1962–1971).

¹¹¹ GÜRÜN, *MALATYA 15 (sealing), ŞIRZI, KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ, ARSLANTAŞ, TAÇIN, ÇALAPVERDİ 3. From Syria he collected *AZAZ and *MEHARDE (upper).

¹¹² See above, n. 16; below, n. 143.

¹¹³ KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN), KARKAMIŠ A1b.

¹¹⁴ *HH*, p. xvi.

on old publications of the texts and were not adequately collated and corrected. Furthermore, a considerable number of new texts has appeared since the completion of the *Manuale*.

Indeed Laroche's and Meriggi's publications provide useful points of reference against which the rate of new Hieroglyphic discoveries may be measured. Laroche included in his *HH* a brief bibliography of all the inscriptions then known (1960), and it is interesting to note that since Gelb's 1939 corpus, some nine major inscriptions had been added,¹¹⁵ and a number of minor pieces along with insignificant fragments and epigraphs.¹¹⁶ He subsequently published an updated list in 1969,¹¹⁷ by which time a further four major pieces had been added,¹¹⁸ along with other minor pieces.¹¹⁹ Meriggi's publication of *Manuale* II/2–3 (1975) added only eleven minor and insignificant pieces.¹²⁰

Recent work

The Turkish scholars most active in Hieroglyphic studies since the 1960's have been Mustafa Kalaç and Sedat Alp, and especially for seals Ali and Belkis Dinçol, and the archaeologists most concerned Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç. There has also been Halet Çambel's massive work of recovery and restoration at Karatepe. To Kalaç have gone most of the new Hieroglyphic inscriptions discovered since 1960, and to him we owe the *editiones principes* of KÖRKÜN, KULULU 3, KÜRTÜL, TİLSEVET, TÜNP 1 and 2, MARAŞ 12 (MARAŞ 14, 15, 16 forthcoming), MALPINAR, AKSARAY, KULULU 4, KULULU 5, NİĞDE 2 and ASMACIK, a handsome contribution. Sedat Alp has made a detailed study of the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions along with the *editio princeps* of BURUNKAYA (1974). Subsequently in the years 1979 and after, he conducted investigations at the Commagenian site of Ancoz during the rescue operations for the Atatürk Barrage Project, and recovered a number of characteristic inscribed blocks similar to fragments found earlier.¹²¹ Tahsin Özgüç has collected and published a batch of new KULULU material, including the *editio princeps* of the important lead strips, and has made some useful observations on Sultanhan, Çalapverdi, and Eğriköy, sites in the Kayseri vilayet, sources of the eponymous inscriptions.¹²² Later, almost miraculously, Kutlu Emre located at Sultanhan the missing fragment of the famous stele. Tahsin Özgüç's most recent contribution has been the publication of the YALBURT inscription discovered in 1970, the longest known Empire Period text.¹²³ Nimet Özgüç has been instrumental in making public the new finds in her own area of investigation, particularly NİĞDE 2 and AKSARAY, and has also conducted the large-scale rescue operations at the site of Samsat, from which a number of Hieroglyphic fragments have been recovered.¹²⁴

These years have also been the period of my own involvement with the Hieroglyphic inscriptions. First

visiting Turkey in 1965 and 1966 as a member of the Kayalidere Urartian excavations, I began examining Hieroglyphic inscriptions in 1967, and then realizing that a revisions of all published texts would yield substantial results, I began serious work on them in 1968, which I have continued ever since. For the record, I have visited Turkey, normally during the long vacations, July–September, in the years 1968, 1969, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, and in 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978 I also visited Syria. In that time I have worked in the museums of Istanbul, Ankara, Kayseri, Sivas, Niğde, Adana, Maraş, Adıyaman, Gaziantep, Antakya, and Aleppo, and I have visited, sometimes more than once, all the known rock reliefs and inscriptions. I have been able to produce the *editiones principes* of PORSUK, ANCOZ 1, ADIYAMAN 1, ADIYAMAN 2, SHEIZAR, TELL AHMAR 3, MEHARDE (lower), MALPINAR (with Mustafa Kalaç) and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG,¹²⁵ and to these may be added, in the present work, HAMA 6, 7, 8, the BEIRUT bowl, and (by courtesy of Professor Sedat Alp) the ANCOZ fragments. For the purpose of making texts and photographs I have also visited the principal European and American museums where Hieroglyphic inscriptions are to be found: the Louvre (principally in 1986), the Berlin Museum (1985), the Oriental Institute, Chicago, and Metropolitan Museum, New York (1983), the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva (1982), and the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen (1979). [Also *TELL AHMAR 5].

Other scholars working in the field of Hieroglyphic inscriptions at this time have been Massimo Poetto, Emilia Masson and Itamar Singer. Poetto has produced a series of studies, including *editiones principes* of MARAŞ 11, MALATYA 13, ALEPPO 3 and BOROWSKI 1–2. Emilia Masson has concentrated on inscriptions of

115 CEKKE, KARATEPE, SULTANHAN stele, KULULU 1, KULULU 2, ŞIRZI, KARAHÖYÜK, ALEPPO 2; also MEHARDE (not listed).

116 MALATYA 9–12, BOĞAZKÖY 6–8 (numbering according to Laroche), ÇAGDIN, HANYERİ, İVRİZ frag. 1, MALKAYA.

117 *RHA* XXVII/84–85 (1969), pp. 109–131.

118 TÜNP 1, TİLSEVET, KÖRKÜN, PORSUK; also the ALTINTEPE pithos inscriptions, KULULU lead strips (all then still unpublished).

119 ALACA HÖYÜK 4, ANCOZ 1 and 2, BOĞAZKÖY 9–11, HAMA 5, HEMİTE, KIZILDAĞ 5, KULULU 3, KÜRTÜL, YEKBAZ, NIMRUD shells, SAMSAT 2, AZAZ.

120 *Minor*: MALATYA 14, ADIYAMAN 1, ADIYAMAN 2, KULULU 3, KULULU 6; BOĞAZKÖY 12; *insignificant*: MARAŞ 12, KULULU 7, BOĞAZKÖY 13–14 (for numbering see above, n. 74).

121 See ANCOZ fragments, bibliography.

122 *Kültepe and its vicinity in the Iron Age* (Ankara, 1971).

123 *Inandiktepe* (Ankara, 1988), pp. xv–xvii/xxv–xxvii, 172–174, pls. 85–95.

124 See SAMSAT fragments (V. 15).

125 For the discovery of this inscription, see below, p. 18 and nn. 189–190.

the Empire Period. Itamar Singer has joined the field with the *editio princeps* of BOROWSKI 3.

In reckoning up the continuing rate of appearance of new Hieroglyphic inscriptions since Meriggi's final total in 1975, we note the discovery of some fifteen major inscriptions,¹²⁶ and over twenty minor ones and substantial fragments¹²⁷ as well as over ten small fragments or illegible texts.¹²⁸ If we look back over the points in time at which we have conducted counts of Hieroglyphic inscriptions known, the following pattern emerges:

Messerschmidt

<i>total:</i>	1900	1906
major	26	6
minor	28	1

	<i>Carchemish</i>	<i>Gelb</i>	<i>Laroche</i>	<i>now</i>		
<i>additions:</i>	1914	1921	1939	1960	1969	1991
major	21	15	9	4	14	
minor	(many)	25	(many)	(some)	30	

We thus note a total of some 95 major inscriptions; the total for minor inscriptions and fragments is less easy to quantify (and less significant), but certainly there would be over fifty minor but perceptible pieces. Furthermore the rate of discovery appears to be accelerating. One point stands out: the present corpus will require addenda and that sooner rather than later. [1995, new major inscriptions: TELL AHMAR 5, and (probably) an unpublished inscription from EREGLI].

2. Decipherment and Interpretation

General Problems

It is not proposed to go into this subject in great detail since it has been covered before in a number of adequate studies.¹²⁹ Nevertheless a summary of the stages, methods and results is relevant to the present work and is given here.

The groups of allied problems which decipherers have had to confront may be identified as follows.

1. General recognition of the nature of the script as being mixed logographic-phonetic with reading aids such as determinatives and other markers. From the time of the earliest scholarly interest in Hieroglyphic, the deciphered Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Mesopotamian Cuneiform were available as possible models for comparison.

2. Identification of the logograms and their interpretation. Some of these with strongly pictographic content were comparatively easy to penetrate, as for example animals' heads and parts of the body. Others have been more problematic and some elude understanding even today. A crucial problem has been distinguishing between logograms and phonetic signs, especially since some signs have both functions.

3. Identification of phonetic signs and attribution of values. Crucial here has been the recognition that this part of the script is a syllabary essentially of the consonant + vowel type distinguishing 3-vowel series (*a i u*). Penetration of this aspect of Hieroglyphic was largely achieved by correct identification in the inscriptions of known names of persons and places and the establishment of phonetic values on the basis of these.

4. Interpretation of the language written by the syllabary and the recognition of its relationships. This has resulted of course in the perception, becoming ever clearer right up to the present, that the language behind the Hieroglyphs is a form of Luwian, which is known otherwise both from a small corpus of Cuneiform texts, c. 1500–1200 B. C., and a somewhat larger group of inscriptions in the closely related Lycian language, written in the alphabetic script in the period c. 500–300 B. C.

First attempts

The earliest would-be decipherers – Sayce, Ménant, Peiser, Jensen, Hommel, Campbell Thompson, Cowley, Frank – made little progress beyond the identification of a few logograms, achieved largely by means of the “Tarkondemos seal”, one of the earliest inscriptions recognized, which is digraphic, and thus a mini-bilingual, but one which is in fact so treacherous that only now has a definitive interpretation been achieved.¹³⁰ The identifications made did lead to the

¹²⁶ KULULU lead strips 1 and 2, AKSARAY, SHEIZAR, BOROWSKI 1, KULULU 4, KULULU 5, YALBURT, MALPINAR, BOROWSKI 3, MARAŞ 14, IVRIZ 2, BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, HAMA 6 and 7.

¹²⁷ KULULU lead strips 3, frags. 1 and 3, ANCOZ 1, BURUNKAYA, ANCOZ 3 and 4, NİĞDE 2, MARAŞ 11, ALEPPO 3, BOROWSKI 2, MALATYA 13, TELL AHMAR 3, TELL AHMAR 4, BOĞAZKÖY 18, 19, 20 (for numbering see n. 74 above), ANCOZ 5–10, ARSLANTAŞ, MARAŞ 16, HAMA 8, BEIRUT bowl.

¹²⁸ ANCOZ 2, ASMACIK, MARAŞ 13, MARAŞ 10, MARAŞ 15, SAMSAT frags., IVRIZ frags. 2–3, ANTAKYA, AIN DARA, BOĞAZKÖY 15, 16, 17 (for numbering see above, n. 74).

¹²⁹ Notably by J. Friedrich, *Entzifferungsgeschichte der hethitischen Hieroglyphenschrift* (*Die Welt als Geschichte*, Beiheft 3; Stuttgart, 1939); id., *Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen* (1954), 1.3 (updated to take account of KARATEPE); A. Kammenhuber, *Die Erforschung der hethitischen Hieroglyphenschrift und des Hieroglyphenluwischen* (in Friedrich *et al.*, *Hb. Or.* (1969), pp. 148–161); also R. D. Barnett, *Karatepe, the key to the Hittite Hieroglyphs* (*An. St.* 3 (1953), pp. 53–95); Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, pp. [3]–[10]; cf. also the chapter by M. Pope, *The Story of Decipherment* (London, 1975, pp. 136–145). From the bibliography on each sign in Laroche's *HH*, it can be clearly seen when and by whom the correct values were first attributed, as well as the earlier sequence of failed attempts.

¹³⁰ See above, n. 40. [The 1990/91 Boğazköy bullae have now provided evidence which permits a definitive solution of the problem of reading; Hawkins, and Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Watkins*, (Innsbruck, 1998), pp. 243–260.]

recognition that (unsurprisingly) groups of inscriptions began with the names of kings and their countries, but this observation, though in fact it later provided the point of entry into the phonetic system, did not provide these scholars with sufficient data for them to achieve substantially reliable results. They were of course working largely in the period before the decipherment of Cuneiform Hittite, and it may be judged that penetration of the Hieroglyphs would hardly have been possible without the great opening up of their whole background provided by the reading of the Boğazköy archives.

Successful entry

Thus the period of the first successful, though gradual, penetration of the script and language was essentially the 1930's, when the largely independent efforts of Meriggi,¹³¹ Bossert,¹³² Gelb,¹³³ Forrer¹³⁴ and Hrozný¹³⁵ began to bear fruit. Besides identifying many logograms, they achieved successful entry into the syllabary in spite of adopting a large number of still erroneous values due to lack of proper evidence. They reached a position where they could recognize the outline of the grammar, but their translations of connected texts, when attempted, can be seen from the present viewpoint to have been generally wide of the mark. Towards the end of this period the first substantial contribution to the decipherment by digraphic seals became available with the publication of the Boğazköy seals by Güterbock.¹³⁶ This was later matched by the seals of Ugarit published by Laroche,¹³⁷ and again very recently by the seals of Meskene-Emar still in the process of publication.¹³⁸

The bilingual and after

In the meantime of course, the discovery of the KARATEPE bilingual carried the understanding of the script to a new level. Now at last a complete and reliable translation of a Hieroglyphic text, the longest known, could be given from the parallel Phoenician text, a translation moreover which raised surprisingly few problems.¹³⁹ Much of the decipherment of the 1930's was confirmed, and many new lexical identifications were provided. In general a new and justified confidence could now be felt by those working in this field.

The principal scholars working with this new material were Bossert, Meriggi and Laroche.¹⁴⁰ Bossert in his last years produced a large number of articles,¹⁴¹ though he never completed even the preliminary publication of the KARATEPE bilingual. He was prolific of ideas but undisciplined in supporting argument. Thus when right at the end of his life he approached a very significant step forward, namely the re-evaluation of the signs $\uparrow$ and $\downarrow$, he did not succeed in winning general acceptance for this.¹⁴²

Laroche, from the background of his studies on Cuneiform Luwian and Lycian, brought a comparative approach to bear on Hieroglyphic. He also had at his

disposal, as noted above, the collection of digraphic seals from Ugarit,¹⁴³ which brought both corroboration of earlier readings and evidence for new. His book *HH* (1960) was essentially a detailed signary but included also transliterated and translated excerpts of the clearest passages in the inscriptions. Backed up by the Ugarit evidence, he produced a revised and rationalized system of transliteration of greatly enhanced accuracy, which with modifications has provided the basis for that used in the present corpus. The book, as noted above, was

131 After preliminary studies, 1930–1933, for which see the bibliography of Meriggi's work published in *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), p. xiii, principally *Die hethitischen Hieroglypheninschriften*: I. Die kürzeren Votiv- und Bauinschriften (*WZKM* 40 (1933), pp. 233–280); II. Die längeren Votiv- und Bauinschriften (*WZKM* 41 (1934), pp. 1–42); Die längsten Bauinschriften in "Hethitischen" Hieroglyphen, nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten (*MVAG* 39/1 (1934), pp. 1–177). The *Glossar* here was of course the forerunner of Meriggi's revised *Glossar* (1962).

132 Principally *Santas und Kupapa* (*MAOG* VI/3; Leipzig, 1932).

133 *Hittite Hieroglyphs* I, II, III (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization nos. [2], 14, 21, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago 1931, 1935, 1942).

134 *Die hethitische Bilderschrift* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization no. 3, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, 1932). I had in my possession a copy of an unpublished manuscript by Forrer: *Tabulische Grammatik hethitischer Bilderschrift* (1932), sent to me in 1980 by Dr. Galina Kellerman, who apparently had it from one Natalie Frankley. I myself have since passed it on to Professor Massimo Poetto.

135 The series of text editions published in *Archiv Orientalni* 1933–1937, mostly reprinted in his *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hieroglyphiques* as noted above, p. 10 with nn. 95–96.

136 See above, n. 16, also p. 9.

137 Above, n. 16; below n. 143.

138 See below, p. 16 and n. 158.

139 One significant error however was the very understandable failure to identify the factual negative from the bilingual (actually Hier. NFG₂ = Phoen. *bl*, KARATEPE, 108, 134), and the compounded error of identification of FRONS-*li* (*hantili*-) as *nala*-, "no": see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 132 cit. 15–16, 149 f. cit. A and D. Note also the failures to identify the values *za* and *ia* from the equivalents Hier. $\uparrow$ = Phoen. *z* (in the name *Azatiwatas*/*'ztud*) and Hier. $\downarrow$ = Phoen. *y* (in the name *Azatiwataya*/*'ztudy*); in each case the digraphic writings of the names are obscured by other factors, and the bilingual did not offer any clear and unambiguous evidence elsewhere.

140 Gelb and Güterbock each gave detailed comments on the implications of the earliest published sections of the bilingual for the understanding of Hieroglyphic; Güterbock, *Eranos* 47 (1949), pp. 93–115; Gelb, *Bi. Or.* 7 (1950), pp. 129–141. Neither continued to do detailed work in Hieroglyphic thereafter. Sedat Alp also used the information from KARATEPE in his work on Hieroglyphic writings of personal names, *Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf den hieroglyphenbithitischen Siegeln und Inschriften* (Ankara, 1950).

141 See the bibliography in his memorial volume, *Gs Bossert*.

142 Ist die B-L Schrift im wesentlichen entziffert? (*Or.* NS 29 (1960), pp. 423–442); Die Entzifferung der B-L wird fortgesetzt (*Or.* NS 30 (1961), pp. 110–118); zur Vokalisation des Luwischen (*Or.* NS 30 (1961), pp. 314–322). Although he recognized many of the cogent arguments for the re-evaluation, he never discarded the old readings, assuming instead the existence of improbable polyphonic values. These contributions are also overloaded with much irrelevant and incorrect speculation.

143 As published by him in *Ugaritica* III (Paris, 1956), pp. 97–160.

intended only as an introduction to a second part, which has never appeared. It is ironical too that the accession of evidence from Ugarit failed to provide compelling evidence on the values of the signs ↑ and ↓.

Meriggi's *Glossar* provided an essential tool for working with the texts, a complete index of all words, which permitted quick and easy location especially when it was joined by the complete corpus of texts in his *Manuale*. It is a measure of its value that still today after the alteration of crucial sign readings and substantial modification of others it has not yet been superseded and can, indeed must, be used.

The books of Laroche and Meriggi have remained basic to the study of Hieroglyphic since their publication. Yet using them together is not entirely straightforward, both because of the discrepant system of the numbering of the signs which they employ, and the discrepant systems of transliteration. These difficulties are diminished by the "conversion tables" which both books give at their ends, but still the use of both together demands a considerable degree of mental agility on the part of the reader.

Indeed these discrepancies highlight a severe problem facing any contributor to Hieroglyphic studies: namely how to impose a logical system of reference on what may seem to be a chaotic writing system. How too can one best incorporate the valid parts of the work of one's predecessors while at the same time introducing the necessary revisions established on the basis of new evidence? My own attempts to deal with this problem are detailed below in the section D, Principles of Transliteration (p. 23 ff.). Essentially I have attempted to maintain Laroche's system with only the unavoidable modifications.

That the study of this script does not remain stationary was shown, in the period immediately succeeding publication of Laroche's and Meriggi's books, by the work of H. Mittelberger, who in review articles¹⁴⁴ and a lengthy contribution of his own¹⁴⁵ made many valid points in correction and revision of sign readings and grammar. His observations clearly pointed the way towards the "new readings" of the signs ↑↑ and ↓↓, especially with the proposal of the reading *ia* for ↓↓, and the *i*-vocalization of the signs *ni/ni*, *si* and *wi*. The necessary evidence to introduce the complete change for the four signs was not yet available to him.

It was also in this period that the late Professor L. R. Palmer convened a group of scholars in Oxford to study the Hieroglyphic texts.¹⁴⁶ It was with these meetings that my own introduction to the subject began.

The "new readings" (↑↑, ↓↓)

The re-reading of ↑↑ from *i/i* to *zi/za* was, as noted above, envisaged by Bossert in the last year of his life,¹⁴⁷ and that of ↓↓ from *a* to *ia* by Mittelberger in 1964,¹⁴⁸ by Kalac in 1968,¹⁴⁹ and by Neumann 1973.¹⁵⁰

The actual decisive evidence in this shift was available from 1969 with the publication of the pithoi from Aluntepe,¹⁵¹ but the significance of their inscriptions was not immediately appreciated.¹⁵² On these pithoi were incised measures, in place of the long-known Urartian Cuneiform *a-qar-qi* and *tē/tē-ru-si* the Hittite Hieroglyphic equivalents *ā-ha+ra/i-ku* and *tu-ru-↑* or *tu+ra/i-↑*. This provided a correspondence, of the type from which the decipherment of the Hieroglyphic syllabary had been built up, of Cun. *si* // Hier. ↑, thus indicating that the latter sign had a value *sibilant+vowel* rather than the simple vowel, as was currently assumed. Since the pairs ↑↑ and ↓↓ were recognized as descended from undifferentiated Empire Period forms ↑↑ and ↓↓, it was clear that the double-bar across the base of the second of each pair was a later introduced distinction. Detailed consideration of usage indicated that ↑ in fact corresponded to Cun. *zi* and ↓ to Cun. *za*, also ↓ to Cun. *ia*. From this point it was obvious that Hieroglyphic as currently read would lack an *i*-vowel sign, but also that if *za* is marked off from *zi* by the addition of the double-bars, then *ia* must be marked off from *i*, thus indicating this value for ↓↓. Our understanding of this distinction by means of the double-bars has been clarified by the observation, made originally by Gelb,¹⁵³ but only later seen to be of extreme relevance to the problem, that the double-bars represent a cursive form of the sign *a* (*HH*, no. 450), thus that the *a*-vocalization of *za* and *ia* is indicated by the writing of *a* in ligature with *zi* and *i*.¹⁵⁴ The last value to be established, that of ↓↓ = *i*, was very fully supported by observations of *plene*-writings of the type *Ci-i*, parallel to *Cu-a* and *Cu-u*.¹⁵⁵

144 Very useful and detailed review articles of both Laroche's *HH* and Meriggi's *Glossar* were published in *Sprache* 8 (1962), pp. 276–286; *ibid.*, 9 (1963), pp. 69–105, 219–224.

145 *ibid.*, 10 (1964), pp. 50–98.

146 The other participants were O. R. Gurney, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Jill Hart, and myself. Palmer's interest in Hieroglyphic produced his edition of BABYLON 1 (*TPS* 1958, pp. 57–67).

147 See above, n. 142.

148 *Sprache* 10 (1964), p. 83 § 29.

149 *Belleten* 32 (1968), pp. 326–330.

150 *Fs Otten* (1) (1973), pp. 243–251.

151 Tahsin Özgüç, *Aluntepe II* (Ankara, 1969), pls. LIII–LIV. See below, Appendix 4, p. 37.

152 E. Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes d'Aluntepe (*Anadolu* 15 (1971 [1973]), pp. 55–61); J. J. Klein, Urartian Hieroglyphic inscriptions from Aluntepe (*An. St.* 24 (1974), pp. 77–94).

153 Gelb, *HH* III, p. 2.

154 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JR-AS* 1975, p. 121 n. 2; *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Serie III, 8/3 (1978), pp. 779–781. Remarkably, an Empire Period example of this graphic practice has recently appeared on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription, where (§ 18) we find *zi/a+a* written for *za*: see Hawkins, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1990, p. 307 n. 13.

155 See Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL* (see following footnote), pp. [21]–[25]. Note that these observations incorporate the proposal of Mittelberger to read the sign *ua* also as *ui*, and the values *ni*, *ni* and *si* for formerly *a*-vocalized forms.

These „new readings“ were fully argued by Anna Morpurgo Davies, Günter Neumann and myself in 1974,¹⁵⁶ the published form of papers read at a London symposium held by the Royal Asiatic Society at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1973.¹⁵⁷ It may be claimed that new discoveries since 1974, principally that of the large number of digraphic seals from Meskene-Emar,¹⁵⁸ have abundantly confirmed our proposals. There in numerous Empire Period writings of personal names, Cun. *zi* and *za* are regularly represented by Hier. 𐎵 , thus to be transliterated as the undifferentiated *zi/a*, and Cun. *i* and *ia* by Hier. 𐎶 , thus *i(a)*, and it is also noteworthy that contradictory evidence is altogether lacking.¹⁵⁹

The only significant „casualty“ of the „new readings“ worth recording is the supposed reading of *a-i-a/a-* for the verb $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} / \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, „make“, identified with Cun. Luw. *a(ia)-*, „make“, and considered instrumental in the decipherment by Gelb.¹⁶⁰ It now becomes re-read as *i-zi-i/ia-*. However a Cun. writing *izzia-* has now been identified as the equivalent of the Hier. verb, and further, examples of a Hier. verb written *ā(-ia)-* have been collected which provide the true equivalent of Cun. Luw. *a(ia)-*.¹⁶¹

The „new readings“, it may be claimed, have won general acceptance. Meriggi with characteristic generosity fully adopted the system.¹⁶² Acceptance came also from Gelb,¹⁶³ Güterbock,¹⁶⁴ Laroche,¹⁶⁵ Kalaç,¹⁶⁶ Mittelberger,¹⁶⁷ Oettinger,¹⁶⁸ Carruba,¹⁶⁹ and Neu.¹⁷⁰ These transliterations are used besides by Anna Morpurgo Davies, Neumann and myself, by Starke,¹⁷¹ Melchert,¹⁷² and an increasing number of other col-

leagues. Early doubts by Puhvel have I hope been resolved.¹⁷³ Poetto however, for no very obvious reason, maintains an occasional value *a* for *i*, transcribing *a/i*.¹⁷⁴

Recent progress

This then is the new platform from which Hieroglyphic studies have been conducted for the last twenty years, and progress has been substantial. As an appendix to the „new readings“, utilizing a new piece of evidence I was able in 1975 to establish the sign for the factual negative *na* (NEG₁₋₃) and with Anna Morpurgo Davies to sort out the rather confused situation on negation and disjunction.¹⁷⁵ Since then in a series of independent and joint studies, we have been able to identify a number of new lexical and grammatical elements.¹⁷⁶ Onofrio Carruba and Massimo Poetto have also been active in this field.¹⁷⁷ A prolonged cor-

156 Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, 1. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 6 (1973 [1974], pp. 143–197 – cited as *HHL*, with page-numbering [1]–[55]).

157 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, Hieroglyphic Hittite: some new readings and their consequences (*JR* 15 1975, pp. 121–133, with additional note by G. Neumann).

158 Also published by Laroche, still (1991) in preliminary articles only: see *Akkadica* 22 (1981), pp. 5–14; Meskené-Emar, dix ans de travaux (ed. D. Beyer; Paris, 1982), pp. 53–60; Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites de Meskené-Emar: un emprunt d'écriture (*CR ABL* 1983, pp. 12–23). For a collection of closely comparable material from the middle Euphrates, see now H. Gonnert, *apud* D. Arnaud, *Textes Syriens de l'Âge du Bronze Récent* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa; Barcelona, 1991).

159 Certainly nothing to contradict Hier. *zi/a* = Cun. *zi* or *za*. With Hier. *i(a)*, Cun. equivalents *i*, *e* and *ia* are all well established as would be expected. Cun. *a* has expected equivalences with Hier. *a* and *ā*; we would not expect an equivalence with Hier. *i(a)*. Two such however do appear to exist, where Semitic names beginning with Cun. 𐎶 U (i.e. the Storm-God *Adad*) are written Hier. *i a-tā-tā* (*Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 10 nos. 5 and 6). Rather than assuming that *i(a)* is used here to write the equivalent of *a*, which is opposed by a very adequate collection of evidence supporting the absolute distinction Cun. *a* = Hier. *a/ā*; Cun. *i e ia* = Hier. *i(a)*, we may suggest instead that Semitic (*H*)*adad* was perceived phonetically as [ɛdɛd] and written *ita-*, much as later (*H*)*amat* is written *i-ma-tu* and (*H*)*alab i-la-pa-* for which see KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 6, and Commentary.

160 Gelb, *HHL* II, p. 14 with n. 3.

161 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), pp. 276–279, 295 addenda 2 and 3.

162 *Schizzo* (1980), p. 248 ff.

163 Personal letter to Anna Morpurgo Davies and myself, dated 24 May 1976.

164 Personal communications.

165 Personal communication at the XXIII R.A.I., Birmingham 1976, in the context of his paper, a preliminary report on the evidence from the digraphic Meskene seals; cf. also *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 13 and *passim*.

166 First used by him in *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 4–5 (1976–1977), pp. 61–66.

167 Review article on *HHL*, Das neue Bild der Hethitischen Hieroglyphen (*Grazer Beiträge* 7 (1978), pp. 1–14).

168 *Stammbildung* (Nürnberg, 1979), p. 565 n. 10.

169 *Gs Kronasser* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 1, 6; *SMI* 24 (Rome, 1984), p. 60.

170 Review of *HHL*, *Kratylos* 28 (1983 [1984]), pp. 213–216.

171 See below, nn. 178–179.

172 See below, n. 180.

173 See e.g. *HED* 1 (1984), p. 344 f., where the old reading *aia-* for new *izi(ya)-* is maintained. Professor Puhvel has since informed me that he accepts the new readings.

174 See e.g. *Studia Meriggi* (1979), p. 501 n. 1. He also continues to read *na*, *nā*, *sa* for *ni*, *ni*, *si*.

175 *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 119–156, 157–168.

176 E.g. A.M.D.: *Fs Szemerényi* (1979), pp. 577–610; *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 86–108; *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 123–137; *KZ* 96 (1982/83), pp. 245–270; *Fs Risch* (1986), pp. 129–145; *Studia Cowgill* (1987), pp. 205–228.

J. D. H.: *KZ* 92 (1978), pp. 112–116; *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 109–119; *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 123–142; *Essays Mellink* (1986), pp. 93–102.

Joint: *Fs Neumann* (1982), pp. 91–105; *Kanišunur* (1986), pp. 69–81; *Hethitica* 8 (1987), pp. 267–295; *Studi Pugliese Carratelli* (1988), pp. 169–182; *Kadmos* 32 (1993), pp. 50–60.

177 E.g. O.C.: *Fs Neumann* (1982), pp. 35–52; *Gs Kronasser* (1982), pp. 1–13; *SMI* 24 (1984), pp. 57–69; *Kanišunur* (1986), pp. 49–52.

M.P.: *O.I.* 17 (1978), pp. 279–285; *Or. NS* 47 (1978), pp. 252–262; *RIO* 52 (1978), pp. 1–5; *Studia Meriggi* (1979), pp. 501–507; *Fs Szemerényi* (1979), pp. 669–677; *Or. NS* 49 (1980), pp. 252–267 (with Meriggi); *SMI* 22 (1980), pp. 127–132; *KZ* 95 (1981), pp. 274–278; *Fs Neumann* (1982), pp. 275–284; *Gs Kronasser* (1982), pp. 96–115 (with Meriggi); *Kadmos* 21 (1982), pp. 101–103; *Athenaeum* 61 (1983), pp. 528 f.; *I tino Oriente* 6 (1986), pp. 157–162; *O.I.* 26 (1987), pp. 187–189; *I tino Oriente* 7 (1988), pp. 171–176; *O.I.* 28 (1989), pp. 193–196.

respondence going back to 1979 between Frank Starke and myself has served to draw together our respective studies on Cun. and Hier. Luwian and has been productive in elucidating problems of both.¹⁷⁸ Starke's massive *Stammbildung des Luwischen Nomens* (StBoT 31; Wiesbaden, 1990) has utilized fully the Hieroglyphic evidence alongside the Cuneiform.¹⁷⁹ Recently too Craig Melchert has contributed some notable articles elucidating readings, lexicon and morphology.¹⁸⁰ Two

books reached me after the submission of the manuscript of this corpus in October 1990: that of M. Marazzi, *Il Geroglifico Anatolico: problemi di analisi e prospettive di ricerca* (Rome, 1990), which constitutes a valuable work of reference and bibliography for the Hieroglyphic corpus; and Rudolf Werner's *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 106; Freiburg (Schweiz) and Göttingen, 1991), a more succinct work, which will be of value to students.

C. The Corpus

1. Definition of the Corpus

Empire and Late Periods

It is against this background of discovery, publication and decipherment that the present Corpus of Hier. Luwian inscriptions has been planned and written. It was my original intention not to include the inscriptions of the Hittite Empire Period, but to restrict the Corpus to the inscriptions of the Neo-Hittite states of the Iron Age. This was for several reasons, both practical and theoretical. The Iron Age inscriptions are much more numerous, much better preserved, longer and better understood than those of the Empire Period, which are few, mostly very short, and poorly preserved. The Iron Age inscriptions also form a fairly homogeneous group and were readily accessible, an important consideration. My primary interest has been the Luwian language rather than the Hieroglyphic script itself. The bulk of the Empire Period Hier. inscriptions are short epigraphs associated with sculpture giving names and titles (the latter always logographically written). As such, these inscriptions offer little evidence on language, and even if they reveal identifiable linguistic features, these may not be Luwian, as for example, the YAZILIKAYA group with their Hurrian character.

Among this class of Empire Period inscription we may class: ALACA HÖYÜK 1–3, BOĞAZKÖY 4, 8, ÇAĞDIN, HANYERİ, HEMİTE, İMAMKULU, KARABEL, KARGA, MALKAYA, SIPYLOS, SİR-KELİ, TAÇIN, TAŞCI, TELL AÇANA, YAZILIKAYA.

To these may be added the figures of Tudhaliyas and Suppiluliumas recently discovered at Boğazköy.¹⁸¹ Also the royal stelae from that site, BOĞAZKÖY 3 and 11 (both fragmentary), and a better preserved example recently discovered¹⁸² come into this category, for even when they preserve a genealogy there is no evidence as to the language in which it should be read, and the same applies too to the small stele BOĞAZKÖY 12.

The only Empire Period inscriptions which could properly find a place in a corpus of Hier. Luwian inscriptions were, up until 1988: ALEPPO 1, BOĞ-

AZKÖY 1 and 2 stele bases, NIŞANTAŞ, EMİRGAZI altars A–D, EMİRGAZI block, EMİRGAZI fragment, FRAKTIN, KARAKUYU, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, and some BOĞAZKÖY fragments. Most of these even when tolerably preserved, are very short and almost entirely logographically written. Thus their Luwian content is very small, often amounting to no more than one or two phonetically written words to show that they should be read in Luwian. The EMİRGAZI block and KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA are effectively fragments of once considerable texts, as is also NIŞANTAŞ on account of its erosion into illegibility (except for the first line). This left the EMİRGAZI altars with their duplicate and mutually restoring inscriptions as the only substantial text of the period, though even this is badly worn and difficult to read. It does however exhibit marked differences from texts of the Late Period. Since 1970 it has been known that a long Hier. inscription of the Empire Period had been discovered at Yalburt near Ilgın (formerly designated ILGIN but now YALBURT), but this remained unpublished. Thus because this small group was difficult, different, inaccessible and uninformative, I decided not to include it in the Corpus.

¹⁷⁸ For Starke's work utilizing the new readings and combining the evidence of Hieroglyphic in philological studies, see e.g. KZ 93 (1979), pp. 247–261; KZ 94 (1980), pp. 74–86; *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 142–148; KZ 95 (1981), pp. 141–157; *Fs. Neumann* (1982), pp. 407–425; *Sprache* 31 (1985), pp. 249–255; KZ 100 (1987), pp. 243–269.

¹⁷⁹ Though the printed book reached me only after the submission of this manuscript, Dr. Starke was kind enough to provide me with a copy of his manuscript in the course of 1988, so I have been able to co-ordinate much of his work and conclusions with my own.

¹⁸⁰ *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 29–42; KZ 101 (1988), pp. 211–243; KZ 102 (1989), pp. 23–45; KZ 103 (1990), pp. 198–207.

¹⁸¹ Tudhaliyas IV (BOĞAZKÖY 19 – for numbering see above, n. 74): see *Arch. Anz.* 1986, pp. 394–396 with Abb. 29 a–b, 30; *Anatolica* 14 (1987), p. 87 Abb. 17. Suppiluliumas II (BOĞAZKÖY 20): see *Arch. Anz.* 1989, pp. 317, 327 Abb. 40 and 58.

¹⁸² BOĞAZKÖY 18 (also Tudhaliyas IV): see *Arch. Anz.* 1984, p. 336 f. Abb. (9), 10; *Anatolica* 14 (1987), p. 84 Abb. 13. [New fragment BOĞAZKÖY 24; also new stele from the village DELIHASANLI].

The Seals

The same considerations applied to the rather extensive corpus of Empire Period seals. The seal inscriptions are comparable to the epigraphs on sculpture: they are short inscriptions giving names and titles. The former may belong to any language group, not only Hittite or Luwian but also Hurrian or Semitic, while the latter are always logographically written, without indication of the language in which they should be read (though this would doubtless be that of the sealholder). Furthermore, the signary which they employ differs markedly from that of the contemporary stone inscriptions, not to mention from those of the Late Period.¹⁸³ Thus it is entirely appropriate to restrict them to a corpus of their own, and useful work is being done towards this end,¹⁸⁴ though there are great practical difficulties in assembling the widely dispersed and elusive material. In any case these Empire Period seals never contain phonetically written Luwian words,¹⁸⁵ and are thus irrelevant to a corpus of the Luwian language.

The digraphic seals of Boğazköy, Ugarit and particularly Meskene-Emar are of course specially relevant to the Hieroglyphic script and its decipherment, since they establish many of the signs' values by giving Cuneiform correspondences. The two earlier groups have been thoroughly worked over and their information assimilated into the system by their editors Güterbock and Laroche.¹⁸⁶ A full publication of the third group, which is in fact by far the most numerous and informative, is still awaited.¹⁸⁷

[Note. At Boğazköy in 1990 and 1991 over 3000 bullae bearing seal impressions were excavated in the *Westbau* on Nişantepe. The royal seals are being published by H. Otten, and those of the officials by Suzanne Herbordt with the present author's collaboration].

The comparatively small group of seals of the Late Period does by contrast contain material relevant to the language, e.g. the word for "seal", and has thus been included in the corpus.

Separation of the Empire Period corpus

In the field of the Empire Period stone inscriptions, matters have changed rather drastically since I planned and almost completed this Corpus. The long YALBURT inscription was unexpectedly published in 1988,¹⁸⁸ at exactly the same time as another long and well preserved inscription of the period was excavated on the Südburg at Boğazköy.¹⁸⁹ This sudden access of new material has somewhat transformed our knowledge of Empire Period Hieroglyphic. My report on the BOĞ-AZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription has recently appeared, in which I have included editions of the texts of YALBURT, the EMIRGAZI altars, and the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group of inscriptions (Appendices 1–3).¹⁹⁰ Later it should prove practicable to supplement

this treatment with a further section of this Corpus containing the Empire Period inscriptions that properly belong with it. This should appear as: XIV. Inscriptions of the Hittite Empire.

1. YALBURT, the longest legible Hier. inscription of the period, a historical text of Tudhaliyas IV. Unfortunately its 17 blocks were discovered out of their proper order. A more or less complete reconstruction of the order to restore the original text may be possible. The text contains a fair proportion of syllabic writings of Luwian. [See now M. Poetto's edition *L'iscrizione luviogerografica di YALBURT* (Stud. Med. 8; Pavia, 1993)].

2. BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, a historical inscription of Suppiluliumas II, with an appended building inscription. In contrast with YALBURT, this text is largely logographic with few syllabic writings; also it does not write clause connectives and hardly any noun and verb endings, factors which severely hamper our comprehension.

3. NIŞANTAŞ, a long, apparently historical inscription of Suppiluliumas II, of which *KBö* XII 38, ii 22–28, iii 1–21, may well represent a fragmentary version in Cun. Hittite. The eroded state of the inscription appears desperate, yet most of the first line has now been read with a high degree of probability.¹⁹¹ I am currently (1993) working on this text and am hopeful of producing a substantial amount of new reading.¹⁹²

4. EMIRGAZI altars, a dedicatory text of Tudhaliyas IV for the altars themselves. The preserved part of the text seems to contain almost entirely the injunctions concerning the altars and curses and blessings for future violators or respecters of these. The main problem of this text (composite, from the four partially preserved exemplars) is the reading, for the signs are worn and faint, and the recovery of an accurate and reliable text remains a desideratum.¹⁹³ Although there is much logographic writing, there are also many phonetically written words.

183 See XIII. SEALS, Introduction, where it is reckoned that some 70 signs in Laroche's *HH* occur solely on Empire Period seals.

184 See *ibid.*, with n. 2.

185 An exception is the magnificent seal of Kuzi-Tesub, known from LIDAR bullae (also MESKENE), which for this reason is included in the present Corpus (see XIII.1).

186 See above nn. 16, 143.

187 See above, n. 158.

188 See above p. 12 and n. 123.

189 See Neve and Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, pp. 316–332 and 333–337.

190 As Beiheft 3 in the series *StBoT*. For my preliminary report see *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp. 305–314.

191 See most recently E. Masson, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli* (1988), pp. 150–152.

192 Season of 1992, most of l. 2, and parts of ll. 3, 4, 5 read. Further readings in 1993.

193 See most recently E. Masson, *Journal des Savants* 1979, pp. 4–49. [A spell of work on EMIRGAZI in Istanbul Museum in September 1993 has now furnished me with the material to produce a text; cf. edition in *StBoT* Bh. 3, pp. 86–102].

5. EMİRGAZİ block, a fragment of a historical text of Tudhaliyas IV, showing connections with the historical information on YALBURT. Again a reliable text is a desideratum.¹⁹⁴

6. EMİRGAZİ fragment, a small piece but important for its link with a clause on YALBURT, also on KIZILDAĞ 4.¹⁹⁵

7. FRAKTİN, epigraphs to sculptures of Hattusilis III and Puduhepa. This text earns its inclusion in a Luwian corpus by two apparently phonetically written words among the epithets.¹⁹⁶

8. KARAKUYU, dedicatory inscription for a reservoir constructed by Tudhaliyas IV.¹⁹⁷ It is uncertain whether this contains any phonetically written words other than mountain names, thus its characterization as Luwian is uncertain, but it contains writings relevant to the Empire Period corpus.

9. ALEPPO 1, dedicatory inscription for temple of Hebat-Šarruma by Talmi-Šarruma king of Aleppo (grandson of Suppiluliumas I).¹⁹⁸ This is perhaps the earliest datable (by generation) Hieroglyphic stone inscription. Though short, it may contain one or two phonetically written Luwian words.

10. KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA block,¹⁹⁹ apparently a fragment truncated by loss of elements with parts of the inscription on both left and right sides. Content is obscure, and attribution not preserved, but it contains several phonetically written Luwian words.

11 and 12. BOĞAZKÖY 1 and 2 stele bases, bearing short, dedicatory texts of a man and a woman.²⁰⁰ These are probably purely logographically written, thus not actually of assured Luwian character.

[Note. Recent discoveries add the inscriptions of the KINIK bronze bowl and the ANKARA silver bowl. The inclusion of the following can now also be justified: KARABEL with TARKONDEMOS seal; İMAM-KULU; TAŞCI; HATİP].

Intermediate inscriptions

Enough has been said to explain the separation of the Empire Period inscriptions from those of the Iron Age. There remain some transitional pieces between the two groups, namely KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) stele, and the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group of rock inscriptions (with the recently discovered BURUNKAYA). Both appear archaic but are apparently post-Empire on historical grounds, since they both name "Great Kings", thus should not be dated to the period in which the only Great Kings were the known lords of Hattusa. They thus probably both belong to the immediate post-Empire Period, a supposed dark age of some 200 years, 1200–1000 B.C. Yet the publication of YALBURT reveals how closely linked to it is the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group.²⁰¹ Also the appearance of the seal of Kuzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, who as King of Karkamiš appears to have survived the collapse of the Hittite Empire, led to his identification

in the genealogies of two kings of Malatya as "grandfather", entitled "Great King". This has the effect of raising the date of the Iron Age inscriptions and sculpture of Malatya to the late 12th-early 11th centuries B.C. which goes some way to filling the gap of the dark age. Because of their apparent post-Empire date, and their importance in a consideration of the dating and development of the Hieroglyphic script, these transitional pieces, KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) and the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, are included with the Late rather than the Empire Period corpus.

2. Arrangement of the inscriptions

Groups

The Late Period inscriptions fall for the most part into fairly clear-cut groups, according to their provenance from one or other of the Neo-Hittite states. The principal epigraphic centres known are: *Karkamiš* on the west bank of the Euphrates, the main survivor from the period of the Hittite Empire, and the largest source of Hieroglyphic inscriptions; *Til Barsip* (Hier. *Masimwari*, mod. Tell Ahmar) on the east bank of the Euphrates below Karkamiš, source of an early group of Hieroglyphic inscriptions antedating the conquest of the city by the Arameans; *Gurgum* (*Marqas*, mod. Maraş) a centre particularly rich in funerary monuments, with an epigraphic tradition stretching back from c. 800 B.C. for at least two centuries; *Melid* (mod. Malatya) on the west bank of the upper Euphrates, also probably a survival of the Hittite Empire, where the sculptural and epigraphic remains seem to be the earliest, showing closest connections with their Empire Period prototypes; *Kummuh* (classical Commagene), the west bank Euphrates state between Melid and Karkamiš, at present known only for a small group of inscriptions of the late 9th-early 8th centuries B.C.; *Unqi* (mod. Amuq) in the plain of Antioch, also known only from a small group of very badly destroyed sculpture and inscriptions; *Halab* (mod. Aleppo), apparently controlled by the Aramean state of Bit-Agusi/Arpad, where the ancient cult-centre of the Storm-God appears to be the original source of some Hieroglyphic monuments

194 See E. Masson, *ibid.* I now have the material to produce a text (see preceding note).

195 Sedat Alp, *Fs Otten* (1) (1973), pp. 11–13, Abb. 1 a–c; E. Masson, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 121.

196 Güterbock, *Fs Matouš* (1978), pp. 127–136.

197 Most recent edition in Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), nos. 95–96 p. 315 f.; cf. Forlanini, *Hethitica* VII (1987), pp. 73–87.

198 Most recent edition in Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 306 p. 330 f.

199 See most recently E. Masson, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 106–118.

200 Most recent edition in Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), nos. 39, 40 pp. 287–289.

201 [See now Hawkins, *Fs Sedat Alp* (Ankara, 1992), pp. 259–275].

found in Babylonia; *Hamath* (mod. Hama) on the Orontes river in mid-Syria, where the Hurro-Hittite dynasty of the 9th century B.C., known from a group of Hieroglyphic inscriptions, was replaced in the 8th century by an Aramean dynasty; *Tabal*, the south-east corner of the Anatolian plateau, divided into several kingdoms and city-states, each with its own monumental traditions, largely of the later 8th century B.C.; and *Que* (classical Cilicia), at present represented only by one main inscription, the well-known KARATEPE bilingual, which seems to belong late in the Hieroglyphic tradition. Also there should be mentioned in this context the small city-state of *Sam'al* (mod. Zincirli) lying at the eastern exit of the pass from Cilicia across the Amanus range, the seat of a dynasty bearing mixed Hittite and Aramean names, which modelled its sculpture and alphabetic inscriptions on those of its Hittite neighbours. The Aramean state of Bit-Agusi/Arpad already mentioned, which like *Sam'al* was deeply embedded in a Neo-Hittite matrix, has also left three early Aramaic inscriptions.

Order

In the present work, the inscriptions have where possible been grouped according to their epigraphic centres in ten chapters numbered I–X, with additional chapters XI (for the self-contained group of the ASSUR lead letters), XII (a small group, MISCELLANEOUS, of unprovenanced, unattributable inscriptions) and XIII (a further group, SEALS). The ordering of these chapters designated by Roman numerals is as follows:

I. CILICIA, consisting almost entirely of the great KARATEPE bilingual, placed first, although probably the latest inscription in chronological terms, in recognition of its outstanding importance.

II. KARKAMIŠ, placed next as being otherwise the most important group, covering the longest chronological span, and certainly the most numerous collection of Hieroglyphic inscriptions.

III. TELL AHMAR, following KARKAMIŠ as a closely related but small appendix.

IV. MARAŞ, placed next because of its importance in fixing the earlier chronology of the inscriptions from established links with Assyrian chronology, also because of its fairly close links with KARKAMIŠ.

V. MALATYA, the most northerly and also the earliest group of inscriptions appropriately follows MARAŞ.

VI–IX. COMMAGENE, AMUQ, ALEPPO, HAMA, all fairly small groups from the central area, north to south, could appear in any order here.

X. TABAL, the second largest group, following KARKAMIŠ, lying on the north-west periphery of the Neo-Hittite world, placed last to emphasize its relative distinctness; it divides into an archaic western group (KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ), a cohesive southern group (Tyana), and a more miscellaneous northern group,

centring on Tabal proper. Apart from the archaic western group, all the Tabalian inscriptions seem to belong to the latest period, the later 8th century B.C.

The chronology of each group is determined by internal and external criteria. Within each group we can usually detect one or more dynasties, whose relative order may or may not be apparent. Many of the members of these dynasties can be identified as rulers named in the Assyrian historical records and thus anchored to the Assyrian-based chronology of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. Where the dynasties cannot be thus tied to absolute chronology, they must at least be fitted into the available gaps.

Each chapter is introduced by a section designed to establish the historical context of the group of inscriptions. Each group is defined by examination of the identity of the ancient state, its historical background and extent, and the degree of its archaeological investigation. The Assyrian historical references are reviewed, and the indigenous Hieroglyphic monuments are grouped into dynasties where possible, and linked to the general chronology or fitted into gaps.

The individual inscriptions within each group are numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals. They are arranged chronologically as far as possible, beginning with those which can be linked to ordered dynasties, continuing with those which can be arranged by stylistic criteria, and ending with indeterminate pieces and fragments.

Summary of results

I. CILICIA. The date of the KARATEPE bilingual and its associated sculpture is controversial because of the identification among the latter of both 9th and 8th century elements. Historically the inscription may be dated by the identification of the author's patron Awarikus with a late 8th century ruler, also possibly by the identification of the author Azatiwatas with an early 7th century ruler. If this is correct, a date to the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (704–681 B.C.) offers the best fit. Epigraphically a very late date seems the most probable.

II. KARKAMIŠ. This site, the chief heir of the Hittite Empire, provides as noted the fullest sequence of sculpture and inscriptions extending over most of the Late Period. Historically it is attested in Assyrian sources under two kings only, c. 870–848 and 738–717 B.C. Of the three native dynasties reconstructable from the indigenous sources, two must belong before this period, an archaic group of "Great Kings" and the "House of Suhis". How far back before c. 1000 B.C. the recovered monuments extend is still uncertain. The third dynasty, the "House of Astiruwas", must fall within the gap of a century between the two periods of Assyrian attestation, and one of its later members, known from inscriptions and sculpture, may be identified with the Assyrian-attested last king of Karkamiš.

III. TELL AHMAR. Sculpture and inscriptions provide evidence of a 4-generation dynasty including six kings. These must have preceded the Aramean tenure of the city, first attested in 858 B.C., which was immediately followed by the period as an Assyrian province (854–*c.* 605 B.C.). Stylistically the monuments are closely linked to the early Karkamiš style of perhaps the 10th century B.C.

IV. MARAŞ. Datable inscriptions from here are all 9th century B.C. or earlier, and none can be attributed to Assyrian-attested rulers of the 8th century. Some of the non-royal sculpture in the form of uninscribed funerary monuments may well date to the later period. The chronology is basically established by the Maraş Lion inscription (MARAŞ 1), among whose recorded seven generations of rulers three kings, including the inscription's author himself, can be identified with Assyrian-named persons. The establishment of the Lion and its author at *c.* 800 B.C. takes the six ascending generations of ancestors back towards 1000 B.C.

V. MALATYA. Most of the sculpture from this site has always been recognized as showing close links with the Hittite Empire style, and thus being either early post-Empire in date or at least very conservative. The inscriptions permit the reconstruction of dynasties, each of several generations. None of the rulers named can be identified with those attested by Assyrian reference (*c.* 853–835, and 743–712 B.C.), nor could the generations be accommodated in the gap (except perhaps the dynasty named on ŞIRZI, where the father of the author may be identified with a king named in Urartian sources, *c.* 760). Thus the bulk of the inscriptions with the associated sculpture must be placed before *c.* 850 B.C. In fact the recent recognition that two Malatya kings claim in their inscriptions to be grandsons of Kuzi-Tešub, Great King of Karkamiš, seems to take all this linked material back to a late 12th–early 11th century B.C. date. One group of Malatya sculptures only and one poorly preserved statue inscription (PALANGA) may date to the 8th century B.C. Only the colossal ruler figure, found interred in the Lion Gate, belongs to the latest style of all, the later 8th century B.C.

VI. COMMAGENE. All of this small group of inscriptions, including some recent finds, seem to belong to a father-son dynasty, Suppiluliumas and Hattusilis. A recently published Assyrian stele attests the presence of a king Ušpilulume on the throne of Kummuh, minimally 805–773 B.C. The identification of this ruler as the Suppiluliumas of the indigenous inscriptions provides an entirely appropriate date for the group.

VII. AMUQ. This kingdom is known principally from the excavations of two Iron Age sites, Ain Dara and Tell Tayinat. From the former much archaic sculpture but virtually no inscriptions have been recovered. From the latter, the sculpture and inscriptions are so badly broken that they can hardly be linked to the Assyrian

historical sources to provide secure evidence for date, either 9th or 8th centuries B.C.

VIII. ALEPPO. Under this heading a stele and two stone bowls found in Babylonia are included because of internal suggestion that they originated as dedications in the temple of the Storm-God of Aleppo. The stele appears to be in the 9th century Karkamiš style. The bowls offer no definite criteria.

IX. HAMA. As in COMMAGENE, most of the inscriptions (probably also the architecture and sculpture) from this site are the work of a father-son dynasty, Urhilina and Uratamis. The identification of the father with the Irhuleni named by Shalmaneser III (858–821 B.C.) in the period 853–845 B.C. gives an entirely probable dating of the monuments to early and late in the reign of Shalmaneser. The pair of inscriptions MEHARDE and SHEIZAR are in an idiosyncratic style, probably archaic, and not easily connected with other monuments.

X. TABAL. Of the three groups into which this group of inscriptions subdivides, the western group KIZILDAG-KARADAĞ and BURUNKAYA can now be seen, since the discovery and publication of two major Empire Period inscriptions, to be extremely early, probably shortly post-Empire. The two other groups are both very late, later 8th century B.C. They comprise the cohesive southern group, attached to a three-generation dynasty of Tuwana, the most important middle member of which, Warpalawas by name, has long been identified with a ruler attested in Assyrian sources, *c.* 738–710 B.C.; and the more heterogeneous northern group attached to the dynasty of Tuwatis and his son Wasusarmas, who is attested in Assyrian sources *c.* 738–729 B.C. The “private” inscriptions found in comparatively large numbers here do not seem to differ significantly in date from the dynastic inscriptions of the north and south groups, nor do the KULULU lead strips, which agree closely in style with some of the stone inscriptions.

XI. ASSUR letters. Though found in a mysterious context by the Assur excavations, these lead strips resemble closely those from KULULU, and thus seem to belong to a particular late style in Tabal. A single reference may suggest that one end of the correspondence was Karkamiš, but nothing from the latter site is written in a style as close to the letters as are many Tabalian documents.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS. This section consists of unprovenanced inscriptions and fragments which do not show clear evidence for association with the known groups. Equally the dates of these pieces within the 9th–8th centuries are very hard to determine.

XIII. SEALS. The numerous seals of the Empire Period form, as noted above, essentially a distinct corpus from their contemporary stone inscriptions with

which they have little in common. For the Late Period surprisingly few seals are known, yet those that there are deserve a place in the Corpus alongside the other inscriptions. Besides names, occasionally those of known rulers, they often contain interesting words or phrases of qualification, including the word for "seal" itself. A special group belonged in some way to the goddess Kubaba. Thus all seals of this period which I have been able to collect are included in a final chapter.

3. Presentation of the inscriptions

Photographs

The goal of this Corpus is to present each inscription in photograph(s) with a juxtaposed copy, and in transliteration with translation. Obtaining good photographs of all inscriptions has not been easy. Many factors affect the quality of a photograph: the shape of the inscription, its state of preservation, position, lighting, etc. In general I have tried to photograph every inscription myself, and the deficiencies of my skill as a photographer have been somewhat counterbalanced by the fact that I at least knew what effect I hoped to achieve. I have by no means always been able to take better photographs than those already published, but sometimes another photograph, even inferior in quality, may be useful in bringing out new points. In some cases I have used the photographs of others, in particular those of the late I. J. Gelb, who with great generosity gave me full access to his photographic files when I was visiting Chicago in 1983, and provided me with many prints both published and unpublished. Whenever I have used another's photograph, due acknowledgement is given. If not specified otherwise, the photograph is my own.

Copies

Making a good copy also depends on the circumstances of the inscription. For preference my new texts were made by tracing either from a squeeze or directly on clear acetate affixed to the stone itself. Both techniques are obviously easiest when the inscription itself is on flat surface(s), which is by no means always the case: a common form is the apsidal stele, and there are a number of inscriptions actually on sculptured elements such as the Maraš lion. In making squeezes, I have used both latex and paper. They are very useful to take away for detailed study, and on occasion readings can be made more easily on squeezes, which can be studied at leisure with different lights, than on the stone itself. In general they give a better impression of incised inscriptions than relief. On the other hand, it is often not possible to make a squeeze. Tracing on acetate is less laborious and messy, but does not of course leave one with a record for later consultation.

If neither a squeeze nor acetate tracing is possible, tracing from photographs can be quite satisfactory, or

even copying directly on to a photograph in Indian ink. Ideally this is done in front of the inscription itself; otherwise a later collation of the text is desirable in varying degrees, depending on the quality of the photograph.

Karkamiš

A special case is constituted by the inscriptions of Karkamiš, the largest single group in the whole Corpus, and one which, unusually, was the product of regular excavation. Because of the peculiar circumstances of discovery, the interruption of the excavation by the outbreak of the First World War, and the passage of hostilities across the site twice, a number of the inscriptions were destroyed, lost or damaged. (A few other inscriptions are also lost, but the lost ones from Karkamiš are by far the most numerous in this category.) But fortunately the Karkamiš excavation records are comparatively well preserved in the form of photographs and paper squeezes in the British Museum. This material, which is only partially published in the *Carchemish* reports, has been freely available to me, and constitutes an important source, not only for lost and damaged inscriptions, but also for checking surviving pieces. In many cases my texts are based on Karkamiš squeezes, though wherever possible these have been checked against the original inscriptions.

Transliteration and translation

Transliteration of the texts follows the principles set out in detail in the following section D (below, p. 23 ff.). In translation, where doubt exists, I have tried to signal different degrees of uncertainty. Italicizing the English translation indicates that the word or phrase is approximately understood, but the exact meaning may be different. One question-mark indicates a guessed meaning and two an unsupported guess. Where a meaning cannot be guessed I put the Luwian word itself in capitals. If the reading is too uncertain, I place a blank but indicate in translation the verbal or nominal endings where these can be seen. On some occasions where the syntax of the clause is ambiguous, alternative possible translations are offered.

Commentary

This follows each transliteration-translation, and aims to discuss fully the problems of reading and interpretation and to justify those chosen. Interesting and problematic words are discussed in detail in the Commentary under the passage most appropriate to elucidating them, and full cross references to the other occurrences are given. These detailed discussions of individual items are listed in an *Index of words discussed*, intended to serve as an interim measure until the projected glossary to the texts is published.

Bibliography

Each inscription is preceded by a collection of information relating to it arranged under the following headings:

Location, whether in museum, *in situ*, in private collection, lost or unknown, together with any identifying museum or collection number, where known.

Description of the inscribed element (rock-face, stone stele/orthostat/sculpture/base, other object or unrecognizable fragment, or the few metal inscriptions, such as lead strips and bowls, or the few ostraca), and of the inscription itself (lines, orientation, order of reading, continuity, missing parts). Particulars of each inscription are briefly noted: condition, dimensions, script (relief or incised), sign-forms (monumental, cursive or mixed), peculiarities, and use or not of word dividers.

Publication, to show principally when and in what form(s) the inscription became available to the academic world. Importance is attached to priority, but it is also recorded when new and clearer photograph(s) and/or copy were published. In the case of well-known pieces it has also been noted when and where original photographs have been repeatedly reproduced.

Edition, showing where a full transliteration and translation usually with some commentary has been given. Pre-KARATEPE these are usually the work of Meriggi or Hrozný; post-KARATEPE usually Meriggi, sometimes Bossert, and more recently Kalac, myself, Anna Morpurgo Davies or Poetto.

Excerpts, intended to show who has contributed to the elucidation of single clauses, when and up to what point. These are particularly important as reference to the contributions of scholars who have not edited complete texts, e.g. Laroche, Mittelberger, Carruba, Starke, Melchert. In selecting what to include I have loosely adopted the general criterion of a complete translation of the clause which has been at least approximately understood by today's standards.

Note: in my Commentary, an author's name followed by loc. cit. refers exclusively to the citation of the author under *Excerpts*.

Content, a brief summary of the text as understood and preserved.

Date, a brief statement, seldom a lengthy discussion, but often with reference to discussion in the Historical Context section.

Text, details as to how this was obtained — traced from stone, squeeze or photograph (see above, p. 22).

Photograph(s), source given. If my own, when and where taken; if another's, acknowledgement.

4. Present Corpus and further volumes

This then is the *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, volume I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (for volume II, see below). It divides naturally into text and illustrations, and in the case of the text, practical considerations of size dictate the division into two parts: 1. Introduction, Cilicia, Karkamiš, Tell Ahmar, Maraş, Malatya, Commagene; 2. Amuq, Aleppo, Hama, Tabal, Assur letters, Miscellaneous, Seals, Aluntepe pithos inscriptions, Indices. The illustrations are given as a separate tome, part 3.

Professor Halet Çambel has prepared the publication of KARATEPE-ASLANTAŞ as a separate volume, and it has been agreed that it is appropriate to associate it with the present Corpus and number it volume II: see below, p. 46.

Clearly it is desirable in a Corpus of this type to accompany it with a comprehensive glossary, together with a signary and indices of names (divine, personal and geographical). This could hardly be accommodated in the format of the Corpus as divided, and requires a separate volume. It is my intention, following the completion of this Corpus, to proceed with the preparation of such a volume. As well as glossary, signary, and indices, it should include a sketch of the grammar of Hieroglyphic Luwian drawn from the texts of the Corpus. Here too I would hope to add the section XIV, Inscriptions of the Hittite Empire, as outlined above, p. 18 f.

D. Principles of transliteration

1. Order of the Signs

Laroche's system, as has been noted, is about as logical as may be devised for an essentially unsystematic script, and it is this system which I and others have

used, with the necessary modifications, over the last twenty-five years. In order to minimize discontinuity, I have opted in the present Corpus against an attempt to devise a new system, and have preferred to adopt and adapt that of Laroche.

Thus, first, I maintain Laroche's sign-order and numbering. This is however subject to the following modifications.

1. In *HH*, some 28 signs are incorrectly included because they were unrecognized variants of other signs. Thus they should be deleted along with their numbers, and the entries transferred to the well-established headings. The following numbers should thus disappear: 63, 64 (=69); 76 (=221); 113 (=26); 114 (=378+105); 119 (=246); 124 (=115); 136 (=43); 143 (=214); 167 (=107); 168 (=329); 169 (=382); 170 (=73); 183 (=423); 242 (=432); 266 (=93+228); 287, 302 (=399); 310 (=201); 339 (=319); 359(2) (=245); 401 (=477); 444 (=9); 453, 454 (=179); 465, 467 (=191); 487 (=1?). Further such doublets will no doubt become apparent. Note that 20, 36 and 114 should be abolished as separate entries and listed under 378.

2. At least 26 pairs of signs should probably be merged, i.e. the pair requires only one heading not two. These include (where the second sign should be listed under the first): 1 (+2); 14 (+13); 39 (+44); 39 (+40); 56 (+57); 59 (+60); 62 (+68); 86 (+87); 88 (+89); 91 (+92+94); 445 (+186); 212 (+213); 221 (+222); 231 (+232+233); 252 (+253); 255 (+256); 257 (+260); 275 (+276); 312 (+313); 349 (+348); 358 (+359(1)); 419 (+420); 468 (+469); 474 (+473); 477 (+479).

3. Some 70 signs are found only on seals and are often of dubious form and recognition. These have no place in the signary of the monumental inscriptions and may be relegated to glyptic works. These include: 5, 23, 38, 47, 48, 50, 54, 118, 127, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157, 164, 184, 188, 189, 195, 203, 208, 211, 220, 271, 289, 323, 324, 333, 353, 354, 365, 373, 385, 403, 405, 409, 414, 418, 425, 426, 436, 437, 438, 440, 441, 442, 443, 449, 452, 458, 459, 482, 483, 489–497. Occasionally signs attested hitherto only on seals appear on new monumental inscriptions, e.g. nos. 177, 416, which can now be seen on YALBURT, no. 122 on BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG.

4. Some 37 signs are attested in the Empire Period only, of which 11 may be identified as Empire Period forms of later signs. The others should be kept separate from the Late Period signary. These signs include: 3, 4, 11, 13 (=14), 53, 55, 56 (=57), 88 (=89), 116 (=100), 137, 149, 151, 158, 173, 226, 227, 254, 270 (=70), 277 (=371?), 283, 285, 292, 296+297 (=294), 303, 306, 312 (=313), 318, 320 (=165), 352, 361, 367, 369, 372, 416 (=319?), 424, 461 (=462), 463.

5. On the other hand a number of signs unrecognized by or new since Laroche's signary are in need of numbers. These are virtually all on KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) or on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription, thus are essentially Empire Period or archaic signs. Since Laroche's last used number is 497, these new signs are numbered from 501 onwards. In this system 501, exceptionally, is a late sign found on KARATEPE

TABLE 1. New or previously unrecognized sign

501		KARATEPE. 68
502		SÜDBURG. §2 EMIGAZI. §33b KARAHÖYÜK. §18
503		SÜDBURG. §7
504		SÜDBURG. §7
505		SÜDBURG. §7
506		SÜDBURG. §7, 13
507		SÜDBURG. §13
508		YALBURT. 4 §2, 8, 10 §3 11 §1, 12 §4 EMIGAZI. §37
509		YALBURT. [6 §2], 15 §2
510		YALBURT. 6 §2, 15 §2
511		YALBURT. 7 §2b, 17 §2
512		KARAHÖYÜK. §5
513		KARAHÖYÜK. §7
514		KARAHÖYÜK. §8
515		KARAHÖYÜK. §11
516		KARAHÖYÜK. §14
517		KARAHÖYÜK. §15
518		KARAHÖYÜK. §15
519		KARAHÖYÜK. §15
520		KARAHÖYÜK. §15
521		KARAHÖYÜK. §18
522		KARKAMIŞ stone bowl. §1
523		AFRIN. §2

and elsewhere; 502–507 are from the SÜDBURG inscription, 508–511 from YALBURT, 512–521 from KARAHÖYÜK, and 522–523, new occurrences. See Table 1.

It will be noted that the removal of the signs (over 150 in number) listed in 1–4 as not belonging in the Late Period signary considerably simplifies it down to

a total of some 350 signs. Of these, over 200 may be reckoned as logograms, of which over 30 serve as determinatives (it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between a logogram with more than one reading and a determinative). The regular syllabary consists of almost 60 syllabograms, and there are in addition some 30 rare alternative syllabograms.

The removal of these signs and the abolition of their numbers from the Late Period signary leaves large gaps in the retained numeration of Laroche, but this does not appear to pose a problem. I have not made any alterations to the numbers and order of the signs, even when this might seem required by later recognitions that some signs have been classified under the wrong headings. Laroche's classification system groups the signs under ten headings: I. Corps humain, vêtements; II. Animaux; III. Végétaux, etc. This is in fact a very approximate procedure, since the greater part of the signs cannot be identified for what they represent with any certainty. Nevertheless it was and remains useful in breaking the signs up into groups, which facilitates the memorization and location of individual items. Examples of incorrect classification which have been left undisturbed include: *la* (*175), classified under *Végétaux* as a "sorte de fleur", can now be seen to represent "tongue"; *243, seen as a "bâtiment", is in fact a "fore-arm", thus CUBITUM – both of these should of course be reclassified under *Corps humain*. Sign *338 is probably not a pot but a knife, thus CULTER, so should be under *Armes* etc.; while *344 represents two profiles joined by a line, flanking a seal, symbolizing "agreement", thus CONTRACTUS, so should be classified with its opposite, *24, symbolizing "disagreement", thus LIS. But in spite of these new perceptions, it has seemed preferable not to disturb the existing order.

Note: * before numeral indicates Laroche, *HH* no.

2. The Logograms

Finding an agreed system of transliteration for logograms is a problem which recurs for scholars dealing with most ancient writing systems. The question is twofold: first, what is the value of the signs and why are they used as they are?; secondly, how can scholars of different nationalities agree on a conventional system of transcription?

If we begin with the first problem, we find a number of easy cases: the logogram may stand for what it depicts, i.e. is a pictogram, as *90 is a foot and may be read "foot"; it may also determine words for related concepts, i.e. serve as an ideogram, as "foot" determines the verb "come", and semantically related verbs. Yet sometimes we can identify the object depicted but do not know why it is used as it is: why does *341 representing a pot determine all the words which it does? And finally there are logograms which we quite

simply do not understand, i.e. we can neither identify what they represent, nor can we understand the way in which they are used: what is *273 and why does it determine both *warpi*, "skill, etc.", and *tupi*, "smite"?

Turning to the problem of transcription, we find that in the latter case, the logograms which are not understood, there is simply no option: these can only be represented by a conventional number. (Note that the asterisk preceding such numbers in the transliterations follows the practice of Linear B in thus distinguishing conventional sign-numbers from the transliteration of actual figures in the Hieroglyphic). We could of course apply this method consistently and indicate all logograms by their sign-number, but this has the disadvantage of giving the reader no help with the interpretation, not even that offered by the obvious pictographic values of some of the signs. Thus it appears to be more appropriate to use actual words where possible. In the case of e.g. the sign "foot", which both indicates a foot and determines verbs of coming, since one single transcription is required, a word meaning "foot" will be appropriate for this purpose. For the pot sign *341, a conventional transcription of a word for "pot" will also be suitable, even if we do not understand the function of the logogram.

The problem remains however of what words to choose. Ideally it might be desirable to use the words used by the language itself: the Luvian word for "foot" to represent the sign FOOT etc. But in most cases this is simply impossible, since we do not know the appropriate Luvian words for a large number of the objects and concepts, and even if we did, it would be extremely problematic to choose between (quasi-)synonymous words. Indeed no scholar has attempted this solution in its entirety, though Meriggi used it partially, combining it with transcriptions into Sumerian for the common logograms where a ready equivalence was available, and resorting to the number system where neither would serve. Other scholars have transcribed recognizable logograms with an appropriate word from their own language, thus FOOT/PIED/FUSS etc. Meriggi's mixed system can hardly be followed: the number of ready Hieroglyphic-Sumerian equivalences is too few, and in any case sets up a false presumption of connection between Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform, while the attempt to use Luvian words falls down, as noted, on the inadequacy of our knowledge. On the other hand, transcription into the scholar's own language lacks generality.

What is required is an international language, widely known, the use of which can be clearly seen to be conventional. In 1974 Anna Morpurgo Davies, Günter Neumann and I decided to adopt Latin for the purpose, a solution modelled on the practice imposed by Linear B scholars from the early 1960's. Of course this system is not ideal. Sometimes we may not know the relevant Latin words or these may be too obscure to be readily

(continued p. 28)

TABLE 2. Logograms Transcribed into Latin

ADORARE 6		BONUS 165		CUBITUM 243		FINES 216	
AEDIFICARE 246		BONUS ₂ 370		CULTER 338		FLAMMAE(?) 477	
AEDIFICIUM 244		BOS 105		CUM 58		FLUMEN 212	
ALA 78		BRACCHIUM 32		CURRUS 288		FONS 215	
AMPECTI 9		CAELUM 182		DARE 66		FORTIS 28	
ANIMAL 404		CANIS 98		DECEM 397		FRATER	see INFANS
ANNUS 336		CAPERE 41		DELERE 248		FRONS 26	
[AQUA]	see FLUMEN	CAPERE ₂ 43		DEUS 360		FULGUR 200	
AQUILA 133		CAPERE + SCALPRUM 330		DIES 358		FUSUS 305	
ARGENTUM 257		CAPUT 10		DOMINA 15		GAZELLA 104	
ASCIA 281		CAPUT + SCALPRUM 10 + 268		DOMINUS 390		GRYLLUS 120	
ASINUS 100		CASTRUM 231		DOMUS 247		HEROS 21	
ASINUS ₂ 100		CENTUM 399		DOMUS + SCALA 252		HORDEUM 179	
AUDIRE (AURIS + TU + MI) 78		CERVUS 102		EDERE 7		INFANS 45	
AVIS 128		CERVUS ₂ 103		EGO 1-2		INFRA 57	
AVIS ₂ 132		CONTRACTUS 344		EQUUS 99		IUDEX, IUSTITIA 371	
AVIS ₁ 130		CORNUS 108		EUNUCHUS 474		[IRA]	see LIS
AVUS 331		CRUS 82		EXERCITUS 269		LAPIS 267.8	
BESTIA 97		CRUS ₂ 84		FEMINA 79		LECTUS 301	
BIBERE 8		CRUX 309		FILIA		LEPUS 115	

Note the phonetic transcription of the following logograms:

ARHA 216		HALPA 85		SARMA 80-81	

(TABLE 2. Logograms Transcribed into Latin)

LIBARE 27		MONS 207		POST 34		STATUA 12	
LIGARE 31		MORI 386 + 381		PRAE 14		STELE 267	
LIGNUM 382		NEG ₂ 332		PUGNUS 39-40		SUB	see INFRA
LINGERE 112		NEG ₁ 332		PUGNUS + PUGNUS	see LIGARE	SUPER 70	
LINGUA 175		NEPOS 300 + 488		PURUS 322		TERRA 201	
LIS 24		OCCIDENS 379		[REGINA]	see MAGNUS DOMINA	THRONUS	see MENSA
LITUUS 378		OCULUS 25		REGIO 228		THRONUS ₂ 298	
LOCUS	see TERRA	OMNIS 366		REL 329		TONITRUS 199	
LONGUS 62		ORIENS 192		REX 17		UNUS 380	
LOQUI 22		OVIS 111		SACERDOS 355		URBS 225	
LUNA 193		PANIS 181		SCALPRUM 268		URCEUS 345	
MAGNUS 363		PES 90		SCRIBA 326		VACUUS 245	
MALLEUS 280		PES SCALA ROTAE 91/92/94		SCUTELLA 402		VAS 341	
MALUS 368		PES ₁ 93		SCUTUM 272		VERSUS 447 26	
MALUS ₂ 368		PISCIS 138		SERVUS 387		VIA 221	
MANUS 59-60		PITHOS 337		SIGILLUM 327		VIR 313	
MATER 79	see FEMINA	POCULUM 346		SOL 191		VIR ₂ 386	
MENSA 294		PODIUM 264		SOL ₁ 190		VITELLUS 109	
MILLE 400		PONERE 65		SOLIUM 299		VITIS 160	
MINUS 381		PORTA 237-238		SPHINX 121			

intelligible. Also it is clear that a sign must always be transcribed with the same form of its chosen word, which involves ignoring rules of inflection and congruence, producing such grammatical monsters as BOS 9, "nine oxen" (singular followed by a number higher than 1), and MAGNUS.DOMINA, "(great) queen" (without the standard agreement pattern). It may however be suggested that these are minor disadvantages in comparison with the difficulties of having a multitude of transliterations into any of the major modern languages. We note that since our proposal and practice of the system a number of scholars have seen fit to adopt it. For a complete list of Latin transcriptions for logograms employed in this Corpus, see Table 2 (p. 26 f.).

3. The Syllabograms

Transliteration here too is based on Laroche's 1960 system with the corrections and modifications which have been added during the intervening years. The opportunity is here taken to introduce a number of further minor modifications in the interest of greater consistency and simplicity.

The Regular Syllabary (see Table 3)

This is Laroche's *Syllabaire Normale* (HH, p. 263 f.), with the following alterations.

Corrections

These consist of the "new readings" of $\uparrow\downarrow$, $\uparrow\uparrow$ from $a/\bar{a}$, $i/\bar{i}$ to i/ia , $\bar{z}i/\bar{z}a$. As noted, substantial new corroboration has appeared since the original proposals, particularly from the digraphic seals of Meskene-Emar. The Empire Period forerunners of each pair, $\uparrow\downarrow$, $\uparrow\uparrow$, where the a -vocalized forms are not distinguished, are here transliterated $i(a)$ and $\bar{z}i/a$. Note that in digraphic writings, Empire Period Hier. $i(a)$ alternates with Cun. i , e , ia , but not, contrary to assertion, with a (see above, p. 16 and n. 159). The evidence does not suggest that Empire $i(a)$, Late i ever had a value a , nor indeed is this graphically likely.

Modifications

These include changes to Laroche's 1960 system already proposed and a number of minor ones introduced here for the first time. They consist mainly of changes in the vocalization of syllabograms introduced in connection with the new readings (former Ca to Ci), and simplification of the system of diacritical marks following the elimination of certain supposed values.

$\uparrow\downarrow$ a , $\S$ $\acute{a}$ (changed from Laroche's diacriticals $\grave{a}$, $\acute{a}$, which were retained even after the 1974 new readings). The value a was left vacant by the removal of $\uparrow\downarrow$ for i , and logic and consistency demand that it should be

filled. In Empire Period digraphic writings, Cun. a corresponds to both Hier. $\uparrow\downarrow$ and $\S$, the forerunners of the present Late Period pair, though the latter sign, as in the Late Period, is used only initially (or internally for the glottal stop ' , as in the rendering of Ba'al as $pa\text{'}a\text{'}li$). The most logical replacement for a is $\uparrow\downarrow$, especially since it is found in *plene* writings $Ca\text{'}a$ parallel to $Ci\text{'}i$, $Cu\text{'}u$.

Φ ba , $\uparrow\downarrow$ $\acute{b}a$. Laroche's order reversed to that of Meriggi, because Φ seems to be the primary ba , being well attested in the Empire Period. The Empire forerunner of $\uparrow\downarrow$, which is $\uparrow\downarrow$, is not attested with a phonetic value $\acute{b}a$ at that date, being solely the logogram for $HATTI$ and $HATTUSA$ (also in $HATTUSILI$).

$\diamond$ $la/i/u$. The Empire Period forerunner of this sign always apparently has the value lu , thus fills the u -slot in the l -series. But in the Late Period it is definitely found alternating with la (in ("CRUX") $wa/i\text{'}la/i\text{'}u$, KARKAMIŠ A4d, § 2 = (CRUX) $wa/i\text{'}la$, CEKKE, § 24; also KULULU 5, § 8), and with li (in $mu\text{'}wa/i\text{'}ta\text{'}la/i\text{'}u\text{'}i\text{'}si\text{'}$ // $mu\text{'}wa/i\text{'}ta\text{'}li\text{'}si$, MARAŞ 4, §§ 1//10; also FRONS- $la/i\text{'}u$ // FRONS- $li(i)$), KARATEPE, 136, 279, Hu.//Ho.). Definite evidence for a value lu has only appeared recently: the writing $ka\text{'}la/i\text{'}u\text{'}na$ as a variant of $ka\text{'}ru\text{'}na$, "granary" (see MARAŞ 8, § 7, and Commentary). To what extent it represents lu in other attestations is uncertain: perhaps we may assume that lu was always intended except in the few cases where there is evidence to the contrary.

$w\eta$ mi . An a -vocalized value $\acute{m}a$ may be categorically rejected for the Late Period (see already Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 277 f.), though the possibility of such in the Empire Period requires investigation. Yet curious usages do appear in the Late Period: thus OMNIS- $MI\text{'}ma$ (= $\text{'}anima$, "all", see KARATEPE, 281, and ASSUR letter $f+g$, § 19, and Commentaries); also AEDIFICARE $\pm MI\text{'}$ (= $\text{'}tama$, "build", see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 23, and Commentary); AUDIRE $\pm MI\text{'}$ ($\text{'}ma\text{'}ti$) (= $\text{'}tumanti$, "hear", see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1, and Commentary); also PURUS- $MI\text{'}ia$ (= $\text{'}kumiya$ or $\text{'}kumaya$ (?), "pure", see MALPINAR, § 7, and Commentary). In such cases MI has to be regarded not as a syllabogram but as a "phonetic indicator" attached to the logogram, probably reflecting an Empire Period graphic practice. Note also (DEUS)SARMA+ $R\text{'}i$ + $MI\text{'}ma$, "Sarruma", and (DEUS)LUNA+ $MI\text{'}ma$, "Arma"; also PURUS.FONS. MI , "Suppiluliuma".

$\C$ ni , $\S$ ni . Changed from a - to i -vocalization suggested by Mittelberger and confirmed by new readings. Both signs in this commonly alternating pair derive from well-established Empire Period forerunners.

Ψ nu , $\uparrow\downarrow$ ni . Order of Laroche's diacriticals reversed (also Meriggi's), on the grounds that Ψ appears to be the more regularly used form in the normal syllabary. Both signs of the pair are attested with Empire Period forerunners.

TABLE 3. The regular syllabary

 (450)	<i>a</i>	 (209)	<i>i</i>	 (105)	<i>u</i>
 (19)	<i>á</i>				
 (215)	<i>ha</i>	 (413)	<i>hi</i>	 (307)	<i>hu</i>
 (196)	<i>há</i>				
 (434)	<i>ka</i>	 (446)	<i>ki</i>	 (423)	<i>ku</i>
 (176)	<i>la</i>	 (278)	<i>li</i>		
				 (445)	<i>la/i/u</i>
 (110)	<i>ma</i>	 (391)	<i>mi</i>	 (107)	<i>mu</i>
 (35)	<i>na</i>	 (411)	<i>ni</i>	 (153)	<i>nu</i>
		 (214)	<i>ní</i>	 (214)	<i>nú</i>
 (334)	<i>pa</i>	 (66)	<i>pi</i>	 (328)	<i>pu</i>
 (383)	<i>ra/i</i>			 (412)	<i>ru</i>
 (415)	<i>sa</i>	 (174)	<i>si</i>	 (370)	<i>su</i>
 (433)	<i>sá</i>				
 (104)	<i>sà</i>				
 (402)	<i>sa₄</i>				
 (327)	<i>sa₅</i>				
 (100)	<i>ta</i>	 (90)	<i>ti</i>	 (89)	<i>tu</i>
 (29)	<i>tá</i>			 (325)	
 (41)	<i>tà</i>				
 (319)	<i>ta₄</i>				
 (172)	<i>ta₅</i>				
 (439)	<i>wa/i</i>				
 (210)	<i>ia</i>				
 (377)	<i>za</i>	 (376)	<i>zì</i>	 (432)	<i>zu</i>
 (329)	<i>kwt-i</i>				

 (450 + 383)	<i>a + ra/i, ra + a</i>
 (209 + 383)	<i>i + ra/i, ri + i</i>
 (175 + 383 + 450)	<i>la + ra/i + a</i>
 (389)	<i>tara/i</i>
 (134)	<i>ara/i</i>
 (290)	<i>hara/i</i>
 (315)	<i>kar</i>
 (371 + 383)	<i>IUDEx + ra/i</i>
 (14)	<i>pari</i>

𐎶 *si*. Changed from *a*- to *i*-vocalization suggested by Mittelberger and confirmed by new readings.

𐎶 *sá*. Transliteration *sá* vacated by the change of 𐎶 to *si*, and thus available for 𐎶 in place of the quite unjustified *sá*, which appears to signal a different kind of sibilant.

Δ *su*. For alternations *sú* and *sü*, see below, Alternative Syllabograms (p. 32 f.), and Appendix 2 (p. 35 f.).

𐎶 *ti*. An *a*-vocalized value *ta* may be categorically rejected. It was based solely on the writings *ti-pa-sa* "sky", compared with Cun. Luw. *tap/ta-ap-* in the same word, but this discrepancy between the two dialects hardly justifies the abandonment of the well established *ti*. Cf. already Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 278.

𐎶 *ta*. Transliteration *ta* vacated by the denial of its applicability to 𐎶, *ti*, thus available for and appropriate to 𐎶, also coinciding with Meriggi's usage.

𐎶 *ta*₄, 𐎶 *ta*₅. This pair, which alternate freely with each other, remain notably distinct from *ta*, *tá*, *tà*. Doubts about the vocalization persist: an *a*-vocalization seems well established, but some evidence points as well – or instead – to *i*-vocalization. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975, pp. 130–132. The pair is probably separated off from *ta*, *tá*, *tà* by the quality of the dental, whether this is, as seems likely, *d*, or something else. For a new consideration based on Empire Period evidence, see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 5.

𐎶 *zu*? No further evidence confirming this Late Period value has emerged, but more digraphic evidence on Empire Period *zu* is forthcoming from Meskene-Emar with the names *Zulanna* (*zu-la-na*) and *Zu-Astarte* (*zu-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti*): see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 12.

𐎶 REL(*kui/a*). Sign used normally to indicate simply the relative pronoun, but in a number of words also as a syllabogram. Its Empire Period forerunner 𐎶 doubtless corresponded to Cun. *ku-i*- or *ku-wa-i*-, thus *kui* or *kwa*. In the Late Period it was used either to write these sounds or the sounds into which these had developed. It is doubt on this latter point, coupled with confusion with the following sign which is now partially resolved, that gave rise to reservation in transliterating it syllabically. Certainly now *kui/a* is the most likely reading, yet there is still a possibility that a sound shift from *ku* lurks behind the sign. Note that the Hier. combination *ku-i*- is never found, and *ku-wa/i*- seldom, which strengthens the supposition that such would be written REL. Words using REL as a syllabogram include: *ta-sà-REL+ra/i*-, "earth" (compound with cognate of Hitt. *kura*-, "field"?); REL-*ia/sà*-, "fear", Cun. Luw. *kuwaya*- (see SULTANHAN, § 17, and Commentary); *pa-sà-REL*-, "neglect", Hitt. *paškuwai*- (see SULTANHAN, § 20, and Commentary); REL-*za*-, "incise" (see KARATEPE 4, § 2, and Commentary); REL+*ra/i*-, "cut", Hitt. *kuer*- (see MARAŞ 4, § 13, and Commentary); REL-*tu-na*-, "at the ploughing/reaping(?)" (see KARATEPE, 269, and Commentary); REL-*ti-sà*-

mi/ma-, "?" (see ASSUR letter *a*, § 9, and Commentary); also personal names REL-*si-si-ti-mi*- (ASSUR letter *c*, § 1), REL-*za-ia+ra/i*- (CEKKE, § 17 e), REL+*ra/i-mu-wa/i*- (KULULU lead strip 1, 32), REL+*ra/i-na-zi*- (KULULU lead strips 1, 34; frag. 1, i 3, ii 3), REL-*sà-i*- (KULULU lead strips 1, 4; 2, 13), REL-*za-FRATER-la*- (KULULU lead strip 1, 17). For a re-evaluation of the evidence on this and the following sign, see now Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Running and Relatives in Luwian* (*Kadmos* 32 (1993), pp. 50–60).

𐎶 HW7. Formerly confused with REL, but now the Empire Period forerunner (𐎶) is found often on YALBURT in the verb "run", and the form can be seen to have nothing to do with REL (𐎶). At this date it clearly corresponds to Cun. Luw. *hu-i*-, i. e. *hwi*, and presumably does also in the late Period as is supported by the identification of the personal name Hier. *sa*- 𐎶 with Cun. Urartian *ša-bu*- (see KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 8; ŞIRZI, § 1, and Commentaries). Besides being used to write the verb (*hwi*)*hwi(ya)(sà)*-, "run", it is used as a Late Period syllabogram in writing *huitara/hwisara*-, "wild beasts" (and derivatives, see MARAŞ 1, § 11, and Commentary); *hwapasanu*-, "harm" (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 13, and Commentary). But the sign does become used instead of REL in some late inscriptions: see SULTANHAN, § 4, Commentary. This may well suggest a late weakening of *kui* towards *hwi*. While it would probably be correct to transliterate *hwi/a*, caution suggests a less committal HW7, which indicates reservation as to the sound expressed at this date.

The sign *ra/i*(*383). The peculiarity of this sign is that it is graphically "enclitic", i. e. cannot stand alone but is always attached to another sign, a curious phenomenon presumably arising from the fact that Luwian, like Hittite, does not have an initial *r*. Its well established alternative *a*- and *i*-vocalization prompted the transliteration *ra/i*. Laroche's alternative transliteration *ta/ti* has already been rebutted by Mittelberger (*Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 277 f.; 10 (1964), p. 71 f.), who demonstrated, surely correctly, that the sign was not used to write *ta/ti* as such but only when this had changed to *ra/ri* by rhotacism.

The sign is commonly attached to *a* and *i*, thus 𐎶, 𐎶. These provide the normal way of rendering initial *ar*- and *ir*-. Thus for *ar*-, see *a+ra/i*-, "long" (KARATEPE, 291, and Commentary); *a+ra/i-ma-za*-, "?" (SULTANHAN, § 46, and Commentary); *a+ra/i-ma-sa*-, "monthling(?)" (SULTANHAN, § 3, and Commentary); *a+ra/i-nu-wa/i-ti*-, "Arnuwanti-" (IZGIN 1, § 12, and Commentary); (MONS)*a+ra/i-pu-tà*-, "Mount Arputa" (KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 25); *a+ra/i-ta-li*-, "?" (KULULU 1, §§ 5, 10). For *ir*-, see *i+ra/i-há/ba*-, "frontier" (KARATEPE, 101, 152); *i+ra/i-ia-za*-, "?" (IVRIZ 1, § 3); *i+ra/i-nu*-, verb caus. (KARKAMIŞ A12, § 13).

When 𐤊 is found internally and finally however, we have argued that it is to be read $ri+i$, i.e. the vowel sign, besides providing the attachment for the ra/i , functionally serves to indicate the vowel pronounced after the r : see *HHL*, p. [29] f. Melchert has argued similarly for 𐤊 as $ra+a$ (see *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 29–32); and this transliteration has been adopted. We should however note an exception: the personal name written $i-a+ra/i-ri+i$ and its alternative $i-ara/i-ri+i$, “Yariri-” (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1 // A15b, § 1).

The sign 𐤊 has been understood as a variant of the simple 𐤊 , $la+ra/i$; and since the double bars in 𐤊 and 𐤋 are recognized as a form of a written in ligature to indicate an a -vocalization, the interpretation of 𐤊 as $la+ra/i+a$, representing $lara$ -, follows (see KARATEPE, 19, and MARAŞ 1, § 1 b, Commentaries).

The normal syllabary also commonly uses a number of signs of the form $Cara/i$, which show an attached ra/i though the original sign has no independent phonetic value. Transliterations ending in $-a/i$ are generally maintained for these too.

𐤊 $tara/i$: clearly the numeral 3 + ra/i , indicating tar , tra or tri , a rebus-writing taken from the word for “three”.

𐤊 ara/i : cursive form of “eagle-man” + ra/i , possibly rebus-writing using cognate of Hitt. $bara(n)$ -, “eagle”.

𐤊 $bara/i$: seems to be descended from Empire Period 𐤊 $bara/i$ // $bala/i$, used particularly to write the element bli in $ebli$ (see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 13).

𐤊 kar : probably to be grouped with these other signs, used only in the names *Kurkamis* and *Karhuha*-, whence transliteration kar rather than $kara/i$, though possibly KAR might be more appropriate.

𐤊 $IUDEx+R-1/i$: alternates with $tà+ra/i$, KARATEPE, 277, Ho.//Hu., in the word $batarā/i$ -, “life(?)”; recurs in the same word in KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 2; ÇİFTLİK, § 16. Origin not understood. [But see now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, pp. 111–113].

The sign 𐤊 $pari$ should be grouped with the above signs though not accompanied by $+ra/i$; clearly a rebus-writing with $pari$, “before”, and new readings show that it represents only $pari$, not $para$ (note alternation $pa+ra/i$ // $-pari-i$ -, KARATEPE, 264, Hu.//Ho.). Its Empire Period origin, writing pri in the element $ibri$, is clear: see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 13. Its syllabographic use in Late Period names seems to be a continuation of the Empire Period practice: thus $pari-tà$ - (HAMA 4/RESTAN/QAL’AT EL MUDIQ/HAMA 8, § 1); (DEUS.VITIS) $ti-pari-ia$ - (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 7; A11a, § 9); $la-pari-VIR$ - (BABYLON 1, § 1); cf. $PRAE-ri+i-S-IR.M-1$ (KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 2).

Alternative Syllabograms (see Table 4)

(For the still problematic syllabogram 𐤊 see below, Appendix 3, p. 36 f.)

These correspond to Laroche’s “valeurs phonétiques rares, incertaines, complexes” (*HH*, pp. 265–268), or rather to those which are retained. For those discarded, see the following section.

Besides the regular syllabary with its over 50 simple syllabograms and its additional complex ones for $Cara/i$ writings, there are a number of alternative syllabograms which are occasionally used. These are generally restricted to several inscriptions only: principally the Cilician KARATEPE, and in Tabal to TOPADA and KAYSERİ, spilling over into a few other inscriptions. Notably such syllabograms are hardly found in any of the other groups of inscriptions, i.e. not in KARKAMIŠ, TELL AHMAR, MARAŞ, MALATYA, COM-MAGENE, AMUQ, ALEPPO, HAMA or the ASSUR letters, and not even widely within TABAL itself. One or two of these odd values do however appear on occasion at KARKAMIŠ.

The syllabaries of both KARATEPE and TOPADA are the subjects of special examinations placed after the end of their respective Commentaries. In KARATEPE the values of the alternative syllabograms can generally be established by their alternation with signs of known value, but in TOPADA these odd values mostly have to be deduced from context. Signs reviewed here include those occurring in KARATEPE and TOPADA and/or elsewhere. The more *recherché* TOPADA values are considered under TOPADA, the Signary (below, p. 460 f.).

Values and modifications

𐤊 i : shifted from a -vowel to i -vowel with the new readings, KAYSERİ only, and with ra/i (𐤊 $ri+i$), KAYSERİ and KARATEPE.

𐤊 $bà$: TOPADA, § 10, and AKSARAY, § 8, only, see Commentaries.

𐤊 $bù$: found only in $bu-bù+ra/i-pa-li$ -, “?” (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 10); $bù+ra/i-na-li//la-ga$ -, “?” (KULULU lead strips 1, 38; 2, 15); and (DEUS)TONITRUS- $bù-ga$ - (AKSARAY, § 8, from which occurrence Kalaç established the value – see *KZ* 92 (1978), p. 123 f.).

𐤊 $lî$: diacritical changed from li because transliteration of 𐤊 as $la/i/u$ leaves li vacant. Evidence for form and usage of the sign has clarified since 1960 with its identification on KARATEPE and TOPADA (Bossert, *Or.* NS 30 (1961), pp. 199–202; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 128).

𐤊 $lî$: single KARATEPE alternation only.

𐤊 $mâ$: seems to be adequately established by one clear and another possible KARATEPE occurrence (Ho. 127, also Ho. 374?)

𐤊 $mâ$: sole occurrence on SUVASA inscription B in the name *Wâsusarma*- in place of the usual ma .

𐤊 $mî$: promoted from $mî$ because it is relatively well attested on KARATEPE and TOPADA, also now KULULU 3.

TABLE 4. Alternative syllabograms

		 (299)	<i>i</i>		
 (314)	<i>ha_x</i>			 (347)	<i>hú</i>
		 (125)	<i>lí</i> (K, T)		
		 (291)	<i>lì</i> (K)		
 (362)	<i>má</i> (K)	 (419)	<i>mí</i>		
 (304)	<i>mà</i> (S)	 (387)	<i>mì</i> (K?)		
 (332)	<i>ná</i>	 (447)	<i>ní_x</i>		
				 (102-3)	<i>rú</i> (K?)
 (223)	<i>sa₆</i> (T, S)	 (447)	<i>sí</i> (T)	 (108)	<i>sú</i>
 (316)	<i>sa₇</i> (T, S)			 (448)	<i>sù</i>
 (380)	<i>sa₈</i>				
 (82)	<i>ta₆</i>	 (488)	<i>tí</i>	 (326)	<i>tù</i>
 (41.6)	<i>ta_x</i> (T)			 (228)	<i>tu₄</i> (K)
 (166)	<i>wá/i</i>				
 (165)	<i>wà/i</i> (K)				
 (299)	<i>ia</i>				
 (379)	<i>ià</i> (K)				
 (335)	<i>zà</i>	 (313)	<i>zì</i>		
 (336)	<i>zà</i>	 (336)	<i>zì</i>		
 (336)	<i>za_x</i>				
 (112)	<i>za_x</i>	 (128)	<i>zì₄</i>		

Note: K KARATEPE
T TOPADA
S SUVASA

𐎢 *mī*: demoted from *mī* because of its poor attestation, a single KARATEPE alternation with *mī* (§ LI, 293, where see Commentary). Its common appearance in the writing of the word “servant” cannot certainly be identified as syllabographic and is now taken as a logogram SERVUS (-*ta*₄/*ta*₅-): see KARATEPE, 6, Commentary, and note new evidence confirming its logographic character.

𐎣 *nā*: syllabographic value taken from factual negative (NEG₂ = *na*); used occasionally on KARKAMIŠ (A11b+c, A6), also SHEIZAR, TOPADA, ALEPPO 2 – see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 126–128 cit. 1–8.

𐎤 *nī*: appears established by single TOPADA alternation in the word *Parzutawani*- (§§ 13/26), and may be used in KARKAMIŠ (*Ninuni*(?)-, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 2, and Commentary).

𐎥 *nī*: KARATEPE only, apparently acrophonic from CERVUS (= *Runtiya*-/*Runza*-); value *kar* to be discarded (see below).

𐎦 *sa*₆, 𐎧 *sa*₇: TOPADA (+SUVASA) only.

𐎦 *sa*₈: identified originally only on TOPADA, but now much better established by occurrences on KULULU 4 (where see Commentary, beginning), also PORSUK.

𐎨 *st*²: TOPADA only, inferred from context.

𐎩 *ta*₆: this logogram (CRUS) is normally used to write the verb *ta*-, “stand”, but use as an alternative syllabogram *ta*₆ is found on TELL AHMAR 1 – see there, Peculiarities.

𐎪 *su*, 𐎫 *sū*: these signs alternate with and are closely bound up with *su*. See below, Appendix 2 (p. 35 f.).

𐎬 *ta*_x: TOPADA only, variant for *tā*, which does not occur in the inscription?

𐎭 *tī*: promoted by vacation of space by *ta*₄, *ta*₅ (*tī* and *tī* for Laroche); found frequently on KARATEPE, also SHEIZAR.

𐎮 *tū*: promoted by abolition of former *tū* (= PONE-RE, see below, Discarded Values); syllabic value established by KARATEPE alternations and explained as acrophonic from *tupala*-, “scribe”; occurs also on TOPADA and in KARKAMIŠ in the name *Sastura*(?)- (CEKKE, A21).

𐎯 *tu*₄: established by two KARATEPE alternations only.

𐎰 *nā*/*i*: promoted from *nā*/*i* because comparatively well attested, besides KARATEPE, TOPADA, and KAYSERİ, also now CEKKE, AKSARAY and NİĞDE 2.

𐎱 *nā*/*i*: demoted from *nā*/*i* because of the rareness of its syllabographic use, only in KARATEPE alternations; otherwise to be regarded always as logogram BONUS, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 22, and Commentary. [But note that the 1990/91 Boğazköy bullae now provide ample evidence for an Empire usage with the value *nā*/*i*].

𐎲 *iā*: value switched from *i* along with the new readings; KARATEPE and KAYSERİ only.

𐎳 *iā*: value based on single KARATEPE alternation, switched from *iā* along with the new readings.

𐎴 *zā*: well attested value switched from *i* with new readings, alternating with *zā* in a number of common writings; besides KARATEPE, respectable appearances in KARKAMIŠ A11b, 18e, CEKKE, also SULTANHAN and the fragmentary TELL TAYINAT 1, JISR EL HADID, ÇALAPVERDİ.

𐎵 *zā*, 𐎶 *zā*: values switched with new readings, occur only on KAYSERİ; origin unknown. LITUUS clearly marks *a*-vocalization: cf. *336+double bars (𐎶) for *zā*, AKSARAY, § 4, and Commentary. Possible syllabic use in postposition *336-*na*-*na* (see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 24, and Commentary); also possibly in *336/AN-NUS(-)*na*-*ba*-*sa*/*sa*₅- (TOPADA, §§ 10, 12, and Commentary).

𐎷 *zā*: switched from *i* with new readings; syllabic use established by KARATEPE alternations, now found also on KULULU 4 (see Peculiarities); clearly acrophonic from *ziti*-, “man”.

𐎸 *zā*₄: switched from *i*₄ along with new readings; syllabic use established only by KARATEPE alternations, with one possible KARKAMIŠ occurrence (see KARKAMIŠ A21, § 4, Commentary), but otherwise to be treated as logographic (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, Commentary).

𐎹 *zā*₄: switched from *i*₆ along with new readings; syllabic value established only by two KARATEPE alternations; possibly found also in MARAŞ 4, § 5 (see Commentary).

Empire Period syllabic values only

𐎺 *ur* 𐎺: confined to the writing of *Urhi-Tešub* on seals SBo 1, 43, 44.

𐎻 *us* 𐎻: confined to writing *sā*+*US-ka* for the goddess Sauska (attested once in the early Late Period, MALATYA 6); odd usage (i.e. apparent VC value) not clearly understood, thus transliterated *US*.

𐎼 *bi* 𐎼: used in the writing of several names, now corroborated by digraphic Meskene writings (unpublished). [But cf. now Gonnet, *apud* Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'Âge du Bronze Récent* (Barcelona, 1991), no. 72c, p. 206].

𐎽 *bur* 𐎽: confined to writing of name *Saburumma*-, odd usage (apparently CVC) not understood; recurrence on TOPADA apparently as an incorrect (meaningless) archaism – see TOPADA, The Signary, I, note.

𐎾 *kā*, 𐎿 *gā* 𐎿: as logogram the hand with downward-pointing thumb expresses ideographically “down, under” (*kata*, *annan*), and derives from the former a syllabic value used in writing of names. Only the logographic use survives in the Late Period.

𐏀 *tal* 𐏀: found mainly in the writing of the onomastic element *talmi*, but also now on YALBURT in writing the place-name *Talawa* (see Poetto, edition of YAL-

BURT (above, p. 18), p. 70). The usage does not survive into the Late Period, but the logogram OMNIS looks similar.

Discarded values

Thus many of Laroche's "valeurs phonétiques rares, incertaines, complexes" have been classified, sometimes with modified transliteration, as alternative syllabic values, and others set aside as being restricted to the Empire Period. The remainder should be discarded altogether.

𐎶 (*299): in its alleged value *as*, it is better taken as a logogram, transcribed SOLIUM(+*MI*) (see KARATEPE, 128, 194, and Commentary).

𐎶 (*439): value *ú* originated with Bossert, based on alternations Hier. *wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-* = Cun. *Urballa*; Hier. *á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-* = Cun. *Urikki*; Hier. *wa/i-wa/i-* (i.e. *wawi-*, "ox") = Lyc. *uwa*; also syllabic value *u* derived from logogram BOS. See Laroche, *HH* no. 439, bibliography. But these are correspondences rather than equivalences and do not justify adding the value *u* to the established *wa/i*.

𐎶 (*24): value *har* was based on a misidentification of the sign *ki* and the attribution of a hypothetical value on the basis of the comparison of the supposed logogram with a supposed Hittite parallel (see HAMA 2, § 4, Commentary). Each stage of the reasoning is to be discarded.

𐎶 (*342): value *hú* attributed in distinction from *hu* (*307), but in fact probably just a variant form of the latter (KARATEPE, 284; see KARATEPE, The Syllabary, p. 68, s.v. *hu*) or its Empire Period form (YAZILIKAYA, no. 48). The third example quoted KAR-KAMIŠ A24a6, l. 1 is in fact *341 (read (*341) *á-ta-na-sa-*).

𐎶 (REL, *329): value *hú?* attributed following confusion with sign 𐎶. In fact the former is likely to have the value *keni/a*, the latter *hwi*: see above, the Regular Syllabary.

𐎶 (*331): sign occurs solely in writing *buha-*, "grandfather", and should be regarded as a logogram (AVUS). There is no justification for attributing a syllabic value.

𐎶 (*314): value *ká/gá* incorrectly extrapolated from 𐎶, *kar*, but this is without support. In fact recent evidence points to a value *há*: see above, Alternative Syllabograms.

𐎶 (*103): sign should always be regarded as logogram, CERVUS₂, except in a rare syllabographic use derived from it, *rú* (see above, Alternative Syllabograms). The writing (DEUS)CERVUS₂+*R-1/I-hu-ha-*, and (DEUS.CERVUS₂)*kar-hu-ha-* for *Karhuha-* pro-

vided evidence for syncretism between the Stag-God and Karhuhas, but the writings provide no support for a syllabic value *kar*: see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18, and Commentary.

𐎶 (*278): no evidence is offered, or exists, in favour of adding a value *lā* to the well established *li*.

𐎶 (*85): value *l(a)* attributed because of the sign's occurrence in the writing of the place-name *Halpa-*, "Aleppo", written TONITRUS.*85-*pa*. TONITRUS must be logographic and cannot be given a syllabographic value *ha* (see below), which rules out the attribution of the value *l(a)*. The sign appears to be a "kneeling leg", and could conceivably be a rebus-writing of a syllable *hal* (from Hitt. *haliya-*, "kneel"): see KÖRKÜN, § 5, and Commentary.

𐎶 (*419): evidence for phonetic value comes solely from alternation with *mi*, thus *mi* (see Alternative Syllabograms). A value *mā* is without support and may be discarded.

𐎶 (*225): a value *mú?* was attributed on the basis of an incorrect interpretation of KIZILDAĞ 3, l. 3 (see Commentary there), and should be discarded.

𐎶 (*26): the value *na₄* was attributed on the basis of the incorrect interpretation of FRONS-*li-* (*hantili-*, "front, first") as a negative (see KARATEPE, §§ XXVI–XXVII, Commentary). In fact the sign is always the logogram, FRONS, which it depicts.

𐎶 (*248): the value *pār* was based on the incorrect interpretation and identification of the verb written by this sign as *paranu-* (= Hitt. *parhnu-*, "pursue"). In fact it has been shown that the sign is logographic, DOMUS+MINUS = DELERE: see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

𐎶 (*378), 𐎶 (*25): the values *si??* and *s(i)* were incorrectly attributed to these two alternating signs on the basis of their occurrence in writing the name *Azatiwata-*. It has now been shown that the second syllable is written with 𐎶 (*za*), giving *á-za-ti-wa/i-ta-* and that the two signs, LITUUS and OCULUS are logograms determining verbs of perception: see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 123–142.

𐎶 (*383): values *+ta/ti* for the sign *ra/i* are to be discarded: see above, the Regular Syllabary, on the sign *ra/i*.

𐎶 (*65): a syllabographic value *tū* is incorrectly attributed to the "putting hand", which in fact is used only logographically (= PONERE) to write *tuwa-*, "put", never syllabographically.

𐎶 (*199): a syllabographic value *ha* was given on the basis of a confusion with the sign *há* (*196), but this should certainly be discarded: see Hawkins, in Meijer, *Natural Phenomena*, pp. 53–82.

E. Appendices

Appendix 1. BOĞAZKÖY hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone

(Following the numbering of Laroche, 1969 (BOĞAZKÖY 1–11) and Meriggi, 1975 (BOĞAZKÖY 1–13)).

- BOĞAZKÖY 1, 2 stele bases
Winckler, *MDOG* 35 (1907),
p. 57 f. Abb. 6, 7.
- BOĞAZKÖY 3 stele (Tudhaliyas IV)
Bittel-Güterbock, *Boğazköy* 1
(1935), Taf. 27.
- BOĞAZKÖY 4 graffito (sphinx)
Bittel, *WTDOG* 60 (1937), p. 8
Abb. 1.
- BOĞAZKÖY 5 NIŞANTAŞ (Suppiluliumas II)
Perrot, *Exploration* (1872),
pl. XXXV.
- BOĞAZKÖY 6 fragment
Otten, *MDOG* 87 (1955), p. 13
Abb. 1.
- BOĞAZKÖY 7 blocks
Neve, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* XII
(1982), p. 81 f. Abb. 32 a, b.
- BOĞAZKÖY 8 boulder
Bittel, *MDOG* 89 (1957),
pp. 18 f., 23 Abb. 18.
- BOĞAZKÖY 9–11 fragments
Beran, *MDOG* 93 (1962),
pp. 48–51 Abb. 41–44.
- BOĞAZKÖY 12 stele
Güterbock, *Boğazköy* IV (1969),
pp. 49–52, Taf. 19 b
- BOĞAZKÖY 13 fragment
Güterbock, *Boğazköy* IV (1969),
p. 52 Abb. 14.

(new numbers)

- BOĞAZKÖY 14 graffiti (pavement, Great Temple)
Güterbock, *Boğazköy* IV (1969),
p. 53, Taf. 28
- BOĞAZKÖY 15 graffiti (2 blocks, Great Temple)
Bittel, *MDOG* 102 (1970), p. 9
Abb. 4.
- BOĞAZKÖY 16 graffito (Lion Gate)
Neve, *Ist. Mitt.* 26 (1976),
pp. 9–11, Taf. 1–2.
- BOĞAZKÖY 17 block
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1980, pp. 299
Abb. 17, 304 f., Abb. 23
- BOĞAZKÖY 18 stele (Tudhaliyas IV)
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1984,
pp. 336–337, Abb. 9, 10.
- BOĞAZKÖY 19 epigraph (Tudhaliyas IV)
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1986,
pp. 394–396, Abb. 29, 30.
- BOĞAZKÖY 20 epigraph (Suppiluliumas II)
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, pp. 316 f.
Abb. 40, 327 Abb. 58.
- BOĞAZKÖY 21 SÜDBURG (Suppiluliumas II)
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1989,
pp. 316 ff., Abb. 41, 42, 59.
- BOĞAZKÖY 22 block (Boğazkale Museum)
unpublished
- BOĞAZKÖY 23 3 fragments of inscription
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1992, pp. 317,
319 Abb. 12.
- BOĞAZKÖY 24 stele fragment (Tudhaliyas IV)
Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1993, p. 629
and Abb. 8.
- BOĞAZKÖY 25 fragment
Seeher, *Arch. Anz.* 1997, p. 326 f.,
Abb. 10.

Appendix 2. *HH*.no. 448: *sū*

The correct evaluation of the sign *HH*.no. 448 is of some considerable significance, as has long been recognized, since it is used to write the crucial syllables in the Hier. words for “horse”, “dog”, and “horn”. The Hier. evidence has been considered to point to a value *sū* (distinguished with diacritical as *sū* (Laroche) or *sū* (Meriggi)). Recently Melchert has argued on largely etymological grounds for a value *zu* (distinguished as *zu*): see *Studies Congill* (Berlin, New York, 1987), p. 201 f. He supports his theory that PIE **ēu* > Luw. *zu* with the evidence offered by the appearance of the Hier.

(DEUS) *ā-la-sū-wa/i*, to be identified with Hitt. *Ḫallanzu* (ÇİFTLİK, § 10; KULULU 5, § 1). He also compares a Hitt. stem *hapanzu-* with a Hier. form from KÖRKÜN, § 3, but this involves him in an excision of a normally written *+ra/i*; the form actually reads *hapa-sū+ra/i-wa/i-ti* (abl. sing.), which is less straightforward to link to the Hitt. stem (see KZ 101 (1988), p. 236 f.; and cf. my remarks, KÖRKÜN, § 3, Commentary).

Arguments against the value *zu* in favour of *sū* are as follows:

1. The word “horn(s)” is written (“CORNU”) *sù+ra/i-ni*. In the KARATEPE bilingual, a word translated by Phoen. *šb'*, “plenty”, is written (“CORNU+RA/I⁽ⁿ⁾”) *su+ra/i-* (KARATEPE, 35, 191 (Hu. only)). The original logogram CORNU has an occasional phonetic value *su* (distinguished as *sù*): on ÇALAPVERDİ 1, l. 3, the word *wa/i-CORNU* may be seen to render the usual *wasu*, “well”; and more important, CORNU+RA/I is regularly used to write the syllables *sura/i* in the toponym *Assur*, thus *a-sù+ra/i* (REGIO)-*wa/i-ni-*, “Assyrian”, and *a-sù+ra/i* (REGIO)-*ia-*, “Assyria”. The implication of these writings is that CORNU = *su*, thus may be transliterated *sù*, and that it collected its value acrophonically from the word “horn”, thus *surni*. It is very hard to introduce the value *zù* into one of these interlocking writings. Laroche’s excessive caution on the value *sù* was rebutted already by Mittelberger (*Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 278).

2. With this establishment of the homophony of no. 448 and *su*, we may dismiss Melchert’s attempt to evade the identification of the toponym *su+ra/i-za* (URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 6) with the ethnicon *sù+ra/i-wa/i-ni* (URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 19), which was noted by Mittelberger. Both inscriptions are of the same ruler, Yariris of Karkamiš. While the contexts of the two occurrences are, as Melchert urges, somewhat different (first, a group of peoples who had heard Yariris’s name; second, a number of scripts [which Yariris could write?]), the probability is that the reference is to the same people, the *Sura*, a term in which I have suggested that the Urartians, people and script, should be recognized. (This is further supported by Gernot Wilhelm’s detailed examination of the Urartian term KUR *Šura/i/u*, used of themselves: see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 6, Commentary).

Other occurrences of the sign are less definite than nos. 1 and 2, but some add to the presumption in favour of *sù*.

3. *sù-pu-na* (ŠIRZI, § 4, see Commentary there): this is interpreted on the basis of the context as “to suck”; it may be connected with an IE root **sen-* or **senH-*, and if so, would support the reading *sù*.

4. The Commagenian toponym *sù-ki-ti/ta-* (URBS) (BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 2; 2, § 5; MALPINAR, § 1) has been compared with Hitt. *Šug(a)zi(ya)* (Bossert, *Or. NS* 28 (1959), p. 273).

Other occurrences of the sign are neutral: personal names *sù-wa/i-ri+i-mi-* (MALATYA 3), *sù-zi-* (CEKKE, § 17 g); unidentified lexical items **466(-)sù-ni-* (verb, KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 19, 20); [x](-)*sù-na-la-* (verb, KARKAMIŠ A15c, § 1); *sù+ra/i-wa/i-za* (noun/adj., ASSUR letter e, § 27); **187(-)sù-mi-la-* (noun, ASSUR letters a, § 11; c, § 8).

In conclusion, while the comparison of Hier. (DEUS) *á-la-sù-wa/i-* and Hittite *Dallanzu-* speaks for a *zu*-value of *sù*, the interchange of this sign with *su* and *sù* speaks for retaining a *su*-transliteration. A few other comparisons may support this view, so that it would seem premature to shift to a *zu*-reading at this stage. On the other hand, if we want to accept Melchert’s conclusion that an IE palatal velar was assibilated (or affricated) in Common Luwian, a reading *sù* need not prevent us from doing so. It is perfectly possible that [ʃ] was the normal treatment before other vowels but that before *u/w* a different sibilant appeared, conceivably (but not necessarily) as the result of a secondary innovation in Hier. Luwian itself.

Appendix 3. HH no. 462

The sign HH no. 462 is one of the most recalcitrant outstanding problems of the Hieroglyphic script. It is found with and without the addition of the enclitic sign *ra/i* (HH no. 383), and while **462+ra/i* appears always to be syllabographic, **462* alone seems normally to be a logogram. Though the original grounds for the attribution of a value *pá* (nos. (i) and (ii) below) have been discarded, the transliteration *pá* has been maintained *faute de mieux* for conventional purposes. The main occurrences of the sign are listed below with reference to the place in the Commentary where each is most fully discussed.

- (i) (*349) *sà-pá'+ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-* (URBS), ethnicon, epithet of the Storm-God: KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 3.
- (ii) [...] *pá'+ra/i-s[á...]* *x-sa-pa-wa/i-na* (URBS) [(DEUS)] TONIT[RUS]-*za-sa-*: TELL AHMAR frag. 2 – see discussion there.
- (iii) (“LOQUI”) *pá'+ra/i-ta-*, “words(?)”: KARKAMIŠ A31, § 4; cf. KAYSERİ, § 20; also EMİRGAZİ altars, § 10 (Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 94).
- (iv) *pá'+ra/i-ta-mi-*, “pronounced(?)”: KULULU 1, § 12.
- (v) (LOQUI) *pá'+ra/i-li-li-i-sà-*, “?”: JISR EL HADID, frag. 2, l. 3.
- (vi) (DELERE) *p[á']+ra/i-nu-wa/i-*, “destroy”: KARKAMIŠ A28g; cf. KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14.
- (vii) (DEUS.BONUS) *ku-pá'+ra/i-ma-*, the god Kumarbi: TELL AHMAR 1, § 2.
- (viii) (DEUS) *pá'+ra/i-wa/i-i-zi-i-*, the *marwainzi*-gods: KULULU 2, § 6.
- (ix) (DEUS) *pá'+ra/i-ta-*, one name of the Stag God: MALATYA 5.
- (x) (“ANNUS”) *pá'+ra/i(-i)*, “?”: KARATEPE, 57.
- (xi) (*255) *pá'+ra/i-ia-ni-*, “proud(?)”: KARATEPE, 57.

- (xii) $pá' + ra/i-wa/i-li-$, vegetation: SULTANHAN, § 6.
- (xiii) ("CASTRUM") $tara/i-pa-pá'-za-ha$, "?": ÇALAPVERDİ 1, § 32.
- (xiv) (*462) $mu-wa/i-i-ta-$, "seed (?)": KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 28; also FEMINA. *462, *ibid.*, § 29.
- (xv) (*462) $mu-wa/i-i-si-$, "?": KARKAMIŞ A27c, l.1
- (xvi) REX. *462, "potent (?) king": MALATYA 5.
- (xvii) *462 $-ti-i$, "?": KULULU 2, § 3.
- (xviii) $i-pá'-// "PÁ'-i-$, epithet (?) of Stag-God: BULGARMADEN, § 7.

The identifications of the city names in (i) and (ii) as *Barga* and (*Til-*)*Barsip* led to the attribution of the value $pá'$, but the identifications have been rejected. The identification of (iii) with Cun. Luw. *paratta* seemed to maintain a $pá'$ value, but the identification is very questionable. Note that (xiii) is the only apparent example of $pá'$ alone as a syllabogram. In xiv–xvii, the sign appears to be logographic. In (xviii) there is now some reason to doubt that the sign is correctly identified as *462 – it may be a separate sign.

Melchert has reviewed the evidence (*In. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 36–38), pressing further the links, which had already begun to emerge, between *462 and a value *ma*. Specifically he makes the following connections:

- (i) city name with Cun. *Išmerikka*
- (iii) and (iv) with a Lyc. stem *mar-*, "command", and (iii) specifically with Hier. ("LOQUI") $ma-ra + a-ti-$ (ASSUR letter *b*, § 4).
- (vi) verb with Hitt. *mernu-/marnu-*, "cause to disappear".
- (vii) and (viii), following my suggestions, with Kumarbi and the *maruainzi*-gods.
- (x) with Hitt. *me(a)ni-*.
- (xiii) as a stem *tarpama-*, in preference to *tarpapa-*.

I have myself suggested the possibility of comparing (xi) with the term *marianu* (see Commentary).

While naturally agreeing that a value *ma* looks a good deal more plausible than *pa*, I still do not feel that *462 actually = *ma*. Specifically I cannot accept the identification of ("LOQUI") $pá' + ra/i-ta$ as simply a plural form of ("LOQUI") $ma-ra + a-ti-$, since the singular of the former seems adequately represented by "LOQUI" $-tā-za$ (KAYSERİ, § 20). Thus I would emphasize that *462 quite clearly does not alternate with *ma* in the manner of many alternative syllabograms, and I would take this as an indication that it thus represents something *different*, but, on the basis of the comparison made, *akin* to *ma*. Could we perhaps envisage that a value *ba* as against *pa* might be independently represented by the present sign?

Appendix 4. The ALTINTEPE pithos inscriptions (see p. 588 f.).

I. CILICIA

The Historical Context

Background: the Hittite Empire

The state, name and people in the Iron Age

Archaeological investigation

Cilicia in the Assyrian sources

Neo-Babylonian and Classical sources

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The Inscriptions

Karatepe-Aslantaş

The Bilingual

1. KARATEPE 1 (duplicate gate inscriptions)

Separate inscriptions

2–4. KARATEPE 2–4 (orthostat, bases)

Fragments

5. KARATEPE fragments

Other

6. DOMUZTEPE 1

7. DOMUZTEPE 2

[8. ADANA]

The Historical Context

Background: the Hittite Empire

The Cilician Plain forms a well defined geographical entity, marked off by the Amanus Mountains in the east, the Taurus to the north-west, the difficult country of Rough Cilicia in the west, and the sea to the south. Access is limited to comparatively few routes dictated by the terrain: the mountain passes of the Cilician and Amanus Gates, and the river valleys of the Seyhan and Ceyhan and of the Göksu in the west. Yet the plain at the same time forms the most important link between the Anatolian plateau and north Syria and the rest of the Fertile Crescent. It has urban centres of great antiquity, notably the sites of Adana and Tarsus.¹

For a period in the mid-IInd millennium B.C. the Cilician Plain formed the south end of an independent kingdom of Kizzuwatna,² which was able to shut off the Hittites in central Anatolia from access to Syria. Hittite records provide much information about this country, principally in the form of a series of treaties between the kings of Hatti and Kizzuwatna,³ extending from Ispatalsus, contemporary of Telipinus, c. 1500 B.C., to Sunassuras, contemporary of Tudhaliyas I/II, c. 1400 B.C., as recently demonstrated. The latter treaty indeed preserves a part of the description of the Hatti-Kizzuwatna frontier north-west of the Plain.⁴

The continued independence of this barrier on the routes to Syria was clearly intolerable to the resurgent Hittite power under Suppiluliumas, who was able to terminate the dynasty and incorporate its territory into the Hittite kingdom where it remained until the disintegration of Hatti. Though shorn of its political independence, Kizzuwatna retained great cultural and cultic importance to the Hittites, particularly its two main centres, Kummanni, probably identical with Comana Cappadociae located at or near modern Şar,⁵ and La(hu)wazantiya, of uncertain location but probably

north of the Cilician Plain.⁶ Ataniya (Adana) and Tarsa (Tarsus) are also attested.⁷ The population seems to have been a mixture of Hurrian and Luwian,⁸ which would have produced a blend of western and eastern influences. The strongest Hurrian influence on Hatti was introduced through the person of Puduhepa, daughter of the Priest of Lawazantiya, who became the prominent queen of Hattusilis III, and brought with her extensive Kizzuwatnian cult and ritual.⁹ The heavily Hurrianized pantheon of Yazılıkaya belonging to the reign of Tudhaliyas IV was the result.

1 For a general survey of the sources, see: A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft* (Leipzig, 1940); P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *LPG* (1961), pp. 17–44; J. D. Bing, *Cilicia: a history of Cilicia during the Assyrian period* (Indiana University PhD 1969; University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1973). [P. Desideri, A. M. Jasink, *Cilicia* (Tünn, 1990)].

2 Basic study establishing location and reviewing Hittite sources: A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the problem of Hittite Geography* (New Haven, 1940). Much new material has since become available: for attestations, see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Kizzuwatna; and for a recent review of the sources, Kümmel, *RLA* V/7–8 (1980), s.v. Kizzuwatna. At London University, Dr. D. Symington has completed a doctoral dissertation reevaluating the textual sources and history (1990).

3 Reviewed by Kümmel, op. cit., § 3; also by Symington, op. cit.

4 See Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 59–62. [G. Wilhelm, in E. Neu, C. Rüster (ed.), *Fr Otten* (2) (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 359–370].

5 See del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Kumanni; Kümmel, *RLA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. Kummanni; also Symington, op. cit.

6 See del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. La(hu)wazantiya; Hirsch and Wegner, *RLA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. La(hu)wazantiya, A–B.

7 See del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Ataniya, Tarša.

8 A. Goetze, *Cilicians* (*JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 48–58); cf. V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und Luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna* (*Hurritologische Studien* 1, AOAT 3; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974), esp. p. 5 f.

9 See H. Otten, *Puduhepa, eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen* (Mainz, 1975).

This is also the period when the Hittite Hieroglyphic script begins to appear on rock inscriptions, though only in the form of short identifying epigraphs to sculpture. Muwatallis left a figure of himself identified by name, titles and genealogy on a cliff jutting into the River Ceyhan at Sirkeli near Misis,¹⁰ and the discovery of a stele with his name and that of Kurunta, king of Tarhuntassa, at Meydancık near Gülnar is claimed.¹¹ A series of inscribed rock reliefs along the line of the upper Zamanti Su passing over the Gezbel Pass seems to mark an ancient route entering Kizzuwatna from Hatti. Appropriately the most westerly is FRAKTİN, showing Hattusilis III and Puduhepa, entitled "daughter of Kazuwana (Kizzuwatna), beloved by the god(s)",¹² libating to Tešub and Hebat. TAŞCI shows a procession of three figures, of the time of Hattusilis III,¹³ and a little further on İMAMKULU shows a religious-mythological scene with the Storm-God in his chariot, and the figure of a Hittite prince with bow and spear.¹⁴ Similarly the Gezbel pass inscription at HANYERİ has a religious dedication to Sarruma and the figure with bow and spear, with two princes' names written one on either side.¹⁵ A further figure with bow and spear, with prince's name, appears on a cliff on the lower Ceyhan where it emerges into the Cilician Plain at Hemite between Kadirli and Osmaniye.¹⁶

The state, name and people in the Iron Age

The account by Rameses III of the attack of the Sea-Peoples in his 8th year, c. 1190 B.C., records the collapse of Hatti, "Qode", Karkamiš, Arzawa, and Alašiya.¹⁷ The second named place, *qdy*, is usually identified with Cilicia,¹⁸ and indeed the Cilician plain would be expected to be vulnerable to such sea-borne raids. The question of the Iron Age population of Cilicia is very much bound up with this period, and particularly with the problem of Danuna, a country named in an Amarna

letter, and identified with one of the Sea-Peoples of Egyptian sources.¹⁹ The KARATEPE bilingual equates Hier. *Adanawa*-(URBS) with the Phoen. (people) *dnnym* and (toponym) *'dn*. Since the city-name is attested as early as the Telipinus Edict, c. 1550 B.C., if the *dnnym*,

- 10 Börker-Klähn, *Bagh. Forsch.* 4 (Mainz, 1982), no. 317; see *Text*, p. 260 for catalogue entry with bibliography; Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), no. 14, pp. 95–101, pls. 38–39; Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 223–227. Garstang's sondage at the *höyük* of Sirkeli above the cliff with the relief suggested that it was an important Hittite site (see below, n. 35).
- 11 See Laroche *apud* Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor* (*AJL* 76 (1972), p. 171; 78 (1974), p. 111 and pl. 27 fig. 71; 81 (1977), p. 296); cf. also Orthmann, *AJO* 25 (1974/77), p. 278; Laroche, *CR-IBL* 1981, p. 359 with Fig. 4. For the site, see now Davesne, Lemaire and Lozachmeur, *CR-IBL* 1987, pp. 359–383.
- 12 Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, no. 318; see *Text*, pp. 260–262; Kohlmeyer, *loc. cit.*, no. 8, pp. 67–74, pls. 23–24; Rossner, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–167. For the reading of the epigraph attached to Puduhepa, see Hawkins, *KZ* 92 (1978), p. 112 f.; Güterbock, *Fs. Matouš* (1980), pp. 127–136. Güterbock's reading DEUS *á-zi/a-mi*, "loved by the god(s)", receives confirmatory support from the parallel DEUS-*mi unimis*, "recognized by the god(s)", from the seal of Kuzi-Tešub king of Karkamiš; see Karkamiš, p. 73 and n. 3.

- 13 Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, nos. 319–320; see *Text*, p. 262 f.; Kohlmeyer, *loc. cit.*, nos. 9–10, pp. 74–80, pls. 25–28; Rossner, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–172. It is not entirely clear how the epigraphs are to be distributed among the figures, since they are not placed in obvious juxtaposition to them. The names appear to be placed as follows: 1st figure, name lost?; 2nd figure, *x-x-li(-)zi/a* (Kohlmeyer's identification of initial signs unlikely); 3rd figure, *ma-na-a(-)zi/a* FILIA *lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA FILIUS/*tá*?, "Mana(zi/a) daughter of Lupaki (son of?) the Army-Scribe"; without figure, VIR(-)*a* HASTA MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX SERVUS, "Zidas, the spearman, servant of Hattusilis Great King"; separate figure, uncertain reading.
- 14 Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, no. 315; see *Text*, p. 259; Kohlmeyer, *loc. cit.*, no. 11, pp. 80–86, pls. 29–30; Rossner, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–179. The reading of the epigraph of the figure with the bow and spear as "Kuwalana-muwa the prince" is established: see Hawkins, *RLA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. Kuwatna-muwa.
- 15 Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, no. 314; see *Text*, p. 258; Kohlmeyer, *loc. cit.*, no. 12, pp. 86–90, pls. 32–33; Rossner, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–185. The reading of the epigraphs identifying the religious scene of bull and mountains and its interpretation is due to Laroche, *Syria* 40 (1963), p. 282, reading REX.MONS (DEUS) *Š-IRRU/ML-1*, "Mountain-King Sarruma" (referring to the bull); and ... (DEUS)MONS, "... the divine mountain" (naming the mountain-man; the name appears to be written "hand + sword", i.e. the Sword God, for which see now Hawkins, *SBOT* Bh. 3, p. 34). For the establishment of the name Kuwalana-muwa for the figure with bow and spear, see Hawkins, preceding note. A further epigraph is placed behind the figure: it reads TONITRUS.MANUS-*mi* REX.INFANS (written twice antithetically), "Tarhuntami/Tarhuntapiyami(?) the prince" (value of MANUS uncertain, *tá*(?)/DARE(?)).
- 16 Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, no. 316; see *Text*, p. 259 f.; Kohlmeyer, *loc. cit.*, no. 13, pp. 90–95, pls. 35–36; Rossner, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–222. The epigraph identifies the figure as x.TONITRUS REX.INFANS TONITRUS.DARE? REX.INFANS INFANS, "... Tarhunta the prince, son of Tarhunta-piyami(?) the prince". It is conceivable that the latter name may connect with the third epigraph of HANYERİ (see preceding note).
- 17 *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 36, ll. 16 ff., = Egerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Rameses III* (Chicago, 1936), p. 53 – inscription of the year 8; see also e.g. Wilson, in *ANET*, p. 262. The passage is constantly quoted and has been much discussed in attempts to evaluate the historical information contained.
- 18 Since S. Smith, Kizzuwadna and Kode (*JE* 1 8 (1922), pp. 45–47). Cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 289; M. Weippert, Ein ugaritischer Beleg für das Land "Qadi" der ägyptischen Texte? (*ZDPT* 85 (1969), pp. 35–50); Helck, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III (1980), s.v. Kizzuwadna.
- 19 The isolated Amarna reference in a letter from Abimilki of Tyre to Akhenaten (*E4* 151, ll. 49–55) has caused confusion by appearing to place the land of Danuna (KUR *da-nu-na*) in Canaan: see Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 4 f. I cannot agree that a report from Canaan that the king of Danuna is dead necessarily establishes that Danuna was in Canaan. The toponym has been identified with the *dnnym* ("Denyen") attested in the inscriptions of Rameses III (*Medinet Habu*, see above n. 17; also *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 44 caption to middle row on right, = Egerton and Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 48; and W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I* (Brussels, 1933), 76, 7 = p. 92 l. 17 f., = Wilson, *ANET*, p. 262); they are listed along with the four other Sea Peoples, Philistines, Tjeker, Šekeš and Wešeš, all characterized as "islanders".

identified with the Danuna, only arrived in Cilicia after 1200 B.C., the connection between their name and Adana would be "accidental and secondary", as has in fact been maintained.²⁰ It seems more reasonable to conclude however that Danuna/*Dnyn*, if correctly identified with the *dnnym*, are the Phoenician and Egyptian terms for the inhabitants of Adana and the Cilician Plain, and an examination of the attested forms establishes that this could be so.²¹ This designation for the city, land and people would thus be continued in the Iron Age as the indigenous term, also that used by the country's nearest neighbour Sam'al (see below). It is not found in Assyrian sources, which refer to the country as Qaue, later Que, a term of unknown, possibly Hurrian, origin.²² The occasional references to a "city Que" do not specifically establish that there was a city of that name, until the period of the Sargonid Empire, when the determinative ^{uru} is found somewhat more frequently.²³ Very likely the provincial capital was at Adana. Alongside the land of Que, the land of Hilakku and its people appear in the records.²⁴ The characterization of them as mountain-dwellers and their land as adjacent to Tabal²⁵ permits their location in the area of the Toros and Bolkar Dağları, and the rough terrain stretching south-west. Hilakku clearly gave the Greeks their name for the whole of Cilicia, the distinction between Hilakku and Que being continued in Cilicia Tracheia ("Rough") and Pedias ("Plain"). In the Neo-Babylonian period however the name Que is still found in the form Hume (i.e. *Khuwe), while a kingdom Pirindu was located in Rough Cilicia and extended as far as the Lydian border.²⁶

A number of Cilician towns are named in the sources: Lusanda (= Lawazantiya), Abarnani, Kisuatni (= Kizzuwatna-Kummanni), Timur, Tanakun, the land of Lamena, Tarzi (= Tarsus), and Pahri by Shalmaneser III;²⁷ the fortresses Harrua and Ušnanis by Sargon;²⁸ Illubru (= Hitt. Ellipra), Ingira and Tarzi by Sennacherib.²⁹ Adana, not mentioned as such, was perhaps referred to as the "city Que".

Archaeological investigation

Archaeologically the Cilician Plain is not particularly well known, and Rough Cilicia even less so. Even the location of the ancient site of Adana is not certainly known.³⁰ The main investigated sites are Tarsus, excavated from 1934–1938 and again 1947–1949,³¹ and Mersin-Yümük Tepe, excavated 1936–1939 and again 1946–1947.³² Off the plain to the north-east, on the middle reaches of the Ceyhan river, the small one-period site of Karatepe, most famous for its Hieroglyphic-Phoenician bilingual inscription, has yielded its small Iron Age hill-top fort with fortification walls, and two city gates lined with sculptured orthostats, as well as a significant pottery assemblage.³³ The Karatepe team has also investigated Domuztepe, another impor-

tant hill-top site lying on the east bank of the river Ceyhan immediately opposite Karatepe.³⁴ These excavations have established Domuztepe as a site of long occupation and considerable importance. Apart from these excavations, British surveys of the Cilician plain were conducted in 1936–37 and 1951.³⁵ These located

- 20 See Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 50–54, esp. 52; cf. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 9–14. The question is further complicated by the identification of the *Danuna/Dnyn* with the Greek *Danaoi* and the Hebrew tribe Dan: Astour, loc. cit., pp. 45–53.
- 21 Laroche has shown that the Phoen. *dnnym*, reflecting the Cun. *Danuna*, may be explained as a Luwian ethnonim *Adanawani* > *Danuni*, semitized by the further ethnonim *-i*, *Dⁿnⁱ*, plur. *Dⁿnⁱm*: see *Syria* 35 (1958), pp. 263–275.
- 22 Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962), p. 52.
- 23 See Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. QUWE. Of the pre-Sargonid references listed, only one (from Shalmaneser III, see below p. 41 and n. 40) may refer specifically to a city Que. In inscriptions of Sargon an ^{uru}Que occurs once in alternation with a more common KUR Que (see below, n. 54 – Nimrud cylinder).
- 24 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. HILAKKU. For a survey of the sources, see Hawkins *RLA* IV/6–7 (1975), s.v. Hilakku. The reference to a "city Hilakku" (determined by ^{uru}) occurs in Sargon's inscriptions only as an alternative for a "land Hilakku" (see below, p. 42 and n. 52). Sennacherib's narrative of his Cilician campaign thrice refers to the "people (*bahūlāte*/UN^{mes}) of the city (^{uru}) Hilakki" (see below p. 43 and n. 64); it is unclear whether this determinative is significant.
- 25 *ša tehi* KUR *Tabala*: see below, p. 43 and n. 68.
- 26 Attested mainly in the Neriglissar Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle 6, p. 103 f.; see also Zadok, *RGTC* 8, s.v. Hūmē, Pirindu, with other references. See also below, p. 43 and n. 76 for the claimed conquest of Hūme and Piriddu (with Lydia) by Nebuchadnezzar.
- 27 See below, p. 41 and nn. 40, 43–45.
- 28 See below, p. 42 and n. 54.
- 29 See below, p. 43 and n. 64.
- 30 A mound in the centre of Adana, *Tepebağ* district, has been sounded and produced Hellenistic, Roman and Islamic material: see Seton-Williams, loc. cit. below, n. 35, p. 148. For a possible location of the ancient site upstream of modern Adana, see Garsang and Gurney, *Geography*, p. 61, who however record the doubts of Seton-Williams, based on the fact that the site proposed appears too small.
- 31 H. Goldmann, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus* vol. II, *From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age* (Princeton, 1956); vol. III, *The Iron Age* (Princeton, 1963).
- 32 J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin, Yümük Tepe in Southern Turkey* (Oxford, 1953).
- 33 See Hawkins, *RLA* V/5–6 (1980), s.v. Karatepe A. Inschriften, Geschichte; Orthmann, *ibid.*, s.v. Karatepe B. Archäologisch, with bibliographies. Pottery now published by M. Darga, Karatepe-Azatiwattaya kalesinin çanak çömlek buluntuları (*Anadolu Araştırmaları* 10 (1986), pp. 371–400 with pls. I–XI).
- 34 See most recently H. Çambel and M. Özdoğan, 1983 Yılı Domuztepe Çalışmaları (*Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 6 (1984), pp. 259–272); H. Çambel, Karatepe-Aslantaş ve Domuztepe, 1984 Yılı Çalışmaları (*ibid.* 7 (1985), pp. 271–285); H. Çambel, M. A. Işın, S. Sadler, Karatepe-Aslantaş ve Domuztepe, 1985 Yılı Çalışmaları (*ibid.* 8 (1986), pp. 329–343).
- 35 1936–37: J. Garstang, *Explorations in Cilicia* (*LA-LA* 24 (1937), pp. 52–68; 25 (1938), pp. 12–23). These paved the way for the excavation of Mersin: note the sondages at Kazanlı Höyük and especially Sirkeli, 1951; M. V. Seton-Williams, *Cilician Survey* (*An. St.* 4 (1954), pp. 121–174). Cf. also Orthmann, *İcel* (*RLA* V/1–2 (1976), s.v.), for overview of archaeological material from western Cilicia.

a large number of sites, and were able to identify their periods of settlement from the pottery, and thus to plot settlement patterns on maps. This pioneering work has not so far been followed up by further excavation, [though recently (1992) German excavations at Sirkeli have begun].

In the west, in Rough Cilicia, the site of Meydancık Kalesi has been the subject of little-reported excavations, and British excavations began at Kilise Tepe in 1994.³⁶

Cilicia in the Assyrian sources

Cilicia was sufficiently remote from Mesopotamia to lie beyond the reach of all but the most energetic Assyrian kings, and these when they came concentrated on the easily accessible Que rather than the recalcitrant Hilakku. Once Que was conquered however, it seems to have been successfully incorporated into the Assyrian imperial system, and to have been held until the end.

For more than two centuries after the disintegration of the Hittite Empire, Cilicia remains without historical reference. The sole exception is a notice in the Old Testament that Solomon (c. 965–931 B.C.) traded for horses with Que (*qnh*).³⁷ Shalmaneser III was the first Assyrian king to record contacts with Cilicia. Both Que and Hilakku, under their kings Kate and Pihirim, took part in a general north Syrian alliance which opposed him in 858 B.C.³⁸ Later in his reign, having subdued the north Syrian states and battled for years against the south Syrian alliance, Shalmaneser turned his attention to Cilicia and Anatolia. After reconnaissance expeditions up Mount Amanus in 842 and 840 B.C.,³⁹ he descended in 839 B.C. on Que, still ruled by Kate, captured the cities Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni, and set up statues of himself at the nearest and furthest points of his conquest, the latter being on the sea-coast.⁴⁰ The identification of the cities Lawazantiya and Kizzuwatna-Kummanni points to this campaign being conducted principally in the mountains north-east of the Cilician Plain. The possibility remains of identifying the uninscribed Assyrian royal relief of Ferhatli-Uzunogllantepe as one of the monuments.⁴¹ Shalmaneser may have passed through Que on his return from Tabal

in 836 B.C.,⁴² and it could have been on this occasion that he attacked Kate's royal city Pahlri,⁴³ probably to be located at Misis (classical Mopsuestia).⁴⁴ Subsequently Shalmaneser led expeditions against Que for three consecutive years, 833, 832, and 831,⁴⁵ capturing first Timur, another royal city; then Tanakun, the city of an otherwise unknown ruler Tulli, the land of Lamena in a mountainous area, and finally Tarzi (Tarsus), where the local population submitted and accepted the replacement of Kate by his brother Kirri. Kate thus reigned minimally from 858 to 832–31 B.C. These Cilician campaigns of the 830's are associated with an event narrated on the stele of Kulamuwa of Sam'al,⁴⁶ son of Hayanu who had opposed Shalmaneser in 858 B.C. Kulamuwa tells how when the king of the "Danuna" (*mlk dnnym*) oppressed him, he "hired" against him the Assyrian king. The title "king of the Danuna" is shown by KARATEPE to refer to the king of Que ruling in Adana, and doubtless Kulamuwa's oppressor was Kate, whose power thus extended east of the Amanus into north Syria.

For nearly a century after Shalmaneser, Cilicia was left in peace by a weakened Assyria. A king of Que (*qnh*) is recorded by Zakur of Hamath as being a member of the Arpad-led alliance against him.⁴⁷ No Cilician participation in the fighting against Urartu, Arpad and Unqi is reported by Tiglath-pileser III for the years 743–738 B.C.,⁴⁸ but the lists of tributary kings for

36 Meydancık: see above, p. 39 and n. 11. [Kilise Tepe: see *An. St.* 45 (1995), p. 139 ff.].

37 1 *Kings* 10:28/11 *Chron.* 1:16; identified by Winckler (following Lenormant), *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 173 f.; cf. Schrader, *KAT*³ (Berlin, 1903), p. 238.

38 Kurkh Monolith, III R 7 (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.2), i 53 f. This passage is now fully preserved on the new, nearly duplicate inscription from the Nabu temple covering campaigns 1 and 2: see Mahmud and Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985–86), pp. 135–155, text 1, rev. 26–29.

39 Safar Annals, Michel, *WdO* 11/1 (1954), pp. 38 f., 40 f. (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.10), iii 37–41, iv 15–19; Black Obelisk, Michel, *WdO* 11/2 (1955), pp. 152 f., 154 f. (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.14). Latter campaign also on Eponym Chronicle, 840 B.C. (19th *palu*), C^b4, *RL* 4 II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 433 obv. 1; also *STT* no. 46, obv. 1' ("[to the mountain] of cedar").

40 Most detailed account Safar Annals only: Michel *WdO* 11/1 (1954), p. 40 f. (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.10), iv 22–39. Summary account, Black Obelisk, Michel, loc. cit., p. 154 f. (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.14), ll. 100–102. Eponym Chronicle, loc. cit., 839 B.C. (20th *palu*), obv. 2. ("[to] the city Que").

41 Taşyürek, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 169–172; Börker-Klähn, *Bagh. Forsch.* 4, no. 235: see *Text*, p. 220.

42 See Tabal, p. 427 and n. 31.

43 Assur statue, Michel, *WdO* 1/2 (1947), p. 58 f. (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.40), iii 5–8. Though the linking of Que with Tabal in this summary inscription is no certain evidence that the two places were visited in the same year, the siege of Pahlri is not recorded in the narratives of the other Que campaigns, so may perhaps belong to the year of the Tabal campaign. But cf. Schramm, *E-ik* II, p. 83, where it is dated to 833 B.C.

44 So identified by Bossert, *JKF* 1/3 (1951), pp. 290–294.

45 Eponym Chronicle, C^b4, *RL* 4 II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 433 obv. 8–10 (cf. *STT* no. 46, obv. 8'–10'), years 833, 832 and 831 B.C.; Black Obelisk, Michel, *WdO* 11/3 (1956), pp. 221, 223 (= *RLM* 4 3, A.O.102.14) ll. 126–141 (25th and 26th *palu*s). For the discrepancy in the chronology, see Reade, *Z* 4 68 (1978), pp. 251–255: the Black Obelisk seems to have compressed the campaigns of the latter two years into *palu* 26 only.

46 Donner and Röllig, *KAT*², no. 24; Gibson, *TSV* III, no. 13.

47 Zakur stele, see Hama, p. 401 and n. 47.

48 See Maras, p. 250 and nn. 19–20; Amuq, p. 363 and n. 34.

738⁴⁹ and 732 B.C.⁵⁰ include a king Urikki of Que, but significantly no king of Hilakku. The extent of Tiglath-pileser's control in Cilicia is not clear, but in 729 B.C. he was able to act decisively in replacing the king of Tabal,⁵¹ which implies command of the routes through Cilicia.

In the reign of Sargon II, both Que and Hilakku are found to be in Assyrian hands, though when and under what circumstances they came there is unknown. On establishing Ambaris as king of Bit-Burutaš, Sargon gave him his daughter and the land of Hilakku as a dowry, but when in 713 Ambaris was removed, he appointed a provincial governor over Bit-Burutaš and Hilakku.⁵² This poses a problem of historical geography, for it is hard to see that Hilakku and Bit-Burutaš would have been contiguous: the known states of Tuwana, Šinuhtu, Atuna and Hubišna would be expected to lie between them.⁵³ In 715 B.C. Sargon captured two fortresses of Que, Harrua and Ušnaniš, from Midas of Phrygia who had seized them long before.⁵⁴ The status of Que is not specified, though the event implies that it was in Assyrian hands.⁵⁵ Later, in 710–709 B.C., while Sargon was in Babylonia engaged in the expulsion of Merodach-baladan, and fighting on the Elamite frontier, he received a messenger from his governor of Que, attested here for the first time, reporting three successful incursions which he had made into the territory of Midas of Phrygia.⁵⁶ Shortly thereafter Midas himself sent a messenger allegedly offering submission and bringing gifts.⁵⁷

These events are clearly reflected in a long letter from Sargon to Aššur-šarru-ušur, now identified as the governor of Que in question, which sheds much light on Cilician and Anatolian affairs.⁵⁸ From this we learn that Midas, in a sudden peace gesture, had apprehended an embassy of fourteen men of Que sent by Urik to Urartu and handed them over to the Assyrians. Sargon was delighted with this *démarche*, and instructed his governor under all circumstances to maintain the new cordiality with Phrygia, since it would enable Assyria to control "all those kings of Tabal", among whom only Urballa (Warpalawas) is named. Clearly the Assyrian governor was in full control of Que. The Urik mentioned has been identified, with every plausibility, with Urikki, known as the tributary king of Que in 738 and 732 B.C.; but since his country was now an Assyrian province, it would seem that he may have been in exile.⁵⁹ Also mentioned is an otherwise unknown Kilar, who had demanded the cession to him of four districts (*nagii*). He was presumably another local ruler, perhaps of Hilakku.⁶⁰

The reason for Midas's *volte face* has been plausibly supposed to be the threat of the Cimmerians, who since their severe defeat of the Urartian king c. 714 B.C. would have already been threatening central Anatolia. Sargon's jubilation, clearly perceptible in the letter, was premature. When he went to Tabal in 705 B.C.,⁶¹ per-

haps in response to an appeal from Midas, he was slain in battle. Midas shared his fate ten years later, if the date of the classical tradition is correct.⁶² Such an unprecedented Assyrian disaster must have had critical repercussions in the north-western Assyrian provinces. Certainly the Assyrian hold on Tabal was lost forever, and that on Que and Melid shaken to an uncertain degree.

49 This list of tributaries appears in the Annals at the end of the comprehensive reorganization following the annexation of Unqi-Kullani and north Hamath, immediately before the 9th *palu*, i.e. in the year 738 B.C. Its date is guaranteed by its occurrence with two significant discrepancies (different ruler of Tyre, omission of Hamath) on the Iran stele, set up in 737 B.C. See Rost, *Tiglath-pileser*, p. 14 ll. 82–89 and pl. XIII = *AR-AB I*, § 769; *ibid.*, p. 26 ll. 150–154 and pls. XV–XVI, cf. pls. IV + V = *AR-AB I*, § 772; cf. Tadmor, *Azriyau*, p. 255 f.; Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 33–35. Iran Stele, Levine, *TN-ASI*, p. 18, col. ii ll. 1–19.

50 This list of tributaries, very similar to the previous but damaged, is found on the summary inscription, the Nimrud Tablet. It clearly omits Damascus and Samaria, and perhaps Tyre; has lost Karkamiš, Kaska, Hupišna; and adds kings of Trans-Jordan, Judah and Philistia. The list is placed after an Arabian campaign of 733–32 B.C., for which see I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 29, 83 f., i.e. purportedly in 732 B.C. Because of the summary nature of the inscription however, it cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that all the kings named actually paid tribute at this date: e.g., Panammu of Sam'al, who is listed, died during the siege of Damascus. See Nimrud Tablet, Rost, *Tiglath-pileser*, p. 70 and pl. XXXVII, rev. 7'–13'; cf. Weippert, *loc. cit.*, p. 52 f.

51 See Tabal, p. 427 and n. 37.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 427 f. and nn. 38, 45.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 425 f. and nn. 7, 12–14.

54 Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, pp. 20, 22, ll. 119 f., 125 f. = *AR-AB II*, § 16; Nimrud cylinders, Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 182 and pl. XLVII, v 37–40, and *ibid.*, p. 199 and pl. LI, l. 21 (cf. Khorsabad cylinder, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 4, l. 24 = *AR-AB II*, § 118; Bull inscription, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 14, l. 24 = *AR-AB II*, § 92). The Annals text ostensibly adds a third city of doubtful reading (read *uru-qu-u[m]-a-s[i]*? – the suspicion must remain, comparing this with the other passages, that it should read some variation of *uru-bal-ši-meš*, "fortresses").

55 Cf. the suggestion of Lemaire that it was actually at this point that Que passed into Assyrian control: *NABU* 1 (1987), p. 5.

56 Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, pp. 66–68, ll. 445–452 = *AR-AB II*, § 42; Display inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 126 and pl. 35 no. 75, ll. 150–151, = *AR-AB II*, § 71.

57 Annals, *ibid.*, ll. 452–454 (broken); Display inscription, *ibid.*, ll. 152–153.

58 Nimrud letter XXXIX, collated and re-edited by Postgate, Sargon's letter referring to Midas (*Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 21–34). Postgate's identification of Aššur-šarru-ušur as governor of Que is based on K 1008, now published as *CT* LIII, 15, which names him as such (rev. 2'). For his dating to the reign of Sargon, see Postgate, *loc. cit.*, pp. 32–34; and cf. p. 27 n. 12, where are mentioned two further documents, now published by Postgate, *TC-AB*, pp. 309, 376 (*ADD* 928 and ND 2451). Cf. also Lemaire, *Aššur-šarru-ušur* gouverneur de Que *NABU* 1 (1987), p. 5 f.).

59 Postgate, *loc. cit.*, p. 28, suggests that as king he could have co-existed with an Assyrian governor, but this is perhaps less likely.

60 Postgate, *loc. cit.*, p. 29.

61 See Tabal, p. 428 and n. 50.

62 Midas's dates as given by Eusebius, 738–696/5 B.C., fit well with his minimum dates established by Assyrian attestations, 718–709 B.C.: see Hawkins, *RAA* VIII 3–4 (1994), s.v. Mita.

Although Sennacherib in the building inscription annexed to the earliest account of his first campaign, written before his second campaign in 702 B.C., claimed to have deportees from Que and Hilakku working at Nineveh,⁶³ there is no reason to suppose that his army went to Cilicia before 696 B.C. At that date he sent an expedition against Kirua the ruler (EN URU) of Illubru, who led a revolt of the people of Hilakku, secured the adherence of the cities Ingira and Tarzi and closed the "Que route" (*girri KUR que*), i.e. the Amanus passes.⁶⁴ The rebellion thus arose in western Cilicia but engulfed the entire country. It is not certain when the revolt broke out, but it is possible that this was on the death of Sargon, and that the rebels were able to maintain themselves for nine years before attracting Assyrian intervention. Sennacherib claims to have captured Ingira, Tarzi and finally Illubru, which he reorganized and settled with deportees. Kirua he removed to Nineveh and flayed. Greek sources remembered that Greeks were involved on the anti-Assyrian side, and that Sennacherib's victory was costly to his own army.⁶⁵ Curiously this campaign was edited out of the final edition of Sennacherib's Annals, perhaps because it was not led by the king in person. It is likely that the Assyrian province of Que was reestablished by the action, and a governor is probably attested as eponym of 685 B.C.,⁶⁶ which would support this view.

Esarhaddon was sufficiently in control of Que to fight a battle against the Cimmerians under their leader Teušpa in 679 B.C. at Hubušna (= Kybistra) on the Anatolian plateau.⁶⁷ At the same time he claimed to have subdued the unruly folk of Hilakku.⁶⁸ As to Que itself, Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sissu, who was captured and beheaded in 675 B.C.,⁶⁹ is supposed, by the identifications proposed for Kundi and Sissu,⁷⁰ to have ruled in the north-east of the plain in the district of modern Kozan. Up to his death Sanduarri may thus have coexisted with an Assyrian governor based in Adana or Tarsus, and afterwards his kingdom may have been incorporated into the province. Some very fragmentary questions of Esarhaddon to the oracular Šamaš concerning Que and Hilakku survive.⁷¹ They seem to show that an attack by Tabal, [also Hilakku?], on Que was feared.

In the reign of Aššurbanipal, three governors of Que are attested, one in 655 B.C.,⁷² and two postcanonical, Marduk-šarru-ušur,⁷³ and Nabu-danninanni.⁷⁴ Thus control of this province seems to have lasted until the later days of the Empire. Hilakku, on the other hand, was no more under control than it had ever been, and an independent king Sandasarme is attested early in the reign.⁷⁵ Like the Anatolian princes, Gyges of Lydia and Mugallu of Tabal, he is said to have sought Assyrian help, no doubt also against the Cimmerians.

Neo-Babylonian and Classical sources

A pattern emerges for the Sargonid period of a general Assyrian control of Que contrasted with repeated

and unsuccessful attempts on Hilakku, always characterized as "insubmissive". After the fall of the Assyrian Empire, some degree of Babylonian control over Hume (Que) was exercised by Nebuchadrezzar, who claimed its conquest, along with less probable claims on Piriddu and Lydia,⁷⁶ and certainly was entertaining captives from Hume and Pirindu.⁷⁷ Yet a king of Cilicia, Syennesis I, is attested in classical sources in 585 B.C.⁷⁸ Neriglissar's Cilician campaign of 557 B.C. reveals that a king of Pirindu, Appuašu, was able to attack Hume and Syria (*eber nāri*).⁷⁹ This Pirindu, lying between Hume and Lydia, must certainly have corresponded largely to

63 Smith cylinder, Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 95, l. 71 = *AR-AB II*, § 364; repeated in the King cylinder of 694 B.C., *CT XXVI*, pl. 19, col. v 53 = *AR-AB II*, § 383 (also its duplicate the Heidel cylinder, *Sumer 9* (1953), p. 154, col. v 82).

64 King cylinder, *CT XXVI*, pls. 15 f., iv 61–91 = *AR-AB II*, §§ 286–289; also duplicate Heidel cylinder, *Sumer 9* (1953), pp. 146–151, iv 92–v 28.

65 See King, *CT XXVI*, pp. 11–13. The account seems to have been derived ultimately from Berossos, by Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenos, who are quoted by Eusebius. See S. M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (SANE 1/5; Malibu 1978), p. 24.

66 Aššur-danninanni, Eponym Canon C^d: Schroeder, *KAI*, no. 20, iii + iv l. 35.

67 See Tabal, p. 428 and n. 52.

68 Thompson cylinder, Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 51 ("Nin. A"), iii 47–55 = *AR-AB II*, § 516.

69 Babylonian Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 83, iv 7 f.; Thompson cylinder, Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 49 f. ("Nin. A"), iii 20–38 = *AR-AB II*, § 513; also Nin. B, *ibid.*, p. 50, i 36–54 = *AR-AB II*, § 528.

70 Identification with classical Kyinda and Sisium (modern Sis, = Kozan) by Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 81. Kyinda is variously located, either identified with Anavarza or placed near Anchiale: see Gough, *Jn. St.* 2 (1952), p. 91 f.; Simpson, *Historia* 6 (1957), p. 503 f.; Bing, *Historia* 22 (1973), pp. 346–350. A western location near Anchiale, while favoured for Kyinda, hardly seems suitable for Kundi.

71 Knudtzon, *AGS*, no. 60, obv. 7, 11, rev. 13; no. 61, rev. 5; no. 62/63, obv. 9; Klauber, *PRT*, no. 43, rev. 3. See now Starr, *S-L* 4 (Helsinki, 1990), nos. 14–17.

72 For attestations of this *limmu*, and the forms of his name, see Weidner, *JJO* 13 (1939–41), p. 206 f. and pl. XII.

73 *ARU* 47, l. 26 f.

74 *ARU* 359, l. 28 f.; 522, l. 5; probably also 69, l. 8 f. (restore <Nabu>).

75 Prism B, Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal*, p. 44 (ii 73–79); the appearance of Sandasarme in this edition of the Annals for the first time gives the date of the incident a *terminus ante quem* of 649 B.C., the date of the edition. The incident is repeated in the later editions, C, F, and especially A (Streck, *Aššurbanipal*, p. 18 (ii 75–80) = *AR-AB II*, § 782).

76 Text in *CT* 46, no. 45, see Lambert, *Iraq* 27 (1965), esp. pp. 2, 7 l. 21. The attribution to Nebuchadrezzar is not absolutely certain.

77 Weidner, *Mélanges Dussaud II* (Paris, 1939), pl. II, A rev. 7, 8; (B rev. ii, 2); cf. p. 935.

78 As arbiter, along with "Labynetos" of Babylon, between the Lydians and Medes after their battle of 28 May 585 B.C. (Herodotos, I. 74). The name *Syennesis* would appear to reflect accurately a Luw. form *suwanasis*, "(son) of a dog". See KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 10, Commentary.

79 Neriglissar Chronicle for year 557 B.C., see Wiseman, *CCK*, pp. 74–77 and pls. VI, XVII–XVIII (edition), 38–42 and 86–88, context and commentary; Grayson, *ABC*, p. 103 f.

Assyrian Hilakku and the Greek kingdom of Cilicia.⁸⁰ Probably this kingdom contested the control of Hume with the Babylonians. Nabonidus campaigned in Hume in 555 B.C.⁸¹

The Hieroglyphic monuments: Karatepe

Thus it may be seen in the case of Cilicia, Plain and Rough, there is no such clear-cut *terminus ante quem* for indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions as for most of the other Neo-Hittite states. The Assyrians record no destruction and annexation accompanied by large scale deportations as they do for Unqi, Hamath, Karkamiš, Gurgum and Kummuh. The only indigenous monuments yet found are KARATEPE and the little known DOMUZTEPE, and the problem of fitting this into the historical framework has been much discussed: where can we place the ruler Azatiwatas, promoted by Awarikus king of Adana, who then established his lord's family on the throne of Adana, and reestablished control of the Cilician plain by the house of Mopsos?⁸² Attempts at dating have been based on various criteria. The most obvious one is historical: the identification of Awarikus with Urikki of Que, who was ruling in 738–732 B.C., and at least still active, if in exile, in 710–09 B.C. This would unequivocally establish the beginning of Azatiwatas's tenure in the reign of Urikki and its extension into the period after Urikki's lifetime, thus the end of 8th–beginning of 7th centuries B.C. While the identity of the names Awarikus/Urikki is not in doubt, if other criteria pointed to an earlier date, it may legitimately be argued that Awarikus was a homonymous predecessor of Urikki ruling in the city Adana/the country Que.⁸³

Another criterion of date which supports this late dating is the palaeography of the Phoenician script, which is generally agreed to point to the end of the 8th century B.C.⁸⁴

Stylistic analysis of the sculpture however is much more controversial. Both 9th and 8th century elements have been identified,⁸⁵ which have led scholars to opt firmly for one date or the other. Recent research has suggested a solution in identifying a number of reused 9th century elements in a monument with inscription created at the end of the 8th century B.C.,⁸⁶ but the excavator does not consider that the archaeological evidence can support this hypothesis.⁸⁷ The problem remains for further exploration.

A further argument for the late dating of the inscription which may now be advanced is the Hieroglyphic usage. KARATEPE shows a series of syllabic values paralleled elsewhere only in the Tabal inscriptions associated with the names of Tuwatis and Wasu-sarmas, i.e. later 8th century B.C.⁸⁸ This consideration should be added to that of the Phoenician palaeography.

Since graphic criteria, both Phoenician and Hieroglyphic, as well as a series of late features in the sculptural iconography, point to a late dating, it is appropriate to review the historical data to see how the external evidence from Assyrian and other sources may best be combined with the inscription's internal evidence. Starting again with the Awarikus-Urikki identification, we may reaffirm that the bulk of Azatiwatas's actions as described in the inscription, his establishment of his lord's family on the throne of Adana (§§ XIV–XVI) and his pacification of the Plain of Adana (*passim*), belong after the death of Awarikus, i.e. after 710–09 when Urikki was still alive. It is also hard to see that these actions could have been performed during Sargon's reign and specifically while his governor of Que, Aššur-šarru-ušur, was sitting in Cilicia, perhaps in Tarsus or in Adana itself. If this is so, the best period to accommodate Azatiwatas's deeds would seem to be after the death of Sargon in a period of reduced Assyrian interference in Cilicia. It has been pointed out that Azatiwatas must then have been involved in Sennacherib's Cilician expedition of 696 B.C.⁸⁹ According to Sennacherib's account, the main anti-Assyrian move came from Hilakku in the west Cilician mountains and involved places only as far east as Tarsus. Azatiwatas would actually have been an Assyrian client, and his narrative could combine with that of Sennacherib: thus his "bad men in the west" (§§ XX–XXXI) could perhaps have been the anti-Assyrian revolt. His failure to mention Assyrian presence may be paralleled by the comparable omission by Zakur of Hamath. Could his reign, and the presence of the house of Mopsos in Adana, have extended beyond 696 B.C., when Sennacherib probably restored an Assyrian governor, as may be

80 For this very involved historical problem, see especially Houwink ten Cate, *LP*, pp. 27–30. For the localization of the capitals Ura and Kirši at Silifke and Meydancık Kalesi, see Lemaire, loc. cit. (n. 11 above), pp. 372–377.

81 Babylonian Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 105, col. i 7; prisoners from this campaign are recorded on his Istanbul stele: Langdon, *NBK*, no. 8, ix 32 = Oppenheim, *ANET*³, p. 311.

82 See the bibliography in Hawkins, *RLA* V/5–6 (1980), s.v. Karatepe A., § 2; and add Bron, *Recherches* (1979), ch. IX; Garelli, *RLA* 75 (1981), pp. 54–60. For Mopsos, see Hawkins, *RLA* VIII/5–6 (1995), s.v. Muksas.

83 For two Phoenician inscriptions on which the name of a king Urikki (*urkē*) has been identified, see Lemaire, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 9 (1983), pp. 9–19 (HASANBEYLI); Mosca, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 9 (1987), pp. 1–28 (CEBELIREİS DAĞI).

84 J. D. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician scripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), ch. IV esp. pp. 116–119; cf. Bron, *Recherches*, ch. VIII (pp. 154–158). [Now W. Röllig, *apud* Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantas*, Palaeography, pp. 73–81].

85 See Deshayes, *RLA* 75 (1981), pp. 32–46, with previous bibliography.

86 Winter, *An. St.* 29 (1979), pp. 115–151.

87 See Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantas*, pp. 9–11.

88 See Tabal, p. 430 and nn. 64–68.

89 Bing, *Cilicia*, ch. 4.

corroborated by the attestation of a governor of Que as eponym in 685 B.C.⁹⁰

A further proposal to identify Azatiwatas with Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sissu,⁹¹ executed by Esarhaddon in 676 B.C. may also be considered. There is little phonetic obstacle to identifying Hier. *Azatiwatas*, specially in its rhotacizing form *Azatiwaras*, with Cun. *Sanduarri*, and the location of Kundi and Sissu at Anavarza and Kozan respectively,⁹² would tie in well with the area of Karatepe.

Such a placing of Azatiwatas and his inscription remains somewhat hypothetical, especially in the question of the coexistence of native dynasts with Assyrian governors in this frontier area. It may how-

ever be thought not implausible. It would certainly make KARATEPE as much as a generation later than any other Hier. inscription at present known, with the possible exception of NİĞDE 2, written by the son of Warpalawas. By this date all the other centres of Hier. inscriptions had disappeared permanently into the Assyrian imperial system except Melid and Tabal which share with Cilicia a somewhat peripheral status. It would not perhaps be surprising if Cilicia, sheltered perhaps from the worst ravages of both the Assyrians and Cimmerians, should have transmitted to us this latest of the Hier. monuments, the idiosyncratic character of which may well reflect its comparative lateness.

The Inscriptions

I.1. KARATEPE 1 (the Bilingual)

Location. Portal orthostats, *in situ* at Karatepe-Aslantaş, nr. Kadirli, province of Adana, Turkey.

Description. Two city gates in the fortifications surrounding the hill-top of Karatepe-Aslantaş, (1) Lower (North) Gate, (2) Upper (South) Gate, their walls faced with basalt orthostats bearing sculptures and inscriptions. Each gate has one Hieroglyphic and one Phoenician inscription, designated by excavator *Hu.*, *Phu.* (i.e. *Hieroglyphisch*, *Phoenikisch*, *unten*: Lower Gate) and *Ho.*, *Pbo.* (i.e. *Hier.*, *Phoen.*, *oben*: Upper Gate). *Hu.* and *Phu.* are complete, except for a passage of *Hu.*; *Ho.* and *Pbo.* are both damaged, but are duplicates of *Hu.* and *Phu.* (There is a third, slightly divergent Phoen. text on the skirt of a colossal divine statue which stood just inside the Upper Gate to left of way: the Phoen. texts are designated A (*Phu.*), B (*Pbo.*), C (statue)). The texts *Hu./Ho.* and *Phu./Pbo.* constitute a Hier.-Phoen. bilingual with word-for-word equivalences and few, minor divergences.

Phu. was discovered complete and *in situ*, written in 3 cols. on 4 adjoining orthostats, continuing on the base below and terminating on the portal lion (see Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, pp. 16–18). The text sequence depends on this version. It is cited by cols., i–iv, and line nos.

Hu. is written on 6 orthostats (overlapping from 2 on to adjoining sculptured slabs), on long stretches of the bases, and on two portal beasts, lion and sphinx (see Çambel, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–30). The Hier. text occupies much more space than the Phoen., and the order of reading *Hu.* is established by *Phu.*, for its placing by no means corresponds to this order. The text can be divided into 75 clauses, numbered §§ 1–LXXV,

and subdivided into 412 words, numbered 1–412 (§§ XLI–XLIII and XLIV–XLVII on two largely destroyed elements, orthostat and base, are hardly preserved). It is hard to see how the order of *Hu.* could have been so disturbed without a reconstruction, at least of the inner gate chamber with §§ 1–XLIX, subsequent to the execution of the inscription. But although with a slight rearrangement of the inscribed elements a somewhat more logical order could be suggested, the excavator strongly advocates the view that each stone was specially dressed to fit its own position, and thus that we are not at liberty to propose hypothetical rearrangements.

Ho. and *Pbo.*, both fragmentary and found almost entirely out of position, depend like *Hu.* for the reading order on *Phu.* The scattered orthostats, bases and portal figures bearing the inscriptions have been restored by the excavators to approximate or inferred positions with the exception of the 2 bases found *in situ*. Of these one is a separate inscription without apparent Phoen. correspondence, ending with a “scribal signature” – see KARATEPE 4 (below, p. 68–70).

With it are to be associated two further inscribed elements, partially reconstituted from scattered fragments, which also lack Phoen. correspondences; these are designated KARATEPE 2 and 3 (below, p. 68–70).

For an earlier discussion of the inscribed elements, their locations and restorations, see Hawkins, *RLA* V, s.v. Karatepe, A, 1, with bibliography. Full evidence is provided by Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*.

⁹⁰ See above, p. 43 and n. 66.

⁹¹ Winter, *loc. cit.* (n. 86), pp. 146–149; cf. Hawkins, *ibid.*, p. 156.

⁹² See above, p. 43 and n. 70.

Discovery. Visited four times between 1927–1944 by Ekrem Kuşçu, primary school teacher in Kadirli. On 28/2/1946, Ekrem escorted Bossert and Halet Çambel to site. Statue with Phoenician inscription viewed and squeezes taken, fragments of Hier. and Phoen. inscriptions examined. From 15/3–15/4/1947 a preliminary survey season was undertaken by Bossert and Bahadır Alkım. Work on surface monuments undertaken, text of Phoen. statue inscription prepared, one portal lion frag. with Phoen. inscription, one with Hier. inscription located. For these two preliminary visits see (1) Bossert and Çambel, *Karatepe* (Istanbul, 1946; Turkish and English); (2) Bossert and Alkım, *Karatepe* (Istanbul, 1947; Turkish and English), esp. pp. 1f./16 f., 11–14/25–28.

Systematic excavation of the two gates was completed in three campaigns (especially the first), 1/9–7/12/1947, 8/6–11/7/1948, 17/9–15/11/1948, under the direction of Bossert, Bahadır Alkım and Halet Çambel. These are reported in *Karatepe Kazıları/Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Karatepe* (1st preliminary report, Turkish and German; Ankara, 1950). The continuous series of campaigns since have been occupied by planning and restoration and have been reported only in short notices.

Publication. The bilingual was published in a preliminary form only. The final publication, Phoenician and Hieroglyphic, is provided by Halet Çambel, in *Karatepe-Aslantaş*.

Bossert's preliminary publication presented *Hu.* and *Ho.* as parallel texts divided into clauses, numbered I ff., and words, accompanied by *Phu.* and *Pho.* to demonstrate the word-for-word correspondence. The Hier. signs, accurately copied, were arranged in linear, word-by-word order running right-left: above, (1) *Hu.*, (2) *Phu.*, actual script and order reproduced, (3) *Phu.* transcribed into square script and rearranged in Hier. word order to show correspondences; below, (1) *Ho.* (fragmentary), (2) *Pho.* (fragmentary). Useful as a preliminary presentation demonstrating exactness of the bilingual rendering, this was inadequate because: (1) order of Hier. readings was not established beyond doubt – new reference to original text (where available) showed many cases of transcription in wrong order; (2) even clause division can be shown to be incorrect; (3) word-for-word identifications, when originally incorrect, served to perpetuate error (e.g. the negatives, words 108, 134; the word FRONS-*la/i/u-//li-*, = *'hantili-*, “former, first”, words 136, 279).

Bossert's preliminary publication in this form, completed by Steinherr, appeared in eight sections, as follows:

- (1) *Hu.* §§ 1,1–X,55: *Oriens* 1 (1948), pp. 171–173 (repeated *Belleten* 12 (1948), pls. CXI–CXII); *Ho.* §§ 1–X, pp. 188–192.

- (2) §§ XI,56–XXIV,128: *Oriens* 2 (1949), pp. 91–97 (§§ 1,1–XXIV,128 repeated *Karatepe Kazıları* (1950), pls. XXI–XXVI).
- (3) §§ I,1–XXXI,158: *Ar. Or.* 18/3 (1950), pp. 18–28.
- (4) §§ XXXII,159–XL,216: *JKF* 1 (1950/51), pp. 270–272.
- (5) §§ XLI,217–XLVII,260: *JKF* 2 (1952/53), pp. 178–179.
- (6) §§ XLVIII,261–LII,302: *JKF* 2 (1952/53), pp. 306–308.
- (7) §§ LIII,303–LVIII,330: *Gs Kretschmer* (1956), pp. 42–44.
- (8) §§ LIX,331–LXXIV,407: Steinherr, *MSS* 32 (1974), following p. 125.

In fact, Steinherr's word and clause divisions are in places demonstrably incorrect, which necessitates re-numbering: see below.

The Table opposite lists the individual elements of *Hu.* and *Ho.*, the clauses which each contain, and the published photographs.

This inadequate preliminary publication, on which scholars have been dependent for some 40 years, is superseded by Halet Çambel's final publication.

From some of these photographs, Meriggi made provisional drawings (*Manuale* II/1):

- Hu.* 1 (p. 70); *Hu.* 3 (p. 71); *Hu.* 10 (p. 86); *Hu.* 11 (p. 88); *Hu.* 12 (p. 88); *Hu.* 4, part (p. 92).

Editions. Phoenician: for a new edition, see now W. Röllig *apud* Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş* Appendix I, pp. 50–81 (hereafter Röllig, *Edition*).

Hieroglyphic: Bossert (followed by Steinherr) accompanied his eight section publication with translation and commentary (no transliteration):

- (1) translation, p. 170 (= *Belleten* 12, pp. 521 (Turkish), 529 f. (German)); commentary, pp. 174–187
- (2) translation, p. 90 f.; commentary, pp. 91–93, 96–117; Nachtrag, pp. 117–119
- (3) translation, p. 14 f.; commentary, pp. 29–42
- (4) translation, p. 269; commentary, pp. 273–290; Nachträge, pp. 290–295
- (5) translation, p. 169; commentary, pp. 181–182; Nachtrag, pp. 183–188
- (6) translation, p. 309; commentary, pp. 309–339
- (7) translation, p. 41; commentary, pp. 41, 45–51
- (8) commentary and translations, pp. 105–123

Meriggi's preliminary editions appeared as the text became available:

- (1) *Athenaeum* 29 (1951), pp. 52–59 (text, §§ I–XXXI, transliteration, translation bilingual), 59–91 (commentary).
- (2) *Acme* 4 (1951), pp. 185–187 (text, §§ XXXII–XL, transliteration, translation; Hier. text redrawn, reoriented left-right), 188–199 (commentary).

(continued, p. 48)

TABLE

Abbreviations

Akurgal, E., *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962).Bell. — *Belleten*.Ceram, C. W., *Narrow Pass, Black Mountain* (London, 1956; German ed., *Enge Schlucht und schwarzer Berg* (Hamburg, 1955)).KK — H. T. Bossert *et al.*, *Karatepe Kazıları* (Ankara, 1950).Metzger, *Anatolia II* (London, 1969).Woolley, C. L., *History Unearthed* (London, 1956).

Hu., element	clauses	Ho., element	clauses	published photographs
(1) <i>orthostat</i>	I–III	(1) <i>lion</i> (fragmentary)	[II–III, V, VI, VII, VIII, X]	complete: <i>Bell.</i> 18, Abb. 1–3 complete: <i>Or.NS</i> 28, Tab. IV, Abb. 24
(2) <i>base</i>	IV–XI	(2) <i>orthostat</i>	XII–XXIX (missing: XIV 71– XV 76; XIX 96–100; XXIII 124–XXIV 125; XXX 147– 148)	only V 22–VII 40: <i>KK</i> , pl. XVIII 91; cf. <i>ibid.</i> , pl. XVII 84 complete: Ceram, pl. XLIV, cf. XXXIX (= Woolley, p. 148)
(3) <i>orthostat</i>	XII–XIX			complete: <i>Bell.</i> 18, Abb. 4–5
(4) <i>base</i>	XX–XXIV 125			only XX 106–XXI 111 and XXIV 125: <i>Bell.</i> 18, Abb. 6; cf. <i>Bell.</i> 12, lev. CXXXII res. 26; <i>KK</i> , pl. XVII 86
(5) 2 <i>orthostats</i>	XXIV 126–XL			only XXV 131, XXIX 146, XXXII 160–161, XXXIV 180–182, XXXVII 196–198: <i>Oriens</i> 1, pl. X; cf. <i>KK</i> , pl. XVII 84
		(3) <i>orthostat</i>	XXX 149–XXXII 161	complete: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Oriens}$ 1, pl. VI; cf. Ceram, pl. XLIV (= $\textit{Woolley}$, p. 148); $\textit{Bell.$ 12, lev. CXXXIII res. 11 – $\textit{RHL}$ IX/ 50, p. 13, fig. 11
(6) [<i>orthostat</i>]	XLI–XLIII]			none
(7a) [<i>base</i>]	XLIV–XLVII]			none
(7b) <i>base</i>	XLVIII–XLIX			none
		(4) [<i>orthostat</i>]	XXXII 162–XLVII 260a [†]]	–
		(5) <i>base</i> (in situ)	XLVII 260b–XLVIII 272	none
		(6) 2 <i>orthostats</i>	XLIX 274b–LVIII 328 (missing: XLIX 273–274a; LIII 305–307)	complete: Ceram, pl. XLIV [†] , (cf. XXXIX), = Woolley, p. 148
(8) <i>lion</i>	I–LI 290			complete: <i>Bell.</i> 18, Abb. 7
(9) <i>orthostat(s)</i>	LI 291–LIV 309			complete: Akurgal, pl. 147; cf. Ceram, pl. XXXVIII
(10) <i>base</i>	LIV 310–LXXII 378			only LIX 331–LXXII 378: Akurgal, pls. 146–147; cf. Ceram, pl. XXXVIII (for LIV 310–LVIII 330, cf. <i>Bell.</i> 18, Abb. 7)
(11) <i>orthostat(s)</i>	LXXII 379– LXXIII*			complete: Akurgal, pls. 148–149; cf. Ceram, pl. XXXII
(12) <i>sphinx</i>	LXXIV–LXXV*			complete: Akurgal, pl. 144; cf. Ceram, pls. XLII–XLIII (also Metzger, ill. 20)
		(7) <i>lion</i> (fragmentary)	[LIX 331 ...] LXX 369– LXXV 410	complete: <i>Or.NS</i> 28, Tab. IV Abb. 25

† complete photograph only in German edition.

* renumbered from Steinherr: see below, p. 48.

- (3) *Studi ... Levi della Vida* II (1956), pp. 136–138 (text, §§ XLVIII–LII, transliteration, translation bilingually with Phoen., Hier. text redrawn, re-oriented left-right), also figs. 1, 2, 4 (drawings of elements *Hu.* 1, 3, 4 (partial), I1; *Ho.* scribal signature (see KARATEPE 4), after published photographs of Bossert and Ceram).
- (4) *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 24, pp. 72–89 (text, §§ I–LXXI bilingual transliteration, translation; Hier. text, §§ I–LVIII redrawn, reoriented left-right, §§ LIX–LXXI, drawn from Akurgal's photographs), 90–100 (commentary).

Güterbock, *Eranos* 47 (1949), pp. 93–115 (§§ I–X, transcription, transliterations, translation, commentary).

Gelb, *Bi. Or.* 7 (1950), pp. 129–141 (§§ I–X, transliteration, translation, commentary).

Laroche's treatment of the bilingual appears broken up into clauses throughout his *HH*:

§ II (7–9):	nos. 329.I.1; 363.I(e).
§ IV:	no. 178.2.
§ V (24–29):	no. 379.I.1; 447.1(b).
§ VII:	no. 255.1.
§ VIII:	nos. 70.1; 99.
§ IX:	no. 269(b).
§ X:	no. 272.
§ XI:	nos. 255.2; 329.I.6.
§ XII:	nos. 201.1; 329.I.1; 368.5.
§§ XIV–XV:	no. 390.1.
§ XVI:	no. 294.
§ XVIII (85–88):	nos. 17(a); 366.1.
§ XIX (95–97):	nos. 39.I.1; 231.
§ XX (102–106):	nos. 329.I.4; 368.1.
§ XXI:	no. 329.I.2.
§ XXII:	nos. 57.2; 65.1; 90.1.
§ XXIII:	no. 329.I.6.
§ XXIV:	nos. 165.1.2; 329.I.5.
§ XXV (129–131):	nos. 39.I.1; 274(a).
§ XXVI:	nos. 26.2; 274(a); 329.I.2.
§ XXVII:	nos. 14.I(a); 17(a); 329.I.1.
§ XXVIII:	no. 329.I.6.
§ XXIX:	nos. 57.1; 90.III.
§ XXX:	nos. 57.1 + 216.1.1.

Date: see KARATEPE 4 (beg. of 7th s.)

§ XXXI:	no. 329.I.6.
§ XXXIII (172–176):	no. 329.I.1.
§ XXXIV:	nos. 93; 221.I; 329.I.4.
§ XXXV:	nos. 305; 329.I.6.
§ XXXVII:	no. 165.I.2.
§ XXXIX:	nos. 65.1; 172.4.
§ XL (209–213):	nos. 34.I(a); 329.I.6.
§ XLVIII (261–263):	no. 82.1.
(266–268):	no. 336.I(a).
§ L:	nos. 17(a); 70.2.
§ LII:	no. 200.1.
§ LVIII (324–328):	no. 309.2.

Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies have treated the bilingual in two places: *JRAS* 1975/2, pp. 124–133 (text §§ LIX–LXXV, transliteration, translation, commentary: note new clause division with modified numbering); *An. St.* 28 (1978), pp. 103–119 (commentary on main problems, translation of entire bilingual). These two are referred to jointly below as *Edition*. The renumbering of the final section corresponds to the editions of Steinherr and Meriggi as follows:

H & MD	S	M
§ LIX 331–333	LIX 331–332	LIX
§ LX 334–335	LX 333–335	
§ LXI 336–337	LXI 336–339	
§ LXII 338–339		
§ LXIII 340–345	LXII 340–344	LX
§ LXIV 346–350	LXIII 345–349	LXI
§ LXV 351–354	LXIV 350–352	LXII
§ LXVI 355–359	LXV 353–356	LXIII
§ LXVII 360–362	LXVI 357–359	LXIV
§ LXVIII 363–365	LXVII 360–365	
§ LXIX 366–368		
§ LXX 369–372	LXVIII 366–369	LXVI
§ LXXI 373–376	LXIX 370–373	LXVII
§ LXXII 377–384	LXX 374–375 LXXI 376–381	
		LXVIII
§ LXXIII 385–400	LXXII 382–395	LXIX
§ LXXIV 401–407	LXXIII 396–402	LXX
§ LXXV 408–412	LXXIV 403–407	LXXI

Note: No account is taken here of J. Faucounau, *La Lecture du texte hiéroglyphique de Karatepe* (*Belleten* 49 (1985), pp. 233–260), which employs an unacceptable method of transliteration.

Transliteration

Translation

(1)

§ I,
1–6
Hu. | EGO-mi¹ (LITUUS) á-za-ti-i-wa/i-tà-sá (DEUS) SOL-
mi-sá CAPUT-ti-i-sá (DEUS) TONITRUS-hu-ta-sa
SERVUS-ta-sá

I (am) Azatiwatas, the
Sun-blessed(?) man,
Tarhunzas's servant,

(1)

Ho. EGO [...
Phoen. 'nk 'zmd b-brk b'l 'bd b'l

I (am) 'ZTWD the blessed of
Baal, the servant of Baal.

- § II,
7–11
- Hu. á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-sa-wa/i || REL-i-na MAGNUS+ra/i-
nu-wa/i-ta á-TANA-wa/i-ni-i-sá(URBS) REX-ti-sá
Ho. [á-w]á/i+ra/i-[ku]-sa-wa/i [REL]-i-na [...-w]a/i-ta
á-TANA-[wa/i]-ni-[...](URBS) [REX]-ti-sa
Phoen. 'š 'dr 'nrk mlk dnnym
- whom Awarikus the Adan-
awean king promoted.
- § III,
12–17
- Hu. wa/i-mu-u (DEUS)TONITRUS-bu-za-sa á-TANA-
wa/i-||ia(URBS) MATER-na-ti-na tá-ti-ha i-zi-i-tá
Ho. wá/i-mu [...]-za-sa [...]
Phoen. p'ln b'l l-dnnym l'b w-l'm
- Tarhunzas made me
mother and father to
Adanawa,
- Baal made me as father and as
mother to the DNNYM.
- (2)
- § IV,
18–20
- Hu. |ARHA-ba-wa/i |la+ra/i+a-nu-ba |á-TANA-wa/i-
na(URBS)
Ho. [...](URBS)
Phoen. yhu' nk yt dnnym
- and I caused Adanawa
to prosper,
- I caused the DNNYM to live,
- § V,
21–29
- Hu. |“MANUS”(-)la-tara/i-ha-ha-wá/i |á-TANA-wá/i-za
(URBS) |“TERRA+X”(-)wá/i+ra/i-za |zi-na |“(OCCI-
DENS”)i-pa-mi |VERSUS-ia-na |zi-pa-wá/i (ORIENS)
ki-sá-ta-mi-i |VERSUS-na
Ho. “MANUS”(-)la-tara/i-ha-ha-wá/i |á-TANA-wa/i-za
(URBS) TERRA+L-1+L-1(-)wá/i+ra/i-za zi-na
“(OCCIDENS”)i-pa-mi |[VERSUS]-[...]
Phoen. jrhb nk rš 'mq 'dn l-mmš' šmš w-'d mb'y
- and I extended the Adanawa
plain on the one hand
towards the west and on
the other hand towards
the east,
- I extended the land of the plain
of 'DN from the rising of
the sun even unto its setting,
- § VI,
30–37
- Hu. |á-mi-ia-za-ha-wa/i (“DIES”*)ha-lí-za |á-TANA-
wá/i-ia(URBS) |OMNIS+MI-ma |“(BONUS”)sa-na-
wa/i-ia |“(CORNU+R-1/I”)su+ra/i-sa |LINGERE(-)
ha-sa-sa-ha |á-sá-ta
Ho. [...]OMNIS-[MI]-ma BONUS-na-wá/i[...]
|LINGERE(-)ha-s[...-...-t]a
Phoen. w-ken b-ynty kl n'm l-dnnym w-šb' w-mn'm
- and in my days there were
to Adanawa all good
things, plenty and luxury,
- and there were in my days
every good to the DNNYM
and plenty and luxury,
- § VII,
38–40
- Hu. |“(MANUS”*)su-wá/i-ha-ha-wá/i |pa-há+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi
(URBS) |“(“*255”)ka-ru-na-zi
Ho. [...]-ha+ra/i-wa/i-n[í-zi](URBS) (*255)ka-ru-na-zi
Phoen. w-mi' nk qrt p'r
- and I filled the Paharean
granaries,
- and I filled the granaries of
P'R,
- § VIII,
41–44
- Hu. |EQUUS.ANIMAL-sù-ha-wa/i-ta (EQUUS.ANI-
MAL)á-sù-wa/i |SUPER+ra/i-ta |i-zi-i-ha
Ho. (EQUUS.ANIMAL)á-sù-pa-wá/i-ta (EQUUS.
ANIMAL)á-sù-wá/i SUPER+ra/i-ta i-zi-i-ha
Phoen. n-p'l nk ss 'l ss
- and I made horse upon
horse,
- and I made horse upon horse,
- § IX,
45–48
- Hu. EXERCITUS-la/i/u-za-pa-wa/i-ta |EXERCITUS-
la/i/u-ni |SUPER+ra/i-ta |i-zi-i-ha
Ho. [...]-[li][...]
Phoen. n-mgn 'l mgn
- and I made army upon
army,
- and shield upon shield.

§ X,
49–55Hu. |(<“SCUTUM”)hara/i-li-pa-wa/i-ta |(<“SCUTUM”)
hara/i-li |SUPER+ra/i-ta |i-zi-i-bá < ...>Ho. [...]-pa-wá/i-t[a] |EXERCITUS-la/i/u-ni-i
SUPER+ra/i-ta |i-zi-i-ba OMNIS-MI-ma-zi[a] |(DEUS)
TONITRUS-hu-ta-ti DEUS-na-ri+i-ba

Phoen. w-mhnt 'l mhnt b-br b'l w-'lm

and I made shield upon
shield,... all by Tarhunzas and
the gods.and army upon army by the
grace(?) of Baal and the
gods.§ XI,
56–59Hu. REL-pa-wá/i |(*255)pa²+ra/i-ia-ni-zi |ARHL4
|ma-ki-sa-bá ||Ho. [...] |(*“255”)pa²+ra/i-[ia]-ni[...]

Phoen. w-šbrt mlšm

So I broke up the proud,

And I broke the proud,

(3)

§ XII,
60–64
(2)Hu. |(<“MALUS₂”)ha-ni-ia-ta-pa-wa/i-ta- |REL-ia
|(TERRA)ta-sà-REL+ra/i |a-ta |á-sá-taHo. |(<“MALUS₂”)há-ni-ia-ta-ia-pa-wa/i-ta REL-ia
(<“TERRA+L₁+L₁”)wa/i+ra/i-ri+i a-ta |á-sa-ta-and the evils which were
in the land,§ XIII,
65–68Hu. |ná/i-ta (TERRA)ta-sà-REL+ra/i(-ri+i?) ARHL4
|[*501][...]-háHo. |na/i-ta (“TERRA”)ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ri+i |ARHL4
*501-ha-bá

Phoen. w-trq 'nk kl b-r' š kn b-rš

I [remov]ed out of the land.

And I removed(?) all the evil
which was in the land.§ XIV,
69–73Hu. |á-ma-||zi₄-há-wá/i-ta |DOMINUS-ni-za |DOMUS-
na-za |(BONUS)sa-na-wá/i |u-sa-ni-há

Ho. |á-ma-za-pa-wá/i-ta- |DOMINUS-ni-za || [...]

Phoen. w-ytn 'nk bt 'dny b-n'm

And I blessed(?) my lord's
house well,and I established the house of
my lord in good(ness),§ XV,
74–80Hu. |á-mi-há-wa/i |DOMINUS-ni-i |(NEPOS)ha-su-
|OMNIS-MI-ma || (BONUS)sa-na-wa/i-ia |CUM-na
i-zi-i-báHo. [...] |OMNIS-MI-ma-ia |(“BONUS”)sa-na-wa/i-ia
|CUM-ni i-zi-i-bá

Phoen. w-p'l 'nk l-šrš 'dny n'm

and I did all good things
for my lord's family,and I did good to the root of
my lord,§ XVI,
81–84Hu. |á-pa-sá-há-wá/i-ta |tá-ti-i |(“THRONUS”)i-sà-
tara/i-ti |(“SOLIUM”)i-s[á-nu-wa/i-ba]Ho. |á-pa-sa-há-wa/i-ta- |tá-ti-i |(“THRONUS”)i-sà-
tara/i-ti |(“SOLIUM”)i-sá-nu-wá/i-bá- ||

Phoen. w-yšb 'nk 'l ks 'by

and I caused it/them to
sit upon its/their
father's throne.and I caused it to sit on the
throne of its father,

§ XVII

[Hu.] (Ho. lacks this clause).

Phoen. w-št 'nk šlm 't kl mlk

[...]

and I established peace with
every king.

§ XVIII,
85–94

Hu. [... || ...] | [i-zi]-i-[ta] | á-[m]-ia-ti | IUSTITIA-na-ti
| á-mi-ia+ra/i-ha | (“VAS”) á-ta-na-sa-ma-ti | á-mi-ia+ra/i-ha
|| | (“BONUS”) sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti

And every king made me
father to himself be-
cause of my *justice* and
my *wisdom* and my
goodness.

Ho. | OMNIS-MI-sa-ha-wa/i-mu-ti-i REX-ti-sa | tá-ti-na
| i-zi-tá | á-mi-ti | IUSTITIA-na-ri+i | á-mi-ia+ra/i-ha
| (“VAS”) á-ta-na-sa-ma-ri+i | á-mi+ra/i-ha | (“BONUS”) sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti

Phoen. u-ḫ p b-ḫt p ln kl mlk b-ṣdqy u-b-ḫkmty u-b-n m lby

and also every king made me
as father because of my
justice and my *wisdom* and
my goodness of heart.

§ XIX,
95–101

Hu. (“CASTRUM”) ha+ra/i-ni-sà-pa-wá/i | PUGNUS(-)
la/i/u-mi-tà-ia | AEDIFICARE | MI-ha [...

Ho. ha+ra/i-ni- [...] | (“FINES”) i+ra/i-ha-za

Phoen. u-bn nk ḫmyt ʾzt b-kl qṣyt l gblm

And I built strong
fortresses [...
...] on the frontiers,
And I built strong walls in all
the limits on the frontiers,

(4)
§ XX,
102–107

Hu. (MALUS) á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi-wa/i-ta | CAPUT-ti-zi
| REL-ta-na | a-ta | á-sa-ta | (“*217?”) u-sa-lí-zi

Ho. | MALUS-ta₄-zi-wá/i-ta- | CAPUT-ti-i-zi | REL-i-
ta-na a-ta | á-sa₄-ta | (“*217”) u-sà-lí-zi

Phoen. b-mqmm b-ṣ kn šm r m b l ḡddm

wherein were bad men,
robbers,

in places in which there were
bad men, masters of gangs,

§ XXI,
108–113

Hu. NEG₂-wá/i REL-zi | SUB-na-na PUGNUS. PUG-
NUS-ta₄-ta | mu-ka-sa-sa-na | DOMUS-ni-i

Ho. NEG₂-wá/i REL-zi | SUB-na-na | tá-tà-ta mu-ka-sá-sá-na
|| DOMUS-ni-i

Phoen. ṣ bl ṣ bd kn l-bt mpṣ

who had not served(?)
under Muksas's house,

none of whom had been servant
to the house of MPŠ,

§ XXII,
114–118

Hu. á-mu-pa-wá/i-ma-tà | (LITUUS) á-za-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sá
| (“PES”) pa-tà-za | SUB-na-na | PONERE-há

Ho. | á-mu-pa-wa/i-ma-ara/i (LITUUS) á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-sá
| (“PES”) pa-tà-za | SUB-na-na “PONERE”-há

Phoen. u-ḫ nk ʾztwḏ štnm tḫt p my

and I, Azatiwatas, put
them under my feet.

and I ZTWD put them
under my feet,

§ XXIII,
119–124

Hu. | REL-pa-wá/i-ta | LOCUS-ta₄-ta-za- | á-pa-ta-za
| (“CASTRUM”) ha+ra/i-ni-sà | a-ta | AEDIFICARE +
MI-ha

Ho. | REL-i-pa-wa/i-ta | “LOCUS”-ta₄-ta-za || <á-pa-
ta-za> (CASTRUM) ha+ra/i-ni-sà a-ta || [...]

Phoen. u-bn nk ḫmyt b-mqmm hmt

So I built fortresses in
those places,

and I built walls in those
places,

§ XXIV,
125–128

Hu. | á-T.A.N.A-wa/i-sa-wa/i (URBS) || (5) | REL-ti | (BONUS)
na/i+ra/i-ia-ma-la | SOLIUM-MI-i

Ho. [...] REL-ti | (BONUS) wa/i+ra/i-ia-má-la
| SOLIUM+MI-i

Phoen. l-šōtnm ānnym ḫ-nḫt ḫnm

so that Adanawa might
dwell peacefully.

for the DNNYM to dwell in
peace of their heart.

§ XXV,
129–133Hu. |*274-ta-li-ha-há-wa/i “CASTRUM”-sà PUGNUS(-)
la/i/u-mi-tà-ia-’ || (“OCCIDENS”)i-pa-mi “VERSUS”-naAnd I smote strong
fortresses towards the
west,Ho. |(*274)há-ta-li-há-há-wá/i (“CASTRUM”)ha+ra/i-ni-sà
|PUGNUS(-)la/i/u-mi-tà-ia (“SOL”)i-pa-mi-i |VERSUS-na

Phoen. w-’n ’nk ’ršt ’zšt b-mb’ šmš

And I subdued strong lands in
the setting of the sun,§ XXVI,
134–137Hu. |NEG₂-wa/i REL-ia (*274)ha-ta-la-i-ta |FRONS-li-zi
REX-ti-ziwhich former kings had
not smitten,Ho. |NEG₂-wa/i |REL-ia |(*274)há-ta-la-i-ta |FRONS-
la/i/u-zi REX-zi

Phoen. ’š bl ’n kl b-mlkm

which none of the kings had
subdued,§ XXVII,
138–141

Hu. |á-mu || REL-zi |PRAE-na |á-sá-ta

who were before me.

Ho. |á-mu-wa/i |REL-zi₄ |PRAE-na |á-sá-ta

Phoen. ’š kn l-pny

who were before me.

§ XXVIII,
142–144Hu. |á-mu-pa-wa/i+ra/i (LITUUS)á-za-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sá
(*274)ha-ta-li-i-ha(So) I, Azatiwatas, smote
them,Ho. |REL-i-pa-wa/i-ara/i |á-mu (OCULUS)á-za-ti-wa/i-
tá-sá-’ (*274)ha-ta-li-há

Phoen. w-’nk ’zšt ’ntnm

And I, ’ZTWD, smote them,

§ XXIX,
145–146

Hu. INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-ta || | (“PES”)u-sá-ha

and I brought them down,

Ho. INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-ta | (“PES”)u-sa-há-’ ||

Phoen. yrdm ’nk

and I brought them down,

§ XXX,
147–152Hu. INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-tà |(SOLIUM)i-sà-nú-há (DEUS)
ORIENS-mi VERSUS-na á-mi-ia-za-ta (FINES)
i+ra/i-há-za ||and I settled them down
towards the east on my
frontiers,

(3)

Ho. [...] (DEUS)ORIENS-mi VERSUS-na
|á-mi-za-ta | (“FINES”)i+ra/i-ha-za

Phoen. jšbm ’nk b-qšt gbly b-mš’ šmš

I settled them in the limits of
my frontiers in the rising of
the sun,§ XXXI,
153–158Hu. REL-pa-wa/i |á-T-AN-4-wa/i-ni-zi(URBS) |zi-tà
|á-pa-ti-i INFRA-ta |(SOLIUM)i-sà-nú-wa/i-haand so I settled Adana-
weans down ... there.Ho. REL-pa-wa/i |á-T-AN-4-wa/i-ni-zi(URBS)«-pa-wa/i»
|zi-tà |a-pa-ri+i <INFRA-ta> (SOLIUM)i-sà-nu-há

Phoen. w-dnny jšbt šm

and I settled DNNYM there.

§ XXXII,
159–170Hu. |a-wa/i á-mi-za | (“DIES”)ha-li-ia-za || |á-T-AN-4-
wa/i-ni-zi(URBS) FINES+bi-zi “MANUS”(-)
la-tara/i-ha |zi-na | (“OCCIDENS”)pa-mi |VERSUS-
ia-na |zi-pa-wa/i “ORIENS”-ta-mi VERSUS-naIn my days I extended the
Adanawean frontiers on
the one hand towards
the west and on the other
hand towards the east,

Ho. |a-wa/i |á-mi-ia-za | (“DIES”)ha-li-ia-za || [...]

Phoen. w-ken b-ymty b-kl gbl ’mq ’dn lnmš’ šmš w-’d mb’y

And they were in my days on
all frontiers of the plain of
’DN from the rising of the
sun even unto its setting,

- § XXXIII, 171–176
Hu. |á-pa-ta-za-pa||wa/i-ta|²“LOCUS”-ta₄-ta-za «-ba-pa-wa/i» |REL-ia HWT-sà-ta rú-wa/i-na |á-sa-ta
Ho. [–]
Phoen. w-b-mqmm 'š kn l-pnm nšt'm
and even in those places which were formerly feared,
- § XXXIV, 177–181
Hu. CAPUT-ti-sa-wa/i+ra/i REL-i-ta-na HWT-sà-i-ia ||
“VIA”-wa/i-na (“PES₂”)i-u-na
Ho. [–]
Phoen. 'š yšt' 'dm l-let drk
and in the places which were formerly feared,
where a man fears them (for) the road to go (it),
where a man fears to walk the road,
- § XXXV, 182–187
Hu. REL-pa-wa/i- mi-ia-za (“DIES”)há-li-ia-za |FEM-INA-ti-zi-há “FUSUS”(-)si-tara/i(-?) PES₂. PES₂(-)-tā-ti
Ho. [–]
Phoen. w-bymty 'nk 'št tk(?) lḥdy dl plkm b-'br b'l w-'lm
so in my days even women walk with spindles.
in my own days a woman walks(?) alone(?) with spindles, by the grace of Baal and the gods.
- § XXXVI, 188–195
Hu. a-wa/i á-mi-ia-za || (DIES)há-li-ia-za (CORNU+R-1/I) su+ra/i-sá |LINGERE(-)há-sá-sá-ha sa-na-wa/i-za-sa-ha |SOLIUM-MI-ia-sa |sá-ta
Ho. [–]
Phoen. w-ken b-kl ymty šb' w-mn'm w-šbt n'mt
In my days there was plenty and luxury and good living,
And there was in all my days plenty and luxury and good living,
- § XXXVII, 196–200
Hu. |BONUS+R-1/I-ia-ma-la-ha-wa/i SOLIUM-MI-ta |á-T-1N-1-wa/i-sá(URBS) || |á-ta-na-wa/i-za-ha(URBS) |TERRA+L-1+L-1-za
Ho. [–]
Phoen. w-nḥt lb l-dnnyw w-l-kl 'mq 'dn
and peacefully dwelt Adanawa and the Adanawa plain.
and peace of heart to the DNNYM and to all the plain of 'DN.
- § XXXVIII, 201–204
Hu. |a-wa/i za “CASTRUM”-zá AEDIFICARE+MI-ha
Ho. [–]
Phoen. w-bn 'nk b-qrt z
I built this fortress,
And I built this city,
- § XXXIX, 205–208
Hu. wa/i-tu-ta (LITUUS)á-za-ti-wa/i-tā-ia-na(URBS) |á-ta₄||ma-za PONERE-ha
Ho. [–]
Phoen. w-št 'nk šm 'ztdy
and to it I put the name Azatiwataya.
and I established its name 'ZTDY,
- § XL, 209–216
Hu. REL-pa-wa/i-mu POST-na |(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sá (DEUS)CERVUS₂-za-sá-há |sá-ta za-ti “CASTRUM”-si AEDIFICARE-MI-na
Ho. [–]
Phoen. k-b'l w-ršp sprm šlhn l-bnt
So Tarhunzas and Runzas were after me for this fortress to build (it).
since Baal and Reseph-of-the-goats sent me to build it.

§§ XLI–XLVII: missing in Ho., fragmentary in Hu. (word numbering estimated from Phoen.).

(6)

§ XLI

Hu. [...] -tā [AEDIFI]CARE-*MI-ha* [...] -ta[...]

[and] I built it [by
Tarhun]za[s ...

Ho. [-]

Phoen. *w-bny 'nk b-'br b'l w-b-'br ršp sprm b-šb' w-b-mn'm w-
b-šbt n'mt w-b-nht lb*

*and I built it by the grace
of Baal and by the grace of
Rešeph-of-the-goats, in plenty
and in luxury and in good
living and in peace of heart,*

§§ XLII–XLIII: no fragments of Hu. or Ho. identified

Phoen. *l-kny mšmr l-'mq 'dn w-l-bt mps*

*for it to be a protection for the
plain of 'DN and for the
house of MPŠ,
since in my days there was
plenty and luxury to the
land of the plain of 'DN.*

k b-ymty kn l-'rš 'mq 'dn šb' w-mn'm

(7a)

§ XLIV

Hu. [...] x[...] i-š-i-i[...] |*a-mi-[ia-za]* | (“DIES”) *ba-li-[ia]-z[a]*

[...] ... [in] my day[s].

Ho. [-]

Phoen. *w-bl kn mtm l-dnny m ll b-ymty*

*And there was not ever in my
days night(?) for the
DNNYM.*

§ XLV

Hu. |*z[a-pa/ha-wa/i]-'* <“CASTRUM”-*sā-z[á]* |
AEDIFICARE-*M[l]-ha*

And I built this(?)
fortress,

Ho. [-]

Phoen. *w-bn 'nk b-qrt z*

And I built this city,

§ XLVI: not in Hu.; Ho missing

Phoen. *št 'nk šm ztwdy*

*I established its name
'ZTWDY,*

§ XLVII

Hu. |*wa/i-t[a...]* *z[a4...]* | (DEUS)TONI[TRUS ...]
a-ta (SOLIUM) i-s[á]-nū-ha

and therein I caused to
dwell ... Tarhunzas,

(5)

Ho. [...] -*sā-nū-hā*

Phoen. *yšb 'nk bn b'l krntryš*

*I caused to dwell in it Baal
KRNTRYŠ,*

(7b)

§ XLVIII,
261–272

Hu. *wa/i-na |i-zi-sa-tu-na ta-ia* (“FLUMEN”) *hā-pa+*
ra/i-sā | OMNIS-*MI-i-sā* | (ANNUS) *u-si pā² + ra/i*
BOS.ANIMAL-*sā* (*486) REL-*tu-na-ha* (OVIS.
ANIMAL) *hā-wa/i-sā* | “VITIS”(-) *hā + ra/i-ha* OVIS.
ANIMAL-*wa/i-sa*

and every river-land will
begin to honour him:
by(?) the year an ox,
and at the cutting(?) a
sheep and at the vintage
a sheep.

Ho. *wā/i-na i-zi-i-sa-tū-na CRUS-ia* | FLUMEN-*pari-i-sā*
| OMNIS-*MI-i-sā* | (“ANNUS”) *u-si* | (“ANNUS”) *pā² + ra/i-i*
| (BOS.ANIMAL) *wa/i-wa/i-sa* (“*486”) *REL-tū-na-ha* | (“OVIS.ANIMAL”) *hā-wa/i-sā* | “VITIS”(-)
hā + ra/i > *wā/i* | (OVIS.ANIMAL) *hā-wā/i-i-sā*

Phoen. *w-ylk zbh l kl b-mskt zbh ymm 'lp 1*
w-b[-'t h] rš š 1 w-b-'t qsr š 1

*and all the MSKT shall
make come a sacrifice to
(him): an annual sacrifice one
ox, and at the time of the
ploughing one sheep, and at the
time of the reaping one sheep.*

§ XLIX,
273 – 277
(6)

Hu. *wa/i-ta u-sa-nú-wa/i-tu-u* (LITUUS) *á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-na*
sa-pi-sá-ta₅-ri+i | *ba-tà+ra/i-ti-i-há*

Ho. [*wa/i-ta u-sa-nu*] *wá/i-tú-u* (OCULUS) *á-za₄-ti-wá/i-*
tà-na | *sá-pi-sa-ara/i-ri+i* *ha*-IUDEX + *RA/I-ri+i-há*

Phoen. *w-brk b'l kr[n]tryš 'yt 'ztwd hym w-šlm*

Let him bless Azatiwatas
with health and life,

And may Baal KRNTYŠ
bles 'ZTWD with life and
health,

(8)
§ L,
278 – 282

Hu. SUPER + *ra/i-li-há-wa/i-sá* | FRONS-*la/i/u-sá*
i-zi-ia+ra/i-ru | OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* REX-*ta-za*

Ho. |SUPER + *ra/i-li-há-wa/i-sá* | FRONS-*li-i-sá i-zi-ia-ru*
|OMNIS-*MI-ni-i-ma-za₄* | REX-*tá-za*

Phoen. *w-š 'dr 'l kl mlk*

and let him be made
highly preeminent over
all kings.

and strength exceeding over
every king,

§ LI,
283 – 296

Hu. *pi-ia-tu-há-wa/i-tu-u* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-za-sá*
ARHLA u-sa-nú-wa/i-mi-sá za-si-há-wa/i | (“CASTRUM”)
há<+ra/i>-na-sá-si DEUS-*ni-zi* (LITUUS) *á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-ia*
|| (9) “LONGUS”-*ta₅-ia* (DIES) *há-li-ia mi-ia-ti-zi-ha* ||
(ANNUS) *u-si-zi sa-na-wa/i-sá-ha-wa/i* || *tá-mi-hi-sá*

Ho. |*pi-ia-tú-há-wa/i-tu₄-u* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu₄-za₄-sa*
| *ARHLA* | (BONUS) *u-sa-nú-wá/i-mi-sá za-i¹-si-i-há-wá/i* ||
(“CASTRUM”) *há+ra/i-ni-sá-si* | DEUS-*LA₄-zi*
¹(OCULUS) *á-za-ti-wá/i-tà-ia* (“LONGUS”) *a+ra/i-ia*
| (“DIES”) *há-li-ia* | *mi-ia-ti-zi₄-há* | ANNUS-*si-zi*
| (BONUS) *sa-na-wá/i-sá-há-wá/i* | *tá-mi-hi-sá*

Phoen. *l-try b'l krntryš w-kl 'ln qrt l- 'ztwd 'rk ymm w-rb*
šnt w-rš 't n'mt

And may Tarhunzas the
highly blessed and this
fortress's gods give to
him, to Azatiwatas,
long days and many
years and good
abundance,

so that Baal KRNTYŠ
and all the gods of the city
give to 'ZTWD length of
days and multitude of years
and good abundance,

§ LII,
297 – 302

Hu. |*pi-ia-tu-há-wa/i-tu* OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* || <*pihas-sa*
tanimanza> REX-*za* SUPER + *ra/i-ta*

Ho. *pi-ia-tú-há-wá/i-tú* OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* - “FULGUR”-
há-sá OMNIS-*MI-za* | REX-*ta-za* SUPER + *ra/i-ta*

Phoen. *w-š 'dr 'l kl mlk*

and let them give him all
victory over all kings.

and strength exceeding over
every king.

§ LIII,
303 – 308

Hu. REL-*pa-wa/i za* (“CASTRUM”) *há+ra/i-ni-sá-||za*
i-zi-ia-ru (DEUS)BONUS-*sa* (DEUS)VITIS-*sá-há*

Ho. |REL-*i-pa-wá/i* | *za* - [...] [...] (DEUS)VITIS-*ti-ti-há*

Phoen. *w-ken b-qrt š b'lt šb' w-trš*

And so let this fortress
become (one) of the
Grain-God and the
Wine-God,

And may this city be mistress
of grain and wine.

§ LIV,
309 – 313

Hu. REL-*pa-wa/i-ta* || (10)|REGIO-*ni-ia* REL-*ia a-ta*
|SOLIUM+*MI-sá-i*

Ho. |REL-*pa-wá/i-ta* REGIO-*ia* <REL-*ia*> *a-ta*
|(SOLIUM) *i-sá-nú-wa/i-ti*

Phoen. *w-m š 'š yšb bn*

and so the nations that
dwell in (it),
and so the nations <that>
he/they shall cause to
dwell in (it),
and this people that dwells in
it.

§ LV, 314–319	Hu. <i>wa/i-tà i-zi-ia-rú</i> OVIS.ANIMAL-<i>wa/i-si</i> BOS. ANIMAL-<i>wa/i-si</i> (DEUS)BONUS-<i>si</i> (DEUS)VITIS- <i>ia-si-há</i> Ho. <i> wá/i-tà i-zi-ia-rú </i>OVIS.ANIMAL-<i>wa/i-si</i> BOS. ANIMAL-<i>si</i> (DEUS)BONUS-<i>sa</i> (DEUS)“VITIS”- <i>ia-si-há</i> Phoen. <i>yken b'l 'lpm w-b'l š'n w-b'l šb' w-trš</i>	let them become (those) of sheep, oxen, the Grain-God and the Wine-God ! <i>shall be masters of oxen and masters of sheep and masters of grain and wine.</i>
§ LVI, 320–321	Hu. <i> ma-wa/i-za ha-sá-tu-</i> Ho. <i> ma-wá/i-za ha-sa-tù</i> Phoen. <i>w-brbm yld</i>	Much let them beget for us, <i>And by many they shall beget,</i>
§ LVII, 322–323	Hu. <i>ma-pa-wa/i</i> MAGNUS + <i>ra/i-nú-wa/i-tu-</i> Ho. <i> ma-pa-wá/i</i> MAGNUS + <i>ra/i-nú-wa/i-tu</i> Phoen. <i>w-brbm y 'dr</i>	and much let them make great, <i>and by many they shall be mighty,</i>
§ LVIII, 324–330	Hu. <i>ma-pa-wa/i</i> (CRUX)<i>pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu-u</i> (LITUUS) <i>á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-ia mu-ka-sa-sá-há-</i> DOMUS-<i>ní-i</i> (DEUS) TONITRUS-<i>hu-ta-[tí]</i> DEUS-<i>na-ti-há</i> Ho. <i> ma-pa-wá/i</i> (“DOMUS.CRUX”) <i>pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu₄</i> (OCULUS) <i>á-za-ti-wá/i+ra/i-ia mu-ka-sá-sa-há</i> <i> (DOMUS)pa+ra/i-ní [...]</i> Phoen. <i>w-brbm y 'bd l- 'ztwd w-l-bt mpš b-'br. b'l w-'lm</i>	and much let them be in service to Azatiwatas and to Muksas's house by Tarhunzas and the gods ! <i>and by many they shall be servant to 'ZTWD and to the house of MPŠ by the grace of Baal and the gods !</i>
§ LIX, 331–333	Hu. REX-<i>ta-ti-i-pa-wa/i</i> REL + <i>ra/i</i> REL-<i>sa-há</i> Ho. [–] Phoen. <i>w-'m mlk b-mlkm</i>	If anyone from (among) kings, <i>If (there is) a king among kings,</i>
§ LX, 334–335	Hu. <i>ní-pa-wa/i-sa</i> ¹CAPUT-<i>tí-sá</i> Ho. [–] Phoen. <i>w-rzn b-rznm</i>	or (if) he (is) a man (prince), <i>or a prince among princes,</i>
§ LXI, 336–337	Hu. ¹CAPUT-<i>tí-ia-za-ha-wa/i-tu-ta á-ta₄-ma-za</i> Ho. [–] Phoen. <i>'m 'dm 'š 'dm šm</i>	and to him (there is) a manly (princely) name, <i>if (there is) a man, who (is) a man of name,</i>
§ LXII, 338–339	Hu. <i> za á-sa₅-za-ia</i> Ho. [–] (Phoen. : nothing corresponding)	proclaims this: (–)

- § LXIII,
340–345
- (7)
- Hu. *ARHLA-wa/i-ta* “*69”(-) *i-ti-wa/i* || (LITUUS)
á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-sá á-ta₅-ma-za PORTA-*la-na-ri+i* *zi-na*
- Ho. [...] || *á-ta₄-ma-za₄* “PORTA”-*na* *zi-na*
Phoen. *š ymh šm* *š twd b-š r* *z*
- § LXIV,
346–350
- Hu. *wa/i-mu-ta* || *á-ma-za á-ta₄-ma-za a-ta tu-pi-wa/i*
- Ho. [—]
Phoen. *w-št šm*
- § LXV,
351–354
- Hu. *ni-pa-wa/i-sá* (VAS) *á-la/i/u-na-za-ia* “CASTRUM”-
ni-si *za-ti* ||
- Ho. [...]-*za-ia* | “CASTRUM”-*si* [...]
Phoen. *m p yhmd* *y t b-qrt* *z*
- § LXVI,
355–359
- Hu. *wa/i-ta a-ta* AEDIFICARE+*MI-i* “PORTA”-*la-na*
za-ia
- Ho. [—]
Phoen. *w-yš b-š r* *z*
- § LXVII,
360–362
- Hu. (LITUUS) *á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-sa* REL-*ia* *i-zi-ta₅*
- Ho. [—]
Phoen. *š p l* *š twd*
- § LXVIII,
363–365
- Hu. |*a-wa/i* *za-ri+i* |*á-sa₅-za-ia*
- Ho. [...]-*ti-* [...]
(Phoen. : nothing corresponding)
- § LXIX,
366–368
- Hu. *wa/i+ra/i-la-ia-wa/i* “PORTA”-*la-na* *i-zi-i-wa/i*
- Ho. [...]-*ia*-[...]-*na* [...]-*wa/i*
Phoen. *w-yš l l-š r* *z*
- § LXX,
369–372
- Hu. |*á-ma-za* (<*a*>-*há-wa/i-mu-ta á-ta₄-ma-za-* *a-ta tu-*
pi-wa/i
- Ho. [...] *a-t* |*a* |*tu*|-*pi-wa/i*
Phoen. *w-št šm* *š y*
- § LXXI,
373–376
- Hu. *ni-wa/i-ta* (“VAS”) *á-la/i/u-na-ma-ti a-ta* AEDI-
FICARE-*MI-ri+i-i* ||
- Ho. [*ni-w*] *a/i-ta á-[la/i/u-na]-[má-ti]* [...]-*MI-ti-i*
Phoen. *m b-hmdt yš*
- § LXXII,
377–378
- a. Hu. *ni-pa-wa/i* MALUS-*ta₄-sa-tara/i-ri+i* ||
- Ho. *ni-pa-wa/i* || |MALUS-*ta₄-sá-tara/i-ri+i*
Phoen. *m b-š n t*
- (11)
- 379–384
- b. Hu. *ni-i-pa-wa/i* (MALUS₂) *ba-ni-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti a-ta*
|AEDIFICARE+*MI-ri+i* |*za-ia* “PORTA”-*la-na*
- Ho. [...] *b* |*a*-[...]-*s* |*á*-[...] *á*-[*ta*] |AEDIFICARE+*MI-*
[*ri+i*] |*za-ia* | “PORTA”-*la-na*
- Phoen. *w-b-r* *yš b-š r* *z*
- “I shall delete Azatiwa-
tas’s name from the
gate(s) here,
- who shall delete the name of*
’ZTWD on this gate,
and I shall incise my
name”;
and put his name,
or (if) he is *covetous* to-
wards this fortress,
if also he shall covet this city,
and blocks up(?) these
gates,
and tear out this gate,
which Azatiwatas made,
which ’ZTWD made,
and proclaims thus:
(—)
“I shall make the gates my
own,
and shall make (it) into a
gate of a stranger,
and I shall incise my
name for myself”;
and put his name upon it,
or (if) from covetousness
he shall block them
up(?),
if from covetousness he shall
tear (it) out,
or from badness
if from hatred
or from evil he shall
block up(?) these gates,
and from evil he shall tear out
this gate.

§ LXXIII,
385 – 400

Hu. *wa/i-ta* || .ARHA |MANUS(-)i-ti-tu CAELUM
(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sá CAELUM(DEUS)SOL-
za-sá (DEUS)i-ia-sá OMNIS-MI-zi-ha DEUS-ni-zi
á-pa |REX-bi-sá |á-pa-há "REX"-na |á-pa-há-wa/i
|CAPUT-ti-na

Ho. |*wa/i-ta* |.ARHA |"*69"(-)i-ti-tu (DEUS)i-ia-sá
|"CAELUM" (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sá-'"CAE-
LUM" (DEUS)SOL-[za]-sá |OMNIS-MI-zi-há-wa/i
DEUS-ni-zi |á-pa-sá REX-ta-bi-sa |á-pa-há-'"REX-ti-na
|á-pa-há-wa/i CAPUT-ti-na

Phoen. *w-mḥ b'l šmm w-'l qn 'rṣ w-šmš 'lm w-kel dr bn*
'lm 'yt b-mmlket b' w-'yt b-mlk b' w-'yt 'dm h' 'š 'dm šm

may celestial Tarhunzas,
the celestial Sun, Ea
and all the gods delete
that kingdom and that
king and that man !

then may Baal ŠMM and
El QN 'RṢ and the
eternal Sun and and all the
assembly of the sons of gods
delete that kingdom and that
king and that man who (is)
a man of name !

(12)

§ LXXIV,
401 – 407

Hu. POST-na-wa/i .ARHA²¹ ("CRUS^{<v>})ta-za-tu |ara/i-zi
OMNIS-MI-zi (OCULUS)á-za-ti-wa/i-tá-sa |á-ta-s-ma-za

Ho. POST-na-ha-wa/i ara/i-[zi]-i |OMNIS-MI-zi
|CRUS[...?]-tu [...

Phoen. *'ps šm 'ztwd ykn l-'lm*

Hereafter may Azatiwa-
tas's name continue to
stand for all ages,

But the name of 'ZTWD
shall be for eternity,

§ LXXV,
408 – 412

Hu. (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa-wa/i (DEUS)SOL-ha
RFL-rí+i á-ta₄-ma-za "CRUS"-i

Ho. [-]

Phoen. *km šm šmš w-yrh*

as the Moon's and the
Sun's name stands.

like the name of the Sun and
Moon.

Commentary

§ I, 2. *Azatiwatas*: Hier. spelling certain since establishment of *za* for *i* and demonstration of logographic use of LITUUS (Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 124 f.). Thus Hier. establishes vocalization of Phoen. consonantal outline as *Azatiwada*, and the rhotacizing Hier. variant *Azatiwaras* confirms the voiced character of the final dental (see A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 250).

3–4. (DEUS)SOL-*mi-sá* CAPUT-*ti-i-sá*: epithet now well attested – KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 1; A18b, § 1; A21, § 2; BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 5; HİSARCIK 1, § 1; KULULU 2, § 1; KULULU 4, §§ 1,2; KULULU 5, § 3 (*ti-wa/i+ra/i-mi*, only full phonetic writing). SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sá* also occurs as personal name (CEKKE, § 17 i). The inexact Phoen. equivalent *b-brk b'l* should now be accepted as "blessed of Baal", in spite of early syntactical doubts: see Lemaire, *Semitica* 27 (1977), p. 38 f. On question of original form (*tiwatami-/tiwatimi-(?)*) see KULULU 2, § 1, Commentary.

6. SERVUS-*ta₄-sá*: clearly identified by Phoen. equivalent *'bd*, "servant", but the reading remains problem-

atic, since it is uncertain whether the first sign is a logogram or syllabogram. Sole evidence for a syllabographic value for SERVUS (*HH* no. 387) comes from KARATEPE, 293, Hu. *mi-* = Ho. *387- (thus *mi*), a very flimsy basis for reading. Another but obscure example of possibly syllabographic usage appears to be ŞIRZI, § 4 (*356(-)*sa*(-)*387-*wa/i-sá*); otherwise the only attested use is in the writing of the present word "servant". Bossert adopted the dubious syllabic value *mi* and identified the word (which is also used as a personal name – BABYLON 2, § 1) with the Phrygian name *Midas*: see *JKF* 2 (1953), p. 328. The connections are tenuous, and it seems more prudent to treat the sign as logogram (SERVUS) until clearer evidence is forthcoming. [Note. The new Boğazköy bulla Bo. 90/316 confirms that the sign SERVUS is a logogram in the Empire Period: see Neve, *Antike Welt*, 1992 Sondernummer, p. 60 Abb. 162, top row, second from left. See also SUVASA, C, and KULULU 8, and Commentaries for Late examples. We may well accept Güterbock's proposed explanation of the logogram as "man's man" (*Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36 (1977), p. 15 n. 41)].

The stem of the word also shows peculiarities: it is always written with *-ta₄/ta₅-*, sometimes without further complement(s) (CEKKE, § 1, and Commentary, with other examples); sometimes with *-i-* (see ALEPPO 2, § 1, with other examples); but more usually with direct addition of case-endings, as here.

§ III, 15. MATER-*na-ti-na*: meaning of logogram established by Phoen. *'m*, “mother”, as well as context “mother and father” (cf. KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 5?). Same logogram is used for “woman”, thus FEMINA, so Hier. fails to distinguish in the manner of Cun. AMA/SAL. The ambiguity is compounded by the phon. complements, in both cases *-(na)ti-*, both words being *-n-* stems with *-(a)ti-* suffix, representing respectively *anati-*, “mother”, and *wanati-*, “woman”: see Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), p. 80 f.; Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 74 ff. For a possible full phonetic writing of “mother”, *á-na-ia* (dat. sing.), see KÜLÜLÜ lead strip 1, § 9 entry 60, element 4, and Commentary.

§ IV, 19. *la+ra/i+a-nú-*: for interpretation of first sign as transliterated, and association of verb with simple *la+ra/i-//la-tà-*, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), pp. 104–106, where the stem was tentatively associated with Hitt. *laṣṣiya(bh)-*, “be (make) good, prosper” (for which see *CHD*, s.v.).

§§ III–IV, 14–20. Ho. between words 13 ([*Tarhun*]*ṣas*, lion rump, l. 1) and 21 (“MANUS”(-)*la-tara/i-ha-ha-wà/i*, lion rump, l. 2) shows only [...]URBS, with no apparent space for intervening words. In fact the scribe/mason’s eye seems to have jumped from 14 (*-Atanawaya*(URBS)) to 20 (*-Atanawan*(URBS)), omitting words 15–19; cf. a similar haplography on Hu. 298–300.

§ V, 21. “MANUS”(-)*la-tara/i-*: cf. TERRA(-)*la-tara/i-*, probably the same verb, IZGIN 2, § 3.

23. Hu. “TERRA+X” (Ho. TERRA+*L-1+L-1*)(-)*wá/i+ra/i-ṣa*: associate with Hier. forms (TERRA+*L-1+L-1*)*wa/i-li-li-tà-* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8) // (TERRA+*L-1+L-1*)*wa/i-li-ri+i-tà-* (ANDAVAL, § 3) (see *Edition*, p. 106); and with Hitt.-Luw. *ulili-*, “field” (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kaniššumar*, p. 73 f.). Cf. further KARATEPE, 62 (Ho.), 200. The present form is shorter than the parallels: a restoration *wá/i+ra/i-ri+i-* (both Hu. and Ho.) would bring it into line, but alternatively it could be considered a haplographic writing. The form of the logogram “TERRA+X” is to be regarded as an archaism, an attempt to reproduce the Empire Period form of TERRA/LOCUS as seen on e.g. EMIRGAZI, YALBURT, BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, and KARA-HÖYÜK (all relief). For probably genuinely archaic incised forms, see KARADAĞ 1, § 1 (and Commentary), with BURUNKAYA, § 1. For another possible example of the archaizing use of this form, see KARKAMIŠ A21, § 8, and Commentary.

22. *á-TANA-wa/i-ṣa*: ethnic adj., either *atanawi+ya* (adj. suffix) + *an* (nom./acc.sing. N) + *sa* (particle), or *atanawi+ṣa* (adj. suffix, cf. *Karkamisṣa* etc. – but what would have become of nom./acc. sing. N ending?); see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 106.

24 ..., 27. *ṣi-na ... ṣi-pa-wá/i*: clearly paired deictic elements *ṣin ... ṣin ...*, “here ..., here ...”; “on the one hand ..., on the other ...” (no Phoen. correspondence); recurs in same context, below, 165 ..., 168; also KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 4–6, and 30; KARKAMIŠ A15b, §§ 8–9, and similar context KARKAMIŠ A24, frags.19+19a; it also occurs singly, below, § LXIII, 345; and İSKENDERUN, § 4; SULTANHAN, § 12; and perhaps paired with *pi[n]*, IZGIN 2, §§ 4–5. For the parallel deictic element *pin*, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, and Commentary.

Hier. “west-east” = Phoen. “east-west”, so also § XXXII below; correct equivalences are given in § XXV, “west”, § XXX, “east”. The Hier. words seem to be participles of verb stems *ipa-* (“west”) and *kista-* (“east”), not otherwise identified.

§ VI, 31, 33. (“DIES”) *ha-li-ṣa*, OMNIS+*MI-ma*: for identification of *li* and *ma* in these words, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, pp. 103, 106.

36. LINGERE(-)*ha-sa-sa*, also below, 192, = Phoen. *mn'm*, “luxury”: cf. LINGERE((-)*ha*)-*sa-ti*, abl. sing., KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11; A23, § 6.

§ VII, 40. (*255) *ka-ru-na-ṣi*, = Phoen. *'qrt*: word to be interpreted less from the problematic Phoen. *hapax legomenon* than from contexts of the several Hier. attestations – here, also İSKENDERUN, § 3; HAMA 8, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A30b, § 1, MARAŞ 8, § 7; see Commentaries there. In the last two attestations the word is object of the verb *suwa-*, “fill”. HAMA 8 and MARAŞ 8 have variant spellings, *-lu-* for *-ru-*, while KARKAMIŠ A30b is uncertain. [See also now TELL AHMAR 5, § 2].

§ IX, 45–46. EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ṣa* EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ni(-i)*: identification Hier. EXERCITUS = Cun. *ku-la-na-* established by Poetto, *Kadmos* 21 (1982), pp. 101–103, thereby re-establishing Cun. Hitt.-Luw. KARAŞ = *kuwalana-/kulana-*. Poetto notes Hier. paradigm as *-la/i/u-ṣa* (nom./acc. sing. N, here), *-la/i/u-na-sa₈* (gen. sing., PORSUK, § 5), *-la/i/u-ni* (dat. sing., here), *-la/i/u-ti* (abl. sing., TOPADA, § 8; KÖRKÜN, § 6); since gen. and dat. sing. forms point to *-n*-stem, the abl. forms are problematic (see TOPADA, § 8, Commentary, with reference to Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 148). Noteworthy also is the consistent Hier. writing with *la/i/u*.

§§ IX–X. Equations Hier. EXERCITUS = Phoen. *mḥnt*, “army”, Hier. SCUTUM = Phoen. *mgn*, “shield” (whence Latin transcriptions of logograms) are consistent with the Hitt. Empire period equations Hier. EXERCITUS = Cun. *kulana-* = KARAŞ = *ku(wa)lana-*

and should be accepted, but it is notable that Hu. reversed the order against the Phoen., where Ho. followed it. The resulting confusion, leading to reversal of equations, persisted throughout Meriggi's treatment of the passages.

53. OMNIS-*MI-ma-ṣ[a]*: identified by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 103, as representing *tani-manṣa*, "all" (nom./acc. sing. N); collation shows -a-vocalization of ṣ[a] probably to be present.

§ XI, 56. REL-*pa-wá/i*: the bilingual has a number of examples of REL(-i)(-pa)-, a non-subordinating introductory particle, unrepresented by a Phoen. correspondence; see below, 119; 142 (Ho. only); 153; 182; 209; 303; and 309; and discussion under the last. A possible resumptive force seems likely in 119, 142 (Ho.), 153, 182 and 209: see Commentary there. Here no such sense is apparent.

57. (*255)*pá² + ra/i-ia-ni-ṣi*: neither logogram nor stem serve to elucidate this word, and the Phoen. *mlsm* is hardly clearer (see Bron, *Recherches*, pp. 51–53). Interpret largely from context. Neumann's proposal (*Fs Otten* (1), p. 248 f.) to associate with *pari(ya)*, "before", is contextually suitable, but the correspondence *pá²//pa* now looks less likely: see KULULU 2, § 6, Commentary, where a possible value *maₓ* is suggested. Could a possible *maₓ + ra/i-ia-ni-* here represent a survival from the IInd millennium of the term *marianu*, denoting an equestrian class (for which see CAD, M/1, s.v.; also now Wilhelm, *RL* VII/5–6, s.v.)? For the reading *pá²*, see Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 36 f.).

§ XII, 60. ("MALUS₂")*ba//há-ni-ia-ta(-ia)*, also (MALUS₂)*ba-ni-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-*, "badness" (below, 380): cf. (MALUS₂) *ba-ba-ni-wa/i-*, TELL AHMAR 1, § 20, and Commentary. For a suggested association of the stem, see now Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 243 (following Oettinger).

62. Hu. (TERRA)*ta-sà-REL + ra/i* // Ho. ("TERRA + L-1 + L-1'")*wa/i + ra/i-ri + i*: for readings of Hu. and Ho., and identifications as dat. sing., see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, pp. 103, 106. Also for identification of (TERRA + L-1 + L-1)*wariri-* with (TERRA + L-1 + L-1)*walili(ta)-* // *waliri(ta)-*, see above, 23.

§ XIII, 66. Hu. (TERRA)*ta-sà-REL + ra/i(-ri + i?)* // Ho. ("TERRA") *ta-sà-REL + ra/i-ri + i*: clear abl. sing. in Ho., together with demands of context, suggest that an abl. ending be supplied or restored in Hu.; cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 103.

68. Hu. [*501] [...] *bá//Ho. *501-ba-bá*: context seems similar to JISR EL HADID frag. 3, ll. 2–3; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 6, l. 1; verb perhaps the same in all cases, (PES₂)*501(+R-1/I)(-ba)-, where *501 represents a previously unidentified logogram (= Meriggi, no. 405 c). Phoen. equivalent *trq*, obscure *hapax legomenon*, see Bron, *Recherches*, p. 53 f. for various interpretations.

§ XIV, 69: *á-ma-ṣa/ṣa₄*: for correct identification of case of this word (and the two following) as acc. sing. N., see Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 286; 9 (1963), p. 99.

70. DOMINUS-*ni-ṣa*, = Phoen. *ḏn(y)*, confirming long proposed identification of logogram. Usual word "lord" (except in titularies, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary) has phonetic complements -(na)-*ni(-i)-*, nom. sing. MF (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21; TELL AHMAR 1, § 8; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 9; KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 7; KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3; KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 6; ALEPPO 2, § 3; BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§ 2, 7); acc. sing. MF (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 16; TELL AHMAR 1, § 15; BULGARMADEN, § 8; ŠIRZI, § 2); dat. sing. (KARKAMIŠ A25a, § 6; IZGIN 2, §§ 8, 9; KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 11; ASSUR letters *d*, § 9; *e*, §§ 12(?), 21; BULGARMADEN, § 2); acc. plur. MF (KULULU 4, § 10). For gen. sing., -*nas*, see KÖRKÜN, § 3, and -*nis*, ALEPPO 3, § 1(?); and dat. plur., -*nanṣa*, KULULU 4, §§ 5, 6, and Commentaries there. An adj. form DOMINUS-(na)*ni(ya)-* is attested here: acc. sing. N (for which see also KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 4; BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 17a); also dat. sing. (following clause; KARKAMIŠ A6, § 8; KULULU 4, § 8); and dat. plur. (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 17).

73. *u-sa-ni-bá*: one verb *usanu(wa)-*, KARATEPE, 274 below, = Phoen. *brk*, "bless"; and cf. participle (BONUS) *usanuwamis*, KARATEPE, 286 below, which fits with this sense; as do other attestations, KULULU 4, § 10; BULGARMADEN, § 8; ŠIRZI, § 2 (both last forms have -*sa-* suffix). The verb *usanuwa-*, "bless", seems to be caus. of simple *wasá-*, "be good, dear", for which see BULGARMADEN, § 2, Commentary. Is the present verb to be identified? The equivalent Phoen. *ytn* (< *tn*, "erect"; see Bron, *Recherches*, p. 54 f.) suggests another stem, and association with Hitt. *wete-*, "build", has been proposed (van Brock, *Glotta* 46 (1968), p. 119 f.; cf. Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [41], n. 143). However the phrase here, *sanawa usanu-* is so close to the *wasu usanu(wa)-* of KULULU 4 and BULGARMADEN, that it seems best to include this attestation with *usanu(wa)(sa)-*, "bless" (or the like), and accept a slight divergence from the Phoen. This *usanu(wa)-* as caus. of *wasá-* would be an exact morphological parallel to Hitt. *aššanu-*, denominative formation from *aššu*, "good" (see Weitenberg, *HUS*, § 188); the usage of the two is also very parallel. For etymology, see now Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 235; and for present passage Anm. 1036.

§ XV, 76. (NEPOS)*ba-su-*: clearly dat. sing., but odd form; for derivation, see Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 366–67, 374–75.

§ XVI. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 107 f., point out that Friedrich's interpretation is undoubtedly correct and establishes the sense of Phoen.; cf. Bron, *Recherches*, p. 58 f. – but contrary to the assertion that

the Hier. verb lacks expressed direct object, this may be recognized in the particle chain's *-ata*, "it/them".

§ XVIII, 92. Hu. ("VAS")*á-ta-na-sa-ma-* (= Phoen. *hkm*, "wisdom"): this word seems likely to be a derived form from ("VAS")*atri-/atni-*, "form, figure, image; soul" (see KULULU 4, § 9, Commentary).

94. ("BONUS")*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti//ti-*: ending identified as *-astr-* < *-asr-*, the equivalent of the Hitt. *-ešsar* ending; see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 107, following Neumann, *Sprache* 11 (1965), p. 82 ff. Cf. also MALUS-*ta₄-sa//sá-tara/i-*, "badness" (below, 378), (MALUS₂)*ha-ni-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-*, "wickedness" (below, 380); also ("*314") *ha*-CRUS-*sá-tara/i-*, Cun. Luw. *battaštarri-*, "frightfulness" (TELL AHMAR 1, § 12); and for a further Cun. Luw. (-Hitt.) parallel, *maššaštarri-*, "falsehood" (CHD, s.v.); for classification of these forms, see Starke, *Stammbildung*, §§ 241–248.

§ XIX, 96: PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-tà-ia* (also below, 131): for the adj. and verb PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-* from this stem, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 4; A15b, §§ 2, 3, and Commentaries. The present form in *-tā-* is identified as a participle in *-(a)nt-* by Mittelberger (*Sprache* 9 (1963), p. 103), as is also *HWI-sā-ta*, "feared", and further *ha//há-ni-ia-ta(-ia)*, "evils" (Neumann, *Fs Otten* (1), p. 248). The absence of any corresponding stem *lami-*, *lumi-* etc. in Hitt. and Cun. Luw. suggests that no attestations of this word give a full phonetic writing.

§ XX, 102. Hu. (MALUS)*á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi//Ho. MALUS-ta₄-zi*: problem of reconciling endings noted by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JR* 45 1975/2, p. 131; and for phonetic rendering of MALUS, see Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 150, 156 add. 3. It is clear that different forms of the basic stem **adu-*, "bad", are found in Cun. and Hier. Luw.; see now Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 109.

104. REL-*i-ta-na* (also below, 178); = Phoen. *(b)-š*, "where(ver)": see KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 2, Commentary.

107. Hu. ("*217?")*u-sa-li-zi//Ho. ("*217")u-sá-li-zi*: identification of *li*, therefore also *li*, and derivation of form from *usa-*, "bring, carry", + *-(a)li-* suffix, noted by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, pp. 104, 108.

§ XXI. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 132 cit. 15, elucidating the negative (NEG₂, Phoen. *bl*); also discussing the readings Hu. PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*ta₄-ta//Ho. tā-tā-ta*, Phoen. *bd kn*, "be servant (to)". Other attestations of verb PUGNUS.PUGNUS suggest that the correspondence with the Phoen. may not be exact, and a sense "live" is considered: see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (B1). The question is now further examined by Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh.3, Appendix 6, in the light of new Empire Period evidence.

mukšasan parni, "Mopsus's house" (dat. sing.): for a study of datives in *-(a)šan* of *-(a)si-* gen. adjectives, see Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 123 ff., present example p. 126 cit. 12.

§ XXII, 114. Hu. *-ma-tā//Ho. -ma-ara/i*, = *-mu+ata*, "them for me": clear example of rhotacism of pronoun *-ata*, see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 249 and n. 15.

§ XXIII, 119. REL(-*i*)-*pa*: for this introductory particle see 56 above and 309 below. In the present context § XXIII repeats § XIX, and the particle could have a resumptive force, as in most of the other cases.

120. Hu. LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-za*: Ho. has the appearance of reversing *ta₄* and *ta*, but LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-* (= **pita-*) elsewhere always indicates its stem with those signs, and the signs should therefore be read in the same order as Hu., which is epigraphically acceptable. The Phoen. equivalent *mqmm*, "places", suggests the identification with Hitt. *peda-*, "place", though a Hier. phonetic writing is not definitely identified (but cf. (LOCUS)*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-*, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 4, and Commentary). For the Hier. paradigm of this word, which suggests the consistent use of an extended form **pita(n)t-* (= Lyc. *pddāt-*), as here dat. plur., = **pita(n)tanza*, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, and A31, § 7, Commentaries.

122. (CASTRUM)*ha+ra/i-ni-i-sā*: correct order, as against Bossert-Meriggi *-sā-i*.

§ XXIV, 126. REL-*ti* + pres. tense, = Phoen. *l-* + verbal noun: clear example of relative as conjunction expressing purpose; but cf. HISARCIK 1, § 3, and Commentary.

128. SOLIUM+*MI-i*: for examination of this verb, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, pp. 108–111, where *MI* is argued not to be phonetic, and it is proposed that the logogram represents **isa-*, "sit, dwell" (or perhaps *asa-*, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 10, and Commentary). SOLIUM±*MI-* is further used to write the simple verb "sit" in Hu. 197, 313; ÇİFTLİK, §§ 8–10; KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17 e. For evidence that *-MI* cannot form part of the phonetic writing of the stem, see particularly KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 16; KÖRKÜN, § 5, with Commentary.

127. (BONUS)*wa/i+ra/i-ia-ma-la*: for suggested analysis see Neumann, *Fs Otten* (1), p. 247; Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 192.

§§ XXVI–XXVII. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 132, cit. 16, elucidating negative (NEG₂, Phoen. *bl*); also FRONS-*li//la/i/u-*, = **hantili-*, "former, first", for which see also 279 below, and TOPADA, § 3; CEKKE, § 6; KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 17; HAMA 4, § 2; PALANGA, § 2; MALPINAR, § 4. Noteworthy is the usual writing with *la/i/u*.

135. *ha//há-ta-la-i-ta*: for alternation *ha-ta-li(-i)-ha*, 1 sing. pret., with the present form 3 plur. pret., see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, with Commentary, giving other examples.

137. REX-*ti-* (= Phoen. *mlk*, "king"): the Phoen. equivalent confirmed Sayce's original interpretation made in 1881. For the reading of the word, new evi-

dence is available from Lycian, where the Letoon trilingual has established Lyc. $\chi\eta\tau\alpha\omega\alpha\tau\iota$ = Greek βασιλεὺς, “king”: see Laroche, *FdX* VI, pp. 64, 104 ff. Laroche had already noted the equivalence of Lyc. $\chi\eta\tau\alpha\omega\alpha\tau\iota$ with Cun. Luw. *handawata-* (*BSL* 53 (1958), p. 182 and n. 3 – more correctly now Lyc. $\chi\eta\tau\alpha\omega\alpha\tau\iota$ = Luw. *handawate-*). This Luw. word is poorly attested: *handawateš* (nom. sing. MF), *handawaten* (acc. sing. MF), and *handawatabiša* (abstract in *-abi(sa)*, nom./acc. sing. N) – *KUB* XXXV, 123 iv 1, 7, 12, see Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 251. Laroche, *FdX* VI, p. 106, plausibly lined up Hier. REX-*ti-* with the Luw. and Lyc. stem to suggest that the same word lies behind the Hier. writing, as indeed seems most likely. Starke, however, starting from the writing LUGAL-*uš* (*KUB* IX, 31 ii 22; Zarpiya Ritual, see *StBoT* 30, p. 53), and noting the presence in Hier. of *hasusari-*, “queen”, considers that a cognate of Hitt. *haššu-*, “king”, lies behind the Luwian writings, and reconstructs a form **hasuwati-* (with abstract **hasuwatabi(sa)*) for the Hier. reading: see *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 77 and n. 15; *Stammbildung*, p. 172. Cf. further below, § LXXIII, 396, REX(-*ta*)-*hi-sa*, “kingdom”, and Commentary; also BOR, § 8, and Commentary.

§ XXVIII, 142. (Ho.). REL-*i-pa-* (not in Hu.): for this introductory particle see 56 above and 309 below. In the present context, § XXVIII repeats § XXV indicating a possible resumptive force for the particle.

144. Hu. *ba-ta-li-i-ha*: correct order as against Borsert-Meriggi *-ha-i*.

§ XXX, 151. Hu. *á-mi-ia-za-ta*//Ho. *á-mi-za-ta*: *-ta* doubtless *Ortspartikel* attached, unusually, to word not first in clause (so Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/1, p. 93).

§ XXXI, 153. REL-*pa-*: see 56 above and 309 below. Can we detect here a resumptive force for the particle as has been noted elsewhere, perhaps arising from the parallelism of §§ XXX–XXXI?

155. *zi-tà*: considered by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 111, without definite conclusion.

§ XXXIII, 172. $\langle\langle\text{-}ha\text{-}pa\text{-}wa/i\rangle\rangle$: particles clearly redundant as in 154, Ho. only, $\langle\langle\text{-}pa\text{-}wa/i\rangle\rangle$. For other examples of such, see MARAŞ 4, § 7; MARAŞ 1, § 11? Possibly *-ha* should remain: “even those places”.

“LOCUS”-*ta₄-ta-za(-ha)* REL-*ia*, “(even) in the places which ...”, guaranteed by Phoen. *b-mqmm* ’i. That “place”, **pita(n)t-*, must be neuter in spite of *-(n)t-* suffix is clear from acc. sing. and plur. (KARKAMIŞ A31, §§ 6, 7, see Commentary), as well as from the present example.

174. *HWT-sà-ta*: the Phoen. equation of this participle in *-a(n)t-* and its associated verb *HWT-sà-* (following clause) with the root *št*, “fear”, established the meaning clearly. The first sign, identified as a form of the relative, permitted the identification of the word with Hitt.-Luw. *kuwaya-*, “fear”, and derivatives (Laroche, *DLL*, s.v.; cf. *BSL* 55 (1960), p. 175 n. 2). The verb

is further recognized written REL-*sà-* (SULTANHAN, § 17), and REL-*i(a)-* (KARAHÖYÜK, § 12). Now however it is clear that the first sign in the present writing is in origin nothing to do with the relative (REL): see KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 8, Commentary (I transliterate now *HWT* instead of earlier REL₂). It can however be seen that some late Tabalian inscriptions do occasionally use *HWT* mistakenly for REL: see SULTANHAN, KULULU 2, BULGARMADEN, Peculiarities. It seems certain that KARATEPE does the same in the case of this verb, so the identification with Hitt.-Luw. *kuwaya-*, Hier. REL-*i(a)-* (*kuwaya-*), REL-*sà-* (*kuwa(ya)sa-*?) still stands.

§ XXXIV, 177. *-wa/i+ra/i*: can only be *wa+ara<ata*, “(it), them”, antecedent presumably “places”, dir. object.

179. *HWT-sà-i-ia* (for identification of stem, see preceding clause): form certainly now to be identified as 3 sing. *pres.*, in spite of rather odd sense; see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 597–600.

180. “VIA”-*wa/i-na*: unclear whether *harwa+an*, acc. sing. MF, or *harwan+a*, dat. sing. Other forms of the word show *-(n)t-* suffix, see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 7 l. 2; frag. 6 l. 2, and Commentary. Verb *harwani-*, “send”, clearly denominative, but of what stem? Either case could be translated without difficulty: either acc. sing. MF, “to go the road”, or dat. sing. “for the road to go”, cf. 214–216 below, “for this fortress (dat. sing.) to build”.

181. (“PES₂”) *i-u-na*: the new reading *i* resulted in the identification of the verb (“PES₂”) *i-*, “go”; see *HHL*, p. [47] and n. 163. The following paradigm can now be assembled:

1 sing. *pres.*, *i-wa/i* (KULULU 1, § 15).

1 sing. *pret.*, (PES₂) *i-ha* (BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 9).

3 sing. *pret.*, (“PES₂”) *i-tà* (KAYSERİ, § 19).

(“PES₂”) *i+ra/i* (CEKKE, § 20; TOP-ADA, § 13).

3 sing./plur. *imp.*, (PES₂) *i-tu-u* (TELL AHMAR frag. 5 l. 4).

inf., (“PES₂”) *i-u-na* (present attestation).

§ XXXV, 182. REL-*pa-*: for particle, see 56 above, 309 below. A resumptive force has been noted in some of the attestations above. Could this be detected here from the repetition of “in my days” from § XXXII above?

186. “FUSUS”(-) *si-tara/i*: now stands alone, since final *-ti* is to be transferred to next word, following the natural order of reading. The word is identified as “spindle” partly by recognition of Phoen. *p/km*, partly by the pictographic nature of the logogram, and partly by the recognition of this clause as a common literary topos of peace and security. The word is likely to be abl., and the case ending could be expressed by the final *-tara/i* (i.e. *-uti > -ari*) which would leave the stem of the word written (-) *si(t)a-*, not certainly a full phonetic writing. Starke (*Stammbildung*, § 253) wishes to iden-

tify the Hier. word with Hitt.-Luw. *šittar*-, “spear-point” etc. To identify this stem in the present Hier. writing, it is then necessary either to identify the word as acc. sing. N or dat. sing., both of which entail difficulties for the syntax, or to restore an abl. ending, thus *ši-tara/i<-ti>*.

187. PES₂.PES₂(-)*tà-ti*: so read (-*ti* to be read here, as is more natural, not at end of preceding word) and reinterpreted as 3 plur. *pres.*, because the now frequent attestations of the verb (PES₂)PES₂(-)*tà*- show that -*tà*- is (part of) the stem not tense ending (3 plur. *pret.*):

1 sing. <i>pres.</i>	PES ₂ (-) <i>tà-wa/i-i</i>	(KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 5).
3 sing. <i>pres.</i>	“PES ₂ .PES ₂ ”(-) <i>tà-ia</i> “PES ₂ ”(-) <i>tà-i</i>	(BOR, § 4). (SULTANHAN, § 15).
3 plur. <i>pres.</i>	PES ₂ .PES ₂ (-) <i>tà-ti</i>	(present example).
	PES ₂ .PES ₂ (-) <i>tà-ti-i</i>	(ALEPPO 2, § 4).
3 plur. <i>pret.</i>	“PES ₂ .PES ₂ ”(-) <i>tà-ta</i> PES ₂ (-) <i>tà-ta</i>	(BOHÇA, § 10). (HAMA 4, § 3).

PES₂.PES₂-*ti* (KARKAMIŠ A31, § 8) presumably also belongs here, though a less full writing. A further fragmentary attestation is probable on TELL AHMAR 1, l. 8, end. Melchert now proposes to identify PES₂.(PES₂)(-)*tà*- with the verb CRUS/*ta*-, “stand”, on the basis of ALEPPO 2, § 4; SULTANHAN, § 15; and especially BOHÇA, § 10 (see Commentary).

Phoen. version problematic: see Bron, *Recherches*, pp. 78–85, for various interpretations, also Greenfield, *Eretz-Israel* 14 (1978), p. 76 (Hebrew, English summary), and cf. Swiggers, *Bi. Or.* 37 (1980), p. 339 n. 14. The interpretation of Heltzer is unconvincing (*Anuario de Filología* 8 (1982) [1984], pp. 171–175). With the certain correspondence FEMINA-*tī-zi(-ba)* = *’it*, and the fairly established FUSUS(-)*ši-tara/i<-?>* = *dl plkm*, “with spindles”, there remains only the Hier. verb of motion PES₂.PES₂(-)*tà-ti* to correspond to *tklhdy*. The identification of *lhdy*, “on her own, alone”, seems plausible and could perhaps in some measure correspond to -*ba*, “even”, thus Hier. “even women”//Phoen. “a woman on her own”. This would leave *tk* by itself or with restoration to provide the demanded verb of motion. All the more *recherché* explanations reported by Bron are rendered less plausible by the comparatively straightforward Hier. clause.

§ XXXVI, 194. SOLIUM-*MI-ia-sa*: regarded by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 108 f., as noun derived from verbal root *asa-/isa*-, “sit, dwell”. For evidence that -*MI* cannot represent a part of the phonetic writing of the word, cf. above, 128.

§ XXXVII, 197. SOLIUM-*MI-ta*: cf. note to preceding clause.

199–200. [*á-ta-na-wa/i-za-ba* (URBS)] |TERRA+L-1+L-1-*za*: cf. above, § V, Commentary.

§ XXXIX, 207. *á-ta-ma-za*: note Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 104, for absence of final -*NI* given by Bossert.

§ XL, 209. REL-*pa*:- for particle, see 56 above, 309 below; this is the only occurrence where Phoen. has a possible correspondence, namely *k*, “as, since”. The possible resumptive force noted for the Hier. particle could depend here on the clause resuming the sense of § XXXVIII.

212. (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*za-sá*//Phoen. *ršp špr̄m*: the Hier. Stag-God *Runzas* is known as the late form of Hitt. Empire ^PKAL (= *Kurunta*), who was already at this date identified with Rešeph, especially in the latter’s Hurrianized form, Iršappa, in the Ugarit god-lists (see Nougayrol and Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, pp. 57, 521). One would suppose that the epithet *špr̄m* attached here to Rešeph was intended to define the god more closely to bring him into line with the established character of the Stag-God as the god of wild beasts. In this context “(he-)goats” seems more suitable than “birds”: Weipert, *ZDMG* Suppl. I (1969), p. 210 f.; contra, Bron, *Recherches*, pp. 88, 185.

214–216. *zati harnisi *tamuna*, “for this fortress to build (it)”: see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 112 for construction; cf. also above, § XXXIV, Commentary; and KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 23, and Commentary.

§§ XLI–XLVII, 217–260. Passage represented in Hu. by fragment of an orthostat (element 6) and a partially reconstituted base (element 7 a); in Ho. conceivably by frag. 23 S and by part of the last word at the beginning of element 5. The numbering of the clauses (Roman) and the words (Arabic) is taken from the Phoenician text (word count not accurate). In the discussion below, §§ XLIV–XLVII are taken in the reverse order, proceeding from the secure to the less secure.

§ XLI, 217. [...] *tà*:- may represent the end of the particle chain. If so, -*tà* should represent -*ata*, “it” (the fortress, = Phoen. -y), rather than -*ta* *Ortspartikel* – “build” does not usually take *Ortspartikel* (§§ XIX, XXXVIII, XL, but cf. § XXIII, also § LXVI, as against §§ LXXI, LXXII). The height of the line estimated from the two other restored words may suggest a restoration such as [*amu-hawa*]*ta*.

219. [...] *ta*[...]: if the fragment really corresponds to the Phoen. passage, this should represent [(DEUS) TONITRUS-*bu*]-*ta*-[*ti*], “by Tarhunzas [and Runzas]”. For the height of the line demanded by such a restoration, cf. Hu., § I, especially 5.

§ XLVII. Remains of this clause in Hu., also Ho., provide a reasonable correspondence to Phoen.

[*za*...]: Phoen. *b’l krntr̄ys* elsewhere corresponds to *Tarhunzas urha usanuwas*, but it does not seem possible to accommodate this epithet, which normally follows the god’s name, here. It thus seems necessary to identify

the sign as $\mathfrak{z}a_4$ (cf. Hu. 69; Ho. 275, 284), and to suppose that it is used to write the demonstrative $\mathfrak{z}a$, thus $\mathfrak{z}[a_4-na] | (DEUS)TONI[TRUS-hu-\mathfrak{z}a-na]$, “this Tarhunzas (acc. sing.)”.

§ XLVI. This repeated clause (cf. § XXXIX) was clearly not present in Hu.

§ XLV. This repeated clause (cf. § XXXVIII) finds an obvious correspondence between the traces in Hu. and the Phoen., though it is not clear that an exact word-for-word match can be reconstructed from the Hier.

$|\mathfrak{z}[a-pa/ha-wa/i]|$: this would provide the exact equivalence Hier. $\mathfrak{z}a$ (acc. sing. N) = Phoen. $\mathfrak{z}$, “this”, but it is not certain that the $\mathfrak{z}a$ does not belong as the final sign of the last word of the preceding clause. If so, restore simply $|a-[wa/i]|$, and accept that Phoen. $\mathfrak{z}$ has no corresponding Hier. word.

§ XLIV. It is vexing that the reconstructed inscription just fails to reach back far enough to indicate the correct reading of the crux in the Phoen.

$|\dot{a}-mi-[ia-\mathfrak{z}a] | (“DIES”)ha-li-[ia-\mathfrak{z}a] (or ha-li-[ia]-\mathfrak{z}[a])$: occurs repeatedly as equivalent of Phoen. $b-ymt$, as again here (cf. 30–31, 160–161, 183–184, 189–190).

$i-\mathfrak{z}i-i[...]$: apparently, but not certainly, verb $i\mathfrak{z}i(ya)$ -, “make”, which usually corresponds to Phoen. $p' l$, where Phoen. kn usually corresponds to asa -, “be”. However kn twice corresponds to $i\mathfrak{z}iyaru$, “let it become” (306, 315), and a similar correspondence may be sought here. Required sense is “... was not made for Adanawa”, 3 sing./plur. pret. med.-pass. Such forms are very rare but pres. $i\mathfrak{z}iyari$, “is made”, seems to occur twice (see MARAŞ 14, § 5, and Commentary). No pret. med.-pass. examples have however been identified, nor is it clear what forms these would have taken.

Phu.(A): $mtm l-dnny m ll b-ymt$: the Statue inscription (C) varies the order to $mtm ll b-ymt l-dnny m$. The latter text was published first, which resulted in scholars persisting in attempts to interpret $mtmll$ as one word, and after the appearance of Phu., to treat its text as corrupt: see Bron, *Karatepe*, pp. 14 f., 20, 91–93. This hardly seems justified, and it is surely better, with Donner and Röllig (*KAI*² II, p. 42), and Gibson (*TSSI* 3, p. 60), to follow Levi della Vida in identifying ll as a separate word, “night”, thus “there was never for the DNNYM night in my days”. The form of the Hier. clause suggested by what remains is: “[For Adanawa never did night] occur (“be made”) in my days”. The initial traces of a sign could belong to the word “night”, and if so it is most regrettable that the full word was not recovered, both to establish the reading of the Phoen. and to provide the Luwian word for “night”.

§ XLVIII. The means by which the obscure Phoen. may be brought into line with the straightforward Hier. are argued in detail by Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8 (1986), pp. 270–272. The results are the

identification of the following correspondences, Hier./Phoen.:

conjunction: wa - // w -

subject: (“FLUMEN”) $hapis$ OMNIS- mis , “every river-land” // $kl b-mskt$.

verb: (CRUS) $taia$ (intrans., + infinitive) // ylk (yiphil, trans.)

infinitive//direct object: $i\mathfrak{z}istuna$ // $\mathfrak{z}bh$

object of inf./indirect object: $-an$ // l

261–263. $wa+an i\mathfrak{z}istuna taia$, lit. “and there shall stand to honour him”: for construction and idiom, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 112 (ta -, “stand” + infinitive = “begin to do something”); also Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 592, 598–600.

265. Hu. (“FLUMEN”) $h\dot{a}-pa+ra/i-s\dot{a}$ // Ho. FLUMEN- $pari-i-sa$: doubtless to be associated with (FLUMEN.REGIO) $hapat(a)i$ - (HAMA 1–3, § 2, see Commentary); and FLUMEN- $pa-ti$ - (KARKAMIŞ A12, § 6), Hitt. $hapat$ - (= KUR İD, “river-land”). There is no reason why the KARATEPE form should not be simply a rhotacized form of the last. This recognition should provide a secure basis for the interpretation of Phoen. $b-mskt$.

Phoen. version thus to be interpreted by reference to the Hier. (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 272, 289 ff. nn. 14–15):

“All the river-lands ($kl b-mskt$) will make come (ylk) to him (l) a sacrifice ($\mathfrak{z}bh$) ...”

266–267. (“ANNUS”) $u-si$ (“ANNUS”) $p\dot{a}^2+ra/i(-i)$: = Phoen. $\mathfrak{z}bh ymm$, lit. “sacrifice of days”, i.e. “annual sacrifice”, as the corresponding Heb. phrase appears to mean (Bron, *Recherches*, p. 99). Hier. usi , “year” (dat. sing.) confirms the “annual” sense of the Heb./Phoen. phrase. $p\dot{a}^2+ra/i(-i)$ is generally unclear, both as to reading and interpretation. Melchert now, in the context of re-reading $p\dot{a}^2$ as ma_x , compares the present phrase with the difficult Hitt. expression MU $meani(a\check{s})$: see *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 38 n. 14. Hitt. $meani(a\check{s})$ is now exhaustively examined in *CHD* 3/3 (1986), p. 229 ff. Certainly the present phrase would fit very well with some of the Hitt. usages. For the reading $p\dot{a}^2$, see Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 36 f.).

269–272. *Seasonal Festivals*. Phoen. has “time of ploughing” ($hr\check{s}$) and “reaping” (qsr), i.e. autumn (Oct.–Nov.) and summer (Jul.) (Hoffner, *Al. Heth.*, pp. 41 ff., 24 ff.). Corresponding Hier. has (*486) REL- $tu-na$ and “VITIS”(-) $h\dot{a}+ra/i$.

271. “VITIS”(-) $h\dot{a}+ra/i$: the logogram elsewhere determines only words connected with the vine, $wiyani$ -, “vine”; $matu$ -, “wine”; $tuwarsa$ -, “vineyard”; $tipariya$ -, “wine-god”; also $sarlata$ -, “libation”; (-) $h\dot{a}+ra/i$, otherwise unattested, perhaps not fully written, presumably dat. sing. like REL- $tu-na$. A combination of the context and the logogram suggests “vintage”, i.e. Sept.–Oct. (Hoffner, *Al. Heth.*, p. 39); Melchert now proposes an etymology, associating the stem with Hitt. $halki$ -, “grain”, and further with Hier. (*69) $ha+ra/i-\mathfrak{z}a$ (AS-

SUR letter b, § 6, and Commentary): see KZ 101 (1988), pp. 220–224 cit. 5.

269. (*486) REL-*tu-na*: Phoen. “ploughing” and “reaping”, against Hier. “vintage” already suggests a sufficiently inexact correspondence to cast doubt on this word. The ending may be satisfactorily regarded as dat. sing., verbal noun, parallel to infinitive, i.e. “at the ...ing”. The stem itself has two possible points of entry: (1) pictographic content of logogram *486, representing presumably an agricultural implement, but this could be e.g. “plough” or “sickle”; (2) etymology of REL-*t*, i.e. **kwit*- or **kwat*-, might possibly give some indication. If both should point to “cutting”, this would align REL-*tu-na* with Phoen. *qsr*, thus offerings at the harvest; leaving Hier. “vintage” to align with Phoen. *hrš*, “ploughing”, which, although discrepant, at least have the advantage of being at approximately the same time of year.

§ XLIX, 276–277. If Phoen. and Hier. adhered to same word order, the correspondences would be *sa-pi-sa-ta₅*- (and var.) = *hym*, “life”; *ba-tā+ra/i-* (and var.) = *šlm*, “health, peace”. But this is not a reliable basis for equation: for differing orders, see “mother and father” (§ III); “west and east” (§ V, also § XXXII); “cutting (?) and vintage” (§ XLVIII); “sheep and oxen” (§ LV); “moon and sun” (§ LXXV).

Hu. *ba-tā+ra/i-ti-i* // Ho. *ba-IUDEX+R:1/I-ri+i*: word recurs in ÇİFTLİK, § 16; KARKAMIŞ A5a, § 2. In general the meaning “life” is appropriate. Could the root perhaps be associated with Hitt. **baddul*-, “health”, and derivatives?

Hu. *sa-pi-sā-ta₅-ri+i* // Ho. *sā-pi-sa-ara/i-ri+i*: doubtless to be associated with *sa-pi-su+ra/i-* (ASSUR letters, *d* § 3, *e* § 2, *f+g* § 2) in the context of greeting formula “*sapisura/i* (be) unto you”, thus perhaps corresponding better to *šlm*, “peace”. The basic stem *sapis-* would thus show different suffixes: (1) *-ata-* (> *-ara-*); (2) *-ur* (< *-u(wa)r?*).

§ L. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 149, app. 1A, elucidating SUPER+*ra/i-li/li* FRONS-*la/i/u//li-i*, *sarli hantili*-, “highly pre-eminent”. Note also the informative writing OMNIS-*MI-ni-i-ma-za₄* = *tanimanza*, *ibid.*, p. 151, n. 18.

§ LI, 284. Ho. (DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu₄-za₄*: the sign *hu₄* (HH no. 342) is probably just a variant of *hu* (HH no. 307); cf. Introduction, p. 34, Discarded Values (*hū*).

287. Hu. *za-si*//Ho. *za-i-si-i*: latter one of only two occasions where stem of demonstrative is written *za-i-*: cf. KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 25, and Commentary. Here the *-i* could conceivably be attached to the previous word to give ending *-mi-i-sā*; order would be odd and difficult but not quite unparallelled. Alternatively it could be an isolated example of *i* written instead of *a* as a space-filler or word-ender as in the ASSUR letters, also MARAS 1, ISKENDERUN, KARKAMIŞ A5a etc.

289. Ho. DEUS-*LA₄-zi*: Mittelberger (*Sprache* 8 (1982), p. 280) plausibly reads DEUS-*LANI*-, i.e. *LA₄* is a rebus from (*LA₄*)*sani*-, “overturn”.

291–292. Hu. “LONGUS”-*ta₅-ia* (DIES) *hā-li-ia* //Ho. (“LONGUS”) *a+ra/i-ia* | (“DIES”) *hā-li-ia*: cf. *|a+ra/i-ia* *|hā-li-i* (pure phonetic writing, ÇİFTLİK, § 17, and Commentary; also BOR, § 11). For the curious form “LONGUS”-*ta₅-ia*, cf. perhaps LONGUS(-) *tā-ia(-)sa-ha-na* (İVRİZ 1, § 2, and Commentary), both possibly representing an extended form **ara-(n)ta*-. Alternatively, the explanation considered by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 112 f., namely a pseudo-archaic reversal of rhotacism, replacement of *r* by *d*, is possibly correct.

293. Hu. *mi-*/Ho. *mi-* provides the sole evidence for a syllabic value for the latter sign, HH no. 387. The sign occurs commonly in the writing of “servant”, *387-*ta₄/ta₅*-, where in fact it may be logographic, and otherwise only rarely: see above, § I, 6, Commentary.

295–296. *sa-na-wa/i-sā-ha-wa/i tā-mi-bi-sā*: Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies have argued (*Helhitica* 8 (1986), pp. 272–275) that both words in this phrase are to be identified as acc. sing. N, and that *tamihisa* is an abstract formation in *-hi(t)-*, and the exact correspondence to Hitt. *tam(m)etar*-, “abundance”. If this is established, Bron’s interpretation of the Phoen. equivalent *rs’t* as “old age” must be discarded. For *sa-na-wa/i-sā* as (nom.) acc. sing. N, see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2, l. 1, § iv, and Commentary; also ASSUR letter *e*, § 21, Commentary.

Starke now rejects the comparison of *tamihisa* with Hitt. *tam(m)etar*-, stressing the presence of the *-wa* connective in this phrase and the difficulty of comparing *tamihisa* with the normal abstract forms in *-ahi(sa)* (pers. comm., 26/2/88, and see now *Stammbildung*, Anm. 1397 a). He prefers to interpret: “und gut (wird sein) *tamihis*”. But actually *-wa* is used elsewhere to mark the final element in a coordinated series: see KARATEPE, § LXXIII; KARKAMIŞ A6, § 20. Also parallelism with the Phoen. *w- rs’t n’mt*-, “... and good *rs’t*”, leads one to expect simply a further pair adj. + noun. As for the termination *-ihi(sa)* instead of the regular *-ahi(sa)*, this does indeed call for an explanation. We have pointed out that Hitt. *tam(m)etar*-, which is no doubt an abstract noun paired with the straightforward *iyatar* (itself paralleled by Cun. Luw. *innahiša*), has an *-e*-vowel instead of the expected *-a* found in *-atar* abstracts. Since Hitt. *-ē* is regularly reflected in Luw. *-i-*, the coincidence between the two similar forms with equivalent phonetic irregularities, Hitt. *tam(m)etar* and Hier. *tamihisa*, is so striking that it would seem perverse to deny the connection.

§ LII, 299. “FULGUR”-*hā-sā*: logogram determines *pi-ha-mi-* (KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 14, and Commentary), stem identified with Hitt. *piha-* = logogram HI.HI, “lightning”, an interpretation which agrees well with the

Hier. pictogram. Present form best identified as *pihas* (+ *sa*), i.e. *-s*-stem noun, paralleled in Hitt. *pihašš*(*aššū*)-, also PNN *Pihaššamuwa*-, *Pihašdu*- (see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 58; cf. Cun. Luw. *tap-pa-aš-ša*, “sky”, = *tappas* + *sa*, nom./acc. sing. N, Hier. (CAELUM) *ti-pa-sá* (KÖRKÜN, § 9). The postulated Hier. *pihas*, lit. “lightning”, = Phoen. *ʕ*, “power, strength”, indicates transferred sense “brilliance, effulgence” as royal attribute; “victory” perhaps suitable equivalent in translation. Cf. also Hawkins, in Meijer, *Natural Phenomena*, pp. 71–73.

§ LIII. For correct analysis of the structure of this clause see Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9 (1963), p. 107.

303. REL(-*i*)-*pa*: for recurring introductory particle, see above, 56. The present example was cited by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 113, as the clear example of this particle being non-subordinating since followed by verb in imperative. A possible resumptive force has been noted for most of the attestations above. Here, where the present and the following clause are both introduced by it, its use may point to the parallelism between §§ LIII and LV.

307. (DEUS)BONUS-*sa*, = Phoen. *šb*: latter argued by Ginsberg to mean “grain”, not “plenty” (*JANES* 5 (1973), p. 138), which fits well with Hier. evidence, since the “good God”, named *Kuparmas*, is to be identified with Kumarbi, the earlier Hurr. grain god; see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 9, Commentary.

308. Hu. (DEUS)VITIS-*sá* // Ho. (DEUS)VITIS-*ti-ti* // Phoen. *trš*: Hier. logograms indicating “god-vine” confirm Phoen. identification “wine”. Wine-god’s name appears as *Tipariyas* (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 9, Commentary); phonetic (-)*ti-ti*(-) in Ho. quite unexplained.

§ LIV, 313. Hu. SOLIUM+*MI-sá-i* // Ho. (SOLIUM) *i-sá-nú-wa/i-ti*: see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 108 f., for proposal to identify form in Hu. as 3 sing. pres. of the simple verb from caus. *isanu*-, i.e. **isa-* (or *asa-*, Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 151), “sit”, = Phoen. *yšb* (piel); for ending in *-i*, cf. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 584 f., 604. The caus. (trans.) form of the verb in Ho. could have as understood subject an indefinite 3 sing., “(the nations <that>) one makes dwell (in it)”.

§§ LVI–LVIII, 320, 322, 324. *ma-wa/i-za* ... *ma-pa-wa/i* ... *ma-pa-wa/i*: Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 113 f., pointed out that no initial *ma-* could possibly represent the well-known *man* ... *man*, “whether ... or”, since the clauses have verbs in the imperative; and since the thrice repeated Phoen. *b-rbm*, “much”, or the like, had no other possible Hier. correspondence than the thrice-repeated *ma-*, the latter should be explained by reference to the former. It was then shown that *man* was indeed the expected form nom./acc. sing. N of *mayi* (*ma-i*), the established Luw. cognate of Hitt. *mekki*-, “much”; cf. also *ma(n)* ... *ma(n)*, AKSARAY,

§§ 2–3, and Commentary. For an alternative explanation, see now Melchert, *Studies Cougill* (1987), p. 184 n. 5.

320. *ma-wa/i-za*: *-za* most easily explained as representing enclitic pronoun, 1 plur., *-a(n)za*, form largely confined to ASSUR letters, but also see MARAŞ 4, §§ 7(?), 14.

§§ LIX–LXXV. Treated in detail by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition* (first part), pp. 125–130; this involved some redividing of words and clauses and consequent renumbering against the editions of Steinherr and Meriggi – see above, under Editions (p. 48), for comparative table of numbering. In view of the often considerable differences of division and interpretation offered by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, the main equivalences argued in our *Edition* are repeated here.

§ LIX, 331. REX-*ta-ti-i* = *b-mlkm*, “from (among) kings”.

332. REL + *ra/i* = *’m*, “if”.

333. REL-*sa-ha* // *mlk*, “anyone//king”.

§ LX, 335. CAPUT-*ti-sá* = *rzn*, “(person), prince”.

§ LXI. Correspondence not exact:

CAPUT-*ti-ia-za á-ta₃-ma-za* // *’dm šm*, “manly (princely) name // man of name”.

§ LXII. Hier. switches to direct speech, as also in § LXVIII below; for identification of *á-sa₅-za*-, “say, pronounce”, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, pp. 127, 132 f.; ASSUR letters, General Commentary (A). Phoen. does not switch to direct speech, and thus lacks any equivalent to these clauses; also verbs and pronouns of §§ LXIII–LXIV and §§ LXIX–LXX are 1 sing. (Hier.) // 3 sing. (Phoen.).

§ LXIII, 340–341. ARHLA “*69”(-)*i-ti-wa/i* = *ymh*, “I/he will delete”.

342–343. (LITUUS)*a-za-ti-wa/i-tá-sá á-ta₅-ma-za* = *šm šmud*, “Azatiwatas’s name”.

344. PORTA-*la-na-ri+i* = *b-š’r*, “from the gate(s)”. Note that Ho. lacks *-ri+i*, which must be restored.

345. *zi-na* // *z*, “(on the one hand), here // this”.

§ LXIV, 347–348. *á-ma-za á-ta₃-ma-za* = *šm*, “my // (his) name”.

349–350. *a-ta tu-pi-wa/i* // *št*, “I shall incise // he puts”.

§ LXV, 352. (VAS)*á-la/i/u-na-za-ia* = *yhmd*, “he covets”.

353–354. CASTRUM “>”-*ní-si za-ti* = *b-qrt z*, “this fortress/city”.

§ LXVI, 356–357. *a-ta AEDIFICARE+MI-i* // *ys’*, “blocks up (?) // tears out”.

358–359. PORTA-*la-na za-ia* = *b-š’r z*, “these gates//this gate”.

For form AEDIFICARE+*MI-i*, see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 590.

§ LXVII, 361. REL-*ia* = 's, "which".

362. *i-zi-ta₅* = *p'l*, "made".

§ LXVIII. See above § LXII.

§ LXIX, 368. *i-zi-i-wa/i* = *yp'l*, "I/he will make".

366. *wa/i+ra/i-la-ia* // *zr*, "own, proper // other, alien".

Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 129, proposed to combine *wa/i+ra/i-la-ia* here with Cun. Luw. (-Hitt.) *waralli-* // *niwaralli-* to support the interpretation as "own, proper // not-own, alien, hostile" (for semantic range of the latter, cf. Akk. *nakru*, "foreign, alien, strange, hostile"). This still seems a very satisfactory interpretation, *pace* the remarks of Meriggi and Poetto, *Gs Kronasser*, p. 103 f.; see especially Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 174 f.; Starke, *Stammbildung*, p. 452, and Anm. 1632; and the recurrence of the word *waralli-* in TOPADA, § 32, and the comparable TELL TAYI-NAT 2, l. 1, frag. 2, § iv; also BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 13. Here the Hier. phrase *waralli- izi-*, "make own, i.e. appropriate (to oneself)", is reversed in the differently phrased Phoen. to *p'l zr*, "make other, i.e. alienate (from someone)".

367. "PORTA"-*la-na* = (*l*)*š'r*. The Phoen. *l-* has caused difficulty (see Bron, *Recherches*, p. 117), but the Phoen. may now be interpreted in the light of the clear Hier. For *p'l l-*, "make into", cf. above, § III, "made me as father ..."; *p'l zr*, "gate of a stranger" corresponds fairly to Hier. "(make) the gate (my) own".

§ LXX. See above, § LXIV.

§ LXXI, 374. ("VAS")*á-la/i/u-na-ma-ti* = *b-ḥmdt*, "from envy".

375–376. *a-ta* AEDIFICARE-*MI-ri+i-i* // *ys'*: see above, § LXVI.

§ LXXII, 378. MALUS-*ta₄-sa-tara/i-ri+i* = *b-šn't*, "from bad/hatred". Cf. above, 102, for note on rendering(s) of MALUS.

380. (MALUS₂)*ba-ni-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti* = *b-r'*, "from evil". For ending *-sa-tara/i-*, cf. ("BONUS")*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-*, above, § XVIII, 94.

§ LXXIII, 386–387. *ARHL* MANUS/"*69"(-)*i-ti-tu* // *mh*, "delete", as in § LXIII above. Steinherr's edition of Ho. (lion, see photograph, *Or.* NS 28 (1959), Tab. LV Abb. 25) gives "PES"(-)*i-ti-tu-*, but also an unexpected MAGNUS over the following (DEUS)*i-ia-sá*. Examination of the photograph suggested, and collation confirms, that Steinherr mistakenly divided the sign *69 into PES and MAGNUS. Elsewhere the verb (-)*i-ti-*, "delete" is determined by *69 (KARATEPE, 341: TELL AHMAR 1, § 27; TELL AHMAR 2, § 23; also KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 142; cf. also TELL AHMAR,

frag. 8), except the present Hu. attestation, where MANUS may be identified as a more pictographic version of *69.

For the correspondences of the Hier. and Phoen. gods, see Weippert, *ZDMG* Suppl. I (1969), esp. pp. 197 ff.; and criticism by Bron, *Recherches*, pp. 182–189.

395–396. Hu. *á-pa* REX-*hi-sá*//Ho. *á-pa-sá* REX-*ta-hi-sa* = *b-mmlkt h'*: Phoen. noun and congruent demonstrative pronoun clearly sing. (fem.), so also Hier. form, abstract in -(a)*hi(+sa)*, thus acc. sing. N, and its congruent *á-pa*. Ho.'s REX-*ta-hi-sa* reveals more of the stem and doubtless corresponds to Cun. Luw. *hantawatabiša* (so Laroche, *FdX* VI, pp. 104–106; *pace* Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 77 n. 15; cf. also REX-*ti-* = *hantawati-*, above, 137); Ho.'s *á-pa-sá* more problematic beside the easily identifiable *á-pa*, former identified by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Edition*, p. 129, as gen. sing., "his", but perhaps simply an error. For a different grammatical analysis of the phrase, which is central to a different view of the neuter particle *-sa*, see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 19 with Anm. 85.

Phoen. *š' dm šm*: no Hier. correspondence, and indeed inappropriate to context.

§ LXXIV, 401–402(?). Hu. POST-*na-wa/i* *ARHL*1²¹ // Ho. POST-*na-ha-wa/i*: the Ho. reading without *ARHL*1 should be taken as the correct text (since *ARHL*1 has no apparent function), and Hu. as an error to be emended accordingly (or perhaps read POST-*na-ḥa-wa/i*?). POST-*na*, "after(wards), in future" should probably be the Hier. correspondence of the problematic Phoen. *ps*, for which see Bron, *Recherches*, p. 123.

403. ("CRUS"')*ta-za-tu//ykn*, "let it stand//be".

404–405. *ara/i-zi(-i)* OMNIS-*MI-zi* // *l'lm*, "for all ages // to eternity". The word *ara/i-*, "age, time" is now recognized elsewhere: HAMA 4, §§ 10, 12, 13; KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 2, and parallel passages, see Commentaries; also identified with Cun. Luw. *ar-*, see *ibid*.

§ LXXV, 410. REL-*ri+i* = *km*, "as like".

412. "CRUS"-*i*: no Phoen. correspondence expressed, but understand verb "(is)".

KARATEPE. The Syllabary.

For tables showing the Regular Syllabary and Alternative Syllabograms, see Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, Appendix III, p. 90 f.

The *script* is incised, and as *sign forms* both monumental and cursive forms are used, the common signs with two forms appearing frequently in either form: e.g. *ta*, *tà*, *sà*, *na*, *ma*; though *mu* and *u* are found only in the monumental form (except perhaps in 142 b). Most notable *peculiarity* is a monumental form of *ma* which is easily confused with *sà*: see words 33, 53, 69 (Hu.) 92, 114, 281 (Ho.). *Word-dividers* are frequent.

Syllabary is notable for number of rare syllabograms used, both those found in other inscriptions and those confined to KARATEPE. Since these normally corre-

spond to a sign of established value in the other version, their reading does not present much problem. The following may be noted:

- ❧ TANĀ (10, 14, 20, 22, 32, 125, 154, 162, 198) = -ta-na (199).
- ⚡ BONUS for *nā/i* (21, 84, 196, 295, 303).*
- ⚡ *li* (31, 107, 278); also TOPADA, §§ 6, 32.
- ⚡ LINGERE for *ṣa₄* (69, 275, 281, 284); also KARKAMIŠ A21, § 4 (?).
- ⚡ VIR for *ṣi* (102, 107, 136); also KULULU 4, § 3.
- ⊙ *sa₄* = *sa* (106); also KULULU 3, § 1; KULULU 4, §§ 1, 8, 10, 11; KULULU 5, §§ 3, 7 d, 13; KAYSERİ, §§ 1, 5, 7; TOPADA, §§ 4, 17, 19, 28; BOHÇA, § 1.
- ⊙ *li* = *li* (107).
- ⊙ *mā* = *ma* (127, also 374?).
- ⚡ SOLIUM + *a* for *iā* (131, 283, 292, 310); also KAYSERİ, §§ 5, 18.

- ⚡ SOLIUM + *RA/I* for *ri+i* = *ti-i* (156, 277); also KAYSERİ, § 7.
- ⚡ OCCIDENS for *iā* (297).
- ◇ *mi* (132, 151, 286); also KULULU 3, § 2; TOPADA, §§ 6, 10, 17, 31, 33.
- ⚡ AVIS for *ṣi₄* (139, 293).
- ⚡ *ri* (175, 280, 315).
- ⚡ PRAE for *pari* = *pa+ra/i* (264); also HAMA 4, § 1; RESTAN/QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, § 1; HAMA 8, § 1; BABYLON 1, § 1.
- ⚡ IUDEX + *RA/I* for *tara/i_x* = *tā+ra/i* (277); also KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 2; ÇİFTLİK, § 16.
- ⚡ REGIO for *tu₄* (283, 325).
- ⚡ *hu_x* = *hu* (284) probably variant sign form..
- ⚡ *mi* = *mi* (293)
- ⚡ *tū* = *tu* (283, 297, 321); also TOPADA, §§ 18, 20.
- ⚡ *ti* = *ti* (15, 54, 83, 89, 103, 293); also AKSARAY, § 8; SHEIZAR, § 1.

* The new seal impression inscriptions from Boğazköy 1990–91 confirm Nowicki's proposal to recognize the sign *HH* no. 320 as the Empire Period form of *HH* no. 165 (see *Fs. Neumann* (1982), p. 231): an Empire Period seal usage of BONUS with phonetic value *nā/i* is thereby confirmed.

I.2–4. KARATEPE 2–4

Location. Orthostat fragment and two bases, the last *in situ* in the south wall of the western gate-chamber of the South Gate at Karatepe-Aslantaş; the first two of uncertain provenance but apparently associated with the *in situ* piece.

Description. The *in situ* base inscription of the South Gate, KARATEPE 4, bears two clauses of sinistroverse inscription, beginning with one word placed on the left end of an otherwise uninscribed base block and ending before the left end of the adjoining block, leaving a blank space after it. The reason for this curious placing demands consideration. The other two pieces have been partially reassembled from scattered fragments. KARATEPE 2 consists of part of the two first lines of an inscription running sinistroverse-dextroverse, and the bottom left-hand corner with sinistroverse writing which is thus the end of the piece and part of an odd-numbered line, l. 3, or more likely, l. 5. The piece is most easily reconstructed as part of a five-line orthostat, narrower than most orthostats, though wider than the usual binders. KARATEPE 3 is reconstructed as a base-block of the regular size in the western gate-chamber of the South Gate, completely occupied with a sinistroverse inscription. Reasons for associating the two unprovenanced reconstructed pieces with the *in situ* base block are given below.

Dimensions: see Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*.

Condition: KARATEPE 2–3 as preserved, clear, KARATEPE 4, complete, undamaged.

Script, sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: as for KARATEPE 1 (p. 67).

Discovery. As noted, KARATEPE 4 excavated *in situ*; KARATEPE 2 and 3 reconstructed from scattered fragments. For details see Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, pp. 35–37.

Publication. KARATEPE 2 and 3 for first time by Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, p. 35 f. and pls. 108–111 (photographs, copies).

KARATEPE 4, Bossert, *Belleten* 18 (1954), p. 32 and Abb. 8 (photograph), 9 (text in linear arrangement); now Çambel, *op. cit.*, p. 36, pl. 112 (photographs, copy).

Editions (KARATEPE 4 only). Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958), pp. 275–283, with fig. 5 (recopy); Meriggi, *Studi ... Levi della Vida* II (1956), p. 129 f. fig. 2 (recopy); id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), p. 99 f., no. 24.5.

Content. The three pieces are the only Hier. inscriptions found at Karatepe-Aslantaş which are not part of the great bilingual, hence their designation as KARATEPE separate inscriptions. This fact on its own suggests that they may be associated. KARATEPE 2 with its one preserved clause effectively summarizes the whole long bilingual, but, notably, is the only passage from Karatepe to present Azatiwatas in the 3rd person instead of the 1st. KARATEPE 3 surprisingly introduces another authority besides Azatiwatas, whose name is largely lost, but whose titles (River-Lord, He[ro]), ethnic affiliation ([the city?] Zi[...]), and patronym ((M)ukatalas's son) are fairly preserved, and who is apparently the subject of a verb in the second short clause. The long known KARATEPE 4 was, be-

fore the appearance of KARATEPE 3, difficult to understand. With wide blank spaces on either side, it appeared to be complete and self-contained, yet the first clause did not appear to have any connection with the second, a scribal signature of the usual kind, nor was it easy to understand on its own – the connectives do not look like initial ones and no subject is apparent. These difficulties could be remedied by taking it as a

continuation of KARATEPE 3 (see below, Commentary).

Date. As for KARATEPE 1: apparently beginning of 7th century B.C.

Text, Photographs. See Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş* (above, Publication).

Transliteration

Translation

KARATEPE 2

§ 1 |*ṣa*-[*wa/i*] “CASTRUM”-*ṣ*[*a*][*x*] *wa/i-su*[...] *na* AEDIFICARE + *MI*-*ma-tà* ¹(OCULUS) *á-ṣ*[*a*]-[*t*]*i-w*[*a/i*]-*tà*-[...]

This fortress ... Azatiwatas built. [...]

§ 2 ...

-(*m*)]*u*² *á-ṣa-ti*

...] he/they will love/eat !

KARATEPE 3

§ 1 |FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ia-s*[*á*]-¹*sa*-[...] *x* |HE[ROS] |*ṣi*-[...] *x*-[*w*]*a/i-ni-sa*[(URBS)?] ¹(*m*)*u-ka*-|FRATER-*la-sa* |(INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-ṣa-sá*

The River-Lord Sa[...], the He[ro] of [the city?] Zi[...], (M)ukatalas's(?) son.

§ 2 *w*[*a/i*]-*ta* ARHLA |[*u*]-*sá*-[*ta?*]-

[He] brought[t] away,

KARATEPE 4

§ 1 REL-*pa-wa/i* (“PORTA”) *ku-rú-pi-ia* + *ra/i*(URBS) |PRAE-*i* |*pi-ia-tà-na*(URBS) PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*ta*

and (from) before (the gate of) the city Kurupiya(ra/i) he ...-ed the city Piyata.

§ 2 |*ṣa-ia-pa-wa/i* SCRIBA-*la-li-ia* ¹DEUS-*ni-i-sá* ¹DEUS-*na*-(OCULUS) *á-ṣa-mi-sá-há* | (“CAPERE + SCALPRUM”) REL-*ṣa-ta*

These writings Masanis and Masanzamis incised.

Commentary

KARATEPE 2

§ 1. [*x*] *wa/i-su*[...] *na*: [*x*] conceivably the forward-pointing horn of a large ox-head following *su*, which would permit a reading *wa/i-su*-[*u*]-*na*. Resulting word would look like infinitive of verb *wasu-*, for which see BOHÇA, § 2, and Commentary; sense, “to adorn”?

§ 2. ...(*m*)]*u*² *á-ṣa-ti*: amount of space lost at top of line will depend on whether the fragment represents l. 3 almost joining the upper fragment, or l. 5, which would permit more space. In latter case, there could have been space for [LITUUS] or [OCULUS], identifying verb as “love” rather than “eat”.

KARATEPE 3

§ 1. Identification as title + personal name + epithet + ethnicon + patronym seems assured, thereby introducing another personality besides Azatiwatas into the KARATEPE inscriptions.

|FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ia-s*[*á*]-: for this title, see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 2, and Commentary, with other attestations, where it is suggested that these “river-lords” held authority in “river-lands”. This would seem also appropriate in well-watered Cilicia, whose “river-lands” are referred to in KARATEPE 1, § XLVIII.

¹*sa*-[...] *x*: inspection confirms personal determinative, thus the presence of a personal name here.

|HE[ROS]: for postulated placing of the two elements of HEROS (“profile” and “vase”), cf. e.g. SULTANHAN, § 1.

|*ṣi*-[...] *x*-[*w*]*a/i-ni-sa*[(URBS)?]: identification as ethnicon depends on the recognition of a *-wani-* ending together with the possibility of recognizing the pointed tip of URBS.

¹(*m*)*u-ka*-|FRATER-*la-sa*: recognition as a personal name, the patronym in gen. sing. before *nimuwizas*, depends on the observation of the personal determinative; also for the recognition of -|FRATER-*la*- as a common onomastic element (see EĞRİKOY, § 3, Commentary), with the possible reading *-atala-* (see KAR-KAMIŞ A15b, § 16, Commentary). For the first element, a decision between *uka-* and *muka-* is not possible epigraphically, and will have to depend on a lexical identification.

§ 2. Seems likely to require restoration as short clause with finite verb following § 1, in which an individual is introduced with titles, ethnicon and patronym. Verb must be 3 sing., probably preterite, yet even this leaves the clause curiously isolated and without obvious object. This suggests continuation on an adjoining element.

KARATEPE 4

Since its publication, this inscription, with its blank space before and after it, seemed to be an isolated and complete unit which should be intelligible on its own. The second clause has long been recognized as the type of “scribal signature” found elsewhere appended to inscriptions. Yet the first clause has always been difficult to link to the second, and in particular its introductory particles do not look appropriate to an initial self-contained passage, but rather suggest that it was a continuation of a text from elsewhere.

The reconstitution of the base inscription KARATEPE 3 has produced an element 0.32 m. high, thus agreeing with the base KARATEPE 4. As noted above, this piece seems likely to be incomplete and to have required continuation. Hypothetically the two inscriptions on the bases of similar height should be juxtaposed. The sense produced is not such as to confirm this unambiguously, but looks possible, as examined in detail below.

If the text did indeed run directly on from KARATEPE 3 to KARATEPE 4, the question naturally arises as to where the former was originally placed in the Gate Chamber. Exact juxtaposition with unbroken text sequence could be obtained by placing the base block with KARATEPE 3 at right-angles to the *in situ* base blocks with KARATEPE 4. The element could then have served as a podium for a stele or perhaps statue of the named river-lord, placed in the western gate chamber of the South Gate against the south wall, and visible to one entering the gate on looking left. Such an installation would have resembled the colossal statue and base found in the second east gate chamber of the South Gate of Karkamiš (for which see Woolley, *Carchemish* II, p. 92 and pl. 12). Halet Çambel pertinently points out that the absence of any rubble foundations for such a monument argues against this emplacement. Yet in the case of the Karkamiš parallel noted, Woolley specifically states: “The recesses were not paved, but had plain floors of beaten earth” (loc. cit., p. 91), nor does he mention or draw any such rubble foundation to the base. Alternatively the base with KARATEPE 3 could have formed part of the line of bases to the right of that with KARATEPE 4. The discontinuity of the supposed continuous text could be explained by the presence against the south wall of the Gate Chamber of an object which masked a stretch of the base, though the argument about the lack of rubble foundation could be applied in the same way against this supposition.

§ 1. |REL-*pa-na/i*: as noted, does not seem likely as an introductory particle for a self-contained inscription; resembles rather the non-subordinating conjunction remarked above, words 56 and 303, where a resumptive

sense was suggested. Appropriateness to the reconstitution of the sense proposed here is not immediately apparent.

(“PORTA”) *ku-ri-pi-ia + ra/i* (URBS): unclear whether dat. sing. of place-name *Kurupiyara* or abl. sing. of *Kurupiya*. Former might be easier to translate with postposition PRAE-*i*, simply “before Kurupiyara”; but Laroche in his Edition notes the attestation in Cun. Hitt. of a toponym ^{URU} *Kuruppiya* (KUB XXIII, 11 ii 17'), one of the cities of Assuwa defeated by Tudhaliyas I/II and thus located in western Anatolia. PORTA is marked as a logogram, and it is unclear whether it should be read as an independent word or regarded as a determinative.

pi-ia-ta-na (URBS): apparently acc. sing. MF of place-name *Piyata*, thus dir. object.

PUGNUS. PUGNUS-*ta*: still unclear verb, seen above, § XXI, 111, where it is apparently intrans., as also in the ASSUR letters (see General Commentary (B1)); here, as also in SULTANHAN, § 43, it is apparently transitive. See further now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 6.

Sense: KARATEPE 3, § 2, + 4, § 1: the combination of these two clauses to form a connected text, with the river-lord Sa[...] as subject, does not produce immediately obvious sense, but is at least preferable to attempting to understand KARATEPE 4, § 1, on its own.

§ 2. SCRIBA-*la-li-ia*: identified by Laroche (*Syria* 35 (1958), p. 281) as *laliya*, associated with Hitt.-Luw. *lala/i*, “tongue”. But Hier. “tongue” is recognized in “LINGUA”-*la-ti*, = *lalati*- (KARKAMIŠ A15b, §§ 20, 21, see Commentary), where in the same inscription SCRIBA-*li(-ia)-ti(-i)* (abl.), thrice attested (§ 19), is clearly the same word as the present attestation. Alongside “LINGUA”-*lati*, “tongue”, it is not likely that SCRIBA-*lali*- would stand for the same word, indeed it is contrasted with it, and in view of the logogram is interpreted as “script, writing” as against “tongue, language”. It is difficult to dissociate SCRIBA-*laliya*, “writings”, i.e. perhaps “Hier. signs”, from SCRIBA-*la*-, “scribe”, probably read *tupala*- as in Hitt. (Laroche, *RH-1* XIV/58 (1956), p. 26), and it would seem obvious that we have a further derived form from this noun; cf. such derivatives as *tatuli*-, *buhatali*-, “fatherly, grandfatherly”.

¹DEUS-*ni-i-sá* ¹DEUS-na-(OCULUS)-*á-za-mi-sá-há*: undoubtedly the names of the two scribes (as taken by Laroche, *Noms*, nos. 772, 773), in spite of Meriggi's reservations; cf. PN ¹DEUS-*ni*-, KULULU lead strips 1, § 9, entry 55(4); frag. 1 i 1, ii 1).

(“CAPERE + SCALPRUM”) REL-*za*-, i.e. *kuwa-za*-, “incise”; now identified in “scribal signatures” BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 11; GAZIANTEP 1, l. 3; MEHARDE, § 9; SHEIZAR, § 8; TOPADA, § 39; İVRİZ 1, § 4; İVRİZ frag. 2; also different context, without logogram, ERKİLET 1, § 2; KARABURUN, § 11; SIRZI, § 8.

I.5. KARATEPE fragments

See Halet Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, Hieroglyphic fragments, pp. 40–48, pls. 114–121.

I.6. DOMUZTEPE 1

Location. Statue base, still on site of Domuztepe, on the east bank of the Ceyhan river opposite Karatepe-Aslantaş, Cilicia.

Description. Double bull podium of black basalt, bearing on flank of either bull a 2-line inscription, both very poorly preserved. See preliminary report by Alkim, *Belleten* 14 (1950), pp. 650, 655 f.

Dimensions: ht., 0.80 m.; w., 1.0 m.; th., 1.30 m.

Condition (inscription): desperate.

Script, line-dividers: relief (worn).

Sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: unclear.

Discovery. Found by the Karatepe Expedition of Bossert and Alkim at Domuztepe in 1947 lying out of its original position. See Bossert and Alkim, *Karatepe II* (1947), pp. 15 (Turkish), 28 (English), pl. XXXII 156–160 (photographs, left side only); (Bossert and) Alkim, *Karatepe Kazıları* (1950), pp. 25 f. (Turkish), 67, 74 (German), pl. XXX 139–144 (photographs and drawing of podium only; inscription not visible); Alkim, *Belleten* 16 (1952), pp. 234 (Turkish), 247 (English), lev. XLV res. 27 (photograph, left side).

Publication. Only preliminary notices as given above. Further treatment promised by Bossert was not undertaken, presumably because of the illegibility of the

inscription. Now see Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, Appendix 4, p. 94; pls. 122–123.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *ÜSK (Domuztepe 1)*, pp. 112, 243, 482, Taf. 6 b.

Content. Royal inscription introduced by *amu*- sign (“I (am) ...”). It is particularly unfortunate that not even the names of the king and his kingdom can be identified, since they would have given important historical information as to whether the power of Cilicia extended across the river Ceyhan, or whether the river was a frontier. In fact there is evidence that Cilician kings did reach through the Amanus mountains into north Syria in the 9th century B.C. (see above, the Historical Context, p. 41), so it remains most likely that Domuztepe was held by them.

Date. Stylistic criteria only; see Orthmann, loc. cit., who places the piece in *Spätheth.* II, i.e. early 9th century B.C., by comparison with bases from Karkamiş in the Suhis-Katuwas style.

Text. After examining the inscription *in situ* for a considerable time in favourable light, I was unable positively to identify any sign on the left side besides *amu*, and on the right sides besides a *sa*.

I.7. DOMUZTEPE 2

Location, Description. Stele, Karatepe Excavations Depot. Small stele, showing Storm-God figure broken off at the knees. He wears a horned helmet and short, belted tunic with sword at waist, and carries in his right hand raised behind him a double-axe and in his left, held out in front, the Hieroglyph EGO (*HH* no. 1)

Dimensions: max. preserved ht., 0.80 m.; w., 0.56 m.; th., 0.30 m.

Discovery, Publication. Found in winter 1982–83 on south slope of Domuztepe: see H. Çambel, *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, p. 94 f., pls. 124–125.

Date. 9th–8th centuries B.C. The Domuztepe settlement and sculpture seem in general earlier rather than later.

Comment. Traditionally, in Hittite Empire divine representations (e.g. at Yazılıkaya, and on seals), deities including the Storm-God hold their Hieroglyphic names in this fashion, though the style does not persist into the Late Period, where the Storm-God always carries the thunderbolt. Is the present god really signalling that his name is *amu*, “I (am)”, and how could this be understood? If we seek a god whose name is “I am”, we note that the Hebrew Yahweh gave his name to Moses as just that (*Exodus* 3: 13–14). Cilicia was clearly open to Phoenician influence, and indeed the O.T. records that Solomon traded with Que (above, p. 41 and n. 37). Is it unthinkable that in this little Domuztepe Storm-God we might have a contemporary representation of the great Hebrew deity?

I.8. ADANA

Colossal limestone figure of the Storm-God, with basalt base representing a chariot drawn by two bulls. These monuments were ploughed up in a field near Adana in the spring 1998, and taken to Adana Museum. The base

bears a Phoenician and a Hieroglyphic inscription, very probably giving a new bilingual text. Date: probably late 8th century B.C.

II. KARKAMIŠ

The Historical Context

- Background: the Hittite Empire and after
- Archaeological investigations
- The state and its extent in the Iron Age
- Karkamiš in the Assyrian sources
- The Hieroglyphic monuments
 - Archaic group
 - House of Suhis
 - House of Astiruwas
 - Non-royal inscriptions
 - Fragments

The Inscriptions

Archaic group

1. A4*b* (stele)
2. A16*c* (stele)
3. A18*d* (lion fragment)

*House of Suhis**Astuwatamanzas*

4. A14*b* (lion fragment)

Suhis II

5. A14*a* (lion fragments)
- 6–7. A1*a* and A1*b* (orthostats)
8. KFLFKLĪ (stele)

Katuwas

- 9–10. A11*a* and A4*d* (door jamb and statue inscription)
- 11+12. A11*b*+*c* (door jambs)
- 13+14. A2+3 (door jambs)
15. A12 (stele)
16. A13*d* (orthostat)
- 17–19. A23 (+ A26*a*?) and A20*a*1–2 (door jamb and fragments)
- (20. A25*a* (fragment))
- (21. A16*b* (fragment))

*House of Astiruwas**Yariris*

- 22–23. A6 and A7 (orthostat and epigraphs)
24. A15*b* (base)
25. A24 (stele(?) fragments)
- 25a. KARKAMIŠ stone bowl

Kamanis

26. A31 (stele)
27. CEKKE (stele)
28. A4*a* (drum)
- (29. TÜN*P* I (stele))
- (30. A25*b* (fragment))

Pisiri(?)

- 31–32. A21 and A20*b* (orthostats and fragments)
33. A22*c*+A20*b*6 (orthostat fragments)

Genealogical fragments (attribution uncertain)

34. A27*u*
35. A27*e* frags. 1–2
36. A13*a*–*c* (statue base fragments)
37. A26*f* (orthostat fragment)
38. A15*e*
39. A27*c*

Non-royal inscriptions

40. KÖRKÜN (stele)
41. A17*b* (stele)
42. A30*b* (base)
43. TILSEVET (tombstone)
44. A18*b* (tombstone)
45. A5*a* (tombstone)
46. A5*b* (tombstone fragment)
47. A18*f* (tombstone fragment)
48. A4*c* (tombstone)
49. A16*f* (tombstone fragment)

Miscellaneous

50. A15*a* (stele fragment)
51. A15*c* (stele fragment)
52. A16*a* (lion fragments)
53. A17*a* (stele)
54. A17*c* (stele)
55. A17*d* (stele)
56. A18*a* (stele)
57. A18*e* (orthostat fragment)
58. A18*j* (stele)
59. B33 (epigraphs)

Fragments

60. A15*d*
61. A16*d*
62. A16*e*
63. A18*b*
64. A18*c*
65. A18*i*
66. B39*a*
67. A19
68. A26*b*–*e*
69. A27
70. A28
71. A29
72. A30
73. KARKAMIŠ sherd

Unpublished Fragments

74. KARKAMIŠ frag. a/b
(see Addendum, p. 590 f.)

The Historical Context

Background: the Hittite Empire and after

The city-state of Karkamiš may be regarded as the principal representative of the Neo-Hittite states, both by reason of its historical association and continuity, and of its artistic and epigraphic monuments.¹ This status was recognized in antiquity, in that "Karkamiš" and "Hatti" are often used interchangeably in Assyrian sources.² This may reflect a claim by the kings of Karkamiš in the dark age c. 1200–1000 B.C. to the position and titles of the Great King of Hatti.³

From the time that Suppiluliumas installed his son Piyassilis on the throne of Karkamiš under the name of Šarri-Kušuh, c. 1340 B.C., the states of Syria under their own vassal kings were ruled primarily from Karkamiš.⁴ The line of Šarri-Kušuh continued in unbroken succession from father to son for at least five generations, in contrast to the less regular succession of the Hittite royal line in Hattusa. The latest generation has recently been established by the discovery of impressions of a Karkamiš royal seal of Kuzi-Tešub, entitled "king of the land of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš ...".⁵ Further evidence now suggests that this king and his line may have survived the collapse of the Hittite Empire.

Ample evidence for the position of the king of Karkamiš acting as Hittite viceroy is provided by the political archives of the vassal kingdom of Ugarit,⁶ and more recently those of Emar.⁷ It does not seem that Karkamiš's control of Syria was seriously shaken after Mursilis had reestablished the Hittite dynasty in the critical period following the death of Šarri-Kušuh. The conquest of Hanigalbat by Adad-nirari I of Assyria (1307–1275 B.C.) and more permanently by Shalmaneser I (1274–1245 B.C.)⁸ put an end to Hittite control of this buffer kingdom established by Suppiluliumas, and stripped Karkamiš of its territory east of the Euphrates, leaving the city directly exposed to the rising Assyrian power. This position was however successfully held even in periods of forceful Assyrian thrusts.⁹

At the collapse of the Hittite Empire during the movements of the sea-peoples, as recorded by Rameses III in his 8th year, c. 1190 B.C.,¹⁰ Hatti, Qode (Cilicia¹¹), Karkamiš, Arzawa, and Alašiya were simultaneously swept away. In this context "Karkamiš" probably refers to the Hittite empire in Syria. There is no evidence, epigraphic or archaeological, that the city itself, remote from coastal depredations, was destroyed: indeed the recent appearance of a successor of Talmi-Tešub, the Kuzi-Tešub noted above, provides the contrary evidence of continuity. This is further supported by the recognition of Kuzi-Tešub's name in the genealogies of two kings of Melid, who claimed to be his

grandsons, and entitled him "Great King, Hero of Karkamiš".¹² None of the Hittite Empire kings of Karkamiš had expressly laid claim to the first title, not even Kuzi-Tešub himself on his seal inscription. This belonged only to the paramount king ruling from Hattusa.¹³ But it looks as if Kuzi-Tešub, after the disappearance of the line of Suppiluliumas I in Hattusa, laid claim to the vacant titles both on his own behalf as the senior surviving member of the line (he was Suppiluliumas's great-great-great-grandson), and perhaps also on behalf of Karkamiš. At least three subsequent kings of Karkamiš maintained these imperial pretensions (see below).

Nearly a century later, Tiglath-pileser I, crossing the Euphrates *en route* for Mount Lebanon, c. 1100 B.C.,

1 See for a general treatment Hawkins, *RLA* V/5–6 (1980), s.v. Karkamiš, with bibliography. For Assyrian representations of the people, see Wäfler, *AOAT* 6 (1975), pp. 216–231.

2 See Hawkins, *RLA* IV/2–3 (1973), s.v. Hatti: the 1st millennium B.C., especially §§ 3–4.1.

3 See below, with nn. 12–13.

4 For this period, see especially Klengel, *GS* I (1965), 6 Kap.; also id., *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Nordsyriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.* (*AOF* 2 (1975), pp. 47–64).

5 D. Sörenhagen, Ein Königssiegel aus Karkamis (*MDOG* 118 (1986), pp. 183–190). Talmi-Tešub was previously the last attested king of the Empire dynasty. See now Hawkins, Kuzi-Tešub and the "Great Kings" of Karkamiš (*An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 99–108); note the correct reading of Kuzi-Tešub's seal: for Sörenhagen's *ku-ni-ti-muwa-sa* REGIS.FILIUS! we should read DIUS-ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa X FILIUS, "... son, recognized by the god(s)", (*ibid.*, p. 100 and nn. 4–5).

6 Klengel, *GS* I, loc. cit.; also Hawkins *RLA* V, s.v. Karkamiš, § 6.

7 D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Alata* (Emar VI/1–3; Paris, 1985); cf. the preliminary report, id., *JAL* 25 (1975), pp. 87–93. Note in particular the tablets and seals of Sahurunuwa: Arnaud, op. cit., VI.3, no. 31, p. 44 f.; D. Beyer, Le sceau-cylindre de Sahurunuwa, roi de Karkemish, in *La Syrie au Bronze Récent* (Extraits de la XXVIIe R.A.I., Paris, juillet 1980; Paris, 1982), pp. 67–78; and of Ini-Tešub and Hismi-Tešub (Msk. 73.57–58): Arnaud, op. cit., VI.3, nos. 18–19, pp. 29–31; Laroche, in *Meskene-Emar: dix ans de travaux* (ed. D. Beyer; Paris, 1982), p. 55 f.

8 See von Weiher, *RLA* IV/2–3 (1973), s.v. Hanigalbat; id., *Fs Otten* (1), pp. 321–326; Nashef, *RGTC* 5, s.v. Hanigalbat; Grayson, *RLA* 1, A.O.76.3, ll. 4–51; *RLA* 1, A.O. 77.1, ll. 56–87; A. Harrak, *Assyria and Hanigalbat* (Hildesheim etc., 1987), ch. 2–3.

9 Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I only claimed to have conquered "as far as Karkamiš", not to have attacked it. Tukulti-Ninurta I does not mention the city and his struggle with the Hittites lay further north: cf. I. Singer, The battle of Nihriya and the End of the Hittite Empire, *ZA* 75 (1985), pp. 100–123.

10 Cilicia, p. 39 n. 17.

11 See Cilicia, p. 39 and n. 18.

12 See Malatya, p. 286 f. and nn. 62, 65.

13 Gonnet, *Hethitica* III, p. 18 f., 25. But note that a decree of Tudhaliyas IV does appear to rank Ini-Tešub along with himself as a "Great King": Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, 18.06 + 17.635, p. 137 f., l. 20 f.; Klengel, *GS* I, pp. 83, 86 and nn. 138, 139, 154. Ini-Tešub

encountered Ini-Tešub "king of the land of Hatti".¹⁴ It is hard to see where the centre of this country would have been if not in Karkamiš, and the king's name, recalling the famous Ini-Tešub of the Hittite Empire dynasty, reinforces the impression of dynastic continuity.

Archaeological investigations

The site of Karkamiš, even before its identification as the ancient city by George Smith in 1876,¹⁵ was known as a source of sculpture and inscriptions. This prompted operations by agents of the British Museum in the years 1878–81, which recovered some important monuments.¹⁶ Otherwise Karkamiš is known archaeologically from the British excavations of 1911–14, cut short by the outbreak of war, resumed in 1920, and again terminated by the outbreak of further hostilities.¹⁷ The establishment at that date of the Turkish-Syrian frontier running through the site of Karkamiš itself has precluded the resumption of these incomplete excavations ever since, by reason of the politically sensitive location of the site.

The achievements of the excavations were limited to a survey of the fortifications, and to the excavation of the upper levels of the citadel mound, and of an area of the lower town at its foot, running from a Water Gate on the river, past a "Hilani" building to the Temple of the Storm-God and including two monumental entrances, the "Great Staircase" ascending to the citadel, and the "King's Gate".¹⁸

The citadel excavations were not productive, having recovered principally a poorly preserved Iron Age building, suggested with little supporting evidence to have been the temple of Kubaba. The fortifications of the Lower Town, which lay south-west of the Citadel, consisted of a river wall with Water Gate running south from the Citadel and the north wall running west from it; the ends of these two were connected by a long loop of earth rampart pierced by two gates, the West and the South. An outer fortification enclosing an Outer Town further to the south-west was traced, and some private houses lying within were examined. The date of these frequently rebuilt fortifications could not be established in detail but doubtless went back at least to the IIInd millennium B.C.

Otherwise the only substantial remains uncovered were those of the Iron-Age Lower Town, from which the bulk of the Karkamiš sculpture and inscriptions found *in situ* were recovered.¹⁹ The Temple of the Storm-God, the Long Wall of Sculpture, the Gatehouse of the Great Staircase, the Herald's Wall, the Royal Buttress and the Processional Entry all produced their sculptures, mainly relief orthostats, and their dedicatory inscriptions. The circumstances of discovery were such that in most cases it was the sculptured facades and

entrances that were excavated rather than the buildings themselves. Only the Water Gate produced sculptures without inscriptions, and only the Hilani building produced neither sculpture nor inscriptions *in situ*. This area of excavations, as well as other locations on the site and chance finds of uncertain provenance, added a mass of sculpture and inscriptions, much of it fragmentary.

The State and its extent in the Iron Age

Karkamiš was essentially a city-state in the Iron Age, though a rich and powerful one, presumably by reason of its important position on ancient trade-routes at a key Euphrates crossing.²⁰ Assyrian references are normally to the city Karkamiš, until after the Assyrian conquest and annexation, when references to a land (KUR) also appear.²¹ The indigenous Hieroglyphic sources normally determine the name *Karkamis*²² with "city" (URBS).²³ The city seems to have held no territory east of the Euphrates in the Iron Age, where attested neighbours were the Hittite principality of Til-Barsip and the Aramean tribal state of Bit-Adini, until the conquest of these by the Assyrians in 856 B.C.²⁴ Bit-Adini on the contrary is attested in 858–857 B.C. as holding cities on the west bank of the Euphrates, in

did use the title "Hero" of himself, not on his seals but in edicts: e.g., *PRU* IV, p. 121, 17.352 l.3; p. 164 f., 17.68 l.4, 17.108 l.3.

14 Texts 3 and 4: Weidner, *JfO* 18 (1957–58), pp. 344 (= *RIMA* 2, A.0.87.3), ll. 26–28, 350 (= *RIMA* 1 2, A.0.87.4), ll. 28–30. Note the correction of the erroneously restored parallel text *K-IR* II, 71, by Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 70 f. n. 24.

15 D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (London, 1914), p. 6 and n. 1.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 8–12.

17 Reported by C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (London, 1921); and Woolley, with R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish* III (London, 1952).

18 Cf. the summary of the results by Hawkins, *RLI* V, s.v. Karkamiš, §§ 8–12.

19 Note in particular the review articles of *Carchemish* III: P. Meriggi, *La Ricostruzione di Kargamis* (*RSO* 29 (1954), pp. 1–16); H. G. Güterbock, *Carchemish* (*JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 102–114).

20 Cf. I. J. Winter, *Carchemish ša kišad Puratti* (*An. St.* 33 (1983), pp. 177–197).

21 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. GARGAMIŠ. The sole use of KUR before the Sargonid period determines the ethnonym *Gurgamišaya* on the Kurkh Monolith of Shalmaneser III (*III R* 7, l. 43); but all other attestations of the toponym on that monument use the determinative URU, as does also a new duplicate (see below, n. 32).

22 Written *K-IR-ka-mi-sà/si* (ethnonym)-(URBS). The use of the initial sign *K-IR* is regular in the Empire period; note also writings with *ka+ra/i-*, Late period archaic (KARKAMIŠ A4h § 1; A18d1). The writing *K-IR-mi-si-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 5, see Commentary) confirms that the writings *ka+ra/i-mi-sà/si-* (AS-SUR letter a, § 6; SULTANHAN, § 32) also refer to Karkamiš.

23 The use of REGIO on KARKAMIŠ 4h, § 1, also KARKAMIŠ A14h, § 1, seems to be archaic: cf. the same use on the seal of Kuzi-Tešub (see Sørensen, above, n. 5); and by the other Empire period kings of Karkamiš in their titulatures, especially on their seals.

24 See Tell Ahmar, p. 224 and nn. 8–11.

the land of Paqarruhbuni,²⁵ and the cities [...]ga, Tagi[...], Surunu, Paripa, Til-Basere (modern Til-Beşar), and Dabigu.²⁶ From 856 B.C. Assyria held Pitru at the mouth of the River Sajur and Nappigi (modern Membij).²⁷ All this must have considerably circumscribed the territory of Karkamiš, yet it is not clear whether this situation existed before the reign of Ahuni, and again after his defeat. Shalmaneser III referred to many cities of Karkamiš, but only one, Sazabe, by name,²⁸ and in 847 B.C. campaigned against Paqarruhbuni,²⁹ which could then have belonged to Karkamiš. One would suppose that Karkamiš's territory adjoined that of Kummuh in the north, and of Bit-Agusi/Arpad in the west, perhaps also that of Sam'al and/or Gurgum in the north-west. The discovery of outlying stelae gives some idea of the extent of Karkamiš's holdings at various dates: KELEKLĪ to the north of the city in c. 900 B.C.; KÖRKÜN to the north-west c. 800 B.C., also TŪNP 1 and TİLSEVET from the same area; and most distant and surprisingly far west, CEKKE, c. 775 B.C.

Karkamiš in Assyrian sources

A bare chronological outline for the history of Karkamiš in the Iron Age is provided by the surprisingly few Assyrian references, which name two kings only, Sangara, a contemporary of Aššurnāširpal II and Shalmaneser III, and Pisiri, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, (Shalmaneser V) and Sargon II. After the encounter of Ini-Tešub by Tiglath-pileser I in c. 1100 B.C., there are no references to any western states until Aššurnāširpal II undertook a similar campaign c. 870 B.C. Crossing the Euphrates from Bit-Adini, he approached Karkamiš, where he encountered Sangara "king of Hatti", and received from him a massive tribute, especially silver, bronze and iron, as well as luxury items.³⁰ The "Hittites" settled at Aššurnāširpal's newly founded palace at Kalhu were probably from Karkamiš, as were also the "Hittite" ambassadors who attended the inauguration.³¹ The same king Sangara, in alliance with Sam'al, Unqi, and Bit-Adini, later also Cilicians and others, faced Shalmaneser III in 858 B.C., who won two battles against the alliance.³² In 857 and again in 853 B.C. Sangara was among the north Syrian kings who submitted.³³ Meanwhile in 856 B.C. Shalmaneser had captured Til-Barsip, only 20 km. downstream from Karkamiš, and established it under the name Kar-Shalmaneser as a permanent Assyrian base to control the Euphrates crossing.³⁴ In spite of the cowing of north Syria and the weakening of Karkamiš's position, Shalmaneser thought it necessary to attack the cities of Karkamiš and Bit-Agusi again in 849 and 848 B.C.³⁵ One campaign against Sangara is illustrated on Shalmaneser's bronze gates from Balawat, including a representation of the fortified city on the banks of the Euphrates.³⁶ The 848 B.C. campaign, in which Sangara is mentioned for the last time and 97 cities of Karkamiš were

claimed, is the last Assyrian reference to Karkamiš for over a century. Sangara thus reigned minimally c. 870–848 B.C.

Šamsi-Adad V, who did not venture across the Euphrates, maintained the Assyrian hold on Kar-Shalmaneser "opposite Karkamiš",³⁷ and this city became the seat of the *turtān* Šamsi-ilu (minimum tenure of office 796–752 B.C.).³⁸ Adad-nirari III confronted Ataršumki of Arpad supported by an alliance of eight kings at Paqirahubuna in 805 B.C.,³⁹ and in 796 B.C., Bar-Hadad of Aram incited Bar-Guš (= Ataršumki) to lead against Zakur of Hamath in Hatarikka an alliance of ten kings including, besides Damascus and Arpad, Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al and Melid, and two or three missing names.⁴⁰ The composition of the earlier alliance may be inferred from the later. Kummuh and Hamath are clearly Assyrian clients at this date, but it is possible that Karkamiš might be one of the missing names from the alliance.

25 Ibid., n. 8.

26 Ibid., n. 10. Dabigu seems to have been the principal objective; it is clearly identical with Dabiq of medieval Arabic sources. See Honigsmann, *RL* 1 II (1938), s.v. Dabigu; Sourdél, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed., Leiden, 1965) s.v. Dabik.

27 Ibid., n. 11.

28 On the 857 campaign, see below, n. 33.

29 Black Obelisk, 12th *palū*, *WdO* II/2 (1955), p. 152 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.102.14) ll. 89–90; also Cameron Annals, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 468 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.102.6) iii 16–20; Safar Annals, *WdO* II/1 (1954), p. 36 (= *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.10) iii 6–10.

30 Annals, iii 57, 65, 69 f. (*IK* 1, p. 363 ff.) = *RLM* 1 2, A.0.101.1; also *ICC* 44 (= *RLM* 1 2, A.0.101.2) ll. 25–29; Standard Inscription (*IK* 1, pp. 180 l. 22, 216 l. 8) = *RLM* 1 2, A.0.101.26.

31 Banquet stele, i 35 (Wiseman, *Iraq* 14 (1952), pp. 33, 41) = *RLM* 1 2, A.0.101.30. These captives are probably those shown on a Balawat bronze gate fragment of Aššurnāširpal described as being "[...] of Sanjara the Hittite"; see Barnett, *Symbolae Bohli*, p. 21 and pl. facing p. 20. The ambassadors are listed (ibid., iv 143–147, pp. 35, 44): 5 *LIM* LÜ.MAH^{MES} *šap-ra-a-te ša* KUR *su-hi* KUR *bi-in-da-na-a-a* KUR *pa-ti-na-a-a* KUR *hat-ta-a-a* KUR *šur-ra-a-a* KUR *ši-du-na-a-a* KUR *gūr-gu-ma-a-a* KUR *ma-li-da-a-a* KUR *hub-uš-ka-a-a* KUR *gil-za-na-a-a* KUR *ku-ma-a-a* KUR *mu-ša-ši-ra-a-a*, "5000 chieftains, ambassadors of the land of Suhi, Hindaneans, Patineans, "Hittites", Tyrians, Sidonians, Gurgum-eans, Malideans, Hubuskians, Gilzaneans, Kumeans, Mušasir-eans."

32 Kurkh Monolith, III *R* 7 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.102.2), i 43, 53; new text duplicates, see Mahmud and Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985–86), pp. 135–155, text 1, rev. 12, 26.

33 Kurkh Monolith, III *R* 7–8, ii 19, 27, 83. A submission of north Syrian kings not named individually is reported for 856 B.C.; ibid., ii 39 f.

34 See Tell Ahmar, p. 224 and n. 11.

35 Black Obelisk, 10th *palū*, *WdO* II/2 (1955), p. 150 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.102.14), ii 85; Cameron Annals, 10th and 11th *palūs*, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 466 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.102.6), ii 55–57, 69; Safar Annals, 10th and 11th *palūs*, *WdO* II/1 (1954), p. 34 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.102.10) ii 46 f., 52.

36 King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XXXI–XXXVI (Band VI); the epigraph notes "tribute of Sangara the Gargamiscan".

37 Monolith Inscription, I *R* 30 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.0.103.1), ii 9–10.

38 See Tell Ahmar, p. 224 n. 4.

39 Pazarcık stele, see Commagene, p. 331 f. nn. 26–27.

40 See Hama, p. 400 f. and nn. 45–47.

There is no specific evidence that Karkamiš fell under Urartian influence in the following years, as did Melid and Kummuh, but it is not impossible. The city is not named as involved in the Urartu-Arpad led alliance defeated in 743 B.C. by Tiglath-pileser III,⁴¹ nor in the siege of Arpad 742–740 B.C.,⁴² nor in the revolt of Unqi, 739–738 B.C.⁴³ However in the list of tributary kings for 738 B.C., Pisiri of Karkamiš appears, and his name is also to be restored in the similar but damaged list for 732 B.C.⁴⁴ He was still on the throne in 717 B.C., when Sargon accused him of anti-Assyrian intrigue with Mita of Muski, and removed him to Assyria.⁴⁵ Karkamiš was annexed and constituted as a province, and for the following century of the Assyrian empire, governors are attested in 691 and 649 B.C.⁴⁶ At the collapse of the Assyrian empire, Karkamiš was the scene of the last stand of the remnant of Assyria supported by Egypt,⁴⁷ and the expulsion and rout of this force by Nebuchadrezzar in 605 B.C. extinguished the last spark.

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The *terminus ante quem* for the indigenous sculpture and inscriptions is likely to be the Assyrian conquest of 717 B.C., and the absolute chronological fixed points are the reigns of the two Assyrian-attested kings, Sangara (c. 870–848 B.C.) and Pisiri (c. 738–717 B.C.). Neither of their names appears on any Hieroglyphic inscription, although a group of inscribed sculptures with the author's name missing seems certain to be dated to the time of Pisiri.⁴⁸ No significant group can be so attributed to Sangara.⁴⁹

The main Karkamiš sculptures form groups which offer scope for stylistic analysis and comparative dating,⁵⁰ and they are also associated with inscriptions which permit the reconstruction of multi-generation dynasties to give a more exact chronological focus.⁵¹

The Archaic Group. The earliest approximately placeable Karkamiš monument is the archaic stele KARKAMIŠ A4b, the work of Ura-Tarhunzas (MAGNUS.TONITRUS), entitled “Great King, Hero, king of the land of Karkamiš”, the son of x-pa-zi-tis, also entitled “Great King, Hero”. These titles are unparalleled in the later Karkamiš inscriptions or indeed in the dynasty of Šarri-Kušuh under the Hittite Empire.⁵² They appear to derive from those claimed by Kuzi-Tešub as recorded on GÜRÜN.⁵³ It is impossible on present information to know whether Ura-Tarhunzas was of the line of Kuzi-Tešub. The Luwian names borne by himself and his father may indicate the contrary, but in any case they both adopted Kuzi-Tešub's grandiose titles.

The stele itself concerns a quarrel with another country, which was resolved by the gods. Appended is a

statement that the stele was set up by ..., son of Suhis the Ruler (*tarwanis*), the priest of Kubaba. The curiosity is the co-existence of a Great King and a Ruler, whether or not they exercised authority in Karkamiš contemporaneously.^{53a}

A monument closely similar to KARKAMIŠ A4b is the fragmentary stele KARKAMIŠ A16c, which is unfortunately largely illegible, also now mostly lost. It can be seen to be the work of MONS + t[*u*], “Great King, Hero, king of the land of Kar[kami]š”. The author's name appears to be *Tudhaliyas*, written in the style of the Hittite Empire, and this finds support from the recognition of the name also on the KELEKLİ stele (see below), where the same individual may be indi-

41 See Maraş, p. 250 and n. 19.

42 See Aleppo, p. 390 and n. 29.

43 See Amuq, p. 363 and n. 34.

44 For sources, see Cilicia, p. 42 and nn. 49–50.

45 Annals, ll. 72–76 (Lie, *Sargon II*, pp. 10–12), = *ARAB II*, § 8; Iran stele, ll. 20–22 (Levine, *TN-AS*, p. 36); Oriental Institute Tablet, ll. 2–14 (Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 22 f., 100); Nimrud cylinder, iv 13–24 (Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 179, pl. XLV); Nimrud slab, ll. 10, 21 f. (Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 170 f., pl. 48) = *ARAB II*, § 137 f. The incident is also referred to in conquest summaries: *ARAB II*, §§ 79, 92, 99, 118.

46 Bel-emuranni, *RI* 1 II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 426 f. (C⁴); Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 131 n. 1; Ahi-ilaya, *RI* 1 II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 441 b; Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal*, pp. 88 l. 98 f., 90 l. 2.

47 Babylonian Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 98–102, Chronicles 4 (l. 24) and 5 (ll. 2 f., 14).

48 See below, p. 79.

49 Pace the arguments of Ussishkin, who attributes to Sangara the Soldiers', Kubaba's and Hunters' processions (KARKAMIŠ B2a–B3b; B18b–B24; B26c, B60a–B60b), and the Victors' procession of the Long Wall of Sculpture (KARKAMIŠ B41a–B46); see *An. St.* 17 (1967), pp. 181–192; 26 (1976), pp. 105–112. In my opinion the epigraphic evidence should be decisive; KARKAMIŠ A1a, an inscription of Suhis II, describes the construction of the Long Wall of Sculptures in which it was placed; and KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, an inscription of Katuwas, describes the other groups, “Karhuhas's and Kubaba's procession” (§§ 16–17).

50 See principally Orthmann, *USK*, Kap. II.1–2, pp. 29–45; S. Mazzoni, Sui rilievi di Karkemish dall'età di Sargon II al 605 av. Cr. (*RSO* 47 (1974), pp. 177–210); ead., Ricerche sul complesso dei rilievi neoittiti di Karkemish (*RSO* 51 (1977), pp. 7–38); Genge, *NSR*, Kap. IV pp. 56–90, VII pp. 153–167.

51 Earlier work by H. T. Bossert, Zur Geschichte von Karkamiš (*SCO* 1 (1951), pp. 35–67); Woolley and Barnett, *Carchemish III*, ch. XIV, XVI, pp. 238–249, 259–266; P. Meriggi, I nuovi frammenti e la storia di Kargamis (*Athenaeum* 30 (1952), pp. 174–181); id., Le iscrizioni storiche in eteo geroglifico (*SCO* 2 (1953), I. Gruppo sud-orientale, pp. 8–52). More recently with new readings, see Hawkins, Building Inscriptions of Carchemish (*An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 87–114); id., Who was Yarisir?; Kamanis and Sasturas (*An. St.* 29 (1979), pp. 153–162); id., Kubaba at Karkamiš and elsewhere (*An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 147–176); id., Rulers of Karkamiš; the house of Astiruwas (*IX Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1981: Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, I. Cilt (Ankara, 1986), pp. 259–271). See also R. Stefanini, Hieroglyphica (*Studia Meriggi* 1979), pp. 595–611.

52 See above, p. 73 and nn. 12–13.

53 See Malatya, p. 286 and n. 62; above, p. 73 and n. 12–13.

[53a See now Hawkins, *Is Houwink ten Cate*, 1995, pp. 73–85.]

cated. This king is likely to be a successor, and indeed descendant, of Ura-Tarhunzas. The links of these two Great Kings with the Karkamiš dynasty of Suhis are considered below.

Since four claimants to the title "Great King" are all seen to be kings of Karkamiš (Kuzi-Tešub, x-pa-zitis, Ura-Tarhunzas and Tudhaliyas(?)), a fifth, the Great King of the KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan) stele⁵⁴ must also be considered as a possible king of the city. The stele was dedicated to the Storm-God of POCULUM.PES.*67 country (reading unknown but presumably indicates Elbistan) when the Great King visited the country, apparently peacefully. Such an expedition by a king of Karkamiš at this date seems possible. Other considerations, however, suggest that it may be preferable to associate this monument with a western, Anatolian tradition.⁵⁵

The House of Suhis. The "house of Suhis" is associated with a large group of early Karkamiš sculpture and inscriptions. It is known from the following genealogies: KARKAMIŠ A14b, § 1 (Astu[wata]manzas [...], "Karkamisean Country-Lord, son of Suhis (I) the Ruler"); KELEKLİ, § 1 (Suhis (II) "the Ruler, [Karkamisean] Country-Lord, [son of] Astuwatamanzas [...]"); KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 1 (Katuwas "the Ruler, ... Karkamisean Country-Lord, son of Suhis (II) the Country-Lord, grandson of Astuwatamanzas the Country-Lord"); i.e. a four-generation dynasty –

Suhis I, the Ruler.

Astuwatamanzas, [the Ruler?], the Country-Lord.

Suhis (II), the Ruler, the Country-Lord.

Katuwas, the Ruler, the Country-Lord.

Of the surviving Karkamiš monuments, none can with certainty, by means of the inscription, be attributed to Suhis I (but for his connection with KARKAMIŠ A4b, see below); and to Astuwatamanzas only the short lion inscription A14b, showing archaic characteristics, which records his building of a gatehouse, perhaps that at the head of the Great Staircase, if that is indeed the provenance of the lion. On the other hand, groups of uninscribed sculpture recognizably more archaic than the group attributed to Suhis II and Katuwas doubtless belong to the period of one or both of the earlier rulers. This includes in particular the Water Gate sculpture.⁵⁶

To Suhis II may be attributed the inscribed lion KARKAMIŠ A14a, which is both stylistically and epigraphically later than that of Astuwatamanzas with which it was paired.⁵⁷ The preserved part of the inscription contains largely clauses which later became stereotypes of succession, divine favour, and curse formula. On the other hand the KELEKLİ stele, which is certainly Suhis's work, begins after the name and genealogy with the extraordinary statement, "When King Tudhaliyas marries my dear daughter ...", but then breaks off. The truncated inscription KARKAMIŠ A1a, which has lost the name of its author, is certainly to be attributed to Suhis II by the combination of its "my

dear wife BONUS-tis"⁵⁸ (§ 22) with the adjoining KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 1, "I (am) BONUS-tis, dear wife of Suhis the Country-Lord." The former inscription, incorporated in the Long Wall of Sculpture, seems to have contained the *res gestae* of Suhis, including military victories, his worship of the gods, his execution of the divine-led victory procession which constitutes the Long Wall, and the erection of his own statue to receive offerings (probably to be identified as the fragmentary statue represented by the head KARKAMIŠ B54a with the double lion base KARKAMIŠ B53).

The bulk of the dynasty's surviving inscriptions belong to Katuwas, including:

KARKAMIŠ A2+3, a pair of portal orthostats from the door of the cella of the Temple of the Storm-God, which describe its construction and endowment;

KARKAMIŠ A11a with KARKAMIŠ A4d, a portal orthostat and statue inscription from the Processional Entry, combining dynastic narrative with a description of the building of the orthostated gates with their wooden superstructure as women's quarters, and the erection of the divine figure Atrisuhas, (perhaps to be interpreted as the "soul of Suhis");

KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, a pair of portal orthostats, displaced and reused, also combining dynastic and military narrative with notice of building activities, particularly the wooden upper storeys and the orthostat processions of Karhuhas (KARKAMIŠ B2–3) and Kubaba (KARKAMIŠ B19–24);

KARKAMIŠ A12, a large stele fragment, probably of an original form like KELEKLİ, with an inscription giving military narrative and religious dedication;

KARKAMIŠ A13d, an orthostat fragment with a full-length introductory figure as a portrait, and religious dedication;

KARKAMIŠ A23 (+ fragment A26a²), and fragment KARKAMIŠ A20a, a pair of portal orthostats with dedication to Kubaba;

KARKAMIŠ A25a², a fragment provisionally attributed to Katuwas from its comparable wording;

KARKAMIŠ 16b², a fragment with comparable wording.

Katuwas's dynastic narrative, particularly on KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, mentions civil strife with "Ura-

54 See Malatya, p. 283 and nn. 13–14.

55 See Tabal, p. 429 and n. 60.

56 Grouped by Orthmann as *Karkemis* I, and assigned along with Ain Dara to his earliest category *Sph.* I (USK, pp. 30 f., 37, and Kap. III, passim). Genge however proposes a later date (NSR, Kap. IV:7).

57 Ussishkin denies the pairing of the lions A14a and A14b and their restoration on either side of the Gatehouse of the Great Staircase, on grounds of their dissimilarities. He also maintains a later stylistic dating of lion A14a and thus a postulation of a Suhis III: see JNES 26 (1967), pp. 87–92; reaffirmed in An. St. 26 (1976), p. 111 f.

58 BONUS-tis revised reading of Wātis: see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 22, Commentary.

Tarhunzas's grandsons". This may link the dynasty with Ura-Tarhunzas of the stele KARKAMIŠ A4*b*, as may also the possible identification of "Suhis the Ruler" on that stele with "Suhis (I) the Ruler" of KARKAMIŠ A14*b*. A further retrospective link of the dynasty may be provided by the reference by Suhis II on KELEKLİ to "King Tudhaliyas", who could be identified with the possible Tudhaliyas, author of the stele KARKAMIŠ A16*a*. The evidence however does not show, nor is it easy to suggest, how the two dynasties, one with titles "Great King, King of Karkamiš" and the other with "Ruler, Country-Lord of Karkamiš", might have related to each other. [But see above, n. 53*a*].

However this may be, the two dynasties between them attest at least 5–6 generations, covering perhaps 125–150 years. There is no way in which this group of sculpture and inscriptions can be accommodated in the century between Sangara and Pisiri (c. 848–738 B.C.), even if there were not other groups which can and must be placed here. The stylistic analysis of the sculpture and its links with other dated groups, especially those of Tell Ahmar, Maraş and Zincirli, agrees with the dynastic evidence in placing this group in the 10th and early 9th centuries B.C. Orthmann classifies the monuments associated with Suhis II and Katuwas as *Karkemis* II–III, his general style *Spätheth.* II, which includes the closely linked *Til-Barsip* sculpture,⁵⁹ *Malatya* I–II,⁶⁰ *Maraş* I,⁶¹ and *Zincirli* I–II. Orthmann's *Karkemis* I group, as has been observed above, is likely to be attributable to Suhis I and/or Astuwatamanzas.

As has been stated, no substantial inscriptions or sculptures can be attributed to Sangara, though possibly some minor unidentified pieces could. The lack of monuments of his reign could be due to chance, but also perhaps to the fact that he was too troubled by Assyrian attacks and exactions to have left notable monuments.

The House of Astiruwas. Later groups of inscriptions and sculpture can be linked by dynastic and prosopographic evidence, and attributed to the "house of Astiruwas", which can be shown to have extended over at least three generations, thus a minimum of c. 75 years, and may well have filled most of the period 848–717 B.C.⁶² The evidence points to the reconstruction of the following line: a king Astiruwas;⁶³ succeeded by a regent Yariris, entitled merely "the Ruler", and probably a eunuch,⁶⁴ who referred to Astiruwas as his "Lord",⁶⁵ and cared for his children;⁶⁶ succeeded by Kamanis the son of Astiruwas,⁶⁷ entitled formally "the Ruler, Country-Lord of the cities Karkamiš and ...",⁶⁸ also referred to as "the king";⁶⁹ (Kamanis's vizier, Sasturas⁷⁰); succeeded, not necessarily directly, by Sasturas's son (own name lost), entitled "[...] the Hero, Country-Lord of the city Karkamiš and the land ..., beloved by Kubaba".⁷¹ Various fragmentary inscriptions and genealogies may add extra rulers to the line.

Astiruwas is known only from inscriptions of others,⁷² but Yariris, Kamanis and Sasturas's son left substantial groups of sculpture, and the first two also refer to major building works in their inscriptions. Yariris added the Royal Buttress to a structure of Katuwas, with its sculptures showing him introducing the young Kamanis and Astiruwas's other children, a scene described in the accompanying inscriptions, KARKAMIŠ A6–A7. An inscribed base of his, KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, which perhaps supported a statue, bears a text describing his irrigation and building works, his piety towards Kamanis and his brothers, and his own skill and learning, including literacy. We also have fragments of a large inscribed stele of his, KARKAMIŠ A24, probably of an original form like KELEKLİ and KARKAMIŠ A12, on which the preserved text refers tantalizingly to relations with the Assyrian king.⁷³ Kamanis's reign left two major stelae: the Kubaba stele, KARKAMIŠ B62*a*, showing the goddess frontally in high relief wearing festal attire, with the inscription KARKAMIŠ A31, describing the building of her temple and precinct by Kamanis; and the Storm-God stele, CEKKE, showing the deity mounted on a bull, and bearing two separate inscriptions, the reverse giving details of a city foundation and land-grant by Kamanis and his vizier Sasturas, and the obverse recording the setting up of the stele by a servant of Sasturas. The very comparable document, a sale of "houses" (estates), KARKAMIŠ A4*a*, was also carried out under Kamanis's auspices; and a further sale document from the hinterland of Karkamiš, TUNP 1, shows close links with CEKKE and KARKAMIŠ A4*a*, and may belong to the same reign, though specific evidence is lacking.

59 See Tell Ahmar, p. 225 and nn. 19–22.

60 See Malatya, p. 286 and n. 59.

61 See Maraş, p. 251 and n. 38.

62 See Hawkins, op. cit. (1986, see n. 51 above).

63 KÖRKÜN, § 4.

64 KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1; A15*b*, § 1. My earlier suggestion that Yariris was a eunuch, and as such, a loyal guardian of his lord's children, which I based on the appearance of his figure, is now further supported by the identification of the word *wasinast-*, applied to the beardless figures of the body-guard on the Royal Buttress, as meaning specifically "eunuch"; see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 30, and Commentary. It would seem that the children are protected by a corps of eunuchs with Yariris as their chief.

65 KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, § 17, also §§ 4, 21; A6, § 8.

66 KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, §§ 13–17; KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 8–24.

67 KARKAMIŠ A6, § 8.

68 CEKKE, § 6. For a possible Karkamiš claim to kingship of the city of Malatya, see Commentary to this clause.

69 KARKAMIŠ A4*a*, § 1.

70 CEKKE, § 6.

71 KARKAMIŠ A21, § 1. The apparent claim to Malatya is repeated here.

72 Besides KÖRKÜN, § 4, KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, § 17, also fragments KARKAMIŠ A27*a*1+2 (genealogy); KARKAMIŠ A20*b*1 (genealogy?); KARKAMIŠ A13*d*1(?) (genealogy); KARKAMIŠ A27*mm*2 refers to his statue).

73 KARKAMIŠ A24*a*2+3, §§ 6–7; also the important fragment A24*a*6.

The son of Kamanis's vizier Sasturas, bearing virtually identical titles to those of Kamanis on CEKKE, § 6, executed the inscribed sculptures KARKAMIŠ A21*b*+*a*, with the associated fragments KARKAMIŠ A20*b*1–13, also presumably the paired figure fragments with inscription, KARKAMIŠ A20*b*6+A22*c* +B35*b*, and B35*c*, and the uninscribed sculptures B35*d* and B36*a*–*b*. These orthostats can be restored to positions on either side of the entrance to the Gatehouse on the Great Staircase. The inscription KARKAMIŠ A21 is truncated by the loss of one or more inscribed elements originally standing to its right and bearing on the first line the name and perhaps genealogy of the author. A top corner fragment KARKAMIŠ A20*b*1, bearing only the name *Astiru*, has been restored as the missing author's name.⁷⁴ If this is correct, this son of Sasturas and successor of Kamanis would be Astirus II, a predecessor of Pisiri, and this hypothetical personage could be identified as the father in the fragmentary genealogy of KARKAMIŠ A13*c*1 (see below), which would add an additional generation to the dynasty.⁷⁵

On the other hand, stylistic analysis of the sculpture suggests a later date for KARKAMIŠ A21 and its associated pieces. Orthmann groups the Yariris and Kamanis sculptures together as *Karkemis* IV, generally *Spätheth.* III *a*, and distinguishes clearly the sculptures of KARKAMIŠ A21 group as *Karkemis* V, generally *Spätheth.* III *b*, which includes particularly *Zincirli* III–IV, also *Saka Gözü* II and the associated Malatya colossus.⁷⁶ The absolute date for *Spätheth.* III *b* is suggested by *Zincirli* III–IV, sculptures associated with Bar-Rakib, and thus belonging to the later reign of Tiglath-pileser III at the earliest.⁷⁷ On this reckoning the KARKAMIŠ A21 group must be attributed to Pisiri, king from at least 738 to 717 B.C. The associated *Astiru* fragment would then belong to the genealogy of Sasturas's son (Pisiri), and Sasturas would also have to be accommodated in the line of Astiruwas, perhaps by marriage.⁷⁸ The preserved text of the inscription concerns a dedication to Kubaba; but the paired piece, KARKAMIŠ A20*b*6+A22*c*+ B35*b*, does not preserve a complete word.

Other important fragments of genealogies include: (1) KARKAMIŠ A27*e*, naming "[...] Country-Lord, the Hero Astirus's son", probably to be attributed to Kamanis; (2) KARKAMIŠ A13*c*1 already mentioned, from the group of fragments, KARKAMIŠ A13*a*–*c*, of the base of the colossal statue KARKAMIŠ B27*a* from the South Gate,⁷⁹ perhaps naming "[s]t[ir]u[s]s(?) s[on](?)", thus probably Kamanis, but, if Astirus II existed, another king, Pisiri;⁸⁰ (3) KARKAMIŠ A26*f*, perhaps naming a descendant of [Ka]ma[nis]; (4) KARKAMIŠ A15*e*, preserving only titles; (5) KARKAMIŠ A27*c*, bearing the name, or perhaps epithet, "[...](*)462)muwas(is) Country-Lord".

Non-royal inscriptions. Some of the Karkamiš monuments which are the work of non-royal individuals can

be attributed to specific reigns by internal reference. Thus KÖRKÜN, a stele dedicated to the Storm-God of Aleppo, is dated to the reign of King Astirus (§ 4).⁸¹ KARKAMIŠ A17*b* is a small stele of [A]za[t]iwaras(?), who was a [descendant] or [officer] of Kamanis. TÜNP 1, as noted above, shows close similarities to other documents of Kamanis's reign. The fragment KARKAMIŠ A25*b*, bearing the name of Kamanis, could be attributed to him, or a dependant or a successor. The fragment KARKAMIŠ A18*e*, a dedication to the goddess Kubaba, shows the epigraphic style of the inscriptions of Kamanis or later, and especially resembles KARKAMIŠ A13*a*–*c*.

Other works of individuals cannot be attributed to known reigns, and are not easy to date. The oldest appears to be KARKAMIŠ A30*b*, a stele base of archaic appearance with a dedication to Kubaba. A series of tomb-stones ("altars") in the form of castellated towers appear to be generally late: KARKAMIŠ A18*b*, TIL-SEVET, KARKAMIŠ A5*a*, and the less well preserved KARKAMIŠ A4*c*, A5*b*, A16*f*, A18*f*.⁸²

Miscellaneous stelae are either further dedications or personal memorials: (1) KARKAMIŠ A17*a*, a dedication to the Storm-God and Sun-God, both represented and identified by epigraphs on the obverse; (2) KARKAMIŠ A18*a*, a memorial?; (3) KARKAMIŠ A18*j*, a dedication to Kubaba. Some are substantially or completely illegible, and thus of uncertain character: KARKAMIŠ A15*a*, A17*c*, A17*d*. Some fragments attached to sculpture seem to be simply epigraphs: KARKAMIŠ A15*c*, A15*d*, A16*e*, B39*a*. Other fragments are too small to identify, KARKAMIŠ A18*b*, *c*, *i*, or quite illegible, A16*d*.

Fragments. The very numerous small fragments, grouped as II.67–72, seldom preserve much of note, though occasionally their style or content suggests connections with known inscriptions or passages. They are presented here in detailed catalogue form in order to make all the surviving information appertaining to them available in as convenient a form as possible.

⁷⁴ Barnett, *Carchemish* III, p. 261; Meriggi, *RSO* 29 (1954), p. 7.

⁷⁵ I.e. (1) Astiruwas I (+ Yariris), (2) Kamanis (+ Sasturas), (3) Sasturas's son Astirus II, (4) Astirus (II)'s son (= Pisiri?).

⁷⁶ *USK*, pp. 35–37, 133–136, 148.

⁷⁷ *USK*, pp. 200–202, 221.

⁷⁸ This is the scheme which I have previously proposed (loc. cit., above, n. 51).

⁷⁹ The piece seemed to have been deliberately destroyed, by the Assyrian conquerors of the city as the excavator plausibly suggested (*Carchemish* II, p. 92). The head and shoulders of the statue are reported to survive in Ankara Museum, no number (see *Carchemish* III, p. 267), but when working in the Museum depot in the summer, 1996, I saw only the head.

⁸⁰ Cf. n. 75 above.

⁸¹ I.e. Astiruwas, father of Kamanis; KÖRKÜN could hardly be dated as late as the hypothetical Astirus II.

⁸² See now Hawkins, *More Late Hittite funerary monuments (Studies Tuhin Özgüç)* (Ankara, 1989), pp. 189–197.

The Inscriptions

II.1. KARKAMIŠ A4b (plate 1)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 34.

Description. Stele of black basalt, bearing, obverse top, an elaborate winged disc; below, an 8-line inscription, beginning upper right edge, running sinistrowise, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending lower right edge. Below the inscription is an unscribed space.

Dimensions: ht., 1.0 m.; w., 0.40 m.; max. th., 0.29 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.12 m.

Condition: inscription poor, worn.

Script, line-dividers: incised, shallow and faint.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: generally archaic orthography (see Commentary).

Word-dividers: some visible.

Discovery. Excavated *in situ* before July 1913 standing in the courtyard of the Temple of the Storm-God in the angle between the south-east wall of the cella and the abutting south-west wall of room 7. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 167, 170, plan pl. 29, photographs pl. 36a–b.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), pp. 27 f., [31], pl. A4b, b* (photographs of stone and of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pl. AB (collated text).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 163, pp. 325–327, Tav. XV (redrawn from *Carchemish* I).

Excerpts

§ 1 Bossert, *Belleten* 16, p. 542 f., lev. CXXVI Abb. 19 (cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 13, p. 105); Hawkins, *Iraq* 36, p. 71 f.

§ 2 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 15 f.

§ 5 id., *ibid.*, pp. 3, 13.

Content. Stele commemorating victory of MAGNUS.TONITRUS, “Great King, King of Karkamiš, Hero”, over another country (§§ 1–5); set up by Priest of Kubaba, the son of Suhis the Ruler (§ 6).

Date. The identification of MAGNUS.TONITRUS with the MAGNUS.TONITRUS-*tá/ta-* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 4, 30) seems likely, and of Suhis (§ 6) with the great-grandfather of Katuwas also possible: see Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, p. 62; II/2, p. 327; Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 70–72. This would give a date 3–4 generations earlier than Katuwas, i.e. probably 11th or 10th centuries B.C., though it is not certain that the stele is contemporary with the events which it narrates (see below). See in general, Karkamiš, The Historical Context, p. 76, especially n. 53a.

Text. The new text here offered of this very difficult inscription is based on a combination of tracings of the stone itself made in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, and of latex and paper squeezes made from it.

Photograph. The inscription is very difficult to show up by photograph. I offer only the published photograph, taken from the excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 033865), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

1. § 1 MAGNUS.REX ¹MAGNUS.TONITRUS MAGNUS.REX
2. HEROS *ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sa*(REGIO) REX || x-*pa-VIR-ti-sa*
 MAGNUS.REX HEROS (INFANS) *ni-mu-za*
3. § 2 *wa/i-tu-tá-* || CORNU + *R-1/I-ti*(REGIO) | LIS .*ARH-1*
 SPHINX
4. § 3 *wa/i-tá-* || |EXERCITUS-X |FRONS-*ti* |PONERE
5. § 4 ¹MAGNUS.TONITRUS REX FORTIS (DEUS)TONITRUS
 (DEUS) *ku+AVIS* || |FORTIS *273 DARE
6. § 5 *wa/i* | (FORTIS) *mu-[wa/i]-ta* || [*la²/li²-ti*] | [*273-*ti*?] | LIS-*na*
 .*ARH-1* DELERE-*wa/i-tu*
7. § 6 | *wa/i-tá- za* || STELE AVIS-*mu(-)* *466 | PONERE *su-bi-sa* || (...?)
8. |IUDEX-*ni* | (INFANS) *ni-mu-za* | (DEUS) *ku+AVIS* *355-*sa*

Translation

(Great King) Ura-Tarhunzas, Great King, Hero, King of the land of Karkamiš, son of x-pa-zitis, Great King, Hero.
Against him from the land Sura(?) a dispute came(?) forth, and one put the army against.
(To) Ura-Tarhunzas the King the mighty Storm-God and Kubaba gave a mighty courage, and by (his) mighty [courage] he resolved the dispute.
This stele Arnu-... erected, the ruler Suhis's son, the priest of Kubaba.

Commentary

Style. The inscription is archaic in style, i.e. almost purely logographic in writing with very few phonetic writings and case and tense endings. Yet the sign forms are not specially archaic and the writing (INFANS) *ni/ni-mu-za* (twice) indicates that the old sign *zi/a* had already taken the ligature with *a* to distinguish *za*. The stele was set up by another man than the Great King commemorated, and is not certainly contemporary with the events which it describes. It may be that an archaic style was affected deliberately.

§ 1. MAGNUS.TONITRUS: correct identification of the signs by Bossert, loc. cit. For the Luwian reading (*Ura-Tarhunzas*), as against the Hurrian (*Talmi-Tešub*), see Hawkins, loc. cit. (the identification with MAGNUS + *ra/i*-TONITRUS-*ta/tá-* of KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 4, 30, serves to confirm the Luwian reading by the phonetic complement *-ta/tá-*).

MAGNUS.REX HEROS: on the significance of the titles, see Karkamiš, The Historical Context, pp. 73, 76.

ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sà(REGIO): the writing with *ka+ra/i* instead of *KAR* is unusual; not found in the Empire Period, and exactly paralleled only on an obscure and probably archaic fragment KARKAMIŠ A18d1; cf. also *ka+ra/i-mi-sà/si*(URBS), ASSUR letter *a*, § 6; SULTANHAN, § 32. The determining of the toponym with REGIO as against URBS is archaic, regular in Empire writings but paralleled in the Late Period only on KARKAMIŠ A14b, § 1. Similarly the writing of the name in the stem form *Karkamis(a)* with no adj. or ethnic suffix belongs to the titularies of the Empire seals.

x-pa-VIR-ti-sa: Meriggi's reading of the first sign as SUPER looks possible, but the expected reading as *sari* does not favour his identification of the first element as *sarpa-*. Note the *-sa* indicating gen. sing. ending.

(INFANS) *ni-mu-za* (also in § 6 with *ni-*): normal form interpreted as *nimuwizas* (nom. sing. MF); present form probably simply omits nom. *-s*.

§ 2. Difficult in the absence of nominal and verbal endings to grasp grammar of clause.

wa/i-tu-tá-: *wa+tu* (curious sign form, 3 sing. enclitic pronoun, dat., "for him") + *-ta Ortspartikel*.

CORNU + *R-1/I-ti*(REGIO) (read *sü+ra/i-ti*?): uncertain whether *-ti* part of stem or abl. sing. ending. A "city" written *su+ra/i-*, and probably the same written *sü+ra/i-*, have been tentatively seen as referring to Urartu (see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 6, Commentary). The early 10th century date of this inscription would make Urartu an unlikely identification here. Could we perhaps think of Assyria, normally written *a-CORNU* + *R-1/I*(= *sü+ra/i*)(REGIO)? The inscription is likely to date to the period of extreme Assyrian weakness between Aššurnasirpal I (1049–1031) and Tiglathpileser II (966–935), when Assyria was shut off from the west by independent states of the Habur and Middle Euphrates.

LIS: for the interpretation of the sign as specifically "lawsuit, quarrel", rather than the general "anger", see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary. Traces of a sign below the compound logogram could possibly be *sa* or *sa₅* and represent the nom. sing. MF *-s*.

SPHINX: clearly used to write the verb. Itamar Singer ingeniously suggests (pers. comm.) the "reading" of the sign as *awiti-*, i.e. "sphinx" (for which see Puhvel, *HED* I (1984), s.v.; Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb²*, s.v.), used as a rebus rendering of the verb *awi-*, "come", – LIS as subject should require *awita*, "(it) came".

§ 3. *wa/i-tá-*: could be *wa+ata*, "they", or + *-ta Ortspartikel*.

FRONS-*ti*: for the identification of the logogram as *bant-*, "forehead", and for its derivatives, see KARATEPE, § XXVI, and KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 6, Commentary.

§ 4. Sense now established by the new fragment of SULTANHAN, § 8 (see Commentary):

|á-wa/i |tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* *|wa/i-su-SARM-1-ma-[...]-[...]-ti-i* *|mu-w**|a/i-ta-li-na* *|wa/i+ra/i-pi-na* *|pi-ia-ta*

"And Tarhunzas of the Vineyard gave to Wasusarmas the [...] king a mighty courage."

Here we may recognize in FORTIS(= *muwatali-*) *273(= *warpi-*) DARE(= *piya-*) the purely logographic equivalents of the phonetic SULTANHAN writings.

§ 5. *wa/i*: apparently stands alone as connective; compare the not uncommon writing *wa/i-* (see SHEIZAR, § 2, Commentary).

DELERE-*wa/i-ta*: phonetic complement seems to indicate normal causative *-nu-* form of this verb (for which see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary); cf. SOLIUM-*wa/i-ha* = *isanuwaba* (IZGIN 1, §§ 7, 8). This graphic usage, *-wa/i-* indicating *-(nu)wa-*, seems to be archaic.

§ 6. AVIS₂-*nu*(-)*466(2): function of last sign unclear, presumably phonetic (or rebus) element, rather than logogram (title), since a title follows; the sign is not actually very similar to the logogram *466(1). AVIS₂-*nu-*, following DARENDE, § 1, Commentary, should be read *.Arnu-* and naturally points to the name *.Arnu-wanti-* (attested on ISPEKÇÜR, sides B, C, A; IZGIN 1, § 12; also DARENDE, § 1); thus suggesting a reading *-(wa)ti-* or the like for *466(2).

su-bi-sa[(...)] | IUDEx-*ni*: probably nothing written on the rough patch between two words at beginning of 1.6. *su-bi-* has gen. *-sa*, cf. *x-pa-VIR-ti-sa* (§ 1); IUDEx-*ni*, which presumably qualifies the personal name, does not appear to have case ending.

|(INFANS) *ni-mu-za*: *ni-* probable, though *ni-* also possible.

(DEUS) *ku*+AVIS *355-[*sa*], "priest of Kubaba": logogram *355 found in two contexts – (1) KAR-

KAMIŠ A2+3, § 14(c), “(whether he (be) a king or he (be) a country-lord) or he (be) a *355-*liš*”; (2) SU-VASA, B (sign reversed), “(So-and-so) *355 of the god Sarruma”. The latter, taken with the present “*355 of the goddess Kubaba”, clearly suggests the interpretation “priest”. In the Empire Period inscriptions,

“priest” is rendered by the logogram “ear”, *HH* no. 372, now amply attested from Meskene, = Cun. ^{lu}SANGA and ^{lu}HAL: see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 14; id., *CRAIBL*, 1983, p. 18. It is not inconceivable that the present *355 might be a stylized form of the “ear”, *372.

II.2. KARKAMIŠ A16c (plate 2)

Location. Broken stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 2, 10910 (“upper part of fragment 1, part of fragment 2”; remainder lost?)

Description. “Basalt Stela; a rough obelisk, four-sided in section and inscribed on front and on one or both sides with linear text. Text on front face surmounted by winged disk, c. 1 [i.e. frag. 1]. Stone broken into three parts and numerous small fragments: the whole face of the right side has disappeared. Text, nine lines of varying heights, very shallowly and roughly incised and hard to read when preserved. The front and left side of the stone preserved each a part of the whole vertical length of the inscription: the angle between them mostly filled in by fragments: of the right side of the stone nothing remains and it may not have been inscribed” (Woolley, see Publication). The winged sun-disc is actually surmounted by a crescent and planet. The line divisions and orientation remain unclear (except ll.1–2, *sinistroverse-dextroverse*). As against the excavator’s 9 lines, Meriggi counts at least 11.

Dimensions: ht., 1.65 m.; w., 0.33 m.; th., 0.25 m.; line ht., not certainly determinable: squeeze suggests gradual diminution from 0.12–0.06 m.

Condition (inscription): very poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised, faint.

Sign forms: unclear, presumably monumental(?).

Peculiarities: (as for KARKAMIŠ A4b).

Word-dividers: none apparent.

Discovery. “Lower Palace area, near and on surface” (Woolley).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. ix, pl. A16c, c* (photographs of roughly assembled stela from angle between front and left side, and of front fragment 1; photograph of inked squeezes of reassembled text and 5 unplaced fragments (all squeezes still preserved in the British Museum)).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 185, p. 327, Tav. XVI (redrawn).

Content. Stele of a “Great King, Hero”, like KARKAMIŠ A4b; otherwise unclear.

Date. Included by Meriggi with the archaic texts, but need not be older than KARKAMIŠ A4b, which it resembles; probably 11th or 10th centuries B.C. For a possible reading of the author’s name as *Tudhaliyas* and identification with the king Tudhaliyas of KELEKLİ, § 2, a contemporary of Suhis II, see Commentary, here and there; also Karkamiš, *The Historical Context*, p. 76 f.

Text. The new text here offered of frag. 1 is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987. None of the other fragments is available for inspection, although the original published squeezes survive in the British Museum. Since nothing can be added to the original publication, in which barely a single sign can be confidently recognized, it did not seem worthwhile to reproduce these squeezes.

Photographs. Both sides of frag. 1 only, taken in Ankara Museum at the same time as the tracing.

Commentary

With the inscription as published and without the possibility of collation, the text must be regarded as hopeless. Only occasional signs are possibly identifiable, of which only the introduction is of significance:

l.1. MAGNUS.REX MONS+*tu* MAGNUS.REX
HEROS *kar-[ka-mi]-sā*[(REGIO)] (l.2) REGIO.REX

“Great King Tudhaliyas(?), Hero, King of the land of Karkamiš ...”.

MONS: the recognition of this name as “Tudhaliyas” (i.e. MONS+*tu*) was considered by Bossert (*Asia*, p. 74), but doubted by Barnett (*Carchemish* III, p. 259)

and Meriggi (Edition). But we may now note the identification of a “King Tudhaliyas”, contemporary of Suhis II, on KELEKLİ, § 2 (see Commentary there). See also II.74. KARKAMIŠ frag. a/b (below, p. 590 f.).

HEROS: expected, as on KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 1; collation establishes its presence.

kar-[ka-mi]-sā[(REGIO)] REGIO.REX: collation also supports the recognition of traces of the expected *Karkamisa*, stem form in archaic style as on KARKAMIŠ A4b.

II.3. KARKAMIŠ A18d (plate 2)

Location. Lion fragment, lost?

Description. “Basalt. Fragments of a lion carved in low relief and having two lines of linear script along the back. Fragment 1 shows the root of the tail and the start of the building block supported by the lion: ends of two lines preserved” (Woolley, see Publication). These remarks were written under the misapprehension that the photograph of the inked squeeze A18d*2 was a fragment belonging with d*1, but this fragment bore the old Ankara Museum no. 2026, and has in fact been joined by Meriggi to KARKAMIŠ A4a (see there for details). The remaining fragment’s l.1 runs sinistroverso and apparently continues directly *boustrophedon* on l. 2 (implicit in the excavator’s statement that the ends of two lines are preserved).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.43 m.; preserved w., 0.40 m.; length of inscription, 0.22 m.; line ht., 0.06 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-divider: incised.

Sign forms: cursive?

Peculiarities: archaic form of *i*; also *ka+ra/i* in *Karkamiš*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 1.

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Not recorded.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18d*1 (photograph of inked squeeze no longer preserved in the British Museum); id., *Carchemish* III (1952), pl. AC (photograph of stone).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 196, p. 327 f., Tav. XV (redrawn).

Content. Appears to name an unknown king of Karkamis, otherwise unclear.

Date. The script appears archaic, but no more so than that of the stele, KARKAMIŠ A4b (also the associated KARKAMIŠ A16c). It seems likely that this fragment is to be generally grouped with these two stelae, though probably somewhat older, i.e. 11th century B.C.?

Text. In the absence of the original fragment and of the published squeeze among the British Museum Karkamiš squeezes, the text here offered has been taken from a tracing made from the original published photograph.

Photograph. The published photograph, taken from the excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 084166), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

1. § 1 ...|mi² [...|ni²...|i²...|tá
2. § 2 wa/i-tá'-mu-²|| hu²-wa/i-Σ-IRM-1 REX ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sa-zi
(REGIO²) (TERRA)ta-sa-...

Commentary

§ 2. hu²-wa/i-Σ-IRM-1: identification of first sign uncertain; *pa* possible, but read *hu*, following Laroche, *HH* no. 80(b). [The name is now found on the Bo. seal impression Bo. 91/2202, Herbordt, no. 418].

ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sa-zi(REGIO²): not clear, if correctly read, exactly what formation this represents;

possibly a defective writing for the usual ethnonym *karkamisišas*.

It is possible that this text gives us: “and I, Huwa-Sarruma, king of the land of Karkamiš ...”.

II.4–5. KARKAMIŠ A14b and A14a (plates 3–5)

Location. Inscribed stone lion fragments, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 60 (A14a, frags. 1 and 2 only, with 3 main lion sculpture fragments; the detached inscription frags. 3–9 are lost, but survive as inked squeezes in the British Museum); 69 (A14b; detached frag. from top right lost).

Description. A14a: fragments of inscription on left flank of portal lion, originally a left-hand door jamb, pieced together from 5 joining fragments (1–5) with 4 separate fragments (6–10); other associated fragments of the lion were found (see Sculpture). The left part of the 6-line text was reconstructed, preserving the

beginnings of the odd-numbered and ends of the even-numbered lines of the text, which began top left, running dextroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending lower left on the lion's shoulder. An estimate of the original length of the body of the lion would suggest that perhaps as much as half of each line is preserved, giving a text continuity: beginning l. 1 [lacuna], ll. 2+3 [lacuna], ll. 4+5 [lacuna], l. 6 end.

A14b: fragment of inscription on right flank of stone portal lion, originally a right-hand door jamb (large frag. joined by small frag.), preserving right side of 5-line inscription, (i.e. beginnings of odd-numbered, ends of even-numbered lines), beginning top right, running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending on right hind leg above knee. To judge from the traces of sculpture, the inscription began on the lion's middle and covered the rump and right hind leg (see Sculpture), so probably only little of the left side of the inscription is lost, giving text continuity: beginning l. 1 [small(?) lacuna], ll. 2+3 [small(?) lacuna], ll. 4+5 end. See Fig. below for reconstruction.

Dimensions, A14a (inscription): ht., c. 1.10 m.; preserved w., c. 0.86 m.; line ht., 0.18–0.10 m.; A14b (inscription): ht., c. 0.95 m.; preserved w., c. 0.65 m.; line ht., 0.13–0.23 m.

Condition: both, as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: A14a –; A14b, archaic-looking sign forms, especially ligatures $i+a = ia$, $zi+a = za$ (important

for script development; see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Annali Pisa* 8/3 (1978), pp. 779 ff. with fig. 1).

Word-dividers: A14a, occasional; A14b, four only, also indicating occasional use.

Discovery. Both lions apparently found by Henderson when digging trench from Great Staircase to Water Gate; they were taken to the river bank for transport but abandoned and subsequently smashed. Fragments found on river bank in irrigation channel in front of Water Gate, in April 1912 (Woolley's report on work of April 1912 to British Museum, preserved in Museum archives; see photograph pl. 3 top), when workmen who remembered Henderson's excavations stated that they came from area of Great Staircase. The excavator Woolley proposed to restore the lions as a pair, one on either side of the Gatehouse at the head of the Great Staircase (see plan *Carchemish* III, pl. 30, but for A14b read A14a, and for A13a read A14b), noting that the estimated size of reconstructed A14a would very well fit such an emplacement.

See *Carchemish* I, pp. 10, 12; *Carchemish*, II, pp. 105 f., 116 f.; *Carchemish* III, pp. 163 f., 241; and Güterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 104, correcting confusion of attribution of A14a and A14b to Suhis ("Luhās") I/II and Astuwatamanzas.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii, pl. A14a (photograph of inked squeezes, still preserved

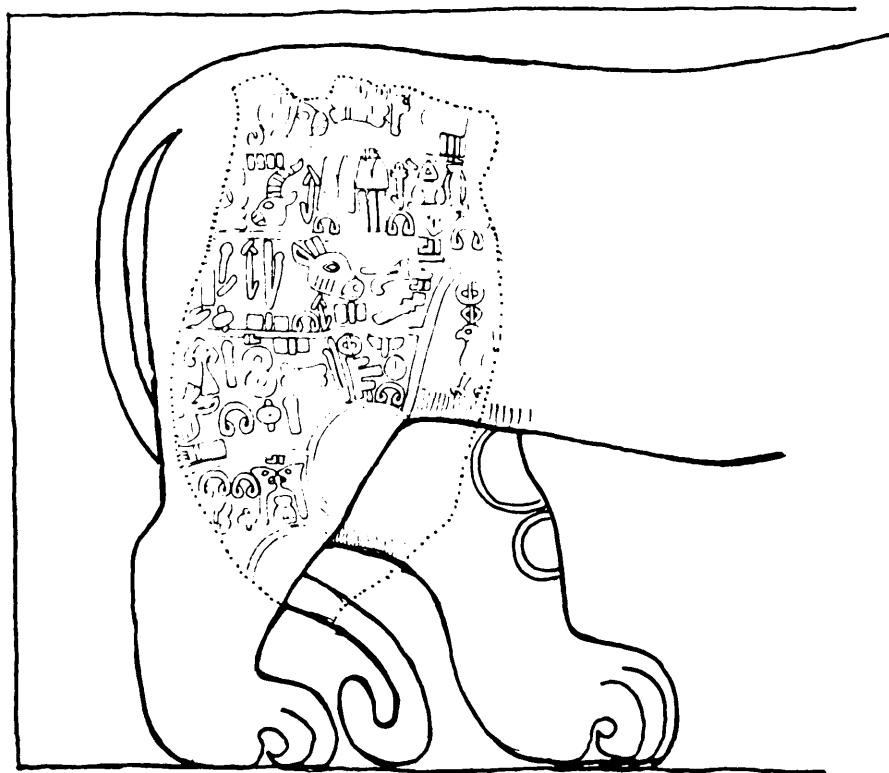


Fig. Tentative reconstruction of lion with inscription KARKAMIŠ A14b. It is not easy to draw the right hind leg in a manner allowing space for the minimal restorations at the end of l.3 – beginning of l.4.

in British Museum, of joined and separate fragments); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 13, p. 26, pl. XXV. (photograph, frag. 2 only, taken in Adana); Ussishkin, *JNES* 26 (1967), pl. X fig. 4 (photograph of frag. 1).

pl. A14b (photographs of stone and of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum).

Editions (A14a and A14b). Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 231–236; Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), nos. 3–4, pp. 96–100, 111; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), nos. 176–177, pp. 119–122, Tav. XIX–XX (re-drawn).

Excerpts. A14a

- § 1 Meriggi, *MI/AeG* 39/1, p. 21.
- § 3 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 66; Laroche, *HH* no. 382.2; Bossert, *RHA* XVIII/66, p. 14.
- § 4 Meriggi, *WZKM* 40, p. 271.
- §§ 5–7 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 20.
- §§ 6–7 Bossert, *An. Or.* 18/3, p. 40 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 138 cit. 34.
- § 8 Meriggi, *MI/AeG* 39/1, p. 53.
- § 9 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 15; Laroche, *HH* no. 24.1(a); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 162 cit. 14a.

A14b

- § 1 Meriggi, *MI/AeG* 39/1, p. 20.
- § 3 Meriggi, *MI/AeG* 39/1, p. 69.
- § 4 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 15; Laroche, *HH* no. 24.1(b); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 162 cit. 14b.

Sculpture. Woolley, *Carchemish* II, pl. B31c, sketch reconstruction of lion fragments, including fig. 35 (p. 117), associated with A14a (reconstruction – head in wrong style, body too long). Ussishkin, *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 87–89, pls. IX–XII, reexamined lion fragments, those connected with A14a (“Suhi Lion I”), and those forming hypothetical “Suhi Lion II” without surviving inscription. Orthmann (*USK* (*Karkemis* K/19, K/21), pp. 41 f., 160, 190, 514 f.) considers it possible

(as do I) that A14b with Astuwatamanzas’s inscription belongs with Ussishkin’s “Suhi Lion II” fragments (Orthmann, *Karkemis* K/20). Genge, *NSR*, Kap. IV, esp. pp. 63 f., 69, for further critique of Ussishkin.

Content. Both dedicatory building inscriptions.

A14b: inscription of Astuwatamanzas, ruler of Karkamiš, son of Suhis (I). § 1, Name, [lacuna], title and genealogy; § 2, “these gates [... , lacuna]; §§ 3–4, protective imprecation.

A14a: inscription of Suhis – presumably Suhis II son of Astuwatamanzas, father of Katuwas (so Güterbock, Orthmann, Hawkins, Genge, loc. cit.; contra Woolley, loc. cit. (Suhis I); Ussishkin, loc. cit. (Suhis III)). § 1, Name, Karkamiš[... , lacuna]; §§ 2–4, gifts of gods to author [lacuna]; §§ 5–7, favour of gods to author above predecessors [lacuna]; §§ 8–9, protective imprecation.

Date. Two generations (father-son), probably 10th century B.C. For the general placing of the 4-generation House of Suhis to the period before Aššurnāṣirpal II of Assyria, see Karkamiš, The Historical Context, p. 78.

Texts. A14b. The new text offered here is taken from a tracing of a print of the published photograph (the surviving inked squeeze in the British Museum is poorly made and less suitable as a basis). A14a. The new text offered here is taken from tracings of the inked squeezes of fragments 1–9, checked against tracings of frags. 1 and 2 (the only surviving parts) made in Ankara Museum, summer 1987.

Photographs. A14b. The published photograph, taken from the excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 039266) is reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees. A14a. Surviving fragments 1 and 2 photographed by myself in Ankara Museum, summer 1987.

Transliteration

(KARKAMIŠ A14b)

- 1. § 1 [E]GO-mi á-sa-tú-[wa/i-ta₃]-ma-[ẓa]-sa [...?] || [ḳ]ar-ka-mi-sà-
- 2. ẓi+a-sa(REGIO) |REGIO DOMINUS-i+a-sa ¹su-bi-si
- 3. |IUDEx-ni-sa || |(INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-ẓi+a-sa
- § 2 a-wa/i ẓi+a-i+a PO[RTA]-la/i/u-n[a ... ||
- 4. § 3 [...m]u-[t]á REL-i-sa |MALLEUS-la/i/u-i
- § 4 wa/i-tú- (DEUS)kar-bu-ba-sa (DEUS)ku+AVIS-[pa-...]]
- 5. |LIS-sa-la/i/u-sa-tú

(KARKAMIŠ A14a)

- 1. § 1 EGO-mi-i ¹su-bi-i-sa kar-ka-mi-si-[... || ...]
- 2. ... || ...]
- § 2 [...]-ia-sa-ba

Translation

I (am) Astuwatamanzas [...]
Karkamišean Country-Lord, the
ruler Suhis’s son.
These gates [... I made/built.]
(He) who shall [de]face (them) for
me,
against him may Karhuhas [and]
Kubaba litigate!

I (am) Suhis, Karkamišean [...]
...
...]I[...].ed.

3. § 3 *wa/i-mu- á-ma-za | tá-ti-ia-za* (LIGNUM)*sà||-la-ha-za | pi-ia-ta-*
- § 4 *349(-)*ara/i-ma-ha-wa/i-mu | LEPUS + R-1/I-ta-na | pi-ia-ta [...*
 4. ... || ...]
- § 5 [... ...]-zi AVUS-ha-zi | *za-za + ra/i-ta + ra/i*
- § 6 *wa/i-ma-za- DEUS-ni-zi "VAS"-tara/i-na NEG₂ POST-ni ||*
 5. *a-tá | (BONUS) wa/i-li-ia-ta*
- § 7 *wa/i-tá- mu- POST-ni a-tá | (BONUS) [...*
 6. ... || ...]
- § 8 [... *ku-ta*]-sa₅ + *ra/i-z[a] | á-ma-z[a] | á-ta₅-ma-za ARH-1 | MAL-*
 LEUS-*la/i/u-i*
- § 9 *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku + AVIS-pa-sa-ha*
 LIS(-)*z[a-...-t]ú-u-*

he/they gave me my paternal
 succession,
 and he/they gave me ... authority;
 ...
 ... my father[s] (and) grand-
 fathers ...
 and for them the gods did not exalt
 (their) person(s),
 but they exa[lted] me.
 ...
 ... from these ortho]stats [(he)
 who] shall erase my name,
 against him may Karhuhas and
 Kubaba litigate!

Commentary

A14b

§ 1. The inscription is placed on the rump of the lion (see above, Description, also Fig.), so there can be very little missing between ll. 1+2. Thus it is likely that the title and genealogy in l. 2 apply to the name in l. 1; missing perhaps title (*tarvanis*?), possibly also epithet (e.g. "loved by the gods").

[*k*]ar-ka-mi-sà-zi + u-sa(REGIO): only certain example of writing in -sà(-za-) as against the normal -si(-za-) (very uncertain example, KARKAMIŠ A18d1, l. 2). The present writing may have genuine phonetic significance, but might perhaps simply be conditioned by the normal writing of the toponym (as opposed to the ethnonicon) as *kar-ka-mi-sà(-)*. The use of REGIO as against the normal URBS appears to be archaic.

§ 2. PO[RTA]-*la/i/u-u[a]*: should apply here to Gatehouse at head of Great Staircase where the lion was restored by Woolley (see above, Discovery; also Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), p. 100). Of the other attestations, those in KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 13, 16, 20, must refer directly to Gatehouse of Processional Entry, and that on KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 34, to the same or a similar structure entered to the right of the Royal Buttress. The KARATEPE attestations, "PORTA"-*la-na(-ri+i)* (344, 358, 367, 384, logogram PORTA schematic rather than pictographic, = Phoen. 𐤏𐤕, "gate") clearly refer to *Nordosttor* and *Südwesttor* (see *RL-1 V*, s.v. Karatepe). Bossert's original identification of the KARKAMIŠ attestations (only ones then known) as **hilana*, the prototype of Akk. *bit-hilāni* (*Afo* 9 (1933/34), p. 127), though doubted by myself and by Güterbock (*RL-1 IV*, s.v. *Hilammar*), has been convincingly reaffirmed by Singer (most recently *StBoT* 27, p. 115 n. 80).

§ 3. [...-*m*]*u-t[á]*: identification of *mu* certain following collation; thus delete *HH* no. 167, and abandon Meriggi's

search for a form of the usual (LOQUI)*pá² + ra/i-ta*, "words", here. The recognition severely limits possibilities of restoration: clearly we have -*mu*-, enclitic pronoun, "(for) me", + *-ta Ortspartikel*, usual with verb MALLEUS. Restore (-)*wa/i-m*]*u-t[á]*, with the possibility of one preceding word; and since MALLEUS is almost always preceded by *ARH-1* (but cf. MARAŞ 14, § 8, and Commentary), restore probably [*ARH-1-wa/i-m*]*u-t[á]*. This will leave the object unexpressed, sc. "(them)", i.e. the gates.

§ 4. LIS, "litigate, sue": reinterpretation of the logogram, formerly IRA, "be angry", – see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

A14a

§ 3. (LIGNUM)*sà-la-ha-za*: for this word, "greatness, succession", in this common topos, = Hitt.-Luw. *šalhitti-* etc., determined by LIGNUM, "wood/sceptre", see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary.

§ 4. *349(-)*ara/i-ma-*: probably adj. qualifying following word; cf. *349(-)*ara/i- [...]* (KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 15, frag. context). *349 is used elsewhere to determine place-names followed by post-determinative URBS: see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 3, Commentary.

[LEPUS + *R-1/I-ta-na*]: isolated nominal form of stem *tapar-*, beside better attested *tapariya-*, "authority" (always abl.; MARAŞ 1, § 5; KÖRKÜN, § 3; SULTANHAN, § 41; IZGIN 1, § 9); cf. also *taparabi*, "authority" (MARAŞ 4, § 8, and Commentary). Meriggi (*Glossar*, p. 201) and Mittelberger (*Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 285) take the form as acc. sing. MF. Starke prefers acc. sing. N of type *sarlata(n)za*, "libation" (see *Stammbildung*, § 166 and Anm. 882a), but this leaves unexplained the absence of the usual N suffix -*sa*. To judge from the context the sense here too is likely to be "authority".

§ 5. *za-za + ra/i-ta + ra/i*: is this unparalleled form verbal? Cf. A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 247

n. 8, who proposes that rhotacism should not be expected in 10th–9th century KARKAMIŠ texts. A medio-passive form might occur here, which would be expected to be plur., since the subject seems to be “[father]s (and) grandfathers” – or could this collective noun take a sing.? An ending *-tari* or *-a(n)tari* to a stem *ḫazar-* might be envisaged (cf. a possible *-(n)tarru*, 3 plur. imp. medio-passive(?), KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 32, and Commentary), though it is uncertain whether a verb in pres. tense is likely in statements concerning forebears.

§§ 6–7. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for elucidation of the negative in this and the parallel clauses; also (VAS) *atri-*, “form, figure, image”, see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary; also as obj. of verb *waliya(nu)-*, “(cause to) exalt”, cf. KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 3–5; MARAŞ 4, § 15.

§ 7. *wa/i-tà-*: *wa* + *ata*, the latter being “they” (the gods) not “it”, the *atri-*, which being MF would appear as *-an*.

§ 8. For restoration, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 24 (so Meriggi, Edition).

§ 9. LIS for IRA: see above A14b, § 4, Commentary.

II.6. KARKAMIŠ A1a (plates 6–7)

Location. Large wall orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10067.

Description. Limestone orthostat (wall block), bearing 6-line inscription, below which is a row of 3 bearded heads followed by 16 hands, and below this a full-length guilloche band. Reading shows text to be incomplete both on right and left sides where it must have begun and ended on lost elements: thus there is no continuity between lines, which originally started top right, running sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon* down slab. Losses of the text are, on left ll. 1+2, 3+4, 5+6, and on right, ll. 2+3, 4+5; end of text is preserved at end of l. 6.

Dimensions: ht., 1.35 m.; w., 2.65 m.; line ht., 0.25 (l. 1), 0.15–0.13 m. (ll. 2–6).

Condition: fair, badly pitted, difficult to photograph.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Excavated by Hogarth on 4/4/1911, found fallen from plinth, part of “Long Wall of Sculpture”: see Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 157, 166.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), pl. A1a (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pls. AA (collated passages of original publication), B43b (photograph); Akurgal, *AH*, pl. 117 (photograph of right side, ll. 2–5 + heads); Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 90–91 (photographs and collated drawing traced from inked photograph).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 246–254 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 195–203; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 7, pp. 46–52; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 29, pp. 112–116; Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 88–94, 108–111.

Excerpts.

- § 3. Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 285.
- § 4. Laroche, *HH* no. 402.I.3.
- §§ 7/10. Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 16; Laroche, *HH* no. 43; Starke, *Stammbildung*, Anm. 821.
- §§ 7–11. Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 287.
- §§ 8/11. Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 16.
- § 9. Meriggi, *ibid.*, p. 13.
- § 13. Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 132 cit. 10.
- §§ 17–18. Laroche, *HH* no. 90.11; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 79 n. 28; Hawkins, *RHL* 29, pp. 116/128 cit. (xviii).
- §§ 17–20. Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 133 cit. 44.
- § 22. Laroche, *RHL* XIV/59, p. 68.
- § 23. Laroche, *HH* no. 45.1; Hawkins, *RHL* 29, pp. 126/130 f. cit. (xx); Poetto, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 669 f.
- § 25. Laroche, *HH* nos. 360.3; 455(2).
- §§ 26–27. Laroche, *HH* no. 82.2.
- §§ 26–28. Bossert, *Oriens Extremus* 6, p. 38.
- § 27. Laroche, *HH* no. 58.1.
- §§ 28–33. Meriggi, *RHL* 11/11, p. 118 f.
- §§ 30–31. Laroche, *HH* no. 111.
- §§ 30–33. Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 317.
- § 31. Laroche, *HH* no. 27(a).
- §§ 32–33. Laroche, *HH* nos. 181.1; 27(c).
- §§ 37–38. Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 287.

Content. Attribution to Suhis (II), ruler of Karkamiš assured by comparison of § 22 with KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 1: see Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 94–97; contra Ussishkin *An. St.* 17 (1967), pp. 181–190; 26 (1976), pp. 105–112; cf. now Mazzoni, *RSO* 51 (1977), pp. 7–38. The truncated text can be seen to have been a building inscription with passages of historical narrative, the deeds of the ruler. It formed the text to the divine and military scenes portrayed on the Long Wall of Sculpture: l. 1, previous damage to gods; l. 2, military victories, spoils presented to god; l. 3, dedication and honour of Tarhunzas and gods; l. 4, erection of gods of Long Wall, ruler's statue; l. 5, offerings to statue and blessing; l. 6, curse protecting against spoliation.

Date. Reign of Suhis II, probably 10th century B.C.
See Karkamiš, The Historical Context, p. 78.

Text. This is a new text, different from that offered by myself in 1972. It is made from a tracing of the original published squeeze preserved in the British Museum checked against a tracing made from the stone in Ankara Museum, summer 1987.

Photographs. The inscription is extremely difficult to bring out in a photograph. I offer a print of an unpublished photograph taken from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 031444), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees; also my own previously published photographs, taken in Ankara Museum in 1971.

Transliteration

Translation

1. ...
 § 1 [...] *ara/i* [...] *273-x-ta
 § 2 *wa/i-sa-* | *ba-ha-ta-ia-ta*
 § 3 *a-wa/i* [h] *a-ta-[n]* *ma-sa* (*349) *sà-pá?* + *ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-na*
 (URBS) | (DEUS) TONITRUS-*za-na* | *ARHLA* (ASCIA)
ka + ra/i-ma-li-ta
 § 4 | *mu-pa-wa/i-* *za-a-zi* | (DEUS) *ni-zi-i* | (SA₄) *sá-na-i-ta*
 § 5 [...] *-wa/i-* REL-*i-ta* PES₂(-) *tà-wa/i-i*
 § 6 [...] *-pa-wa/i-mu* *za-a-zi* | (DEUS) *ni-zi-i* [...]
 2. ... || ...]
 § 7 *wa/i-tú-* | *pa + ra/i-ba-* | (SCALPRUM.CAPERES₂) *u-pa-ni-na*
 | (CAPERES₂) *u-pa-ba*
 § 8 | 9-*za-ba-wa/i-tú* | *pi-ia-ba*
 § 9 | (*349) *á-la-ta-ba-na-ba-wa/i* (URBS) | *ARHLA* | *DELERE-nú-*
wa/i-ba
 § 10 | *wa/i-tú-* | *pa + ra/i-i-ba-* | (SCALPRUM.CAPERES₂) *u-pa-ni-na*
 | (CAPERES₂) *u-pa-ba*
 § 11 | 9-*za-ba-wa/i-tú* | *pi-ia-ba*
 § 12 *a-wa/i* | *ba-za-u-na-na* (URBS) *ARHLA* | (["*218"] *ba-ha-ta-ba*
 § 13 | SUB-*na-pa-wa/i-mu?* // *ma?* (-) *za-na* REL- | LITUUS + *na-ba*
 § 14 *wa/i-sa-* | AVUS-*ba-ti* | *mi-i-sa-* | (URBS + MI) *ni-sa* [x]-*na* [...]
 § 15 [...] *ta-ni-mi-i-sa* *349(-) *ara/i* [...]
 3. ... || ...]
 § 16 [...] *-na-si-ba-wa/i-ta* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*za-na* | *pa + ra/i-i-*
 SUPER + *ra/i-* (SOLIUM + MI) *i-sà-nú-wa/i-ba*
 § 17 *ARHLA-pa-wa/i* REL-*i* PES-*wa/i-i-ba-*
 § 18 *wa/i-mu-* *za-a-zi* | (DEUS) *ni-zi-i* | *ta-ni-mi-zi* | CUM-*ni* *ARHLA*
 PES-*wa/i-ta*
 § 19 *wa/i-ta-* REL-*i-ba* *pa-sa-na-* "PODIUM"-*ta-ti* PRAE-*i* | *466
 (-) *sù-ni-ba*
 § 20 REL-*i-ba-wa/i-ta* *pa-sa-na-* | "PODIUM"-*ta-ti* PRAE-*i* | *466(-)
sù-ni-ba
 § 21 *ARHLA-pa-wa/i* REL- PES-*wa/i-i-ba*
 § 22 *wa/i-mu-* *mi-i-sa-* | BONUS-*mi-sa* FEMINA-*ti-sa* ¹BONUS-
ti-i-sa [...]
 4. ... || ...]
 § 23 [...]-*na* | INFANS-*ni-i-na* ¹TONITRUS-*HLA* ¹PA-
pa-AVIS₂pi-na | AEDIFICARE-*MI-na* | SUPER + *ra/i*
 INFRA-*ta* | CRUS-*nu-wa/i-ba*
 § 24 *ARHLA-pa-wa/i* REL-*i* PES-*wa/i-i-ba*
 § 25 *wa/i-mi-i-* *za-i-* ¹*na* | (DEUS) *ni-si-i-na* | *455-*li-ia-na* *i-zi-i-ba*

...
 and he ...-ed.
 [H]ata[n]imas(?) *backed* down
 Sapparkian Tarhunzas,
 and they overturned these gods for
 me.
 [...] wherever I go,
 me these gods [...]
 ...
 before him I brought a *trophy*,
 and to him I gave a ninth (share).
 I destroyed the city Alatahana,
 and before him I brought a *trophy*,
 and to him I gave a ninth (share).
 I ...-ed away the city Hazauna,
 and as I despised the latter,
 he ... for the grandfather my city's
 ... [...]
 [...] all ... [...]
 ...
 and Tarhunzas of the [...] NA- I
 seated up in front.
 And when I came forth,
 all these gods came forth with me,
 and sometimes I ...-ed them(?) at
 the podium of one
 and sometimes I ...-ed them(?) at
 the podium of the other.
 When I came forth,
 me my dear wife BONUS-tis [...]
 ...
 ... my ...-]ed son Halpasulupis I
 made begin to build up (and)
 down.
 When I came forth,
 I myself made this *assemblage* of the
 gods,

§ 26	ṣa-ha-wa/i (FORTIS) mu-wa/i-ta-li-na (DEUS) TONITRUS- ṣa-na CRUS-nu-wa/i-ha	and this potent Tarhunzas I made stand,
§ 27	CUM-ha-wa/i-tú ṣa-a-ṣi DEUS-ni-ṣi-i CRUS-nu-wa/i-ha	and with him I made these gods stand.
§ 28	á-ma-ṣa-ha-wa/i-mi STATUA-ru-sa [...	And for myself my statue I [...
5.	]	...] he shall [ho]nour.
§ 29	[...]-i-sa-ta-i	(He) who (is a man) of sheep,
§ 30	a-wa/i REL-i-sa OVIS(ANIMAL)-si	let him offer a sheep to this statue.
§ 31	a-wa/i ṣa-a-ti-i STATUA-ru-ti-i OVIS(ANIMAL)-na (LIBARE) sa ₅ + ra/i-li-i-tú	But (he) who (is a man) of bread, let him ... bread and libation to it.
§ 32	REL-i-sa-pa-wa/i (PANIS) tu + ra/i-pa-si-i	(He) who shall honour (it),
§ 33	wa-tú- (PANIS) tu + ra/i-pi-na (LIBARE) sa ₅ + ra/i-la-ta-ṣa-ha PES ₂ (-) pa(-) PES ₂ -ia-tú	him these gods [...] that food(?) [...]
§ 34	a-wa/i i-ṣi-i-sa-ta-i REL-i-sa	...
§ 35	pa-pa-wa/i-ta- ṣa-a-ṣi DEUS-ni-ṣi-i pa-na- PANIS.PITHOS- ni-i-na FINES-bi[...	[But (he) who against this statue(?) with malice] shall come,
6.	]	(that) which Sapparkean Tarhunzas made <i>attack</i> Hatamanas,
§ 36	[...] PES-wa/i-ti	that may these gods make <i>attack</i> that man!
§ 37	a-wa/i ¹ ha-ta-ma-na-ia REL-a-ṣa (*349) sà-pá ² + ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-sa (URBS) (DEUS) TONITRUS-ṣa-sa a-tá ṣa-ha-nu-wa/i-ta	
§ 38	pa-ti-ha-wa/i-pa- ṣa-a-ṣi DEUS-ni-ṣi-i a-tá ṣa-ha-nu-wa/i-tú	

Commentary

Since my *Édition* of this text (1972), the new readings ṣi/ṣa, i/ia have been introduced. These, and other observations, have permitted further progress in the interpretation of the text.

§ 3. [b]a-ta-[n]i²-ma-sa: the contextual argument for recognizing here the PN in § 37 below (¹ha-ta-ma-na-ia) remain as strong as in my earlier *Édition*, but the rereading of ná as ní has increased the discrepancy between the two forms.

(*349) sà-pá² + ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-(URBS): Bossert, loc. cit. (pp. 285–287) drew attention to the use of *349 (“Schale”) before place names here and in § 37, also § 9 ((*349) á-la-ta-ha-na-(URBS)); cf. now also (*349) ta-la/i/i²-pa-ti(-ṣa)-(URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 13); (*349) nu-bu-ṣa-(URBS) (CEKKE, § 9); also *349(-) ara/i-ma-, without URBS, therefore not place-name, (KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 4), and cf. *349(-) ara/i- [...] (this inscription, § 15). This usage, apparently as a determinative, as in Gelb’s original interpretation (*HH* III, p. 7), has not been convincingly explained. Equally the city name sà-pá² + ra/i-ka- remains difficult to parallel: the long-standing identification with Hitt. KUR^{URU} parga (one of the reasons for reading pá²) is ruled out by the recognition of sà as an integral part of the name. Melchert, proposing on other grounds a value ma_x for pá², suggests the identification of the toponym with Hitt. *Ismerikka* (see *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 37). For the reading pá² see Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 35 f.).

(ASCIA) ka + ra/i-ma-li-: pictographic determinative points to this being denom. verb of **karmal*-, “axe”; cf. Hitt. *battalla*-, “club (n.)”, Hier. *batali*-, “club (v.)”. See Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, p. 63 n. 50 (associating with Hitt.-Luw. *karmalašša*-, “become crippled”); Starke, *KZ* 95 (1981), 155 n. 58; and now *Stammbildung*, § 212. Cf. also ASCIA(-) na-pa-[ri+] í, “with the axe” (KAYSERİ, § 7).

§ 4. (SA₄) sà-na-i-ta (for SA₄ as logogram only, see KULULU 2, § 5, Commentary): new reading *i* suggests that this form must be plur., = *sanai(n)ta*, as against 3 sing. pres. *sa-ni(-i)-ti*, = *saniti* (see ERKİLET 1, § 3, and Commentary); cf. *ha-ta-li-ha//ha-ta-la-i-ta* (1 sing./3 plur. pret., KARATEPE, 129+144/135, and Commentary); also *sa₅ + ra/i-li-ha* (1 sing. pret., MARAŞ 3, § 5), [*sa*]₅ + *ra/i-li-tà* (3 sing. pret., TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 2, l. 3), *sa₅ + ra/i-li-i-tu* (3 sing. imp., this inscription, § 31), *sa₅ + ra/i-la-i-ti* (3 plur. pres., ANCOZ 1, § 2, and Commentary); also (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi(-i)-tu//PES₂.PES-pa-i-tu* (3 sing./plur. imp., KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 11, 15 / KARKAMIŠ A16a, § 7). For such forms in Luw. and Lyc., see A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), pp. 256–268 and n. 46. For another possible example, see KARKAMIŠ A12, § 3. Hier. *sanimāy* now be equated with Cun. Luw. *šanni*-, “overturn”, attested only in the comparable form *ša-an-na-i-in-du* (3 plur. imp.); see Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 80 n. 28.

Recognition of meaning “overturn” and form, 3 plur. pret., gives rise to contextual difficulties in determining

subject/object. "These gods overturned me" does not commend itself (cf. KULULU 2, § 5a, Commentary, verb used of disturbing a tomb); hence translation adopts indefinite "they" as subject.

§ 5. PES₂(-)*tā-wa/i-i*: verb may now be recognized as I sing. pres. (PES₂.)PES₂(-)*tā*-, as identified in KARATEPE, 187, see Commentary; quite a full paradigm can now be assembled, and the meaning, though not precisely defined, seems clearly to be that of a verb of motion.

REL-*i-ta*, "wherever": see KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 2, Commentary.

§§ 7, 10. See parallel passage KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 13, and Commentary.

pa+ra/i(-i)-ha-: function of *-ha* unclear; but cf. PRAE-*i-ha* (BULGARMADEN, § 6); also SUPER +*ra/i-ha* (SULTANHAN, § 19).

§§ 8, 11. 9-*za*: phonetic form now clearer with new readings; see parallel passages, KARKAMIŠ A13d, § 4 and Commentary, and § 7.

§ 9. *ARHL* DELERE-*nū-wa/i-ha*: same verb used of destroying cities in Empire Period inscriptions EMIRGAZI block, B 1.3 and YALBURT (7 § 2a, 9 § 1a, 13 § 2, 17 § 1). For the interpretation of the logogram and the transcription DELERE by Melchert, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, and Commentary. For the Empire attestations, see now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 100, § 28.

§ 12. *ha-za-u-na-na*(URBS): probably not = *hazawanin*(URBS), "man of city Haza", as earlier suggested; *-wani*- (with *i*-vocalization since new readings) > *-una*- not so probable.

(¹*218") *hā-ha-ta-ha*: previously compared with verb in § 2, *hā-ha-ta-ia-ta*; new reading *ia* gives difference in stem of what may still be same verb.

§ 13. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating SUB-*na(n)* LITUUS + *na*-, "despise".

-pa-wa/i-mu? // *ma*²(-)*za-na*: the small doubtful *mu* or *ma* still gives difficulties. Analyse either *-pa+wa+mu zan*, though *-mu* in this position in a series of clauses with verbs in 1 sing. seems unlikely; or *-pa+wa+ma(n)za+an*, where it is not clear to whom *-manza*, "for them", could refer. In either case the object will be similar, either *zan*, "the latter" or *-an*, "him/it" – the city Hazauna?

§ 14. Grammar as far as discernible looks unpromising for sense.

mi-i-sa- URBS + *MI-ni-sa*: since the apparent subject is *-as*, "he" (in *wa/i-sa*-), this has to be gen. sing.

§ 15. *349(-)*ara/i*[-... : see above, § 3, for determinative *349; and KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 4, for parallel *349(-)*ara/i-ma*-.]

§ 16. (SOLIUM + *MI*)*i-sā-nū-wa/i*:- useful evidence that SOLIUM + *MI* may determine the verb *asa*-, "sit", caus. *isanu*-, and that the + *MI* has no phonetic function; see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), p. 110; cf. also KÖRKÜN, § 5, and Commentary.

§§ 19–20. See A. Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., correcting my earlier interpretation in the light of the new readings and the recognition of *pasan* as dat. sing. (against acc. sing. MF (a)*pasin*). This permits the recognition of *pasan* PODIUM-*ta-ti*, "to/for his podium" (dat. sing.).

PODIUM-*ta-ti*: reading of PODIUM established as *humati*- by KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 17, compared with Cun. Luw. *hum(ma)ti*- (*DLL*, s.v.). Thus the present dat. sing. form can only be recognized as extension in *-a(n)t*-.]

REL-*i-ha* ... REL-*i-ha*: exact force unclear; A. Morpurgo Davies considers "when(ever) ... then" as a possibility.

(-)*wa/i-ta*(-') ... *466(-)*sū-ni-ha*: if verb transitive, translate "them (-*ata*) ... I worshipped"; if intransitive, "... I did reverence" (+ *Ortspartikel* -*ta*).

§ 22. FEMINA-*ti-sa*: note form of logogram, with clear central line, useful for identifying other such forms; see ASSUR letter *a*, § 11; BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 1; KÖRKÜN, § 10.

¹BONUS-*ti-i*:- name read *Wāti*- since Laroche, loc. cit., but *HH* no. 165, BONUS, is only definitely used with syllabic value occasionally in KARATEPE(21, 84, 295, 303; see KARATEPE, The Syllabary (p. 68); also Introduction, p. 33; transliteration altered to *wā/i*). In all other cases it should be recognized as a logogram: BONUS-*sa-mi*-//BONUS-*mi*-, "dear" BONUS + *ra/i-ia-ma-la* // (BONUS)*wa/i+ra/i-ia-ma-la*, "peacefully"; BONUS-*li-ia*-// (BONUS)*wa/i-li-ia*-, "exalt". There is thus no good reason for reading the present name as ¹*wā/i-ti-i*- (also in KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 1), though Cun. ^{SAL}*Watti* (*Noms*, no. 1518) would offer a parallel. Here too it should be transcribed as a logogram, ¹BONUS-*ti-i*-, perhaps to be read *Wasati*, for which cf. now the Meskene name Cun. ^{SAL}*wa-as-ti* = Hier. *wa/i-sa*//*sā-ti* FEMINA (Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 12 no. 52).

§ 23. AEDIFICARE-*MI-na*: since Hawkins, loc. cit., and my previous *Edition*, the peculiar usage of *-MI*- as phonetic indicator attached to logogram has become clearer; see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 151. KARATEPE, 216, gives AEDIFICARE-*MI-na* = Phoen. *l-bnt*, "to build", thus clearly infinitive, presumed reading **tamuna*.

AEDIFICARE-*MI-na* ... CRUS-*nū-wa/i-ha*: simple verb CRUS(*ta*-), "stand", + infinitive expresses sense "begin to do something" (see KARATEPE, 262–263, and Commentary). The present caus. *tanuwa*- is thus likely to express "make begin ..."

SUPER + *ra/i* INFRA-*ta*: see now Poetto, loc. cit., examining usage of *sara kata*.

§ 25. *za-i¹-na*: reading assured, thus one of two examples of *-i* in declension of *za*-, “this”; cf. also KARATEPE, 287, Hu. *za-si*//Ho. *za-i-si-i*, and Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [35] n. 123. Mistakes, purely orthographic usage, or genuine phonetic variants? We should note that this inscription almost always writes the demonstrative *za-a-* (*plene*).

*455-*li-ia*:- interpretable only from context, but cf. CRUS.CRUS(-)*niyasha*-, “(divine) procession” (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 16).

§ 28. *-ha-wa/i-mi*: note *-mi* enclitic pronoun, 1 sing. reflexive, demands that following verb must be 1 sing.

§ 31. *za-a-ti-i* | STATUA-*ru-ti-i* (dat. sing.): so clearly resumes § 28, |*á-ma-za* | STATUA-*ru-sa*, “my statue”, that it constitutes the clearest evidence that *taru(sa)* (nom./acc. sing. N) has an oblique stem *tarut-*; see Weitenberg, *HUS*, § 806, with earlier refs. More recently attested words *ta-ru-ti* (dat. sing.), *ta-ru-ta-za* (dat. plur.) (KULULU lead strip 2, §§ 1.3; 2.12; 3.14, 17) are phonetic writings morphologically coincident with the expected datives of *taru(sa)*, and contextually the interpretation (offerings of sheep) “to the statue(s)” gives entirely acceptable sense.

§ 33. PES₂(-)*pa(-)*PES₂-*ia-tú*: still problematic to penetrate phonetic writing (PES₂ has no attested phonetic value), and to relate to known verb.

§ 35. PANIS.PITHOS-*ni-i-na*: first sign seems to be PANIS rather than unmarked disc, which above PITHOS would indicate ANNUS (“pithos+lid”); for (PANIS.PITHOS)-*á-za/á-li-sá/za*, “food, feast”, see CEKKE, §§ 10, 11, and Commentary. The present word must be different, but perhaps has a similar sense, “food, feast”, and could even be a different formation from the same stem *ata-/aza-*, “eat”. In any case the clause seems to have a double accusative, “him ... that food (?)”, with which a transitive verb in the causative is the most likely restoration.

FINES-*bi*[...]: presumably to be restored as a derived or adverbial form; cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, § 3, Commentary, for a number of such forms.

Sense: in context certainly a blessing, appears to be, “him these gods [may they cause to eat/enjoy] that food (sheep and bread?), abro[ad(?)] and at home(??)!”

§ 36. ...]PES-*wa/i-ti*: restored in my *Edition* as “come [with evil against ...]”, the envisaged infringement probably of the statue.

§§ 37–38. *za-ha-nu*:- new reading *za* offers possibility of identifying this root with Hitt. *zabb-/zabhiya(nu)-*, “fight/do battle with”. The stem may recur in Hier. onomastics: cf. *za-ha-mu*- (CEKKE, § 17 f), *za-ha-na-ni*- (KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 1).

II.7. KARKAMIŠ A1b (plate 8)

Location. Wall orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10075.

Description. Limestone orthostat showing on right, frontal nude winged goddess wearing horned helmet and offering her breasts; on left, female figure facing right, seated on throne with footstool, wrapped in long mantle falling from head, enveloping right arm, right hand protrudes holding spindle; free left arm points to face in *amu-* gesture (“I am ...”). Separate guilloche bands ran below each figure. 4-line inscription was placed on background to seated figure’s head, beginning top right, running sinisterverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, to terminate half way across l. 4 behind figure’s shoulder.

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.67 m.; w., 1.06 m.; line ht., 0.15–0.12 m.

Condition: fair, badly pitted, difficult to photograph, text complete.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: 4 only (3 reversed).

Discovery. Found in 1879 during Henderson’s excavations (1878–1881), and broken by attempt to move in February 1880; sketched by Boscawen later in year (see *Graphic*, 11 December 1880, reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez, *HL* IV (1887), p. 808, fig. 390). Abandoned at site, rediscovered by Hogarth 18–20 March 1911 (Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 157). Reerected *in situ*. Subsequently brought to Ankara.

Publication. Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 12 f., Taf. XVB (sketch based on sketch by Boscawen and photograph by Jensen); Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), pl. A1b (photograph of inked squeeze, still preserved in the British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pls. AA (collated text and Boscawen’s sketch), B40a–b (photographs, before and after restoration; same or similar photograph reproduced by Vieyra, *HL* (1955), pl. 47); Orthmann, *USK*, Taf. 24 b (different British Museum photograph); Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), p. 95 fig. 3 (tracing from collated photograph).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 236–238; Meriggi, *MI-LeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 4, p. 59 f.; Laroche, *RH* XIV/59 (1956), pp. 62–68; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 16, p. 44 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 94 f., 111.

Excerpts.

- § 2 Laroche, *HH* nos. 313.I; 329.I.4.
 §§ 2–3 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 93; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 592 f.
 § 3 Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 223.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 33 f., 190, 379 n. 51, 502; Genge, *NSR*, p. 72 f.

Content. Honorific dedication (funerary) to wife of Suhis (II), ruler of Karkamiš and builder of Long Wall of Sculpture.

Date. Reign of Suhis II, probably 10th century B.C.; see Karkamiš, *The Historical Context*, p. 78.

Text. As for KARKAMIŠ A1a, Text.

Photographs. Print of an unpublished photograph taken from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 029851), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees; also my own previously published photograph, taken in Ankara Museum in 1971.

Transliteration**Translation**

1. § 1 EGO-mi-i ¹BONUS-ti-sa ¹su-hi-si-i REGIO-ni DOMINUS-ia-i-sa 2. BONUS-mi-sa FEMINA-ti-i-sa § 2 wa/i-ti-¹ mi-i-sa-¹ VIR-ti-i-sa REL-i-ta REL-i-ta 3. á-ta₅-ma-za i-zi-i-sa-ta-i § 3 mu-pa-wa/i-ta-¹ BONUS-sa₅ + ra/i-ti CUM-ni i-zi-i-sa-ta-i	I (am) BONUS-tis the Country-Lord Suhis's dear wife. Wheresoever my husband honours his (own) name, he shall honour my own also with goodness

Commentary

§ 1. ¹BONUS-ti-sa: for rereading of name (formerly ¹wa/i-ti-sa, but evidence for BONUS = wa/i inadequate), see above KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 22, Commentary.

REGIO-ni DOMINUS-ia-i-sa: for this title, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary.

§ 2. Following interpretation of Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., against that of Laroche, loc. cit., we take mi-i-sa VIR-ti-i-sa as nom. sing. MF, instead of gen. sing., which takes account of enclitic -ti; thus "... honours the name for himself", i.e. "his (own) name".

REL-i-ta REL-i-ta (cf. also REL-i-ta, KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 5): interpreted as "wheresoever (wherever)" by reference to REL-i-ta-na (KARATIPIE, 104, 178, = Phoen. (b)-i, "where(ver)"); also REL-i-ta, BABYLON, § 8; and less certain form REL-ta, ALEPPO 2, § 3; MARAŞ 1, § 9; KARKAMIŠ A30a2, a4. For forms ending -na, see Carruba, *SMIL* 24 (1984), p. 63 f.

§ 3. mu-pa-wa/i-ta-¹: best analysed, following translation of Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., as mu + pa + wa + ata, "(and) it (-ata, i.e. the name) for me (mu-) ...", i.e. "my name".

II.8. KELEKLİ (plate 9)

Location. Stele, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, no. VA 8477.

Description. Middle section of stele, top and bottom missing. *Upper obverse*: two figures facing each other, heads and shoulders and raised arms lost; left figure wears short kilt and boots with upturned toes, thus probably Storm-God, right figure long robe, thus probably ruler. Below their feet is a guilloche band. *Lower obverse and sides*: 3 lines of an inscription with the upper part of a 4th, beginning on right side (A), right edge, and running sinistroverse along right side—obverse(B)—left side (C), continuing *boustrophedon* until breaking off at dextroverse l. 4. The lower obverse, ll. 3–4, is noticeably cut back from the level of the rest of the surface (visible from side view).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.22 m.; w., 0.62 m.; th., 0.28 m.; line ht., 0.15–0.13 m.

Condition (inscription): obverse very worn, most signs worn down to unrecognizable outlines, suggesting long exposure to wear; sides well preserved.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign-forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: strange forms of *i* (see Commentary).

Word-dividers: few preserved.

Discovery. Reported by Chapot, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 26 (1902), p. 193. Seen by the Cornell Expedition in 1907, and by Hogarth in 1908, lying in open country 10 minutes north of village called Kelekli (Hogarth) or Sher'a (Charles, who considers the problem of the name), which was near the west bank of the

Euphrates 2 hrs. north of Karkamiš on the road to Birecik. See Hogarth, *LAAA* 2 (1909), p. 172 f.; Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 48 f. The stele was bought by Andrae in 1918 (noted in register of Vorderasiatisches Museum).

Publication. Hogarth, loc. cit. (1909), p. 173 fig. 2 (sketch of stele), fig. 3 (drawing of text made partly on spot, partly from squeezes), pl. XXXVI.3 (photograph of stele, right side); Charles, loc. cit. (1911), pl. XXV (drawing of text).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 157, p. 107 f.; Tav. XVII (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Kellekli)*, pp. 44, 517. The piece resembles KARKAMIŠ A12, for which it seems

to have served as a prototype, the latter having been executed by the son of the author of the present stele.

Content. Inscription of Suhis (II), ruler of Karkamiš. § 1. Name, [title(s)], patronym [and genealogy?]; § 2, marriage of daughter to king Tudhaliyas; [lacuna].

Date. Reign of Suhis, probably 10th century B.C.: see Karkamiš, *The Historical Context*, p. 78.

Text. The new text offered here is taken from a tracing on acetate of the original monument made in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in September 1985.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*mi-i* ¹*su-bi-sa*-¹ IUDEX[... *kar-ka*-]*mi*²-*si-sa*(URBS)
2. REGIO.DOMINUS-*ia-i_x-sa* || ¹*á-sa-ti-na/i-ta₄-ma-za*-[...]
[...]-*i_x-sa*
3. § 2 *wa/i-ti*-¹*ku-ma*||-*na* (MONS)*TU*-*sa*-¹[REX]-*ti-sa* x x x x-*[na*²]
|*á-mi-na* BONUS-*mi-na* FILIA-*tara/i-na* |CAPERE-*i*² ||
4. § 3 |*m[u]*-*pa*-[*wa/i*...

Translation

I (am) Suhis the Ruler[...
Karkamiš Country-Lord, Astu-
watamanzas's[... so]n(?).
And when king Tudhaliyas shall
take to himself (in marriage) ...
my dear daughter,
me [...]

Commentary

§ 1. Loss, l. 1: possibly no more than phonetic writing of IUDEX, perhaps an additional epithet or title.

[...]-*mi*²-*si-sa*(URBS): somewhat uncertain but seems to represent "Karkamišean" without the usual -*i_{za}*- suffix; perhaps simply *karkamisis*, gen. sing., or -*i(ya)*- suffixed ethnon (cf. GÜRÜN, § 1 b, and Commentary).

REGIO.DOMINUS-*ia-i_x-sa*: sign transliterated *i_x* because of parallel writings of word (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary), though sign itself is perhaps a form of *i* (cf. § 2, CAPERE-*i*², Commentary, also [...]-*i_x-sa*, end of § 1).

Loss, l. 2 side B: presumably no more than title(s) of Astuwatamanzas; traces visible, nothing certain.

[...]-*i_x-sa*: does this represent the word for "son"? If so, form of *nimuwizas* expected, which does not fit with the presence of *i_x* (sign appears to be the same as at end of l. 1).

§ 2. (MONS)*TU*-*sa*-¹: writing resembles that used for the name *Tudhaliyas* in the Empire Period, thus must presumably be so read (cf. writings of *Suppiluliumas*, *Hattusilis*, on BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2). A syllabic reading of the name does not seem likely; MONS is only used as a syllabogram (*wa/i₄*) in the very untypical TOPADA.

[REX]-*ti-sa*: reading very probable in spite of the worn sign. The identity of a "King Tudhaliyas" recog-

nized by Suhis, ruler of Karkamiš, is a historical puzzle. The probable recognition of a Tudhaliyas, entitled "Great King, Hero", on the archaic stele KARKAMIŠ A16c (see Commentary) would provide a possible identification for the present king, but not lessen the historical problem of "Great Kings" coexisting in Karkamiš with the Suhis dynasty of "Country-Lords". See Karkamiš, *The Historical Context*, p. 76 f., esp. n. 53a.

x x x x-*[na*²]: probably personal name with ending acc. sing. MF.

FILIA-*tara/i-na*, "daughter": new attestation to add to those of TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 24, 29.

CAPERE-*i*²: last sign somewhat unclear, most resembles SOLIUM+*MI* on KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17 e, thus read -*i*? Certainly this value (or -*ta_x*) is demanded by the verb ending, but it is very surprising to find such a usage of SOLIUM in an early inscription, when it appears elsewhere only in KAYSERİ (and by implication in KARATEPE with SOLIUM+*a* = *iá*; SOLIUM+*ra/i* = *ri+i*).

Sense: § 2, literally translated, produces a very unusual sense for such commemorative inscriptions. Perhaps the stele might be a monumental record of a dowry, particularly if this included a tract of land located near the stele's original emplacement.

II.9. KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) (plates 10–12)

Location. Portal orthostat, now largely destroyed. Fragments in Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara (nos. 10900a–b); one fragment in British Museum, no. 117916 (date no., 1926-2-19(8); “recovered by Woolley”). Working in Ankara Museum depot in 1987 and 1996, I was able to inspect and photograph fragments 10900a–b.

Description. Basalt orthostat slab in form of rebated door-jamb for right side of entrance, bearing 7-line inscription. Text began on top line of slab’s frontal narrow face, ran sinistrowise round rebated faces on to wide side face, and continued *boustrophedon*, ending shortly after beginning of l. 7 on narrow frontal face. The lower part of the slab was uninscribed. End of l. 1 – beginning of l. 2 were largely lost, and there were damaged areas elsewhere. The text itself formed a single whole.

Dimensions: ht., 0.85 m.; w., 1.75 m.; th., not now recoverable; line ht., 0.11–0.12 m.

Condition: as originally restored, good apart from lost pieces.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: fairly frequent.

Discovery. Excavated during 1911–1914 operations, partially *in situ* as west jamb of “King’s Gate” at south end of “Processional Entry”, paired apparently with uninscribed east jamb; scattered fragments of upper part restored. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 193, 198 f., pls. 43a (plan), 46–47 (showing jamb as found and as restored). For an unpublished excavation photograph showing the jamb and the adjoining statue with inscription KARKAMIŠ A4d and its base, see pl. 12, lower. This is reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum (negative no. 031426).

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 28, pls. A8 (photographs of stone), A11a (photograph of inked squeeze, still preserved in British Museum)).

Editions. Meriggi, *MLHeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 1, pp. 19–37; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 208–216 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 156–165; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 21, pp. 57–62.

Excerpts.

- § 2 Bossert, *Asia*, p. 151 f.
 § 4 Meriggi, *WZKM* 40, p. 273 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 39.1.5.
 § 5 Laroche, *HH* no. 82.1.
 §§ 5–6 Hawkins, *An. St.* 30, 148; Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 59⁷.

- § 7 Laroche, *HH* nos. 20.11; 371.1.1; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 161 cit. 12.
 § 8 Laroche, *HH* nos. 33(1); 228.1; 331.1(c); Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 106.
 §§ 8–9 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 261.
 §§ 8–10 Bossert, *Gs Kretschmer*, p. 46 f.
 § 10 Hawkins, *Essays Mellink*, pp. 96–98.
 § 11 Laroche, *HH* nos. 249; 261.1.
 § 12 Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 82; Laroche, *HH* no. 181.2.
 § 13 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8, p. 283; 9, p. 106.
 §§ 13–18 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 260.
 §§ 13–20 Meriggi, *RSO* 29, p. 10.
 § 13 Bossert, *Or.* NS 30, p. 200; Laroche, *HH* nos. 86.1; 331.1(c).
 § 14 Bossert, *HKs*, p. 217; Laroche, *HH* no. 249; Hawkins, *An. St.* 20, p. 99; id., *RHA* 29, pp. 126/130 cit. (xi).
 § 15 Laroche, *HH* nos. 34.1(b); 90.11; 268.1; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, 115/128 cit. (xi).
 § 16 Bossert, *Or.* NS 30, p. 200; Laroche, *HH* nos. 238; 268.1.
 § 18 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, 126/130 cit. (xiv).
 § 19 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 43; Laroche, *HH* nos. 247.1.4; 252.
 §§ 19–20 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/1–2, p. 125 and Taf. I.
 § 20 Bossert, *Gs Kretschmer*, p. 48 f.; *Or.* NS 30, p. 200; Laroche, *HH* nos. 165.1.5; 238; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 223.
 § 21 Laroche, *HH* no. 86.1.
 §§ 21–25 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 146 cit. 53 b; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 260.
 §§ 21–27 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 593 f.
 § 23 Laroche, *HH* no. 268.1.
 §§ 23–24 Laroche, *HH* nos. 201.11; 402.1.3.
 §§ 23–25 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92.
 § 24 Laroche, *HH* no. 360.2.
 §§ 26–27 Meriggi, *RHA* 11/11, p. 118; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 162 cit. 12.
 § 27 Laroche, *HH* nos. 27 c; 41.1; 181.1; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 143 cit. 49; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kaniššuar*, p. 77 f.

Content. Building inscription of Katuwas, ruler of Karkamiš. § 1, Name, titles and genealogy; §§ 2–4, accession by divine favour; §§ 5–6, revolt; §§ 7–10, divinely supported recovery and prosperity of reign; §§ 11–12, construction and endowment of temple of Storm-God; §§ 13–20, adornment of ancestral gate with orthostats; construction of wooden upper floors as women’s quarters, and establishment of statue of At-risahas; §§ 21–27, protective curse.

Date. Reign of Katuwas, probably 10th or early 9th century B.C. For the placing of the house of Suhis, with Katuwas as its last attested ruler, in the period before Aššurnāṣirpal II of Assyria, see Karkamiš, The Historical Context, p. 78.

Text. The restored inscription being scattered and lost, with the exception of the 9 fragments as noted above, the text here offered is taken from a tracing of the original inked squeeze in the British Museum, of which several minor errors have been corrected.

Photographs. These are prints from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. 033837,

033838), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. In order to present a complete picture of the text, a composite photograph has been made by cutting out the individual photographs of each inscribed face and mounting these in the correct sequence. Photographs of the surviving fragments taken in Ankara Museum in the summers 1987 and 1996, and in the British Museum are also given on pl. 12.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi* ¹*ka-ti-wa/i-sa* [(IUDEX) *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* | *kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (URBS) RE[GIO DOMINUS ... ¹*su-hi-si* REGIO DOMINUS] -[*ia-i-sa*] [(INF)ANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* ¹*á-sa-ti-wa/i-ta₄-ma-za-si-i* | REGIO-ní DOMINUS-*ia-i-sa* | INFANS. NEPOS-*sa*
- § 2a *wa/i-m*[*u-x*] DE[US... (b) ... "MA]NUS"-*tara/i-ti*
2. |PUGN[US... || ...]
- § 3 [*wa/i-mu* ... *á-ma-za t*] *á-ti-ia-za* "LIGNUM"[...] -*za* [|] *pi-ia*]-*tá*
- § 4 *wa/i-mu*- DEUS-ni-*zi* *mi*¹²-*ia-ti*- <">IUSTITIA"-*wa/i-ni-ti* PUGNUS-*mi-la/i/u* |PUGNUS-*ri+i-ta*
- § 5 *mi-zi-pa-wa/i-mu-ta*- |20-*tá-ti-zi* .ARHL 1 CRUS + R.1/I
- § 6 [*wa/i-m*] *a-tá* | |REGIO-ni-*ia* |*314(-) *sá-pa-za* |REL-*a-ti* SUB-*na-na* .ARHL 1 (PES₂) *tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-tá*
3. § 7 *wa/i-mu*- *mi-i-sa*- DOMINUS-*na-ni* || (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS) *kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS) *ku* + AVIS-*pa-sa-ha* *mi-ia-ti*- | "IUSTITIA"-*na-ti* (LITUUS) *á-za-ta*
- § 8 *wa/i-mu-tá*- *á-ma* |*tá-ti-ia* AVUS-*ba-ti-ia* |REGIO-ni-*ia* (*33(1)) *mi-tá-sa₅ + ra/i-i-na* REL-*a-ti* *a-tá* *i-zi-ia-tá*
- § 9 (DEUS)BONUS-*pa-wa/i-mu* (DEUS) "[VITIS]"(-) *t*[*i-PR*]AE-*i*[*a-ha* ...
- § 10 [*a*]-*wa/i* *mi-ia-za*- DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-ia-za* OV[IS...] -*wa/i* [ARGENTUM].DARE [*x*] ASINUS(ANIMAL) "HORDEUM" || |CRUS + R.1/I
4. § 11 *mu-pa-wa/i*- *pi-na*- LINGERE-*sa-ti* *kar-ka-mi-si-za*(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti* DEUS.DOMUS-*tá* [*261.]PUGNUS-*ru-ha*
- § 12 *wa/i-ti-ta*- PANIS(-) *ara/i-si-na* PONERE-*wa/i-ha*
- § 13 |*za-ia-ha-wa/i* "PORTA"-*la/i/u-na* *á-ma* |AVUS-*ti-ia* *mu*- |PRAE-*na* CRUS.CRUS-*ta*
- § 14 *a-wa/i* PURUS-*MI-ia* DEUS.DOMUS-*sa*(?) *ku-ma-na* AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha*
- § 15 *wa/i-mu-tá*- |*za-zi* (SCALPRUM) *ku-ta-sa₅ + ra/i-zi* |POST-*ni* ||
5. |PES-*wa/i-ta*
- § 16 *a-wa/i* *za-ia* "PORTA"-*na* |SCALPRUM-*sa₅ + ra/i-ha*
- § 17 *wa/i-tá*- |FRONS-*la/i/u* ARGENTUM.DARE-*si-ia* *sa-tá*-
- § 18 *wa/i-tá*- "LIGNUM"-*na/i-ia-ti* AEDIFICARE-*MI-ha*
- I (am) Katuwas the Ruler, Karkamišean Coun[try-Lord, the Country-Lord Suhis's] son, the Country-Lord Astuwatamanzas's grandson.
(a) Me the god[... (b) ...]
rai[sed] by the hand,
[and to me my] paternal power he/she/they gave,
me the gods raised in strength because of my justice.
But my 20-TATI's revolted against me, wherefore they caused the lands to TARZA- from under me ...
My lord Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba loved me because of my justice, wherefore they made my father's and grandfather's lands MITASARI- for me,
(or: wherefore my father's (and) grandfather's lands made (for) me(?) MITASARI-),
and the Grain-God and the Wine-God for me [they brought forth],
and in my days(?) for a sheep the cost(?) (as) [so many] homers (of) barley stood.
But I myself then constructed(?) the temple(s) with luxury for Karkamišean Tarhunzas, for him I established ARASI-bread. And these gates (of) my grandfathers passed down to me. While I built the holies of the temple, (or: the Holy (One)'s temple,) these orthostats "came after" me,
these gates I "orthostated", they were foremost in(?) cost(?) (very costly?).
I built them (also) with wood.

- § 19 |*za-zi-pa-wa/i* (DOMUS)*ba+ra/i-sà-tà-ni-zi* ¹*á-na-ia* BONUS-*sa-mi-i* FEMINA-*ti-i* DOMUS+SCALA(-)*tà-wa/i-ni-zi i-zi-i-ba*
- § 20 |*za-ba-wa/i* (DEUS)*á-tara/i-su-ha-na za-ti-ia-za* |PORTA-*na-za* BONUS-*sa₅+ra/i-ti* (SOLIUM)*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ba*
6. § 21 POST+*RA/I-wa/i-sà<-ti²>-pa-wa/i-tà* |REL-*a-ti* || PRAE-*na* CRUS.CRUS-*i*
- § 22 *wa/i-tà-* |SCRIBA+*RA/I(-)tà-i* REL-*i-sa*
- § 23 |*za-zi-pa-wa/i-tà* (SCALPRUM)*ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi* LOCUS-*za-* (SA₄)*sá-ni-ti*
- § 24 NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tà* |*za-na* DEUS-*ni-na* LOCUS-*za-* (SA₄)*sá-ni-ti*
- § 25 |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tà á-ma-za á-ta₅-ma-za* .ARHLA MALLEUS-*i*
- § 26 *wa/i-tú-ta-* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-sa-ha LIS-la/i/u-za-tú*
7. § 27 *wa/i-tú-ta-* (PANIS)*tú+ra/i-pi-na* (LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-la* ||-*ta-za-ha* NEG₃-*sa* .ARHLA |*tà-ti-i*

and these *upper floors* for Anas my beloved wife as TAWANI-apartments I made, and this god Atrisuhas I seated at these gates with goodness. If in future they shall pass down to (one) who shall ... , and shall *overturn* these orthostats from (their) place(s), or shall *overturn* this god from (his) place(s), or shall erase my name, against him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba litigate! From him may they not take up bread and libation!

Commentary

§ 1. Titles and genealogy of Katuwas. These appear in varying forms also at the beginnings of KARKAMIŠ A11*b*, A2, A12, A13*d*, and A23, and are made up of the following elements: (i) *tarwanis*, “ruler”; (ii) *Karkamisi-zaš* REGIO.DOMINUS, “Karkamišean country-lord”; (iii) DEUS-*ni^{ti} azamis*, “loved by the gods”; (iv) *Subisi(s)* REGIO.DOMINUS *ni(mun^{ti})zaš*, “the country-lord Suhis’s son”; (v) *Astuwatama(n)zaš* REGIO. DOMINUS *hamsis*, “the country-lord Astuwatamanzas’s grandson”. They occur as follows:

- A11*a* : i – ii – [iv] – v
 A11*b* : i – iii – ii – iv – v
 A2 : i – ii – iv
 A12 : i – iii – [ii – iv][...]
 A13*d* : ii[...]
 A23 : ii – iii

REGIO.DOMINUS: written REGIO(-*ni/ní*)(-*ia*)(-*si*) DOMINUS(-*ia*)(-*i*)-*sa*; the first element fully written points to **utniyasi*, “of the country”, though the rather frequent writing REGIO-*ni/ní* may point to **utni-* in compound with the second element (cf. KULULU 4, § 8: DOMUS-*ni*(-)*DOMINUS-ni-i*, “house-lord”). The second element DOMINUS(-*ia*)(-*i*)- differs from the word for “lord” found in contexts other than titularies, namely DOMINUS(-*na*)-*ni*(-*i*)-, but the full readings of neither have been established.

|(*INFANS*)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, so also KARKAMIŠ A2, § 1, where KARKAMIŠ A11*b*, § 1, has |(*INFANS*)*ni-za-sa*; the latter form is thus an equivalent of the former. The majority of genealogies use *nimuwizas* (BOHÇA, BOR, BULGARMADEN, HAMA 4/QAL’AT EL MUDIQ/RESTAN/HINES, KÖRKÜN, MARAŞ 4, TELL AHMAR 1 – plene writings -*wa/i-i*, rendering -*ni*-, on the last two), though some write only -*munizas* (MARAŞ 1 and 8, PORSUK, ŞIRZI). The form *ni-za-* is found in the genealogies of HAMA

1–3, 6–7, § 1, and KARKAMIŠ A4*a*, §§ 1, 2, and, in different context, CEKKE, § 17*b*-o (13 times), where, however, § 17*a* has *ni-wa/i-za-* (see Commentary there). Since *ni-wa/i-za-* = *ni-za-* (CEKKE, § 17*a*// § 17*b*-o) and *ni-za-* = *ni-mu-wa/i-za-* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*, § 1//A11*a*, § 1), it would seem that the two shorter forms are simple graphic (or colloquial?) abbreviations of the longer.

§ 2*a*-*b*: so divided because the lacuna appears large enough to have accommodated two clauses. Cf. KARKAMIŠ A23, §§ 2–3, where the second clause provides the restoration for § 2*b* here; see Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 151 f., where the verb PUGNUS- is identified not with CAPERE/*tà-*, “take”, but with PUGNUS-*ri+i-*, “rise; raise” (for which see below § 4).

§ 3. Clause well enough known in the four parallel passages, KARKAMIŠ A14*a*, § 3; A2+3, § 2; TELL AHMAR 1, § 4; 2, § 3. [Now also BOROWSKI 3, § 3].

“LIGNUM”[...]-*za*: for the identification of the logogram as “wood, sceptre”, determining (1) wooden objects, (2) words of authority; and for *sà-la-ba-za* = **salhat-*, Cun. Luw. (-Hitt.) *šalha(n)t-*, *šalhitti-*, Hitt. *šallatar*, “greatness, succession”, see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary.

§ 4. Clause closely parallel to KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, § 2, which provides the following equivalences: PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi* // PUGNUS-*mi-la/i/u*; PUGNUS-*ri+i-ia(-ha) i-zi-ia-ta* // PUGNUS-*ri+i-ta*; cf. Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 158 and nn. 33, 36.

PUGNUS-*mi-la/i/u*: the apparent order -*mi-la/i/u* is to be reversed, on the grounds of the quoted parallel, and by association with the verbal stem PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, § 3), and the adj. (participle?) PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-tà-* (KARATEPE, 96, 131, = Phoen. *zṭ*, “strong”); the present reversal of

the signs is perhaps to be explained by the tendency of *mi* to be written in ligature; cf. also CEKKE, § 17 g, and Commentary. The word PUGNUS(-) *la/i/u-mi* both here and in KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 2, is, in the absence of an ending, of uncertain status, most easily interpreted as an adjective without ending, but possibly a noun.

PUGNUS-*ri+i*: the sense “raise”, suggested originally by the context of JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2 (see Commentary), may be argued to be appropriate also to its other contexts, as here, with the parallel phrase PUGNUS-*ri+i-ia- i-zi-ia*, “make PUGNUS-*riya*”.

§§ 5–6. See Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 5. 20-*tā-ti-zi*: argued contextually from only other attestation (20-*tā-ti-i-sa*, TELL AHMAR 1, § 11) to denote some kind of kinsman, e.g. “uncle(s)”, or “cousin(s)”. Also from contexts it seems likely that this word refers to the same people as those called “Ura-Tarhunzas’s grandsons” (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 4, 30).

CRUS+*R-1/I*: this verb in its simple stem is always found, curiously, without verbal endings, several times in a group of parallel passages (see below, § 10, and parallels), otherwise only here and in ADIYAMAN 1, § 1; cf. also the caus. CRUS+*R-1/I-nu*, ALI: PPO 2, § 11. It is difficult to connect this verb directly with the well established CRUS = *ta-*, “stand” (Cun. Luw. *ta/da-*, Hitt. *tiya-*: see A. Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Congill*, pp. 205–228), yet logograms representing bodily parts usually denote the associated action, and a sense “stand” is also appropriate in the group of parallel passages (see below), where a possible association with Hitt. *ar-*, “stand”, is suggested. Both Hitt. *arba tiya-* and *arba ar-* mean “secede, revolt”, a sense which seems very appropriate to the *ARH-1* CRUS+*R-1/I* of this context. For a possible comparable graphic usage, cf. PES+*R-1/I* (= *ara-*, “come?”), KARAHÖYÜK, § 2, and Commentary.

§ 6. Sense obscured by unelucidated verb (PES₂) *tara/i-za-nu-* (for which see also KARKAMIŠ A29g, l. 1; cf. verb (PES₂) *tara/i-zi-*, TELL AHMAR 1, § 6; BULGARMADEN, § 5; participle (PES₂) *tara/i-za-mi-i-*, TELL AHMAR 2, § 2, and Commentaries); and word *314(-) *sá-pa-za*, of unclear etymology and morphology (acc. sing. N/dat. plur., ending *-a(n)za*; adj., acc. plur. N, qualifying REGIO-*niya*?).

REL-*a-ti*: introduces this subordinate clause as well as § 8. In KARATEPE, 126, REL-*ti* can clearly be seen to introduce a final clause. The interpretation of §§ 6 and 8 as parallel consecutive clauses introduced by REL-*a-ti* gives plausible sense. Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 14.

§ 7. DOMINUS-*na-ni* (form curiously lacks *-s* nom. sing. MF): DOMINUS thus phonetically complemented is far more common than the DOMINUS-*ia-i* of the genealogies, as noted above, § 1.

§ 8. *á-ma |tā-ti-ia* AVUS-*ba-ti-ia* |REGIO-*ní-ia*: the attested forms of REGIO-*ni-*, “country”, doubtless read **utni-*, have been satisfactorily identified, and in particular the dat. sing. in *-ni-i* is distinguished from nom./acc. plur. N in *-ni-ia* (qualified by *á-ma*, “my”; *pa-ia*, “those”; and REL-*ia*, “which”: present attestation; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 12; KARATEPE, § LIV).

á-ma: certainly nom./acc. plur. N as against dat. sing. *á-mi(-i)*.

AVUS-*ba-ti-ia*: expected nom./acc. plur. N form in *-ia* (not *-i*) can actually be identified on reverse of squeeze and on photograph.

(*33(1)) *mi-tā-sa₅ + ra/i-i-na*: clearly acc. sing. MF, cf. (*33(2)) *mi + ra/i-sa₅ + ra/i-zi*, acc. plur. MF (CEKKE, § 12). These only two attestations do not provide sufficient contextual evidence to interpret this word, on which the sense of the clause hinges.

Syntax: somewhat uncertain, cf. Mittelberger, loc. cit. Subject – “gods” (understood) or “my ... countries”? Direct object – *mitasarin* (certainly), also “my ... countries” or *-mu-*, “me”? Indirect object – *-mu-*, “to me”? Alternative translations are possible.

§ 9. To be restored from the parallel KARKAMIŠ A2, § 7, where the grain- and wine-gods are brought forth in the land by the face of Tarhunzas. Doubtless the same verb, *arba upa-*, “bring forth”, should be restored; subject, “my ancestral lands”, or perhaps “the gods”, from the preceding clause.

(DEUS)BONUS: identified as “grain” by KARATEPE, 307, 318 (= Phoen. *šb*’, “grain”), and as the god Kuparmas by TELL AHMAR 1, § 2, a late form of the grain-god Kumarbi; see Hawkins, *JAN. St.* 31 (1981), p. 165 f. cit. 21.

(DEUS)“VITIS”(–) *ti-PRAE-ia-*: certainly attested, beside the two KARKAMIŠ contexts, only on TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2, l. 1, § v (delete Meriggi’s entries under no. 144, (402 b) *tipar(...)* *ā* (see JISR EL HADID, frag. 1, l. 1) and EN *tiwarā* (see CEKKE, § 12)); cf. KARATEPE, 308 and 319, Commentary. The KARKAMIŠ writing points to a probable *Tipariyas* as the name of the wine-god. This does not easily compare with Hittite god-names, where *Maliya* is the only recognized wine-deity (see Lebrun, in *Studia Naster* II, pp. 123–130).

§ 10. See Hawkins, loc. cit., linking the clause with AKSARAY, § 4; KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 8; SULTANHAN, § 11 (all recognized as idealized statements of price), and proposing: restoration [ARGENTUM.] DARE, “price”; [x] ASINUS(ANIMAL), “[ten] homers”; *179, “barley” (thus now HORDEUM); CRUS+*R-1/I*, “stand”.

mi-ia-za DEUSAVIS-*ta-ni-ia-za*: phonetic values for DEUSAVIS proposed by Palmer (TPS 1958, p. 52 f.), which appeared to yield the word *istana-*, have been discarded. The word from the context certainly means something like “days” (Hawkins, loc. cit., nn. 28, 29), but precise identification must wait on the clearer

understanding of DEUS(var. LITUUS)AVIS; cf. DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-sà-mi-i*-, KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1.

§ 11. Statement closely paralleled by KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 9, which also follows clauses corresponding to §§ 9–10 here. Both statements doubtless refer to the same construction, the archaeologically identified Temple of the Storm-God, where KARKAMIŠ A2 and 3 form the door-jambs to the cella. Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A23, § 6, and Commentary.

[*261.]PUGNUS-*ru*:- verb of unknown reading (no reason to take PUGNUS as phonetic, as does Laroche, *HH* no. 261); distinction from usual (AEDIFICARE) *tama*-, “build”, uncertain, context does not permit any precision – thus “repair, adorn” etc. possible. Cf. only other attestations KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 9; A13*d*, § 8 // A25*a*1, § 4.

DEUS.DOMUS-*tà* (so also KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 9; A7*a*, § 4; A15*b*, § 10; A26*a*2, § e): longer phonetic writing (-) *ba-tà*, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 13. These forms are clearly all nom./acc. plur. N, perhaps plur. tantum (so Meriggi), since the present two passages especially seem to refer to single temple-complexes. However, DEUS.DOMUS+*MI-za* (HAMA 4, § 10), also perhaps [DEUS].DOMUS[-*za*] (KARKAMIŠ A31, § 3), show singular forms, and DEUS.DOMUS-*tà* (KARKAMIŠ A7*a*, § 4) is better taken as dat. sing. rather than acc. plur. N (see Commentary).

pi-na- (so also KARKAMIŠ A23, § 6): adverbial formation from *apa*-, parallel to *zin* < *za*-, may correspond closely to *za-la* in parallel passage. For possible *p[īn?]* ... *zi(n)* ..., “there ... , here ...”, see IZGIN 2, §§ 4–5, and Commentary. The word *pin* recurs on KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c*, § 14; A12, § 14.

LINGERE-*sa-ti* (LINGERE(-) *ba-sa-ti*, KARKAMIŠ A23, § 6): corresponds to BONUS-*sa*₅ < +*ra/i*-*ti-i*, “with goodness”, in parallel passage, doubtless identical with LINGERE(-) *ba/bá-sa/sá*- (KARATEPE, 36 and 192, = Phoen. *mn m*, “luxury”). Identification of these attestations with the present writing indicates that LINGERE must be a logogram not a syllabogram (*za*₄) here. It is also worth noting that a misinterpretation of LINGERE-*sa-ti* gave rise to the erroneous “Storm-God of the Lions” (LINGERE for “lion”, see e.g. *Carchemish* III, p. 260).

§ 12. PANIS(-) *ara/i-si-na*: Bossert’s identification with Hitt. NINDA *bari*-, “thick bread” (*Oriens* 2 (1949), p. 82) is recorded by Laroche and doubted by Meriggi (*HH* no. 181.2; *Manuale* II/1, p. 59); it fails to tackle the phonological and etymological questions. A preferable approach might be to associate *ara/i-si*- with *ari*-, “season, time”, and see here “perpetual bread”, parallel to the common “annual bread”; compare *usin usin*, “every year” with *arin arin*, “all time”, in expressions of offering (KULULU 1, § 6; HAMA 4, § 13).

§§ 13–18. Passage discussed in detail by letter with Starke, whose suggestions are cited at relevant points; see now Starke, loc. cit.

§ 13. Meriggi’s interpretation, following Mittelberger, loc. cit., in its adherence to the grammar (*Manuale* II/1, p. 59), is preferable to either alternative offered by Laroche (loc. cit.). For the verb CRUS.CRUS = (-) *niya*- (perhaps redupl. *ninija*-), “turn, follow”, see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 128. For “PORTA”-*la/i/u-na* (**bilana*), “gatehouse”, see KARKAMIŠ A14*b*, § 2, Commentary; also this inscription, §§ 16 and 20, and KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c*, § 34.

§ 14. PURUS-*MI-ia*: one form of PURUS (*Glossar*, no. 182.1) has been confused with *tú* (*Glossar*, no. 182.2; *HH* no. 325), but may now in all its attestations be identified with *Glossar*, no. 182*a*, *HH* nos. 322–323, a logogram identified with Cun. KÜ, Hitt. *suppi*-, Luw. *kummai*- by Laroche (*Ugaritica* III, p. 153 f.; *DLL*, s.v.); see, besides the present attestation, ANCOZ 1, § 1; and for logographic uses, BOYBEYPINARI 1, §§ 1, 4, 11; 2, §§ 1, 2, 7, 17, 19, in the personal name PURUS.FONS-*MI* = Ass. *Ušpilulume*, Hitt. *Suppiluliuma*-, TELL AHMAR 1, § 24, (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA) *taniti*-. The importance of the Luw. stem *kummai*- is now emphasized by the addition of its Lyc. cognates (Laroche *FdA* VI, p. 108 f.). The present PURUS-*MI-ia* could as well render *kumaya* as *kumiya* because of the ambiguous usage of *MI*; cf. such writings as OMNIS-*MI-ma*-, = *tanima*- (KARATEPE, 281, 298, 300, etc.).

The present context admits doubt in reading order: either PURUS-*MI-ia* DEUS.DOMUS-*sa* (most natural order), “the pure (things) of the temple”; or PURUS-*MI-ia-sa* DEUS.DOMUS (quite possible order), “the pure (one)’s temple”.

§ 15. (SCALPRUM) *ku-ta-sa*₅ + *ra/i*-, “orthostat”: Starke, loc. cit., examines the formation.

POST-*ni* PES-*wa/i*-, lit. “come after” (with *Ortspartikel -ta*): cf. also KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c*, § 33; İSKENDERUN, § 2; and see Hawkins, *RHA* 29 (1971), pp. 115/127 f. (i), (xi), (xii). Clearly an idiomatic expression, which from the contexts requires the translation “become available to”, “come to the hand of”.

§ 16. SCALPRUM-*sa*₅ + *ra/i-ba*: appears from context to be denom. (factitive?) verb from *kutasari*-, “orthostat” (cf. Starke, loc. cit.); cf. *tanati*-, “empty”, *tanata*-, “make empty, waste” (MARAŞ 1, § 4, and Commentary).

§ 17. Starke, loc. cit., translates: “und er (= *ata*, der Torbau) war erstklassig und teuer?”. In amplification of this translation, with which I agree, the following points should be noted.

wa/i-tà -: probably *wa*+*ata*, “and they” (the gates?) – the *Ortspartikel -ta* is not likely with verb, “be”.

FRONS-*la/i/u* = **bantila*: thus “and they were first, foremost ...”, perhaps similar adverbial usage to that of SUPER+*ra/i-li*, “highly” (in KARATEPE, 278), thus perhaps no more than “very”.

ARGENTUM.DARE-*si-ia*: the combination of the first two signs is argued to represent “silver + give”, determining *piya-*, “(give), sell”, and *tinatanza*, “tithe” (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann* p. 94 f. and n. 3). In the case of the first, and its derivatives, the DARE could also represent the *pi-* of the stem, but in (ARGENTUM.DARE)*tinata-* it is certainly a logogram; in the present word either interpretation is possible, and we can hardly decide whether we have here a derivative of *pi(ya)-*, “give”, or another word concealed behind the logogram. The ending *-si-ia* could well show a nom./acc. plur. N ending, but possibly also dat. sing., but not of a gen. adj. in *-asi-*, for which endings *-sa* and *-sa-na* would be expected. A restoration [ARGENTUM.]DARE, “cost” was suggested above, § 10; a derivative in *-iya-* meaning “costly” would be very appropriate here, whether the basic stem was *piya-* (thus *pi(ya)s + iya-*) or another.

§ 18. *wa/i-tà-*: again probably *wa+ata*, “and them”; (AEDIFICARE)*tama-*, “build” does not require *Orts-partikel -ta*.

“LIGNUM”-*wa/i-ia-ti* (it is here argued that the sign HH no. 382 represents “wood”, thus the transliteration LIGNUM): § 19 here is a clause almost identical to KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 34, both describing the building of upper storeys (*baristani-*) of the gates as women’s quarters for the ruler’s wife, and both are preceded by clauses (§§ 18 and 33) in which the logogram LIGNUM occurs, here as noun in abl. sing., there as noun apparently in nom. sing. Because of the close parallelism between A11b+c, §§ 33–34, and A11a, §§ 15–16, particularly the use of the idiom “come after”, suggested to mean “become available”, it seems likely that LIGNUM represents the building material in § 33 and also here in § 18, a likelihood strongly supported by the independent observation that the logogram LIGNUM, representing “wood; staff”, is used to determine (1) objects made of wood; (2) words denoting “authority” (see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary). That is to say in these two parallel clauses, § 18 here, § 33 there, we have the actual word for “wood” written logographically with phonetic complements, LIGNUM-*sa* (nom. sing.), LIGNUM-*wa/i-ia-ti* (abl. sing.). This interpretation gains even further plausibility from the observation of the strong medieval Syrian architectural tradition of building upper storeys, especially women’s quarters, in wood, for reasons both of architectural convenience and for comfort. (For the architectural tradition, cf. G. Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), ch. 11, The Ottoman House).

Thus, in the related clauses § 18 and A11b+c, § 33, it is probable from the context that LIGNUM is the building material for the upper storeys; it is probable on other grounds that LIGNUM represents “wood”; and it is architecturally probable that wood would have been used for upper storeys. There remains the prob-

lem of the word lying behind LIGNUM. The inherited Hitt. *taru* (*-u*-stem, N), a stem attested also in Cun. Luw. (see now Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 59–60, 762 etc.; also Starke, pers. comm.) would be expected also in Hier., and has indeed been recognized in (STATUA) *taru(sa)*, “statue”, which however shows a heteroclitlic declension in *tarut-*, for which see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 31, Commentary. LIGNUM-*sa* (nom. sing.) could represent **taru(+sa)* (see A11b+c, § 33), but LIGNUM-*wa/i-ia-ti* (abl. sing.) must belong to a different stem. This could perhaps be explained as an *-i(ya)-* suffixed form of the basic stem giving an adj. **taruwi(ya)-*, “wooden” (cf. e.g. Cun. Luw. *taini-*, “oily”, *malliti-*, “honeyed”: Starke, *Stammbildung*, §§ 111, 151), subsequently substantivized, thus “plank, beam, timber”?

§ 19. (DOMUS)*ba+ra/i-sà-tà-ni-zi*: the three other attestations, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 15, 20, 33, determine the word with (DOMUS.SUPER), a double logogram which has permitted the interpretation “upper storey(s)”. The omission of SUPER in the present case seems to have no significance: the term must refer to the same structures as A11b+c. Starke (pers. comm.) compares *ba+ra/i-sà-tà-ni-* with Hitt. *baristani-* (see Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, p. 782 f.); this is plausible in that both represent parts of buildings, but the Hitt. context speaks of “filling the *baristani*’s with grain”, leading Laroche to translate “grenier”. The Hier. and Hitt. could be reconciled if (1) granaries as well as women’s quarters were commonly located on an upper floor; or (2) if “filling the *baristani*’s with grain” was an unusual instead of a commonplace action.

DOMUS+SCALA(-)*tà-wa/i-ni-zi*: logogram as plausibly interpreted by Hrozný (*IHH* II, p. 162, n. 9) provides the sense of the word *tawani-*; thus *tawani*-apartments would be the women’s quarters located on an upper floor, reached by a ladder, like the Homeric ὑπερῶον. (No connection of *tawani-* here with Hitt.-Luw. *dawani-*, “stick(?)” is immediately apparent.)

§ 20. *Atrisuha-*: for this reading of the god’s name, see below, KARKAMIŠ A4d, § 1, Commentary.

See pl. 12 showing the position of the god in relation to the structure.

§§ 21–27. Treated recently several times by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. The topos recurs repeatedly at KARKAMIŠ: most fully in KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 25–30; also KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 21–24; KARKAMIŠ A31, §§ 11–14.

§ 21. POST+*R-A/I-wa/i-sà<-ti>*: probably best so restored, following the other two clear attestations, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 13, 18 – see Commentary there.

-wa/i-tà-: apparently *-wa+ata*, “and it/they”, as also on KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 21. For the problematic *-wa/i+ra/i* in the same context, see KARKAMIŠ A31, § 11, and Commentary.

PRAE-na CRUS.CRUS-, “pass before”: clearly used of buildings passing into possession of later generations; cf. above, § 13.

§ 22. SCRIBA+RA/I(-)tā-i: in this uncertain phrase, Starke now compares SCRIBA (i.e. “writing-board”) +ra/i with Hitt.-Luw. *gulzattar*, “drawing, writing”, and translates “takes for writing(-surface)”, envisaging a further reference to the often animadverted offence of reinscribing a monument; see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 272.

§ 23. LOCUS-za-’... (SA₄)sá-ni-ti: frequently recurring topos, see following § 24; also KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 23; A18e, § 5; A29d+i, l. 2; BABYLON 1, § 13; ADIYAMAN 1, § 5; and cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 12, and Commentary.

(SA₄)sá-ni-, “overturn”: interpreted by reference to Cun. Luw. *šanni-*, same sense; see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, Commentary.

LOCUS-za-’: in other occurrences of the topos appears as LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-za, identified previously by me as dat. plur. (*An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 146 cit. 53a, note). The placing of this form within the paradigm of LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅(-ta)- requires examination here. The following forms may be clearly identified:

LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-za (acc. sing. N; KARKAMIŠ A31, § 7; TELL AHMAR 2, § 23; SULTANHAN, § 43).

LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-ti(-i) (dat. sing.; KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 9, 23; BOHÇA, § 13; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1a, l. 1, frag. 1b, l. 2; MARAŞ 7, side A).

LOCUS-ta₄-ta₅ (acc. plur. N; KARKAMIŠ A31, § 6).

LOCUS-ta₄-ta-za (dat. plur.; KARATEPE, 120, 172, = Phoen. *b-mqmm*, “in places”).

The latter three forms clearly show the basic stem LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅- enlarged with a -(n)t- suffix (for which see also the derived form LOCUS-ta₄-ta-li/la-, MARAŞ 14, §§ 2, 12), but what is the relationship of these to the first form (nom.) acc. sing. N? We may further observe that this form is coincident with the form un-

der examination in this note, and thus that the latter may also be identified as (nom.) acc. sing. N if the contexts permit. Two other parallel contexts however suggest that on the contrary, it should be identified as dat. plur.: KARKAMIŠ A29f2, ll. 1, also 2(?), has [LOCUS]-ta₄-ti, restoration, dat. sing.; and MARAŞ 14, § 12, has LOCUS-ta₄-ta-la-ti-i, certainly abl. (sing.) – see Commentaries there. If then LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-za in the present contexts is indeed dat. plur., it stands in contrast to the dat. plur. cited above showing the -(n)t- suffix. It is possible then that the (nom.) acc. sing. N form identified above also belongs to the non-suffixed stem (but cf. KARKAMIŠ A31, § 7, Commentary). Examination of all contexts does not seem to permit a distinction in meaning between the suffixed and non-suffixed forms, which seem to mean (1) “place” and (2) “precinct” indiscriminately. It is almost certain that LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅- represents the Luw. form of Hitt. *peda-*, “place”, and there is some evidence that behind the writing lies the form **pida-* (note the existence of the toponym *Pedašša* (del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. *Pitaša*), clearly of Luw. origin; and see further KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 4, Commentary on *pitahaliya-*). On this problem, cf. the remarks of Carruba (*Gs Kronasser*, p. 7 cit. 25 and n. 9), who however prefers to identify LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-za in the present contexts too as (nom.) acc. sing. N. This still remains a possibility, but Carruba did not have access to the new evidence of MARAŞ 14. For an uncertainly read and identified form, see PALANGA, § 7, and Commentary.

§§ 24–25. NEG₂-pa- (= **napa*//*nipa*), “or”, cf. Hitt. *naššu* ... *našma*; Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 26. LIS, “litigate, sue”, follows reinterpretation of the logogram, formerly IRA, “be angry”; see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

§ 27. Aramaic and Greek parallels supporting the present interpretation cited by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

II.10. KARKAMIŠ A4d (plates 12–13)

Location. Monument largely destroyed but fragment preserved in Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 160 d.

Description. Figure of seated god, bearded, wearing horned helmet and long robe, holding mace in right hand, axe in left, sitting on throne on base of pair of lions held by kneeling griffin-headed figure in short, fringed, belted tunic. Hem of god’s robe’s skirt bore l-line, sinistroverse inscription reconstructed from 17 fragments and still incomplete, though the text is largely restorable.

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.12 m.; w., 0.77 m.

Condition: fragmentary, incomplete, but clear where preserved, restorable.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: few.

Discovery. Statue reconstructed from 60 fragments found lying at foot of double-lion base *in situ* during 1911–14 operations (Woolley, loc. cit. below, Publication, p. 199). Destroyed and dispersed again c. 1919–1920(?) – cf. KARKAMIŠ A6 and 7, Discovery, for date of damage to those monuments.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 28, pl. A4d (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), pl. B 25 (photograph of monument including inscription (curved ends not visible)); id., *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 272, pl. AB (photograph of inked squeeze with collations), cf. pl. 47a (photograph of right side of statue, inscription barely visible).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), p. 47; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), p. 247; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 165, p. 112, Tav. XVII (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 133 cit. 21(a).

Excerpts.

§ 1 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 317; Laroche, *HH* nos. 58.2; 181.1; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, *Anm.* 2059.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* H/11), pp. 41, 191, 235, 243, 512. Since the destruction of the monument, the main surviving photograph, *Carchemish* II, pl. B 25, has been frequently reproduced: e.g. Forrer, *HBS*, Abb. 18; Hrozný, *IHH* II, pl. X; Bossert, *Altana-*

tolien, Abb. 830; Riemschneider, *WdH*, Taf. 4 C; Vieyra, *HLA*, pl. 57; Akurgal, *AH*, pl. 109. For reproduction of detail from *Carchemish* III, pl. 47a (better print), see Orthmann, *Fs Moortgat*, Taf. 24.1.

Content. Epigraph, appendix to KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 20. §§ 1–2, God's curse on those who fail to make offerings to him.

Date. Reign of Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. Since the original inscription is almost entirely lost, the text offered here is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze preserved in the British Museum, but has eliminated some incorrect restorations made on the squeeze.

Photographs. A print from an unpublished photograph taken from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 031425) is given. This shows parts of the inscription and is reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. See also the unpublished photograph of statue and base, pl. 12.

Transliteration

§ 1 *za-[ti]-pa-wa/i* (DEUS) *á-tara/i-su-ha* DEUS-*ni-za* [CUM]-*ni* AN-
NUS-*sa-li-za*-*n[a]* (PANIS) *tú+ra/i-p[i]-n[a]* BOS(ANIMAL)
2 OVIS(ANIMAL) REL-*[sa]* NEG_[2] [[PONERE/DARE]-*i*
§ 2 *[wa/i]-tú-tá-* (DEUS) *á-tara/i-su-ha-sa* [(“CRUX”)] *wa/i-la/i/u* | PES-
wa/i-tú

Translation

For this god Atrisuhas with the gods
(he) who does not [offer] annual
bread, an ox and two sheep,
against him may Atrisuhas come
fatally!

Commentary

§ 1. See Hawkins, *Edition*, for elucidation of negative, and suggested restoration of verb [DARE] or [PONERE]-*i*; also comparison with parallel passage, KARKAMIŠ A13d, § 10.

Atrisuha-: the god's name has been read as *Atarsuba-*. The reading of the *tara/i* here as *tri* instead of *tar* depends on a proposal to analyse the name as *atri-suhas*, “(image) soul of Suhis”, and to recognize the statue as representing the dead and deified father or great-grandfather of Katuwas. This interpretation will be ar-

gued in detail elsewhere. For *atri-*, “image, soul”, see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary.

§ 2. The *pa* appearing in the published inked squeeze between *[wa/i]-tú-tá-* and (DEUS) *á-tara/i-su-ha-sa* appears to have been supplied erroneously by the maker of the squeeze on the false analogy of the *pa* in a similar position at the beginning of § 1. There is thus no authority for it and it may be safely excised.

(“CRUX”) *wala* PES-*ni-*, “come ill (for)”: see KULULU 5, § 8, and Commentary.

II.11+12. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c (= A 9 and 10) (plates 14–17)

Location. Pair of portal orthostats, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 113 and 99.

Description. Pair of basalt orthostat slabs in form of rebated door-jambs, A 9 for right side of entrance, A 10 for left. Each bears a 6-line inscription, which together

make up a continuous text. This begins on top line of narrow frontal face of A11b, runs sinistroversely round the rebated faces on to the wide side face and narrow rear face, and continues *boustrophedon* to the end of l. 6 on the narrow frontal face. From here it crossed to continue on A11c, top line of narrow frontal face, run-

ning dextroverse round rebated faces on to wide side face and narrow rear face, (though l. 1 is only preserved on the narrow frontal and rear faces, the intermediate section having been destroyed); it continued *boustrophedon* ending at the end of l. 6 on the narrow frontal face.

Dimensions: (*b*) ht., 0.83 m.; w., 1.60 m.; th., 0.23 m.; (*c*) ht., 0.86 m.; w., 1.55 m.; th., 0.23 m.; line ht., (both), 0.12–0.13 m.

Condition: good (apart from damage to A11c, l. 1).

Some further modern damage has been sustained (see below, Texts).

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: fairly frequent.

Discovery. Excavated during 1911–1914 operations, found reused face downwards as paving slabs on the threshold of the “King’s Gate” next to the *in situ* A11a. The excavators plausibly suggested that the building of the “Royal Buttress” displaced them from the original adjoining door, and the internal evidence of the texts seems to support this. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 193, 202 f., pls. 43a (plan), 46–47 (showing slabs as found).

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 28, pls. A9 and 10 (photographs of slabs), A11b and c (photographs of inked squeezes still preserved in British Museum).

Editions. Meriggi, *MAeG* 39/1 (1934), nos. 2–3, pp. 37–57; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 216–227 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 165–176; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), nos. 22–23, pp. 62–69.

Excerpts.

- §§ 2–4 Meriggi, *RHA* II/11, p. 114 f.; Hawkins, *Iraq* 36, p. 72 n. 36.
 § 3 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanišnuwar*, p. 75; Melchert, *An. St.* 38, p. 32 f.
 § 4 Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 599.
 § 5 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 126 cit. 4.
 § 6 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 126/130 cit. (xv).
 § 7 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, 126 cit. 2a.
 § 8 Bossert, *MIO* 4, p. 209; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 136 cit. 32 a; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanišnuwar*, p. 74.
 §§ 9–10 Bossert, *Gs Kretschmer*, p. 48 f.; *RHA* XVIII/66, p. 14.
 §§ 9–11 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 150 cit. 1.
 §§ 10–11 Kalaç, *KZ* 92, pp. 124, 121; Melchert, *KZ* 101, p. 229 f. cit. 10.
 § 11 Laroche, *HH* no. 93.1.
 §§ 11–12 Bossert, *RHA* XVIII/66, 17 n. 7.
 § 12 Laroche, *RHA* XI/52, p. 51; id., *HH* nos. 228.1; 245.2; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanišnuwar*, p. 75.

- § 13 Laroche, *HH* no. 43.
 § 14 Bossert, *JKF* 2, pp. 331, 334; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 116/128 cit. (xvii).
 § 15 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/1–2, p. 125 and Taf. I; Laroche, *HH* no. 247.1.4; 336.1(a); Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 94; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 126/130 cit. (xvi).
 §§ 16–17 Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 127 cit. 4; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 207.
 §§ 16–18 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 150 cit. 1.
 § 17 Laroche, *HH* no. 264.
 § 18 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 317; *JKF* 1, p. 278 f.; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 47; Laroche, *HH* nos. 105.11; 111; 350; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 325.
 §§ 19–20 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115/128 cit. (xiii).
 §§ 19–24 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 145 cit. 53a.
 § 20 Laroche, *HH* nos. 90.11; 368.3; 447.1(a).
 § 24 Laroche, *HH* no. 268.1.
 § 25 Bossert, *AJO* 18, p. 365; Laroche, *HH* no. 360.2; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 150 cit. 1.
 §§ 26–29 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 276 f.; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 47; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 143 cit. 50; Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Cowgill*, p. 227 f.
 § 29 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 106.
 § 30 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 71.
 §§ 30–31 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 134 cit. 23.
 § 32 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 40 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 73.
 § 33 Laroche, *HH* no. 90.11; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115/128 cit. (xii).
 § 34 Bossert, *Or. NS* 30, p. 201; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 44; Laroche, *HH* no. 238; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 126/130 cit. (xvii); Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 223.

Content. Building inscription of Katuwas, ruler of Karkamiš. § 1, Name, titles and genealogy; §§ 2–6, revolt and recovery of Karkamiš; §§ 7–14, conquest of city Kawa with help of gods; §§ 15–17, construction of upper floors and divine procession; § 18, offerings to gods; §§ 19–29, protective curse; §§ 30–32, thanks to gods for recovery of Karkamiš; §§ 33–34, construction of upper floors as women’s quarters.

Date. Reign of Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings made from the preserved, published squeezes in the British Museum, and checked against tracings made direct from the stones in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987. Some minor modern damage is apparent, indicated by hatching on the copies.

Photographs. These were taken in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987. In order to present a complete picture of each inscription, composite photographs have been made by cutting out the individual photographs of each inscribed face and mounting these in the correct sequence.

	Transliteration	Translation
(A11b)		
1. § 1	EGO-wa/i-mi ¹ ka-tū-wa/i-sa “IUDEx”-ni-i-sa DEUS-ni-ti-i (LITUUS)á-za-mi-i-sa kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa(URBS) REGIO- ni DOMINUS-sa ¹ su-hi-si REGIO-ni DOMINUS-ia-i-sa (INFANS)ni-za-sa ¹ á-sa-tū-wa/i-ta ₅ -ma-za-si REGIO-ni DOMINUS-i-sa INFANS.NEPOS-si-i-sa	I (am) Katuwas the Ruler, loved by the gods, the Karkamišean Coun- try-Lord, the Country-Lord Suhis’s son, the Country-Lord Astuwatamanzas’s grandson.
§ 2	a-wa/i za-a-sa URBS + MI-ni-i-sa mi-sá-’ tā-tā-li-sa AVUS-ha- tā-li-sa ¹ *447-nu-wa/i-ia-si sa-tā-’	This city of my father and grand- father was Ninuwis(?)’s,
§ 3	wa/i-sa-’ VACUUS-ti-i-sa ARHLA (“LONGUS”)ia + ra/i-ia-ta	(but) he extended (the hand?) in vain (lit. “empty”),
§ 4	wa/i-na-’ ¹ MAGNUS + ra/i-TONITRUS-tā-sa-za INFANS. NEPOS-sa-za CUM-ni (LOCUS)pi-ta-ba-li-ia-ba	him together with Ura-Tarhunzas’s grandsons I exiled(?),
§ 5	wa/i-ma-za-’ mi-i-na-’ sá-pa-ta ₄ -li-na URBS + MI-ni i-pa-ni-si-ná (URBS) á-ma-ba-wa/i sá-pa-ta ₄ -li-ia TERRA.PONERE-ru-tá mu-zi-ki-ia(URBS) [...]	and from them my SAPATALI- city of Ipani and also my SAPATALI- ...s of Muziki [I ...ed]
§ 6	wa/i-ma-na-’ AEDIFICARE-MI-ba	– I myself (re)built it.
§ 7	a-wa/i REL-a-ti-i (ANNUS)u-si-i ka-wa/i-za-na(URBS) (CURRUS)wa/i + ra/i-za-ni-ná PES ₂ -za-ba	In the year in which I carried (in) the city Kawa’s chariot(ry) –
§ 8	pa-tā-za-pa-wa/i-ta-’ (TERRA + L ₄ + L ₄)wa/i-li-li-tā-za mi-i-pi-’ tā-ti-i-zi AVUS-ha-ti-zi-ba *348(-)la/i/u-tā-li-zi-ba NEG ₂ -’ (PES ₂)HWT-HWT-sā-tā-si	to those fields my fathers, grand- fathers and ancestors(?) had not marched,
§ 9	mu-pa-wa/i-’ mi-i-sa-’ DOMINUS-na-ni-i-sa CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa (DEUS)kar-hu-ba-sá (DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ba mi-ia-ti-’ “IUSTITIA”-wa/i-na-ti (LITUUS) á-za-tū	but me my lord celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba loved because of my justice,
§ 10	wa/i-ma-tā-’ (“LIGNUM”)hu-hú + ra/i-pa-li (SOLIUM)á-sa-tá	for me they sat on (/dwelt in ?) the HUHURPALI,
§ 11	wa/i-ma-tā-’ PRAE-na (PES ₂)HWT-ia-ta	they marched before me,
§ 12	a-wa/i pa-ia-’ REGIO-ni-ia (“VACUUS”)ta-na-tā-ba	and I wasted those countries,
§ 13	wa/i-ta-’ (SCALPRUM.CAPER ₂)u-pa-ni-zi a-tá (“CAPERE ₂ ”) u-pa-ba	I brought in the trophies,
§ 14	a-wa/i pi-i-na-’ REGIO-ni-ia-ti (FULGUR)pi-ba-mi-sa SUPER + ra/i-’ PES-wa/i-i-ba	and then glorified by the countries I came up –
§ 15	za-zi-ba-wa/i-mi-i (DOMUS.SUPER)ba + ra/i-sā-tā-ni-zi pa-ti-i-’ (“ANNUS”)u-si AEDIFICARE-MI-ba	these upper floors in that year I built myself.
§ 16	wa/i-mi-ta-’ mi-i-na-’ DOMINUS-na-i-ni-i-na (DEUS)kar-hu-ba- si-na (DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-si-ba CRUS.CRUS(-)ni-ia-sa-ba-na LITUUS + na-ba	I myself beheld my lord Karhuhas’s and Kubaba’s procession,
§ 17	wa/i-ma-tā-’ za ti-i (“PODIUM”)hu-ma-ti (SOLIUM)i-sā- nu-wa/i-ba	and I myself seated them on this podium.
§ 18a	(“*350”)á-sa-ba + ra/i-mi-sā-pa-wa/i-ma-za za-’ DEUS-ni-za CUM-ni ANNUS-sa-li-za-sa (“PANIS”)tū + ra/i-pi-sa	The sacrifice (is) this for them: with the gods, annual bread;
b	(DEUS)CERVUS ₂ + ra/i-bu-ba-ia 1 BOS(ANIMAL)-sa OVIS-sa-ba	for Karhuhas, one ox and a sheep;
c	(DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa 1 BOS(ANIMAL)-sa 1 OVIS (ANIMAL)-wa/i-sa-ba	for Kubaba one ox and one sheep;
d	(DEUS)sa ₅ + ra/i-ku OVIS-wa/i-sa (“*4~8”)ku-tū-pi-li-sa-ba	for the god Sarkus a sheep and a KUTUPILIS;
e	1 OVIS(ANIMAL)-wa/i-sa VIR-ti-ia-tā-za DEUS-ni-za	one sheep for the male gods;
(A11c)		
1. f	[1 OVIS(ANIMAL-wa/i)-sa [FEMINA-ti]-ia-[ta]-za * [DEUS-ni-za]	[one she]ep for the [fema]le [gods(?)]
...		...
§ 19	[...]-sa za[a-ti]-ia-za [DEUS-n]i ² -za MALUS-ta ₄ -ti-i-’	[(He) wh]o(?) shall approach these
2.	VERSUS-ia-ni PES-wa/i-ti	[god]s with badness,

- § 20 |NEG₂-pa-wa/i-sa |ṣa-ti-ia-ṣa (DOMUS.SUPER)ba+ra/i-sà-tà-na-ṣa MALUS-ta₃-ti-i- |VERSUS-ia-ni [PES]-wa/i-ti
- § 21 [|NEG₂-[pa]-wa/i-tà CRUS.CRUS[(-)ni?]-ia-ṣa-i REL-a-ti PRAE-na
- § 22 [wa/i]-tā- |SCRIBA+R-4/I[(-)tā-[i] [|REL-i-sa
- § 23 |ṣa-a-ṣi-pa-wa/i-tā [(SCALPRUM)]ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-ṣi-i
3. LOCUS-ta₄-ṣa [...]-i-t[i]
- § 24 |NEG₂-pa-wa/i-tā |ṣa-a-ti-ia-ṣa |("SCALPRUM")ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-ṣa |ā-ma-ṣa |ā-la₅-ma-ṣa |ARHL4 |"MALLEUS"-la/i/u-i
- § 25 pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tā- CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa (DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sā (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sā-ha (MONS)a+ra/i-pu-tā-wa/i-ni-sā-ha (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa ("FLUMEN+MINUS")sā-ku+ra/i-wa/i-ni-i-ṣi-ha (FLU-
4. MEN.REGIO)ba||pa-tā-si DEUS-ni-ṣi |LIS-la/i/u-sa-tū
- § 26 wa/i-tū- |VIR-ti-ia-ti-ia-ṣa-ha |("CULTER")pa+ra/i-tū-ni-tū-u
- § 27 FEMINA-ti-ia-ti-ia-ṣa-ha-wa/i-tū-u |("CULTER")pa+ra/i-tū-ni-i-tū
- § 28 wa/i-tū- |VIR-ti-ia-ti-i-na |(*462)mu-wa/i-i-tā-na NEG₃-sa |tā-ti-i
5. § 29 FEMINA-ti-i[a]-ti-pa-wa/i-tū (FEMINA.*462)||4²-tā |ni-i |tā-ti-i
- § 30 |ṣa-pa-wa/i-tā |URBS+MI-ni-i-na mu- |REL+ra/i-i 'MAG-NUS+ra/i-TONITRUS-ta-sa-ṣa INFANS.NEPOS-sa-ṣa |(*314)ba-sā-ti-i .ARHL4 |tā-ha
- § 31 |NEG₂-wa/i-na |REL+ra/i-i (LOCUS)pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha
- § 32 ā-wa/i |ṣa-a-ṣi |DEUS-ni-i-ṣi |AUDIRE+MI-ta+ra/i-ru
6. § 33 "LIGNUM"-sa-pa||-wa/i-mu-tā- |REL-a-ṣa ṣa-a-ti-ia-ṣa |(DOMUS.SUPER)ba+ra/i-sà-tà-na-ṣa POST-ni |PES-wa/i-tā
- § 34 ā-wa/i |ṣa-a-ṣi "PORTA"-la/i/u-ni-si-i-ṣi (DOMUS.SUPER)ba+ra/i-sà-tà-ni-ṣi 'ā-na-ia mi-i- |BONUS-sa-mi-i FEMINA-ti-i |(BONUS)wa/i-sa₅+ra/i-ti-i pa-ti-i- |(ANNUS)u-si-i AEDIFICARE-MI-b[a]

or shall approach these *upper floors* with badness, or if they shall pass down to (one)

who shall ... them, and shall [*overturn*] these orthostats from (their) place(s), or shall erase my name from these orthostats,

against him may celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, and the Storm God of Mount Arputa and the gods of the river-country of the river Sakura litigate!

From him may they *sever* virility, ((or) from her may they *sever* femininity),

to him may they not allot(?) (male) seed,

((or) to her may they not allot(?) female seed)!

Since I myself took away this city from Ura-Tarhunzas's grandsons by *force*,

(but) *since* I did not *exile* it, let these gods be heard!

Because wood "came after" me for these *upper floors*,

these *upper floors* of the gates for Anas my beloved wife with goodness in that year I built.

Commentary

§ 1. For titles and genealogy of Katuwas, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary.

|(INFANS)ni-ṣa-sa = ni-mu-wa/i-ṣa-sa: see *ibid*.

§ 2. ¹*447-nu-wa/i-ia-si: sole evidence for phonetic value of *447 is TOPADA, §§ 13, 23, where *447 alternates with *ni*, thus provisionally *ni*. This dubious evidence would yield here a PN *Ninuwi(ya)*; cf. Laroche, *Noms*, nos. 883, 884, *Ninu*, *Ninuwaṣiti* (*Ninuwa* = "Nineveh", *ibid*, p. 273); also nos. 866, 867, *Nanuwa*, *Nanuwati*; and *Noms*, suppl., no. 866.

Sense: easier to translate than understand, as noted by Meriggi. Apparently the city, inherited by Katuwas from his father and grandfather fell into the hands of a usurper Ninuwis, probably the leader of the faction referred to as the "grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas" (§§ 4, 30): see Hawkins, *loc. cit.*; also Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 598. Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 5–6.

§ 3. VACUUS-ti-i-sa: for identification of the underlying word as *tanati*, "empty", see Hawkins and Morpurgo

Davies, *loc. cit.*; and for the elucidation of the logogram as AEDIFICIUM+MINUS, i.e. VASTUS (for which we prefer the transcription VACUUS), see Melchert, *loc. cit.* For other attestations of the stem, see below, § 12; also MARAŞ 1, § 4, and Commentary.

.ARHL4 ("LONGUS")ia+ra/i-ia-ta: for the interpretation of the logogram MANUS+MINUS, i.e. LONGUS, see Melchert, *loc. cit.*, n. 7, also p. 39. The verb was identified with, and interpreted by means of *ia+ra/i-ti-i* (SULTANHAN, § 24, where see Commentary), independently by Melchert and myself (see *Essays Mellink*, p. 98; also *Hetbitica* 8 (1987), p. 275). For other attestations of the verb, see also SULTANHAN, § 24, Commentary.

Sense: "He/she/it (-as) stretched out empty". Melchert and I are agreed on this basic translation, but differ on how we understand it. He (*loc. cit.*) understands the subject, -as, as "the city", and the verb as intransitive, thus "it (the city) spread out desolate". I

consider it difficult to separate *-as* from the following *-an* (§ 4), and prefer to understand both as the usurper Ninuwis, thus envisaging the sense: “He stretched out (sc. the hand) vain(ly)”, i.e. he made an unsuccessful attempt. Melchert (pers. comm.) finds difficulty in the suggested ellipsis of “hand”, and also in enclitic pronoun *-as* as subject of transitive verb.

If, however, we can dissociate *-as* (§ 3), “it (the city)” from *-an* (§ 4), “him (the usurper)”, by treating §§ 4–5 as a historical parenthesis, Melchert’s interpretation fits § 3 well with § 6, thus: “It (the city) stretched out desolate, ... and I (re)built it”.

§ 4. Cf. §§ 30–31 below: Katuwas took away this city from Ura-Tarhunzas’s grandsons by force but did not *pitabaliya*- it. This negative statement provides a further reason for not identifying *-an* in the present clause as “the city”, but rather the usurper Ninuwis.

(LOCUS) *pi-ta-ba-li-ia-ha*: context suggests that this is a punitive action taken against usurpers and their kinsmen. Laroche considers the logogram LOCUS to have been attracted by the syllables *pi-ta*//Hitt. *peda*-, “place” (HH no. 201.IV(c)), for which see above, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary. Alternatively, perhaps *pitabaliya*- may be a form derived from or compounded with Luw. **pita*-, “place”. For compounds, see Hoffner, *Or.* NS 35 (1966), pp. 377–402, where however no compounds of the type N + x = V are cited. A possible sense of “banish, exile” would seem contextually suitable, and might also fit a derivation from **pita*-, “place”.

Melchert (pers. comm.) and Poetto (*Stud. Med.* 3 (1981), p. 51 n. 100) envisage an analysis into *pita*-, “place” and *haliya*-, “(make) kneel” (Hitt. *haliya*-, med-pass.); here Starke (pers. comm.) would prefer to recognize a Luw. root *balliya*-, “niedrig sein/machen”, already recognized in the term SISKUR.SISKUR *balliyatanza* = Hitt. *katta walbuwas* SISKUR.SISKUR (see *Or.* NS 50 (1981), p. 471).

§ 5. See Hawkins, loc. cit., identifying *-NEG₂* (*-ná*) as ending of acc. sing. MF, noting absence of ending on URBS+MI-*ní*, and recognizing *lá-ma sá-pa-ta₄-li-ia* TERRA.PONERE-*ru-tà mu-zi-ki-ia*(URBS) as acc. plur. N.

wa/i-ma-za’...[verb]: analyse *wa* + *manza*, “for/from them” (sc. the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas, dative of disadvantage). The verb, lost on a flake from the edge, could not have occupied more than a single column of signs, thus not e.g. [-*IRHL* *tà-ha*], “I took away”, as in § 30 below.

sá-pa-ta₄-li:- compare Hitt. *šapantalla* (nom. plur. N), adj. applied to “tablets” in library catalogue, *KUB* XXX, 42 i 7, translated conjecturally from context as “de libation(?)” by Laroche (*-Ar. Or.* 17/2 (1949), p. 16 n. 25)? No link between the Hier. and Hittite words is obvious.

i-pa-ni-si-ná(URBS), *mu-zi-ki-ia*(URBS): seem to be adj. formed from city-names, gen. adj. in *-(a)si-* of city

Ipani, adj. in *-iya-* of city *Muzik(i)*. The parallelism of the phrases suggests a literal translation: “my SAPATALI city, the one of (the city) Ipani, also my SAPATALI domains(?)”, those of (the city) Muzik(i)”. The toponym *Muzik* may be compared with Assyrian KUR *Munzigani*, a mountain to the west of Karkamiš passed by Aššurnāširpal c. 870 B.C. on his way to Hazazu (‘Azaz): King, *AKA*, p. 367 (Annals iii 70 = Grayson, *RIMA* 2, A.O.101.1, p. 217).

TERRA.PONERE-*ru-tà*: still unclear but apparently from the context some kind of land-holding.

§ 6. *wa/i-ma-na*’ : *wa* + *mu* + *an*, “and I myself it”; antecedent of *-an* presumably “this city” (§ 2), if §§ 2–5 may be taken as a narrative parenthesis. Cf. §§ 8–14, which form historical/religious parenthesis between § 7 (“in which year ...”) and § 15 (“... in that year”).

§ 7, closely parallel to KARKAMIŠ A12, § 4. See Hawkins, loc. cit. identifying a further *NEG₂* (*-ná*) used as acc. sing. MF, and recognizing in *ka-wa/i-za-na*(URBS) an ethnicon in *-iza-* (// *karkamisiza*-, “Karkamišean”) of city *Kawa*- (= Que?). A clash between forces of Karkamiš and Cilicia at this date is not out of the question: cf. MARAŞ 4, §§ 2, 6, *hi-ri* + *i-ka*-(URBS/REGIO), “the city/country Hilakku(?)”.

PES₂-*za-ba* // PES₂(-)*wa/i-[z]a-ba*, KARKAMIŠ A12, § 4: for verb, see KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 6, and Commentary.

§ 8. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for elucidation of the negative; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., explaining (TERRA+*L*·1+*L*·1) *wa/i-lí-tà-za* by reference to Cun. Luw.-Hitt. *ulili*-, “field”.

*348(-) *la/i/u²-tá-li*:- for the form of *la/i/u²*, (identification not certain), cf. KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 13; CEKKE, § 21. The sign *348 may now be seen elsewhere written before city-names: KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 3, 9, 37, see Commentary; A24a2+3, § 13; CEKKE, § 9; and before a non-city name KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 4. Whatever reading lies behind *348(-) *la/i/u²*-, the word is difficult to fit into the usual sequence of ascendants, best represented by MARAŞ 4, § 11.

(PES₂) *HWT-HWT-sà-tá-si* (so also KARKAMIŠ A12, § 2): presumably 3 plur. pret., but final *-si* still unparalleled and unexplained. Where the present form of the verb shows a *-sa-* suffix, a non-suffixed form appears in (PES₂) *HWT-HWT-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 9), and a non-reduplicated form in (PES₂) *HWT-ia-ta* (below, § 11; KARKAMIŠ A6, § 23). The verb was identified with Cun. Luw. *huiya*-, redupl. *hu(i)hu(i)ya*-, Hitt. *hu(i)ya-/huwai*-, “run” (Laroche, *BSL* 53 (1957/58), p. 195 n. 5; id., *Revue de Philologie* 42 (1968), pp. 245–246). The sign now transliterated *HWT* was formerly identified as a form of the relative (REL), but the verb has now been found on YALBURT written *HWT-i(a)*- (blocks 4, § 2; 10, § 3; 11, § 1; 12, § 4; cf. also EMIRGAZI altars, § 37, and Commentary. Hawkins, *StBoT*

Bh. 3, pp. 88, 102), employing a sign which, while clearly ancestral to the Late Period *HWT*, is equally clearly quite unconnected with the Empire Period *REL*. Because this Hier. verb *HWT-i(a)*- is clearly to be identified with the contemporary Cun. Luw. *bu-i-ia*-, the transliteration of the first sign as *bwi* has been adopted for the Empire Period, and as *HWT* for the Late Period where there can be less certainty that the phonetic value was continued unchanged. In some late inscriptions it does indeed become confused with *REL* (see SULTANHAN, § 4, Commentary). The sign is also used to write *bwisara*-/ *bwitara*-, “wild beasts”, and derivatives (see MARAŞ 1, § 11, and Commentary); *bwapasannu*-, “harm” (see ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 13); and the personal name *Sabwi*-, = Urart. Cun. *ša-bu*- (see ŞIRZI, § 1, and Commentary). For the implications of the divorce between *REL* and *HWT*, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kadmos* 32 (1993), pp. 50–60.

§ 10. See Kalaç, loc. cit., elucidating the reading *bu-bi+ra/i-pa-li*; and Hawkins, loc. cit., identifying verb (SOLIUM)*á-sa*-, “sit” (simple verb, caus. *isanu*-). The sense here could be the literal “sit (on)” or the extended “dwell (in)”, depending on the sense of (“LIGNUM”) *buhurpali*. It has been argued that the sign identified as LIGNUM (*III* no. 382) determines (1) objects of “wood”, (2) words denoting “authority”. In this context *buhurpali* seems more likely to be a concrete object (thus “wooden”) than an abstract concept of “authority”. Melchert, loc. cit., comparing Hitt. ^{GIS}*bu-(wa)bu(r)pal(li)*-, is able by an ingenious examination of the stem and derivatives to suggest that *buhurpali* designates (part of) a war-chariot.

§ 12. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., reviving the original interpretation of Laroche, loc. cit., elucidating (“VACUUS”) *tanata*-, “devastate”; cf. above, § 3, and MARAŞ 1, § 4, Commentary. KARKAMIŞ A27r, l. 1, has parallel context.

§ 13. See parallel passages, KARKAMIŞ A1a, §§ 7, 10. Verb (CAPERE₂)*upa*-, “bring(?)”, gives derivative (CAPERE₂)*upani*-, which the additional determinative SCALPRUM should mark as “stone”. Meriggi and Laroche assume building context and translate “foundations”. But the context is rather one of successful military engagement, and one might expect a sense more like Hitt. ŠU:AN *weda*-, “build a trophy” (*Hatt.* ii 25 and 44; see now Otten, *StBoT* 24, p. 11 n.). The verb *upa*-, determined by either CAPERE₁₋₂ or PES, or without determinative, still seems best considered a single verb with the general sense “bring”; for (“CAPERE”) *upa*-, see ISKENDERUN, § 3; (“PES”) *upa*-, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4; *upa*-, SULTANHAN, § 4; and Commentaries.

§ 14. (FULGUR)*pi-ba-mi-sa*: Hitt. *pihammi*-/ *pihaimi*- and *pihaššaišši*- appear as epithets of the Storm-God (La-

roche, *Recherches*, pp. 69, 71; id., *Fs Friedrich*, p. 298 n. 8). The alternation of the last form with *HI.HI-aišši*- seems well assured (Friedrich, *SV* II, pp. 84 f., 101 (*Alaksandus*)), which establishes the meaning “lightning” for the stem. The Hier. logogram *HH* no. 200 (TONITRUS + flanking wavy lines) agrees well with this, thus we transcribe FULGUR instead of former VIS. KARATEPE, 299, gives “FULGUR”-*ba-sa* = Phoen. ʿṣ, “strength” (whence our former transcription VIS), but the word appears to be **pihas*(+ *sa*) with the literal meaning “lightning” (see Commentary there), and the transferred sense referring to royal qualities of “brilliance, victory”. The Cun. and Hier. Luw. *piham(m)i*- is clearly a participle of a denominative verb formed from the stem (cf. also *pi-i-ba-mi-na*, KARKAMIŞ A27o). I am indebted to Starke for these observations: see now *Stammbildung*, § 58, with further references.

REGIO-*ni-ia-ti*: apparently “glorified by the land(s)”; cf. KÖRKÜN, § 6, EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ti pi-ba-mi-sa*, “glorified by the army”.

pi-i-na’: for *pin*, see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 11, and Commentary.

§ 15. (DOMUS.SUPER)*haristani*:- see above, KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 19, and Commentary; also below, § 34, where this clause is repeated in more detail referring to the same construction.

§§ 16–17. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating CRUS.CRUS(-)*niyasha*-, “procession” (referring to the Soldiers’ (“Karhuhas’s”) and Kubaba’s processions, B2a–3b, B18b–24), and LITUUS+*na*-, “see”; also Starke, loc. cit., for stem *ninya*-.

§ 16. DOMINUS-*na-i-ni-i-na*: elsewhere this word for “lord” is always of the form DOMINUS(-*na*)-*ni/ní(-i)*-, i.e. without -*ai*- in penultimate syllable (but cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 15, Commentary); present form an error?

§ 17. (“PODIUM”) *bu-ma-ti*: identified with Cun. Luw. *hum(ma)ti*- by Laroche, *RHL* 1 XV/60 (1957), p. 23 f.; other Hier. attestations, KARKAMIŞ A1a, §§ 19–20 (extended form in -*a(n)t*-); KARKAMIŞ A20a1, § 2; and possibly KARKAMIŞ A21, § 8 (different form of logogram, in fact perhaps LOCUS).

§ 18. See Hawkins, loc. cit.

(“*350”) *á-sa-hu+ra/i-mi-sa*: accepted as participle of denominative verb *ashari*- < *ashar*-, “blood”, thus “blood-sacrifice, living sacrifice”. Starke, loc. cit., points out that the derivation requires a form *asharimi*- (not *asharmi*-).

(DEUS)CERVUS₂+*ra/i-bu-ba*:- unique writing of god’s name *Karhuba*-, normally written with *kar*-, but occasionally with *ka+ra/i*- (CEKKE, § 24; KARKAMIŞ A13d, § 7; KARKAMIŞ A25b, § 3, etc.), which guarantees the phonetic form. The present writing, together with (DEUS.CERVUS₂)*kar*- (MALATYA 13,

left side), presumably indicates that this Karkamiš god was identified with the Stag-God Runtiyas/Runzas.

(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa*, (DEUS)*sa₅*+*ra/i-ku*: apparently stem forms only without expected dat. sing. -*ia*. (DEUS)*sa₅*+*ra/i-ku* is presumably the same as (DEUS)*sa₅*+*ra/i-bu-tà-sa* (gen. sing.; ÇİFTLİK, § 6, see Commentary), which seems to be a title of the god Ea. (DEUS)*sarku* has already been identified with Hitt. *šarku*-, “mighty” (Kalaç, *Or. NS.* 34 (1965), p. 419; and for the stem see now Weitenberg, *HUŠ*, §§ 304–309, 762 etc.)

(“*478”) *ku-tù-pi-li-sa*: clearly some kind of sacrificial animal, this has been connected with “OVIS”-*ru-pi* (BULGARMADEN, § 11), and *ku-ru-pi* (ASSUR letters *b*, § 5; *f* + *g*, § 37, where see Commentary). The present context might suggest that a sheep and a *kutupili*- were of less value than an ox and a sheep, and thus that a *kutupili*- was of less value than a sheep, perhaps a lamb.

§ 18 f. For restoration, see Meriggi, loc. cit.; Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 19. $\zeta[a-ti]-ia-\zeta a$ [DEUS-*n*]*a²-za*: Meriggi’s restoration (Edition) plausible, though traces may favour ... -*n*]*i²*-.

§§ 19–24. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating NEG₂-*pa*, “or”.

§ 22. [SCRIBA+*R.1/I*](*-*)*tà-i*: for Starke’s interpretation, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 22, Commentary.

§ 23. Traces may support restoration [(SA₄)*sá-n*]*i-i-t[i]*.

§ 25. See Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 285, elucidating (FLUMEN.REGIO)*ba-pa-tà-si*, “of the river-country”, and cf. HAMA 1–3, § 3, and Commentary.

LIS, “litigate, sue” (formerly IRA, “be angry”): see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

§§ 26–29. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the prohibitive NEG₃-*sa*//*ni-i*.

KULULU 5 has an interesting parallel envisaging the possibility of female as well as male malefactors, § 7 a–b, e–f: “whether that one (be) a king or a queen ... whether that one (be) a man or a woman ...”

Cf. also Luw. *KUB XXXV*, 125 l. 3 f. (Carruba, *Gs Kronasser*, p. 2 cit. (3)): “from him the virility [he has taken, from her] the femininity he has taken”.

§§ 28–29. The translation offered in the elucidation of the prohibitives was constrained by the assumption that the verb *tà*- must be translated “take”. A. Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., in examining the Anatolian descendants of IE **dbē*-, “put”, has shown that this is represented in Lycian both by *tuvē*- (as in Cun. Luw. and Hier.) and by *ta*-; if we could identify here *ta*-, “put”, instead of *ta*-/CAPERE, “take”, the translation would be easier (see loc. cit., n. 56).

(“*462”) *mu-wa/i-i-tà-na* // (FEMINA.*462)*4²-tà* (= *muwa/i-tà²*), following Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962),

p. 280): for contrast, cf. TILSEVET, §§ 3–4, *462//FEMINA.*462-*tì*-. The context there suggests “male//female issue” (*muwiti*-, “seed(?)”).

§§ 30–31. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating negative. The exact sense still depends on the pair of REL+*ra/i-i* with which each clause is introduced.

REL+*ra/i-i*: presumably represents *kwari*, not to be identified as rhotacized form of *kwati*, since rhotacism is not expected in inscriptions of this period; see KARKAMIŠ A13d, § 5, and Commentary, where the same form may be translated “if”. Here a provisional translation “since” seems to offer the best hope of sense. For identically written forms, see also KARKAMIŠ A27p (frag.); MARAŞ 8, § 13. The Empire Period form REL+*ra/i* now appears on SÜDBURG (§ 1a) and YALBURT (10 § 3); also see REL+*ra/i-i(a)* (KARA-HÖYÜK, § 2).

§ 30. (“*314”) *ba-sá-ti-i*: the contextually based translation “by force” permits Starke, loc. cit., following Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, p. 68, to recognize in this word the counterpart of Cun. Luw. *baš(ša)*, Hitt. *baštai*, “bone; force”. Cf. the usages, Hitt. *baštit* (*KUB XIII*, 27 obv. 22; *KUB XIX*, 37 ii 6); and Luw. *bašati* (*KUB XXXV*, 88 iii 7 // 89, 9). The logogram *314 elsewhere determines some words of violence: *kapilali*-, “enemy” (TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 24, 26); *hatastari*-, “frightfulness” (TELL AHMAR 1, § 12); *katuni*- associated with *kati*-, “enmity”, by A. Morpurgo Davies (KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 14, 15, see *Fs Risch*, p. 129–145); *314(-)*sá-pa-za* is however unclear (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 6); and *314(-)*sa-tá-na-ti* is a good quality (CEKKE, § 6).

§ 31. (LOCUS)*pi-ta-ha-li-ia*: see above, § 4, for discussion. The translation suggested there, “exile, banish”, could only be meaningful here, an action *not* taken against a city, if the city refers by transference to its inhabitants, as often in Hitt.: e.g. ^{URU}*battuša*-, “the Hittites”.

§ 32. AUDIRE+*MI-ta+ra/i-ru*: the final -*u* of this unparalleled form suggests an imperative, and indeed Laroche’s translation (loc. cit.) takes it as 3 plur. imp. (medio-)passive. Such forms are almost unattested in Hier., but cf. *i-zi-ia-ru*//*i-zi-ia+ra/i-ru*, “let it be made” (KARATEPE, 280). Cun. Luw. attests forms in -*aru*/*taru* (3 sing.) and -*ntaru* (3 plur.): see *DLL*, p. 142. It is unclear exactly what the present writing can represent. Rhotacism is not expected in inscriptions of this period (A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 247 f.), so in -*ra/i-ru* neither *r* would arise from an original *t*. The -*ta* could be part of the verb stem, though most attested forms of AUDIRE (**tumanti*-) show it to be an -*i*-stem (cf. A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 92 n. 12). The easiest form to identify as 3 plur. imp. would be if -*ta+ra/i-ru* represented -(*n*)*tarri*. However this may be, the translation follows Laroche in identifying the form.

§§ 33–34. For discussion, see the parallel KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 18–19. It was argued there that the sign identified as LIGNUM (*HH* no. 382) represents “wood” as the building material of the *haristani*-buildings. Since the basic word for “wood” in Hier. is likely to be *taru* as in Hitt. and Cun. Luw., it was suggested that the abl. LIGNUM-*wa/i-ia-ti* represented an extended form **taruwi(ya)-*, perhaps “logs, timber”. LIGNUM-*sa* appears to be the subject and could be taken as nom. sing. MF but equally nom.(/acc.) sing. N. It could thus simply represent *taru + sa*, but if a closer parallel with **taru-*

wiyati is sought, it could be either **taruwi(ya)s*, nom. sing. MF, or **taruwi(ya) + sa* nom. (acc.) sing. N.

REL-*a-za*: if LIGNUM-*sa* is indeed nom. sing. N, it could be the antecedent of REL-*a-za* in a simple relative clause: “the wood, which ..., (with it) I built ...”. Alternatively, if LIGNUM-*sa* is nom. sing. MF, REL-*a-za* must have its elsewhere attested sense “because” or the like.

POST-*ni* PES-*wa/i-*, “come after”: for the apparent idiom “become available”, of a building material, see above KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 15, and Commentary.

II.13+14. KARKAMIŠ A2+3 (plates 18–21)

Location. Pair of portal orthostats, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 82, 81.

Description. Pair of basalt orthostat slabs in form of door-jambs for right and left sides of entrance respectively, bearing 6-line (A2) and 4-line (A3) inscriptions which together make up a continuous text. This begins on broad side face of A2, top right corner, running sinistrowise, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending bottom right corner; it continues on broad side face of A3, top right corner, running sinistrowise round on to narrow frontal face and down the stone *boustrophedon*, ending before end of l. 4, bottom right; below inscription there is a blank space higher than a line.

Dimensions: (2) ht., 0.68 m.; w., 0.92 m.; th., 0.18 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.12 m.; (3) ht., 0.51 m.; w., 0.90 m.; th., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.11–0.12 m.

Condition: excellent, text complete when found. Some modern damage has been sustained (see below, Texts).

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Excavated in October 1912 *in situ* flanking doorway of cella of Storm-God temple. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 169 f., pls. 34a–37a, and plan, pl. 29 (where positions of A2 and A3 on left and right of door has been incorrectly reversed). The discovery of the doorway is reported in Woolley’s letter to the British Museum describing the work of October 1912, preserved in the Museum archives.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 27, pls. A2–A3 (photographs of stones, and of inked squeezes still preserved in British Museum).

Editions. Forrer, *HBS*, pp. 51–54 (A3); Meriggi, *RH-I* II/11 (1933), pp. 111–114; id., *WZKM* 41 (1934), pp. 17–42, nos. 9–10; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 254–262 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 203–210; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), nos. 19–20, pp. 53–57.

Excerpts.

- § 2 Bossert, *RH-I* XVIII/66, p. 14.
 §§ 3–5 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 40 f.; Laroche, *HH*, no. 165:1.7; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 138 cit. 35.
 § 6 Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 129 cit. 5; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 74.
 §§ 7–8 Bossert, *Gs Kretschmer*, p. 48 f.
 § 8 Hawkins, *Essays Mellink*, pp. 95–98.
 § 9 Bossert, *WdO* II/4, p. 356; *AfO* 19, p. 148; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 223.
 § 10 Laroche, *HH*, nos. 172.4; 280.I.
 §§ 10–11 Bossert, *AfO* 17, p. 70.
 § 11 Laroche, *HH* nos. 96.1; 464; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 137.
 § 12 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 142 cit. 46.
 § 13 Bossert, *AfO* 19, p. 148; Laroche, *HH* nos. 34.II(b); 249; 261.2.
 §§ 13–15 Bossert, *WdO* II/4, p. 356.
 § 14 Laroche, *HH* no. 355.1.
 § 15 Laroche, *HH* no. 96.1; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 173; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 136 f.
 § 16 Laroche, *HH* no. 66; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 95.
 §§ 16–17 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanishuwar*, p. 77.
 § 17 c Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 109.
 §§ 17 d–18 Bossert, *Gs Kretschmer*, p. 48 f.; *WdO* II/4, p. 356.
 § 18 Laroche, *HH* no. 82.1.
 §§ 18–21 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 323.
 § 20 Laroche, *HH* no. 41.I.
 § 21 Laroche, *HH* no. 22(a).
 §§ 21–24 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 162 cit. 13.
 §§ 22–23 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 142 cit. 47a; id. *Studies Tahsin Özgüç*, p. 190.
 § 23 Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 130 cit. 7; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 74.
 §§ 23–24 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 323.
 § 24 Laroche, *HH* nos. 22(a); 336.II.2; 360.2; 376.II.

Content. Building inscription for Temple of Storm-God by Katuwas ruler of Karkamiš. § 1, Name, titles and genealogy; §§ 2–8, favour of Tarhunzas, prosperity of reign; § 9, building of temple; §§ 10–12, protective curse for Katuwas’s name; §§ 13–15, protective curse

for temple; §§ 16–17, donation of artisans to temple; §§ 18–24, protective curse forbidding removal of artisans.

Date. Reign of Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings made from the preserved, published squeezes in the British Museum, and checked against tracings made direct from the stones in Ankara Museum in the sum-

mer 1987. Some minor modern damage is apparent, and is indicated in the copies by hatching.

Photographs. These were taken in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, and show the modern damage. For comparison, I also give prints of the published photographs taken from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. 033852, 033851, 033849). They are reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

Translation

(A2)

1. § 1 EGO ¹*ka-tu-wa/i-sa* |“IUDEX”-*sa kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (REGIO) REGIO DOMINUS-*ia-sa* ¹*su-hi-si-sa* |REGIO-ni DOMINUS-*ia-i-sa* | (INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*
2. § 2 *wa/i-mu-* |*ku-ma-na* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* || *á-ma-za* |*tá-ti-ia* <-*za*> | (“LIGNUM”) *sà-la-ha-za* |*pi-ia-ta*
- § 3 *a-wa/i* |*za-a-sa* |*kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (URBS) (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* NEG₂-*ha mi-i-* |*tá-ti-i* |“VAS”-*tara/i-na* POST-ni *a-tá* |BONUS-*li-ia-ta*
- § 4 NEG₂-*ha-wa/i-sa mi-i-* AVUS-*ha* POST-ni *a-tá* |BONUS-*li-ia* ||-*ta*
3. § 5 *wa/i-sa-* *mu-* |*ka-tu-wa/i-ia kar* <-*ka*>-*mi-si-za* (URBS) REGIO DOMINUS-*ia* “VAS”-*tara/i-na* POST-ni *a-tá* BONUS-*li-ia-ta*
- § 6 *wa/i-mu-ta* |*su-ha-na-ti-* (“FRONS”) *ha-ta-ti a-tá* LITUUS + *na-tà*
- § 7 *wa/i-ta-* *mi-ia-za-* LITUUS + AVIS-*ta-ni-ia-za* |REGIO-ni *i a-tá* (DEUS) BONUS-*na* (DEUS) VITIS(-) *ti-PRAE-ia-ha* ||
4. *ARHL1* (CAPERE₂) *u-pa-ta*
- § 8 *a-wa/i mi-ia-za-* |LITUUS + AVIS-*ta-ni-ia-za* |OVIS (ANIMAL)-*i* 10 ASINUS CRUS + *R1/I*
- § 9 *mu-pa-wa/i-tu-* |*za-ia* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* DEUS. DOMUS-*tà* BONUS-*sa* <+ *ra/i*>-*ti-i za-la*
- *261. PUGNUS-*ru-ha*
- § 10 *á-ma-za-pa-wa/i-ta á-ta* *ma-za* REL-*i-sa* *ARHL1* MALLEUS-*i*
- § 11 *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* |*za-a-sa kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (URBS) (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* || (“*464”) *ha-tà-ma* | (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi-i-tu*
5. § 12 *wa/i-tu-ta-* |LOCUS-*ta* *wa/i-za-ha* |NEG₃-*sa* |CUM-*i wa/i-sa-la-li-ti-i*
- § 13 |POST + *R1/I-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i* |REL-*sa* |*za-a-ia* DEUS. DOMUS(-) *ha-tà a-tá* |*261(-) *ta-pa-i*
- § 14 a *wa/i-sa-* |*ma-na* REX-*ti-sa* ||
6. b |*ma-pa-sa* |REGIO DOMINUS-*sa*
- c |*ma-pa-sa* *355-*li-sa*
- § 15 *wa/i-ta-* *pa-sa-* |*tá-ti-ia-za* |DOMUS-ni-*za* |*kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (URBS) |DEUS. TONITRUS-*sa* | (CORNU) *ke-pu-tà-ti-i a-tá* | (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi-tu-u* ||

(A3)

1. § 16 |*za-ti-pa-wa/i* |*kar-ka-mi-si-za* (URBS) (DEUS) TONITRUS-*ti-i* ¹*ka-tu-wa/i-sa* |REGIO-ni-*ia-si* |DOMINUS-*ia-sa* REL-*i-zi* | (“*2-3”) *wa/i+ra/i-pa-si* |DOMINUS-*ia-zi-i pi-ia-tá*

I (am) Katuwas the Ruler, the Karkamišean Country-Lord, the Country-Lord Suhis's son. When Tarhunzas gave me my paternal succession, this Karkamišean Tarhunzas had exalted the person neither for my father, nor for my grandfather had he exalted (the person), but for me Katuwas the Kar(ka)-mišean Country-Lord he exalted the person, (and) he looked on me with a *smiling*(?) face, and it in my *good times* brought forth the Grain-God and the Wine-God in the country. In my *good times* for a sheep ten homers (of barley) stood, and I myself *thereupon constructed*(?) these temples of Tarhunzas for him with goodness. But (he) who erases my name, for him may this Karkamišean Tarhunzas TARPI- the ruins (ruinously ?), and for him may he not WASA-LALI- even the *place*(?)! In future (he) who shall ANTA (-)TAPA- these temples, whether he (be) a king, or he (be) a country-lord or he (be) a priest, may Karkamišean Tarhunzas ANTA TARPI- against his paternal house(s) with (his) KIPUTA!

The masters of the WARPI- whom Katuwas the Country-Lord gave to this Karkamišean Tarhunzas,

- § 17 a *ma-wa/i-sa* |(CAELUM.*286.x) *sá-pa-tara/i-i-sa*
 2. b |*ma-pa-wa/i-sa* |(*265)|*mi-zi-na-la-sa*
 c |*ma-pa-wa/i-sa* |(SCUTELLA) *tu-ni-ka-la-sa*
 d *ma-pa-wa/i-tà* |(DIES.OVIS) *ku-ki-sà-ti-zi*
 e |MAGNUS+ *ra/i-bi-sa₅* + *ra/i-ma-sa-wa/i-tà²¹* (URBS)
 |URBS(-) *bu-tà-ni-i* |REL-*i-zi* |SOLIUM+ *MI-ti*
 § 18 |POST+ *RA/I-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i-ma-za-* |REL-*i-sa* |POST-*ni*
 |*a-tà* CRUS-*i*||
 3. § 19 a |*ma-wa/i-sa* REX-*ti-sa*
 b *ma-pa-wa/i-sa* |REGIO-*ni-ia-si* DOMINUS-*ia-sa*
 § 20 *wa/i-tà-tà-* |*za-a-ti-i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti-i* .ARHL-1 |*tà-i*
 § 21 |*pa-pa-wa/i-* |*za-a-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* |(LOQUI)
tà-tara/i-ia-tu
 § 22 *wa/i-sa-* |*ku-ma-na sa-ti-* |*pa-la-sa-ti-i*
 4. § 23 *a-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa*|(DEUS) *ku*+ AVIS-*pa-sa*
 |("FRONS") *ba-tà* |NEG₃-*sa* |LITUUS+ *na-ti-i*
 § 24 *wa/i-sa-* |DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tà-za-ba* |*366-*na-na* |(DEUS)
 TONITRUS-*tà-ti-i* |(LOQUI) *ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru*

whether one (was) a SAPATARI
 or whether one (was) a MIZI-
 NALA
 or whether one (was) a TUNI-
 KALA
 or whether they (were) KUKI-
 SATI's
 who dwell in the village(?) of
 Urhisarmas –
 in future whoever goes after them,
 – whether he (be) a king
 or whether he (be) a country-
 lord –
 (and) takes them away from this
 Karkamišean Tarhunzas,
 him may this Karkamišean Tarhun-
 zas curse!
 When he shall be "out of the
 way(?)",
 let him not behold the faces of
 Tarhunzas and Kubaba,
 and let him be made accursed by
 Tarhunzas in the sight of (?) gods
 and men!

Commentary

§ 1. For constituent elements of titles and genealogy of Katuwas, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary.

§ 2. For ("LIGNUM") *sà-la-ba-za*, "greatness, succession", see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary.

§§ 3–5. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating negatives NEG₂-*ba* ... NEG₂-*ba*, "neither ... nor".

VAS-*tara/i-* (*atri-*), "form, figure, image": see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary; and as obj. of verb *waliya-(nu)*, "(cause to) exalt", KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 6; MARAŞ 4, § 15.

§ 5. *kar<-ka>-mi-si-za*(URBS): restoration supplied by Meriggi in *Edition* and *Glossar*. The omission of *ka* here permits the certain identification of *karmisiz-za*(URBS) (SULTANHAN, § 32) and *karmisa*(URBS) (ASSUR letter *a*, § 6) as referring to Karkamiš. Bossert, noting these forms (HKS, p. 227), explained them as "Kurz- oder Vulgärform".

§ 6. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating ("FRONS") *ba-ta*, "face"; LITUUS+ *na*, "see". ("FRONS") *ba-ta/tà*, *banta*, "face", seems to be plur. tantum: cf. below, § 23, and KIRCOĞLU, § 3 (acc. plur. N); also ("FRONS") *ba-ta-za*, dat. plur., TELL AHMAR 1, § 17. Cf. FRONS-*bi-*, "priority" (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 14, Commentary); FRONS-*ti-* (= *banti-*), "first, prime" (TOPADA, § 19, Commentary); FRONS-*li-*, "former, first" (KARATEPE, 136, Commentary); and Starke, loc. cit.

§ 7. *wa/i-ta-*: clearly *wa+ata* (*-ta Ortspartikel* not required: see parallel passage, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 9). Pronoun *-ata* either sing. ("it") or plur. ("they") presumably has as antecedent ("FRONS") *ba(n)ta-*, "face", either sing., or plur. tantum. Parallel passage has "the gods ..." as subject.

mi-ia-za- LITUUS+ AVIS-*ta-ni-ia-za*: see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 10, and Commentary.

(DEUS)BONUS-*na* (DEUS)VITIS(-) *ti-PRAE-ia-ba*: see parallel passage, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 9, and Commentary.

(CAPERE₂) *u-pa-ta*: see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 13, and Commentary.

§ 8. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for elucidation of this clause, and parallels (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 10, Commentary), as idealized statement of price, a literary topos expressing great prosperity.

§ 9. See parallel clause, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, Commentary, including discussion of DEUS.DOMUS-*tà*, "temple", perhaps plur. tantum; *261.PUGNUS-*ru-*, "construct(?)".

BONUS-*sa₅<+ra/i>-ti-i*: this simple restoration proposed by Mittelberger (*Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 285) disposes of the otherwise unattested form recognized by Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.4(b) (followed by Meriggi, *Glossar*, p. 153), which may be deleted. Parallel passage has LINGERE-*sa-ti*, "with luxury".

za-la: apparently corresponds to *pi-na-* in parallel passage; see Starke, loc. cit., for suggestion of sense.

§ 11. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for treatment of verb *tarpi-*. For parallel clauses, see: ŠIRZI, § 6; KARKAMIŠ A16a, §§ 6, 7 (both fragmentary); KARKAMIŠ A13c+a+b, § 6 (fragmentary); ANKARA, § 11 (fragmentary).

(“*464”) *ba-tā-ma*: same as *ba-ta-ma* (KULULU 1, § 2)?; this appears to be participle, nom. plur. N of verb *bata-*, possibly “demolish”. If the same, (*464) *batama* could mean “ruins” (acc. plur. N, direct object) or perhaps “ruinously” (plur. N used adverbially). No other means of penetration of the word suggest themselves. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 191, lists the form as stem in *-mman-* (thus not participle, including the KULULU 1, § 2 attestation).

§ 12. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the prohibitive NEG₃-*sa*.

LOCUS-*ta₅-wa/i-za-ba*: still unexplained, morphology obscure: presumably connected with LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-* (**pita-*), “place”, derived form in *-wa(n)za* + enclitic *-ba*?

wa/i-sa-la-li-ti-i: also unexplained, *hapax legomenon*, verb, 3 sing. pres. (prohib.).

§ 13. POST+*R-1/I-wa/i-sā-ti*: the identification of *ā-pa-ra/i-ta* as phon. writing of POST+*ra/i-ta* and its identification with Cun. Luw. *apparanti-*, “future” (see SULTANHAN, § 34, Commentary), guarantees the reading of POST+*ra/i-* as *apara/i-*. This rules out Bossert’s attempt, followed by Laroche, to recognize here a Hier. equivalent of Hitt. *appa-šiwatt-*, “after-time” (Bossert and Laroche, loc. cit.), and especially the alleged equation of *sā-wa/i-ti* (first two signs probably in reverse order) with Hitt. *šiwat-*. Instead we are left with a derived form of **apara/i-* of uncertain morphology but clear contextual meaning, similar to (but different from?) *apara(n)ta*. Cf. also § 18 below, and KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 21, where the <-ti> is best restored.

*261(-) *ta-pa-i*: as in *261.PUGNUS-*m-* (above, § 9) the logogram can only be guessed, and the full form of the word is uncertain. As the latter word may be contextually interpreted as “construct”, so this word may be seen to denote a deleterious action against a temple.

§ 14c. *355-*li-sa*, “priest”: see KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 6, Commentary.

§ 15. See Hawkins, loc. cit., and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for difficulties in analysing this and parallel clauses SULTANHAN, § 31, KAYSERİ, § 16.

DOMUS-*ni-za*: paradigm of *parna-*, “house” now comparatively straightforward (cf. Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 98 f.); nom. acc. sing. N and dat. plur. both DOMUS-*na-za/za* (i.e. *parnan(sa)/parnanza*; KARATEPE,

71/KULULU 5, § 4). The present form is discrepant, whether it is acc. sing. or dat. plur. (the qualifying *tati-ya(n)za* could of course be either). Verb *a(n)ta tarpi-* appears to require dat. (KAYSERİ, § 16), thus points to dat. plur., although the sense might prefer a sing. For the vowel, we could compare the alternating DEUS-*ni(n)za*/DEUS-*na(n)za* (dat. plur.), though DEUS-*ni* is an *-i*-stem. A possible *parni* as (nom./) acc. plur. N beside the well established *parna* (see KARKAMIŠ A23, § 11, Commentary) might have pointed to an *a/i* alternation in the stem *parn-*, but it now seems more likely that that form is in fact dat. sing.

§§ 16–17. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., explaining “masters of the *warpi-* (“skill, craft”)” as artisans dedicated to temple, like the LÜMES BÉL Q-ĀTI given to the É NA₄ (“stone-house” = “mausoleum”) by Ašmunikkal (KUB XIII, 8); for stem *warpi-*, see KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 14, Commentary.

Designations of professionals dedicated have been previously assumed to belong to the cultic sphere, following a similar interpretation of *warpassi-*. Now they may be considered as artisans.

sā-pa-tara/i-i-sa: analyse *sapa-tari-* or *spa(n)t-ari-*? Van Brock notes rarity of forms in *tara-*: RFL 1 XX/71 (1962), p. 125 f. Possibly *-ari-* arises from *-ali-* (cf. *tunik-ala-/tunikara-*), in which case the word would coincide with *sā-pa-ta₄-li-*, KARKAMIŠ A11b, § 5.

mi-zi-na-la-sa: since the establishment of the value *zi*, it is no longer possible to follow Hrozný’s identification of the stem “moon” in this word (H III I, p. 41 f.; Meriggi, *Glossar*, “Mondpriester”). The *hapax legomenon* should probably be analysed *mizīn+ala-*, since most if not all words in *-(n)ala-/-(n)alli-* listed by van Brock, loc. cit., pp. 160, 162 (reverse index) can be identified as *-n*-stems.

(SCUTELLA) *tu-ni-ka-la-sa*: long identified with (“PANISSCUTELLA”) *tu-ni-ka-ra+a-sa* (ASSUR letter f+g, § 45), and thus perhaps a maker of NINDA *tunik* (Hoffner, *Al. Hetb.*, p. 187; see Melchert, KZ 101 (1988), pp. 225–229, for an interpretation of the double logogram).

ku-ki-sā-ti-zi: now attested on KULULU lead strips 1, § 4 entry 26 (6b); 2, § 1 entry 2 (6); frag. 1, side ii, entry 9, where the contexts generally support the association with sheep suggested here by the logogram. See also XIII. 17–18, DÜLÜK and GAZIANTEP seals.

§ 17e. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

MAGNUS+*ra/i-bi-sa₅+ra/i-ma-sa*: correctly recognized as PN by Bossert, loc. cit., clearly gen. sing. The KULULU lead strips now show several examples of settlements named from persons, presumably their headmen: see KULULU lead strip 1, § 2 entries 3, 4, 6, § 7 entry 39, § 8 entry 46 (6c: ¹MAGNUS+*ra/i-mu-wa/i-sā(-na)*(URBS)); § 4 entry 25 (6c: ¹PUGNUS-*ri+i-mi-sa-na*(URBS)).

-*wa/i-tá²¹*(URBS) URBS(-)*bu-tá-ni-i*: some uncertainty about sign order at this point and the proposed *tá* (fist with dagger) lacks dagger (i.e. = PUGNUS); possible reading, -*wa/i*(URBS) URBS-PUGNUS-*bu-tá-ni-i* (so Meriggi), but the function of PUGNUS would be unclear (not known to have phonetic value). Decision not easy until *hapax legomenon* (-)*bu-tá-ni-i* elucidated. In favour of reading as given (emending PUGNUS to *tá²¹*) is the likelihood that “dwell (in)” would take *Ortspartikel -ta*: see following word.

SOLIUM+*MI-ti*: for interpretation as *asa*, “sit, dwell”, in spite of apparent +*MI*, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., pp. 108–111; and for use with *Ortspartikel -ta*, see *ibid.*, citations 3, 5 (present example), 6, and IZGIN 1, § 2.

§ 18. [POST-*ni* |*a-tá* CRUS-*i*: following the establishment of Hitt. *tiya*-, Cun. Luw. *da*-, Hier. *ta*-, “stand”, by A. Morpurgo Davies (*Studies Cowgill*, pp. 205–228 – for present passage, see p. 215 n. 25), we may understand the phrase as “attach oneself to” as Hitt. *anda/appanda tiya*- (“sich anschliessen” Friedrich, *HWL*, s.v. *tiya*-). Context is similar to KUB XXVI, 43 rev. 6–7

(Donation of Sahurunuwa), where perhaps the verb *tiya*- is to be restored.

§§ 22–23. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating NEG₃-*sa* (= *nis*), prohib.; and (“FRONS”) *ha-ta*, “face(s)”; LITUUS+*na*-, “see”; also Starke, loc. cit., for *hant*-.

sa-ti- pa-la-sa-ti-i: still not fully established, though we may follow Meriggi’s provisional identification of *sa-ti-* as 3 sing. pres., (*a*)*sa*-, “be”. Context suggests a general sense of “after he is dead”; could we identify *pa-la-sa-ti-i* as abl. sing. *palsa*-, “way” (as identified in Hitt. by Güterbock, *RHA* XV/60 (1957), p. 3 f.) – thus idiomatically (euphemistically?) “when he shall be out of the way”? This stem has already been identified in Hier. (MANUS) *pa+ra/i-si* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 19, see Commentary). The word *pa+ra/i-sa₅+ra/i* could be an alternative writing of the same abl. sing. usage, meaning simply “away” (SULTANHAN, § 47, and Commentary).

§ 24. *336-*na-na*: still an unexplained form, first sign logographic or phonetic? Cf. also HAMA 4, § 4; ADI-YAMAN 1, § 8.

II.15. KARKAMIŠ A12 (plates 22–23)

Location. Part of large stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 106A (+ frags. 106B, C, D).

Description. Main fragment of basalt block (numbered frag. 1), bearing parts of 5 lines of inscription. Right part of front and right side preserved, left part of front and left side lost; back stated by excavator to be “not worked”. Text begins front, top right, and runs sinistroversely to lost left part, presumably also on to lost left side, returning *boustrophedon* along l. 2, which runs direct from front on to right side, where right edge of inscription was preserved in ll. 3–4, with 2–3 words, including connectives, missing from l. 2, and part of word from l. 5 – but modern damage has since carried away the edge, with the first two words of l. 3, last two of l. 4, and first one-and-a-half of l. 5. Inscription continued *boustrophedon* down block, breaking off at right side, end of l. 5; traces of l. 6 survive, but it cannot be determined whether it was the last. Text continuity is thus: l. 1 [lacuna], ll. 2+3 [lacuna], ll. 4+5 [lacuna].

Fragments: 10 additional fragments (2–11) were published with the piece (no photographs), frags. 2 and 3 joining main block and frag. 4 from top register; frags. 9 and 11 are corner pieces inscribed on two faces, and could be from front + right side or front and left side corners. Frag. 11 seems likely to join end of l. 5, forming corner between right side and front (see Commentary). An additional corner fragment was published by Güterbock (*JNES* 13 (1954), p. 111, fig. 1), numbered frag. 12 = Ankara no. 106D (*ibid.*, n. 35). A frag. of

the initial *amu*- sign and frag. 10 survive in Ankara (nos. 106B, C; Güterbock, loc. cit.), but the others are presumably lost, though uninked squeezes of all are preserved in the British Museum.

Dimensions (inscription, main fragment): (front) ht., 0.80 m.; w., 0.60 m.; (right side) ht., 0.80 m.; w. 0.77 m.; line ht., 0.17 m.

Condition: fragment, as preserved, excellent.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: occasional.

Discovery. Excavated in May 1912, “in front of the great Lion slab [B33] at the foot of the Staircase”; fragments belonging “found on the road surface near the ‘Hilani’”. The excavators inferred that it had been deliberately broken up in the area, and suggested an original position nearby in the “Herald’s Wall”, where five bolster-shaped blocks could have provided a foundation for a large monument. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 176, 187, 273. The discovery of the piece is noted in Woolley’s report on the work for May 1912 to the British Museum, preserved in the Museum archives.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. vii, pl. A12 (photograph of 2 sides of block, photograph of inked squeezes of block 1) (still preserved in the

British Museum) and fragments (2–11) (only 7 and 11 survive)).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 222–227; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 6, pp. 43–46; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 173, pp. 115–117, Tav. XVIII (redrawn); Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kaniššumar*, pp. 69–77.

Excerpts.

- § 2 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 136 cit. 32b.
 § 3 Laroche, *HH* nos. 14.I; 93.2; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 161 cit. 11.
 § 4 Laroche, *HH* nos. 93.6; 288(a); Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 126 cit. 2b.
 § 6 Bossert, *AJO* 18, p. 365.
 § 7 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 37; Bossert, *Asia*, p. 130; Laroche, *HH* nos. 39.1.6; 231; 288(b); 399; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 197.
 §§ 10–11 Bossert, *AJO* 9, p. 111.
 § 11 Laroche, *HH* no. 350; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 325.
 §§ 11–12 Laroche, *HH* no. 93.4.
 § 13 Laroche, *HH* nos. 14.I; 30.

Sculpture. The inscription is surmounted on the front by a guilloche band, above which remains of a left-facing human foot in relief were noted. This suggests that the monument originally had the form of a more elaborate version of KILIKLI, the work of the father of this monument's author.

Content. As preserved, historical and religious narrative of Katuwas, ruler of Karkamiš. § 1, Name, titles

and genealogy [lacuna]; §§ 2–9, military victories by divine favour [lacuna]; §§ 10–14, devotion to [deity] [lacuna].

Date. Reign of Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze preserved in the British Museum checked against a tracing of the stone made in Ankara Museum (the monument has suffered further damage since discovery, principally loss to the right edge, see Description). Fragments 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 have been traced from uninked squeezes and 7 and 11 from inked squeezes in the British Museum; and frag. 10 has been checked against tracing of the original fragment made in Ankara Museum.

Photographs. These were taken in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987. They show the extent of modern damage to both faces. For comparison, I also give a print of an unpublished photograph from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 031475), reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees (front only); and a print rephotographed from the publication (right side). *Fragments.* The surviving fragments 10 and 12 in Ankara Museum were photographed at the same time. A photograph of frag. 3 survives on an excavation photograph of miscellaneous fragments (negative preserved in the British Museum (no. PS 033871), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees).

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-na/i-mi-i¹ ka-ti-na/i-sa | "IUDEx"-ni-i-sa DEUS-ni-ti
 (LITUUS) á-za-mi-sa kar-k[a]-m[i-si-za-sa(URBS) REGIO]
 DOMINUS[...] ¹su-b[i-...
 2. ... || ...
 § 2 [... -ti-[z]i]-ba | NEG₂ (PES₂) HWT-HWT-sà-ta-si
 § 3 mu-pa-na/i- (DEUS) TONITRUS-sa (DEUS) kar-hu-ha-sa
 (DEUS) ku+AVIS-pa-sa-ba | PRAE-na | PES₂(-) na/i-sà-i-ta
 § 4 na/i-tà- (CURRUS) na/i+ra/i-za-ni-na a-tà [|] PES₂(-) na/i-
 [z]a-ba
 3. § 5 [...] || | CAPERE-ba
 § 6 (LIGNUM) sa-pi-si-za-pa-na/i(URBS) FLUMEN-pa-ti-na
 (VACUUS) tá-na-ta-ba
 § 7 á-na/i-ia-na-na/i-na-pa-na/i(URBS) "CASTRUM"-sà 100
 CURRUS(-) ku-sà-ti | INFRA-tà "PUGNUS"-sà-ba
 § 8 na/i-mu-tà- | ("273") na/i+ra/i-pi | *275-i-ta
 § 9 a-na/i [...
 4. ... || ...
 § 10 m[u²-pa-na/i]-ti-tà- mi-ia-ti- | "IUSTITIA"-ni-ti-i | (LITUUS)
 ti-ti-ti-i | (PES₂) [...]

Translation

- I am Katuwas the Ruler, beloved by
 the gods, the Country-Lord of
 Karkamiš, [son of] Suhis [...
 ...
 [To those fields my fathers] and
 [grandfathers] had not marched,
 but the gods Tarhunzas, Karhuhas
 and Kubaba *walked*(?) before me,
 and I *carried* in the chariot(ry),
 [and ...] I took.
 I wasted the river-land of the city
 Sapisi,
 and the walls/fortresses of the city
 Awayana I ...ed down with 100 ...
 One/they ...ed me for skill,
 and [...
 By my righteousness [I] we[nt] in
 the "apple of his eye" ("pupil"),

- § 11 *wa/i-tú-[ta]-' ("*350") á-sa-ha + ra/i-mi-sà | (PES₂) pa-za-ha*
 § 12 *| (*273) wa/i + ra/i-pi-ba-wa/i-tú ("SCUTUM") hara/i-li-ba*
 5. *| ARGENTUM.DARE/pi-ia-[ta]ra/i-[-...]| (PES₂) pa-za-ha*

- § 13 *wa/i-tú-wa/i-na-' | PRAE-na | "*30"(-) ri + i-nu-wa/i-ba*
 § 14 *... a-w[a/i] p[i- (+ frag. 11? : p)i-na-' VIA-wa/i-[-...]| "FUL-GUR"-ba[...]*

frag. 5: [...(DE)US²][b]i-pu-tà-[-...]
 (other fragments: no identifiable word)

I went to him (as) a *living sacrifice*,
 I went to him for skill and protec-
 tion ("shield") [and] profit
 ("selling").

And it before him I caused to ...
 and (frag. 11 here? : then glorified
 by) the expedition [...]

... the god|dess Hebat[...]

Commentary

My recent *Edition* with A. Morpurgo Davies dealt with the following words:

§ 2. [(TERRA + L₁ + L₂) *wa/i-li-li-tà-za*] restored from parallel passage, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8; identified as stem *walili-* = Hitt.-Luw. *ulili-*, "field".

§ 6. (VACUUS) *tá-na-ta-ba*: verb *tanata-*, identified as denom. from stem *tanati-* = Hitt.-Luw. *dannanti-/dannatti-*, "empty", thus "lay waste, ravage".

§ 8. ("*273") *wa/i + ra/i-pi-*: semantic range of *warpi-*, "virtue, courage, skill", reexamined.

§§ 10–12. (PES₂) *pa-za-ba* (partially restored in § 10): identified as intrans. verb of motion.

§ 10. (LITUUS) *ti-ti-ti-i*: identified with Cun. Luw. *titit-*, "pupil (of eye)".

§ 11. ("*350") *á-sa-ha + ra/i-mi-sà*: possibility explored of adapting contextually determined sense "living sacrifice" (see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18a, Commentary) to present context.

§ 12. Trio *warpi-*, "virtue", ("SCUTUM") *harli-*, "shield", and ARGENTUM.DARE/*pi-ia-[ta]ra/i-[-...]*, "selling", examined to determine sense in context.

A few further observations are called for here.

§ 3. PES₂(-) *wa/i-sà-i-ta*: Hawkins, loc. cit., notes that this verb, not clearly identified, may be interpreted from context and parallels; thus it is exactly parallel to the verb (*HWL*-) *HWL-ia-sà-*, "run", (for which see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, Commentary), but could it, as Laroche supposes (*HH* no. 93.2), actually represent a form of this verb, *-wa/i-sà-* instead of usual *HWL-sà-*? For 3 plur. pres./pret. in *-ai(n)ti/-ai(n)ta*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, Commentary. [TELL AHMAR 5, § 15, now attests verb PES₂(-) *wa/i-si-ti* (3 sing. pres.)].

§ 4. Cf. parallel clause, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 7.

§ 6. (LIGNUM) *sa-pi-si-za-(URBS)*: it is proposed that LIGNUM, "wood", determines (1) objects of wood.

(2) words of authority. Here the toponym *sapisi-* could perhaps be derived from a tree-name **sapī-*, which could have attracted the determinative. See TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary.

FLUMEN-*pa-ti-* (= *hapati-*), "river-land": cf. ("FLUMEN") *hapari-* (KARATEPE, 264), (FLUMEN. REGIO) *hapata(i)-*, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 25; HAMA 1–3, also 7, § 3; see now also Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 270–272.

§ 7. "PUGNUS"-*sá-ha*: Starke (loc. cit.) suggests plausibly that this verb may be simple *-sa-* suffixed form of PÜGNUS-*ri+i-*, "rise; raise", with here a special negative connotation of "remove".

§ 8. ("*273") *wa/i + ra/i-pi-*: cf. further KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 14, Commentary.

§§ 10–12. (PES₂) *pa-za-*: see KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 1, Commentary.

§ 14. Restoration of frag. 11 to form near join to 1.5 break proposed by Hrozný, *Edition*, based on contextual comparison of KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 14. This looks extremely plausible, in that frag. 11 could have the lower part of *pi* (§ 14), and the top right part of the *a* on frag. 11 could be identified as a trace to the left of *pi* on the main block. It is difficult now to check, since frag. 11 is apparently lost, surviving only as inked and uninked squeezes, and an oblique photograph, but juxtaposition of the inked squeezes of the block and fragment do not contradict the possibility of the join. Presumably if a physical junction had been possible, the excavators should have noticed it (?).

pi-na-: for this adverb, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, and Commentary; it occurs also in the same position in the passage parallel to the present context.

VIA-*wa/i-[-...]*: corresponds to REGIO-*niyati* in the parallel passage, so restoration of abl. is indicated. For the problem of the stem-form of (VIA) *harwa(n/t)-*, see KARATEPE, 180, and TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 7 l. 2, Commentary. Restore VIA-*wa/i-[ti]*; or *-[na/ta-ti]* for which space might have been insufficient.

II.16. KARKAMIŠ A13d (plates 24–25)

Location. Orthostat slab, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 89.

Description. Right part of basalt orthostat slab bearing on right side full-length introductory *amu-* figure, presenting 9-line inscription, beginning upper right, running sinistrowise, and continuing *boustrophedon*, of which only the beginnings of the odd-numbered and ends of the even-numbered lines are preserved. The text continuity is thus: l. 1 [lacuna], ll. 2+3 [lacuna], ll. 4+5 [lacuna], ll. 6+7 [lacuna], ll. 8+9 [lacuna].

Dimensions: ht., 1.05 m.; w., 0.70 m.; th., 0.60 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: occasional.

Discovery. Excavated during 1911–1914 operations, not *in situ*, “at the north end of the west side of the King’s Gate ...”; “low down beside the west wall of ‘Processional Entry’.” See Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 203, 273.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. vii, pl. A13d* (photograph of inked squeeze now lost), *d* (photograph of stone = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 836; Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 91); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 118 (photograph); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 293 (photograph).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 218–222; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 175, p. 118 f., Tav. XIX (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 154 cit. 3.

Excerpts.

- §§ 2–3 Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1, p. 24.
 §§ 4–5 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 133 cit. 20.
 §§ 6–9 Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1, p. 27.
 § 10 Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1, p. 46; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 133 cit. 21b.

Sculpture. The introductory figure shows the typical characteristics and accoutrements of the early Ruler Figure (c. 1000–850 B.C.): hair and beard in “pot-hook” curls, brow-band; dress, long, fringed short-sleeved tunic with belt (tassel not shown), sword at waist, staff of office in left hand. See Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* K/28), pp. 34, 41, 190, 290 f., 516; Genge, *NSR*, Kap. IV. For comparable figures in relief, see MARAŞ 8, MARAŞ 4; in the round *Ain Arab* 1, *Karkemis* F/17, *Maraş* B/3 (= MARAŞ 4), *Zincirli* E/1.

Content. As preserved, dedication to gods by Katuwas, ruler of Karkamiš.

Date. Reign of Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The inked squeeze photographed for the publication is not preserved with the Karkamiš squeezes in the British Museum. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the stone itself made in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* ¹*ka-ti-wa/i-sa* | *kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa*(URBS)
 |REGIO DOMINUS-*s*[a ...
 2. ... || ...]
 § 2 [... ...]PONERE-*wa/i-ha*
 3. § 3 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-sa-pa-wa/i-tá* |REL-*i-sa* |*á-tá-na-wa/i-na*||
 |*kar-ka-mi-si-za*(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti* |SUB-*na-na*[...
 4. ... || ...]
 § 4 “9”-*wa/i-i-za-ha-wa/i-ti* |DARE-*i*
 5. § 5 |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá* || *za-a-ti* | (“SCALPRUM”) *ku-ta-sa* + *ra/i-i*
 |REL + *ra/i-i* ¹*ka-ti-wa/i-i* [...
 6. ... || ...]
 § 6 [... ...]-*ru-ti*
 § 7 *a-wa/i* (DEUS) *ka + ra/i-hu-ha-ia* (DEUS) *ku + AVIS-pa-ia-ha*
 7. ²*wa-wa/i* || *i-za* |*pi-ia-ti*
 § 8 *wa/i-na* *261.PUGNUS-*ru-ti*

Translation

- I (am) Katuwas, the Karkamišean
 Country-Lord, [...
 ...
 [...] I put.
 (He) who [...] the ATANAWA(NA)
 of Tarhunzas under Karkamišean
 Tarhunzas,
 ...
 he shall give nine/ a ninth to him.
 Or if to this orthostat Katuwas [...
 ...
 [...] he shall [*const*]ruct(?),
 let him give nine²/ a ninth² to
 Karhuhas and Kubaba,
 (and) let him *construct*(?) it.

- § 9 *pa-sá-[pa-wa/i-na]* [...
 8. ... || ...
 § 10 [...|R]EL-*i-sa* |*za-a-ti* CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti-i*
 9. DEUS-*ní-za* || CUM-*ní* | (“ANNUS”) *u-sa-lí-za-ná* [...

But his [...] him,
 ...
 (He) who [...] annual [bread] for
 this celestial Tarhunzas with the
 gods, [...

Commentary

After the recent Editions of Meriggi (1975) and myself (1981), few further observations are necessary.

§ 3. *á-tá-na-wa/i-na*: *hapax legomenon*, unclear whether acc. sing. MF, *á-tá-na-wa/i*; or acc. plur. N, *á-tá-na-wa/i-na*. Latter form would look like *-wani*-suffixed adj.

§ 4. “9”-*wa/i-i-za*: cf. parallel passages, KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 8, 11 (9-*za*). The present writing, in conjunction with the new readings *i* and *za*, clarifies the phonetic form of the numeral, especially when compared with Cun. Luw. 9-*un-za* (see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHIL*, p. [48] and n. 167); the writing indicates a form *unni(n)za* contracting to *nu(n)za*. A suffix *-za* of uncertain status may be recognized; cf. the forms 9-*ta*, 9-*ti-sa*, HİSARCIK 1, §§ 2/4, and 3, with Commentary; also the form *ti-na-ta-za*, “tithe”, SULTANHAN, § 28, and Commentary. It remains unclear whether *nine* or a *ninth* are to be given. For the symbolism of the numeral 9, see Gurney, *Journal of the Department of English, University of Calcutta* (Chatterji Memorial Number) 14 (1978–79), pp. 27–31. Note that the reading (“9”) *nu-u-[za]*, “nine”, claimed by Poetto as a fully phonetic writing of the numeral (IO 6 (1986), p. 159) is to be read differently (see MARAŞ 5, § 2, Commentary).

§ 5. NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá*: presumably we must identify NEG₂-*pa-* (**napa-*), “or”, here, though the context, insofar as discernible, is unusual.

REL + *ra/i-i*: cf. same writing, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 30, 31, and Commentary. Rhotacism does not occur in inscriptions of this period (A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 247 f.), so this writing cannot be rhotacized from *kwati* but must represent *kwari*. It is not clear whether it is the same form as REL + *ra/i* (KARATEPE, 332, = Phoen. ’*m*, “if”) and/or REL-*ri+i* (KARATEPE, 410, = Phoen. *km*, “as, like”; also ASSUR letters *a*, § 8; *b*, § 8; *f+g*, § 22), all of which could (but need not) arise from rhotacized *kwati*. We may note that REL + *ra/i* has recently appeared on the Empire Period inscriptions YALBURT (block 10 § 3), and BOĞAZKÖY-SUDBURG (§ 1), where it presumably represents the same form as the contemporary Cun. Luw. *kumar(i)*, itself of uncertain form and usage. In the present passage, “if” appears to be an appropriate translation, though the incomplete context does not assist a clearer understanding.

§ 7. 9th-*wa/i-i-za*: only 8 strokes are in fact visible, but it seems more likely to be a mistake for 9 than a deliberate rendering of 8.

§ 10. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for treatment of this together with the parallel passage KARKAMIŠ A4d, § 1, elucidating -NEG₂ as *-n* (*-ná*), ending of acc. sing. MF.

II.17 (with 18, 19). KARKAMIŠ A23 (with fragments A26a1 + 2, A20a1, 2) ^{← damaged} (plates 26–27)

Location. Portal orthostat, British Museum, London, no. 125002 (date no., 1879-8-19 (1+)).

Description. Basalt orthostat slab in form of rebated door-jamb for right side of entrance, bearing 5-line inscription. The right-hand part only of the inscription is preserved. The text begins at top right side on narrow frontal face, and runs sinistrovers round rebate on to broad side face (left side lost), continuing *boustrophedon* down stone and breaking off at last line (5), left end. The lower third of the slab is uninscribed. The text continuity is thus: beginning l. 1 [lacuna], ll. 2+3 [lacuna], ll. 4+5 [lacuna, end]. It is suggested below that the fragment KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2, a corner fragment bearing parts of 4 lines, might have formed the left end of the jamb with the alternate beginnings and ends of ll. 2–5. For the possibility that KARKAMIŠ

A20a1 (and 2?) represents the pairing orthostat with KARKAMIŠ A23, see the former, under Description.

Dimensions: ht., 1.01 m.; max. preserved w., 0.80 m.; th., 0.40 m.; line ht., 0.12 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: spasmodic.

Discovery. Found in 1878–79 by Henderson in the area of the Great Staircase, and sent via Aleppo to Alexandretta (Iskenderun) for dispatch to England in the spring 1879 (Hogarth, *Carchemish* I, p. 9). During 1911–1914 operations surviving workmen of Henderson recalled that it was found “on or very near to the

end of the inner buttress on the east side of the stairs"; the excavator Woolley therefore identified its position as the eastern jamb of the inner doorway of the Gate-house. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 160 f., pl. 30 (plan), who further states that "Hogarth in 1911 found a fragment belonging to it high up on the stairs". Was this fragment KARKAMIŠ A26a1? (see below).

Publication. Rylands, *TSBA* 7 (1882), pl. [I] ("J[erabis] I", photographs, front and side) = Wright, *EH* (1884/1886), pl. VIII (engraved from Rylands); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 9 f., Taf. IX (drawing from squeeze from British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 275, pl. A23a (photographs, side, front), a* (tracing from photographs).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), no. 7 pp. 272–280; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 227–231; Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 100–103, 112; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 215, p. 144 f., Tav. XXVI (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 151–154 cit. 2.

Excerpts.

- § 3 Bossert, *HK*, p. 284; *Asia*, p. 151 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 59.1; Starke, *Stammildung*, § 197.
§§ 4–5 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 132 cit. 17.

- §§ 7–8 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 141 cit. 42.
§ 10 Laroche, *HH* no. 34.I(b).
§§ 10–11 Starke, *Stammildung*, Anm. 1360.
§ 11 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 106.

Content. Building inscription of Katuwas ruler of Karkamiš. § 1, Name and titles; § 2 [lacuna]; §§ 3–5, favour of Kubaba; § 6, building [lacuna]; §§ 7–8, prayer to Kubaba; §§ 9–11, reestablishment of Kubaba; § 12 [lacuna, end].

Date. Reign of Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text offered here is taken from a tracing of the original inscription in the British Museum.

Photographs. These are British Museum prints, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. In order to give a complete picture of the inscription, a composite photograph has been made by cutting out the individual photographs of each inscribed face and mounting these in the correct sequence.

Transliteration, Translation, Commentary: see following 11.19.

II.18. KARKAMIŠ A26a1 + 2 (plates 26–27)

Location. A26a2, fragment, British Museum, London, no. 125000d.

A26a1, the joining fragment, was seen in 1969 in the Kocabaş Collection, Istanbul, by the late R.D. Barnett; it has now passed with the rest of the collection into the Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul, where it bears the number 6869 (Kocabaş no. H.K. 2340).

Description. Two joining corner fragments bearing together 4 lines of inscription on each face. Below lowest line on left face, a portion of uninscribed space higher than the inscription's line-dividers suggests that the lowest line was the last line of inscription. The fragment's ll. 1 and 3 are dextroverse, ll. 2 and 4 sinistroverse. Circumstances of discovery (see below) of these joining fragments suggest that they may originally have been part of KARKAMIŠ A23: (1) A26a2 was found and sent to England by Henderson at same time as A23; (2) the piece of A23 stated by Woolley to have been found by Hogarth may be A26a1 – if not, what is it? For detailed comparative arguments for the association, see Hawkins, *Edition*, p. 152 f.; these include appearance, line-height and one characteristic sign form. If the identification is correct, it would follow that:

(1) the fragment's 4 lines would correspond to KARKAMIŠ A23, ll. 2–5;

(2) the inscription would have continued from the broad side face of KARKAMIŠ A23 round on to its narrow back face, as seen also on A11b and c;

(3) 2nd–3rd lines of fragment would be nearly continuous;

(4) 4th line would be almost at the end of the slab's inscription, though the text could have continued on facing slab (KARKAMIŠ A20a1?).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.59 m.; max. preserved w., c. 0.16 + 0.14 m.; line ht., 0.12–0.13 m.

Condition: as fragment, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: (4th line) *za* of form stated by Hawkins (loc. cit.) only to be found elsewhere on KARKAMIŠ A23, §§ 1, 3, 5, 6 – but actually cf. also KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1.

Word-dividers: one preserved.

Discovery. A26a2. Found by Henderson and dispatched to England along with other larger inscriptions, including KARKAMIŠ A23, and other fragments in spring, 1879: see Hogarth, *Carchemish* I, p. 9.

A26a1. Found during the first season's excavations at Karkamiš and recorded in the excavation album by

R. Campbell Thompson (*Report* (1911), pp. 104, 117). Is this the fragment belonging to KARKAMIŠ A23 found by Hogarth in 1911 high up on the stairs (see above, KARKAMIŠ A23, Discovery – Hogarth commenced the excavations on 13 March and left on 20 April)?

Publication. A26a2: Rylands, *TSB* 7 (1882), pl. IV figs. 1+2 (drawing) = Wright, *EH* (1884//1886), pl. XII; Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 11, Taf. XII, 3–4 (drawing, after Rylands); *CIH*¹ (1902), p. 4, Taf. XII, 3–4 (drawn from original); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 276, pl. A26a2 (photograph, two faces printed at different scales; tracing of photograph, right side out of proportion).

A26a1: *Carchemish* III, pl. A26a1 (photograph taken obliquely, both faces appear oblique; photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum, along with 2 uninked duplicates).

R. Campbell Thompson, *Report* (1911), without details of discovery, pp. 104 (drawing), 117 (photograph).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 223, p. 162, Tav. XXVIII (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 152–154.

Content. Fragmentary but consistent with building inscriptions of Katuwas in general, KARKAMIŠ A23 in particular: l. 1, authority; l. 2, building for Kubaba; l. 3, fathers and grandfathers; l. 4, the temple.

Date. By association with Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of the original fragments in the British Museum and in the Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul (latter by kind permission of the Director, Dr. Çetin Anlağan).

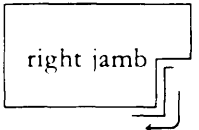
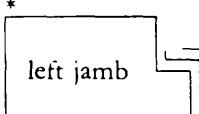
Photographs. A26a1 photographed in the Sadberk Hanım Museum in the summer, 1987; A26a2 photographed in the British Museum in 1989.

Transliteration, Translation, Commentary: see following II.19.

II.19. KARKAMIŠ A20a1 (also A20a2) (plate 28)

Location. Fragments of portal orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 130, 10909.

Description. A20a1. Upper fragment of rebated door-jamb, preserving parts of two adjoining faces and traces of a third (see Hrozný's photograph), bearing part of top 3 lines of inscription, upper sinistaverse, continuing *boustrophedon*. Stated by excavator to be "top right-hand edge"; if so, it would have been a right-hand door jamb and could not pair with the right-hand jamb KARKAMIŠ A23. However, examination shows that it could have occupied either of the following positions (* marks the beginning of the text in either reconstruction):

- (a)  * If (a), there would not have been much text to right of inscription.
- (b)  * If (b), there would have been almost no text to left of inscription.

If (a), the preserved text is very close to beginning. This seems unlikely, since normally right-hand jambs begin with titles and genealogy (KARKAMIŠ A2, 11a, 11b, 23).

If (b), the text would have followed KARKAMIŠ A3 in beginning (i.e. continuing) top right, running sin-

istaverse, rather than A11a, beginning top left, running dextroverse. The present fragment would have been at the left edge of the inscription, so ll. 1–2 would have been almost continuous, with the loss of only about 1–2 words (i.e. §§ a–b would have formed parts of same clause); this seems possible.

Thus it is most likely that A20a1 is indeed the fragment of a left-hand jamb, and that it was the pair of A23. One further observation links the two; in the re-entrant angle between the two rebated faces, the surface of the stone is left raised on both A20a1 and A23, in contrast to A11b and c where it is cut away. (A11a agrees with A20a1, A23 in this).

A20a2. No evidence is given by the excavator for associating this corner fragment with A20a1 ("probably a part of the same"). If it belonged to the same corner, it must, as Meriggi noted, have contained parts of ll. 4–5.

Dimensions, A20a1: preserved ht., 0.43 m.; w., right face, 0.20 m.; left face, 0.14 m.; line ht., 0.12–0.13 m.

A20a2: preserved ht., 0.15 m.; w., right face, 0.05 m.; left face, 0.14 m.; line ht., not fully preserved.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: form of BONUS agrees with A23, § 11.

Word-dividers: 3 preserved.

Discovery. A20a1. "Found beside the Great Staircase" during 1911–1914 operations; restored as pair to

KARKAMIŠ A23 as western jamb of the inner doorway of the Gatehouse. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 274, 161, plan pl. 30. A20a2. Recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 79, so found in 1911.

Publication. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), pl. XLIII = *IHH* III (1937), pl. XLVIII (A20a1, photographs of both faces and drawing); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 11, p. 26, pl. XXV (A20a1, copy only); Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pl. A20a1 (photograph of both faces, photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum, along with uninked duplicate), also A20a2, associated fragment (photograph of left face, tracing), for which see Guterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 103 n. 2.

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit., 188 f./348 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 102, 112; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 216, p. 146 f., Tav. XXVI (redrawn).

Content. A20a1: like the appearance of the piece, the content is consistent with its attribution to Katuwas:

l. 1, “for my dear wife [...]”, cf. KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 19, A11b+c, § 34; l. 2, “Kubaba of the Podium”, cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 17, referring to sculpture *Carchemish* II, B19a; l. 3, “on these orthostats who [...]”, cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 24 (but also KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 8 (Suhis)).

A20a2: no single word identifiable (NEG₂ – negative or disjunctive?).

Date. By association with Katuwas, as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze in the British Museum (A20a1), and a tracing of the original fragment in Ankara Museum (A20a2).

Photographs. A20a1, prints of the published photographs from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. PS 033869, 033870), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees; A20a2, photographed in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

Translation

(KARKAMIŠ A23)

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* *k[a-t]i-i-wa/i-sa* *kar-ke[a-m]i-si-[z]a-sa*(URBS)
REGIO DOMINUS-*sa* DEUS-*ni-ti* (LITUUS) *a-za-mi-sa*
- § 2 *wa/i-mu* [...]
2. [...] || ← §§ a, b
- § 3 [...] *m[i-i-sa]* DOMINUS-*na-ni-sa* (DEUS) *ku*+AVIS-*pa-sa*
kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa(URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA-*sa*₅+*ra/i-sa*
“MANUS”-*ti* | PUGNUS-*ta*
3. § 4 *wa/i-mu* *mi-zi* || (*a*) *ta₄-ni-zi* | *pi-pa-sa-ta*
- § 5 *mu-pa-wa/i* (*a*) *ta₄-na-za* | NEG₂ | *pi-ia-ta*
- § 6 *mu-pa-wa/i* *pi-na* | LINGERE-*ha-sa-ti* *za-ia* [...] *mi* [...]
4. [...] ← §§ c, || d
- § 7 *wa/i-ta* | NEG₂ | REL-*a-ha* | *sa-ha-si*
- § 8 *wa/i-ta* *mu* *sa-ha-si*
- § 9 *wa/i-ta* | (CRUX) *wa/i-la-ha* REL-*i*
5. § 10 *wa/i-ta* (DEUS) *ku*+AVIS-*pa-na* | *kar-ka* || *mi-si-za-na*(URBS)
MAGNUS.DOMINA-*sa*₅+*ra/i-na* | POST-*ni* | SOLIUM-*nu-wa/i-ha*
- § 11 *wa/i-ti* *pa-sa* *ta-ti-ia* DOMUS-*ni* | BONUS-*ia-ta*
- § 12 *mu* [*ha*] *wa/i ti* [...] || [...] || [...] ← § e

(KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2)

2. § a ... LE[PUS+*ra/i-ia-sa* SUPER+*ra/i* CAPERE₂.CAPERE₂-*ta*
- § b CAPUT-*pa-wa/i* [...]
3. § c [...] (DEUS) *ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa* AEDIFICARE-*MI* [*ha*]
4. § d [...] *zi* [...] *ti-ti-zi* (AVUS) *bu-ha-zi* | [...]
5. § e *wa/i-sa* [*ta*/*ta*] | FRO[NS]-*la/i/u-za* DEUS.DOMUS-*ta* [...]

I (am) Katuwas, the Karkamišean
Country-Lord, beloved by the gods.
Me [...]
[...] (§§ a, b?)...
[me] my sovereign Kubaba, Queen
of Karkamiš, raised by the hand,

to me she always gave my enemies,
but me to (my) enemies she did not
give.
And I myself then [constructed(?)]
these [buildings(?)] with luxury.
[...] (§§ c, d?)...
“You will cure no one,
but you will cure me!”
While I was ill,
I re-established Kubaba, Queen of
Karkamiš.

She was good to/for/in her pater-
nal house,
and I/me [...] (§ e?)

... of authority (s)he/they —ed up,
and the person [...]

... for Kubaba I built.
... fathers (and) grandfathers [...]

and (s)he the foremost temple [...]

(KARKAMIŠ A20a1)

1. § 1 ...] *mi-i* 'BONUS-*sa-mi* [FEM]INA-*ti-i*] [...
...]
2. § 2 ...] "PODIUM"-*ma-tà-si-na* (DEUS) *ku-AVIS* [...
...]
3. § 3 ...] *z[a]-ti-i[a]-za* (SCALPRUM) *ku-ta-sa₅ + ra/i-za* |REL- [...
...]

...] my dear wife [...

...] Kubaba of the Podium [...

...] who to these orthostats [...

Commentary

KARKAMIŠ A23

In my recent *Edition* (1981), and my earlier treatment of the negatives (1975), the following points were covered:

§ 3. PUGNUS-*ta*: identified as the frequent PUGNUS-*ni + i*, "rise, raise".

§§ 4–5. Identification of the negative, and comparison of *Hatt.* i 52–54, 58–59, gave a context-based interpretation (*a*-)*ta₄-ni/na*-, "enemy".

§ 6. Restored following parallel passage, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11.

§§ 7–8. Elucidation of negative revealed form of clauses as belonging to a repeated topos; but verb *sá-ha*-remained unexplained (see further below).

§ 9. (CRUX) *wa/i-la*:- "suffer, be ill" by comparison with (1) *arha wala-/wara*-, "die"; (2) (CRUX) *wala awi*-, "come ill/fatally for" (see KULULU 5, § 8, Commentary).

§ 11. *pa-sa- tá-ti-ia* DOMUS-*ni*: identified as acc. plur. N, dir. object of BONUS-*ia-ta* (= *waliyata*, "exalted"?); see below for revised interpretation.

The following further considerations are offered:

§ 3. PUGNUS-*ta*: see further Starke, loc. cit.; also JISR EL HADID, frag. 2, l. 2, and Commentary.

DOMINUS-*na-ni-i-sa*: for the application of this title to the female deity Kubaba, see KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 6, and Commentary.

§§ 4–5. (*a*-)*ta₄-ni/na*:- reading remains uncertain in each case whether *a* belongs at beginning or at end of previous word. Initial *a*, as against *á*, not very common (*a-pa*- for *á-pa*-, "that", *a-sa*- for *á-sa*-, "be", also *a-zi*-, "our", regularly in ASSUR letters; *a + ra/i*-, never *á + ra/i*- in several words). Another word also interpreted "enemy" from context is *á-ru-ni*- (SULTANHAN, § 9, and Commentary), and one may wonder whether this word could be linked with the possible *a-ta₄-ni*-, i.e. (*aruni*- <) *aduni*-, var. *adani*-.

§§ 7–8. *sá-ha*:- context, in particular use of 2 sing. pres., indicates that this is a quoted prayer to the goddess. If in the following clause *wala*- is correctly interpreted as

"suffer, be ill", an appropriate sense for this verb could be "cure", thus: "'you will cure no one but you will cure me.' And while I was ill ..."

[NEG₂ |REL-*a-ha*: cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 63.

§ 11. I now feel an alternative interpretation to the one previously supported to be preferable, namely: "she was good (= *sanawiyata*) to/for/in (her) paternal house" (dat. sing.); cf. Starke, loc. cit.

BONUS-*ia*:- more likely to represent *sanawiya*-, "be good" (for which see SULTANHAN, § 7), rather than *waliya(nu)*-, "(cause to) exalt", which is written (BONUS) *wa/i-li-ia*- (KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 6; MARAŞ 4, § 11) or BONUS-*li-ia*- (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 3–5; MARAŞ 4, § 15; IZGIN 1, § 18), cf. (BONUS) *u-li-ia*- (MARAŞ 1, § 1i).

tá-ti-ia: formerly taken as acc. plur. N because of attested dat. sing. *tá-ti(-i)* (KARATEPE, 82; MARAŞ 1, § 3; IZGIN 1, § 2), but the latter doubtless arises from *tatiya* (-*iya* > -*i*).

DOMUS-*ni*: a nom./acc. plur. N in -*i* beside the well attested DOMUS-*na* would be interesting, but the balance of probability is that this form is actually the well attested dat. sing. DOMUS-*ni(-i)*; so also in ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 38 (see Commentary). There remains the problematic form DOMUS-*ni-za* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 15, see Commentary).

KARKAMIŠ A26a1 + 2

§ a. For comparable fragmentary context, see BOROWSKI 2.

LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-sa*: attested derivatives of stem *tapar*-include (1) *tapariya*-, "authority" (abl. only); (2) *tapar-ata*-, "authority"; (3) *taparabi*-, "authority"; (4) *tapariya*-(v.), "decree"; (5) *tapariyali*-, "governor". The present form could be identical with (1), and since it does not seem to be a very appropriate subject of a verb, it could perhaps be gen., or gen. adj., acc. plur. N.

CAPER₂.CAPER₂-*tà*: the pair of antithetic hands, which in the comparable passage on BOROWSKI 2 has the correspondence of only a single CAPER₂, may now be compared with a similar pair of antithetic hands on HAMA 8, § 2, which constitute an ideogram replacing the usual DEUS as a determinative for a god's name. It is noted there (see Commentary) that the writ-

ing sought to represent ideographically the all-protecting nature of god, as DEUS represents the all-seeing. If we may associate the present verb with the HAMA 8 usage, it should be understood as “protect” or “bless”, but the context is not sufficiently clear, either here or in the similar BOROWSKI 2, to provide any corroboration for such an interpretation. It should also be noted that the usage of antithetic hands is found elsewhere on the Empire Period seal of the queen Tanuhepa, where they represent the first syllable of her name, and were thus interpreted as *tā* written twice antithetically: see Güterbock, *SBo* 1 (1940), nos. 24–29, 42–44, and p. 16.

§ e. Necessity of filling broken gap at bottom of l. 4, right face noted in *Edition*.

wa/i-sa-[tā/tā]-: if *wa/i-sa[...]* indeed represents connective particles, this seems the most likely gap-filling

restoration, which would be best taken as *wa+as+ta*, “and he/she” + *Ortspartikel*.

FRO[NS]-*la/i/u-za*: first sign identified tentatively in my *Edition* as MALUS-[...]; but further examination of the stone now convinces me that Laroche (*HH*, no. 26.2) and Meriggi (*Glossar*, p. 86 s.v. *nāla*; *Manuale* II/2, p. 162) must be right in their identification of the sign as FRO[NS]. The resulting *hantilanza* may be either acc. sing. N or dat. plur., and may or may not qualify the following DEUS.DOMUS-*tā[...]* (plur. tantum? see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, and Commentary); “first/foremost temple(s)” seems quite possible sense.

KARKAMIŠ A20a1

§§ a–b. Reconstruction may require sense to run on almost directly here: “for my dear wife [Anas || this] Kubaba of the Podium (acc. sing.) [...]” seems possible.

II.20. KARKAMIŠ A25a (plate 29)

Locations. Four fragments of inscription, *a1*, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 137; *a3*, Museo Missionario, Vatican, Rome, Coll. Gauttieri no. 164; *a2* and *a4* lost? (survive as uninked squeezes in the British Museum – see below, Publication).

Description. Four fragments, *a3* directly joined by *a4*; *a1* stated to join *a3*, not now easy to verify (pieces being in Ankara and Rome) but does not look probable, since there is no sequence of sense between the two, and the gap must be substantial, probably larger than shown on photograph (see further, Commentary); no evidence for placing of *a2*, or even whether it really belongs. Together the fragments preserve parts of 3 unconnected lines with traces of another above and below.

Dimensions: *a1*, preserved ht., 0.21 m.; w., 0.17 m.; *a3*+*a4*, preserved ht., 0.33 m.; w., 0.49 m.; *a2*, ht., 0.09 m.; w., 0.11 m.; (all) line ht., 0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: several.

Discovery. “From the lower Palace area” (Woolley, see below, Publication; among fragments noted on *Carchemish* III, p. 174?); recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 77, 88, 95, 100, which indicates that it was found in 1911. Frag. *a3* was in the Collection Gauttieri, donated to the Museo Missionario, Vatican, in 1961. For this information I am indebted to Professor Alfonso Archi.

Publication. (*a1* only) Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 12, p. 26, pl. XXV (photograph and copy); (all) Woolley,

Carchemish III, pp. 266, 275, pl. A25a (photographs of stone, photographs of inked squeezes (still preserved in the British Museum, *a1* and *a3* only), and tracing (*a2*)). Uninked squeezes of *a2* and *a4* are preserved in the British Museum as well as uninked duplicates of *a1* and *a3*.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 221, p. 160 f., Tav. XXVI (redrawn).

Excerpts.

§ 2	Bossert, <i>MIO</i> 4, p. 209.
§§ 3–4	Meriggi, <i>MI/LeG</i> 39/1, p. 26.
§ 6	Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 30, p. 180.

Content. l. 2, §§ 1–2, historical narrative (§ 2//KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8; A12, § 2); [lacuna]; §§ 3–4//KARKAMIŠ A13d, §§ 7–8; [lacuna]; l. 3, § 5, 2; [lacuna]; § 6, the gods Karhuhas and Kubaba [lacuna]; l. 4, § 7, setting up of statue.

Date. Attribution to Katuwas likely on grounds both of appearance and of textual parallels; thus as for KARKAMIŠ A11a; probably 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text offered here is taken from tracings of the inked squeezes (*a1* and 3) and uninked squeezes (*a2* and 4) preserved in the British Museum. The original fragment *a1* was checked in Ankara Museum.

Photographs. Frags. 3+4 and 2, print of published photograph from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 039202), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. Frag. 1, photographed in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

	Transliteration	Translation
(a1-3)		
1-2.	[... ...]	...
§ 1	<i>a-wa/i pa-PITHOS(URBS)-ha</i> (*274) <i>ha-ta-li-ha</i>	I smote also the city Pa ...
§ 2	<i>pa-tá-za-pa-wa/i-'</i> TERRA + LA + LA-tá-za <i>mi-zi-'</i> <i>tá-ti-zi</i> [...]	To those fields my fathers [and grandfathers had not run,]
§ 3	...] CAPERE- <i>tú</i>	...]let him take,
§ 4	<i>wa/i-na-'</i> *261.PUGNUS- <i>ru-tú</i>	and let him <i>construct</i> (?) it.
3.	[... ...]	...
§ 5	...] [x](-) <i>ha + ra/i-zi</i> [i/a]- <i>tú-u</i>	...]let him/them ...
§ 6	...] DOMINUS- <i>na-ni-i</i> (DEUS) <i>kar-hu-ha-ia</i> (DEUS) <i>ku</i> + AVIS- <i>pa-ha kar-ka-mi-si-i-za</i> (URBS) (MAG- NUS.DOMINA) <i>ha-su-sa₅ + ra/i-i²</i> x [...]	...]to [my] lord Karhuhas and to Kubaba, Queen of Karkamiš [...]
4.	[... ...]	...
§ 7	... <i>á</i> - <i>ma-za</i> ("STATUA") <i>tá-ru-sa pa-ti-i-'</i> (ANNUS) <i>u-si</i> CRUS- <i>nu-wa/i-[ba]</i>	...] my statue in that year I set up.
§ 8	x[...] <i>-wa/i-'</i> [...]	... [...
	[... ...]	...
(a2)	<i>wa/i-tú-u kar</i> -[...]	and to him Kar[kamiš ...

Commentary.

§ 1. *pa-PITHOS(URBS)-ha*: PITHOS is used as part of the compound logograms STATUA, HEROS and PANIS+PITHOS, but here appears to have a syllabic (or rebus) value.

§ 2. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kaniššumar* pp. 70 f., 73 f., for treatment of parallel passage KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, and identification of TERRA + LA + LA as *walili(ta)-*, = Hitt.-Luw. *ulili-*, "field".

This statement cannot be continued almost directly on frag. a1 as shown in the copy and accepted by Me-

riggi. It may be restored from the parallel passages, requiring probably 5 columns of signs, more than the alleged gap would accommodate (and see also § 3).

§§ 3-4. Parallel passage KARKAMIŠ A13d, §§ 7-8 (which has *piyatu*, "let him give", as against the present CAPERE-*tu*, "let him take") implies a substantial restoration at beginning of § 3.

§§ 2-3 contexts thus seem to disprove excavator's statement that a1 and a3 join.

II.21. KARKAMIŠ A16b (plate 30)

Location. Fragment, lost?

Description. Fragment of orthostat (*kutasari-*), top and sides intact, bearing single clause of inscription, running dextroverse. The intact condition of the stone with its fragment of text is curious; presumably the piece filled a gap between lost sculptured and inscribed elements.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.16 m.; th., not given.

Condition: good.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (*á, ma*).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: consistently used.

Discovery. "Lower Palace area"; no further details available (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii, pl. A16b, b* (photograph of stone, photograph of inked squeeze no longer preserved in the British Museum).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), p. 247 f.; Meriggi, *MI:HeG* 39/1 (1934), p. 54; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 184, p. 127, Tav. XXI (redrawn).

Content. Protasis of curse formula only.

Date. Probably Suhis-Katuwas, i.e. 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. The text offered here, in the absence of the fragment itself or a surviving squeeze, is traced from the published photograph.

Photograph. Print of published photograph from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 083697), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

[(SCALPRUM) *ku-[ta]-sa₅+ra/i-i* |REL-*sa* |*ā-ma-za* |*ā-ta₅-ma-za*][a]
|ARHA MALLEUS

Translation

... (he) who (shall) erase my name
from the orthostat ...

Commentary

For this clause see also KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 24; A13d, § 5(?); A14a, § 8; A20a1, § 3(?); all Suhis-Katuwas inscriptions, as are also all other attestations of the

word *kutasari*-, “orthostat”, except KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 5; and A27e, frag. 2, l. 2.

II.22. KARKAMIŠ A6 (plates 31–33)

Location. Wall orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 90 (with fragment detached after excavation, showing part of the introductory *amu*-figure, now in the Louvre Museum, no. AO 10886).

Description. Corner orthostat slab of basalt, bearing 9-line inscription on face and narrow left side. The text was introduced, upper right, by portrait *amu*-figure occupying height of 3 lines (now broken off but preserved in the Louvre, no. AO 10886), and ran sinistrowise round on to narrow side, continuing *boustrophedon* down slab, ending with end of l. 9, bottom left on narrow side. The inscription formed a centre-piece to two sculptured processions, that of the attendants from the left and that of the prince, regent and children from the right.

Dimensions: ht., 1.10 m.; w., 0.72 m.; th., 0.30 m.; line ht., 0.10 m.

Condition: excellent, except for a little ancient and more modern damage, text complete.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental, but also cursive *ta*, *ma*.

Peculiarities: linear *bi*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Excavated *in situ* during 1911–1914 operations as part of the “Royal Buttress”, the slab was undamaged except for the loss of the top left corner of the narrow face. Further damage to the corner as well as to the top corner between the two faces and to the introductory figure at the top right was sustained about 1920 or after. See Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 192 f., 196 f., 202 ff.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I, p. 28, pls. A6 (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in the British

Museum), B6 (photograph of both faces of stone); both have been frequently reproduced. For modern damage to monument, see Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pls. 119, 120; more recently the broken *amu*-figure has been restored from a cast of the original in the Louvre.

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 234–242 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 183–191; Bossert, *SCO* 1 (1951), pp. 39–47; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 2, pp. 14–21; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 10, pp. 23–30.

Excerpts.

- § 1 Bossert, *Or.* NS 26, p. 116; Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 157 n. 31.
- § 2 Laroche, *HH* nos. 182.1(a); 191.3.
- §§ 2–3 Laroche, *HH* no. 93(3).
- § 3 Laroche, *HH* no. 216.3.
- §§ 3–6 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 152 app. 3B.
- §§ 4–6 Laroche, *HH* no. 73.
- § 7 Laroche, *HH* no. 165.4(d); 366.1; Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 158 n. 39; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 223.
- § 8 Laroche, *HH* no. 45.I; Hawkins, *RFLA* 29, pp. 123, 130 cit. (viii).
- § 9 Meriggi, *RHA* 11/11, p. 108; Laroche, *HH* no. 93.1.
- § 10 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 127 cit. 5.
- §§ 10–11 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 139 cit. 18, 140 f.
- §§ 11–12 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 31 f.; id., *Or.* NS 29 (1960), p. 434–436.
- § 13 Bossert, *WAO* 2/4, p. 358; id., *Or.* NS 29, p. 436; Laroche, *HH* nos. 45.III; 58(1); Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 158 n. 42.
- •
- §§ 13–17 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 286–288.
- §§ 14–15 Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96, p. 264 n. 42.
- §§ 14–17 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanishuwar*, p. 79 f.; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 131 cit. 1.

- § 15 Laroche, *HH* no. 59(1).
 § 17 Laroche, *HH* no. 382.1.
 § 18 Laroche, *HH* nos. 45.I; 329.I.6.
 § 19 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 127 cit. 5.
 §§ 20, 22 Starke, *Stammbildung*, §§ 74, 197.
 §§ 20–22 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 154 cit. 4.
 §§ 21–22 Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94, p. 90.
 § 23 Meriggi, *RHL* 11/11, p. 108; Kalaç, *KZ* 92, p. 121.
 § 24 Laroche, *HH* nos. 246; 299.1(a).
 § 25 Laroche, *HH* no. 86.1.
 §§ 25–30 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 144 cit. 51.
 § 26 Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 272.
 § 27 Laroche, *HH* nos. 58.2; 268.3.
 § 29 Laroche, *HH* no. 329.I.1.
 § 31 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 41; Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 337 f.; id., *Or. NS* 29, p. 432; Laroche, *HH* nos. 7(1); 98.

Content. Building inscription of Yariris, regent of Karkamiš, dedicating structure of which the “Royal Buttress” formed part (described as (“MENSA.SOLIUM”)asa-, “seat”), for young prince Kamanis. § 1, name and titles; §§ 2–7, fame and foreign connections of Yariris; §§ 8–12, dedication of building to

Kamanis; §§ 13–17, portrayal and honouring of brothers; §§ 18–22, oath of Kamanis concerning brothers; §§ 24–25, building (repeat); §§ 25–31, protective curse.

Date. End of 9th – beginning of 8th century B.C. See KARKAMIŠ, the Historical Context, p. 78 and nn. 62 ff., also n. 51.

Text. The text offered here is taken from a tracing of the original inked squeeze in the British Museum, checked against a tracing made from the stone in Ankara.

Photographs. Prints of published photographs taken from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. PS 033835, 033836), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees; also the unpublished excavation photograph of the complete undamaged monument (A6 + A7; neg. no. PS 042564). The now detached fragment of the introductory *amu*-figure in the Louvre was photographed and the photograph here reproduced by kind permission of the Louvre authorities.

Transliteration

1. § 1 |EGO-wa/i-mi-i¹ i-a + ra/i-ri + i-i-sa |IUDEX-ni-sa DEUS.AVIS
 -ta-ni-sā-mi-i-sa |LITUUS + ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa CAPUT-
 ti-i-sā (“OCCIDENS”) i-pa-ma-ti-i (DEUS.ORIENS) kei-sā-ta-
 ma-ti-i |PRAE-ia |AUDIRE + MI-ma-ti-mi-i-sa DEUS-na-ti-i
 (LITUUS) ā-za-mi-sa [CAPUT?] -ti-i-sa
 2. § 2 a-wa/i [x] -[x] -zi [ā] -ma- [za] [ā-ta₅] -ma- [za] || ā-mi-ia-ti-i |IUSTITIA-
 na-ti (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa (DEUS)SOL-wa/i-za-sa-ha
 (“CAELUM”) ti-pa-si |“PES₂” (-) bi-nu-wa/i-ta-
 § 3 ā-ma-za-ha-wa/i-ta ā-ta₅-ma-za DEUS-ni-zi FINES + bi-ti-i-na
 |“PES₂” (-) bi-i-nu-wa/i-tā
 § 4 wa/i-ma-ta₅ |zi-i-na (“MI.REGIO”) mi-za + ra/i (URBS)
 |AUDIRE-MI-ti-i-ta
 § 5 zi-pa-wa/i + ra/i |*475-la (URBS) - |AUDIRE + MI-ti-i-ta ||
 3. § 6 zi-i-pa-wa/i- mu-sā-za (URBS) mu-sā-ka-za (URBS) su + ra/i-za-ha
 (URBS) AUDIRE + MI-ti-i-ta
 § 7 wa/i-ta ta-ni-mi REX-ti SERVUS-ta₄-ti-i-zi |a-ta (BONUS) wa/i-
 sa₅ + ra/i-nu-ha
 § 8 za-a-pa-wa/i (“MENSA.SOLIUM”) ā-sa-na- |keu-ma-na¹ ka-ma-
 ni-i-ia |ā-mi-i- DOMINUS-na-ni |INFANS-ni |REL-i-ia ||
 4. AEDIFICARE + MI-ha
 § 9 |wa/i-sā |za-ti LOCUS-ta₄-ti-i | (“PES₂”) HWI-HWI-ta
 § 10 |wa/i-nā |SUPER-la-ia | (“SOLIUM”) i-sā-nu-wa: i-ha
 § 11 |a-wa/i ta-ni-mi |SUPER + ra/i- | (“PES₂ + PES”) tara/i-pa-ta₅
 § 12 |INFANS-ni-i-sa-wa/i-sā |REL-za |ā-sa-ta-
 § 13 CUM-ni-pa-wa/i-ti-ta- |ā-pa-sā |FRATER-la-zi-i |i-zi-i-ha
 5. § 14 |a-wa/i |REL-i-zi | (“*314”) ka-ti-na-sa

Translation

I (am) Yariris, the Ruler, the
 Prince, the Prince(?) far reputed
 from the West and the East, be-
 loved by the gods.
 ... my name on account of my
 justice Tarhunzas and the Sun
 caused to *pass* to heaven,
 and my name the gods caused to
pass abroad,
 and men heard it for me on the one
 hand in Egypt (*Mizra*),
 and on the other hand they heard it
 (for me) in *Babylon*(?),
 and on the other hand they heard
 (it for me) among the Musa, the
 Muska and the Sura,
 and for every king I caused to *bene-*
fit(?) the *subjects*(?).
 And when I built this seat for
 Kamanis my lord's child,
 he used to run to this precinct.
 I seated him on high,
 (and) he TARPA-ed over all,
 while he was a child.
 And with him I made his *brothers*.
 (For them) who (are) of
 KATUNI-

- § 15 |*i-zi-i-sa-ta + ra/i-wa/i-ma-za* |*zi-la* | (“*314”) *ka-tu-ni-zi*
|(MANUS) *i-sà-tara/i-i* (“PONERE”) *tù-wa/i-hà*
- § 16 REL-*zi-pa-wa/i-ma-za-* | (“LIGNUM”) *tara/i-pu-na-sà*
- § 17 |*i-zi-i-sa-ta + ra/i-wa/i-ma-za* |*zi-la* | (“LIGNUM”) *tara/i-pu-na-zi-i*
|(MANUS) *i-sà-tara/i-i* “PONERE”-*wa/i-ha-* ||
6. § 18 ¹ *ka-ma-ni-sa-pa-wa/i* | REL-*i-* | INFANS-*ni-sa* | *à-sa-tà*
- § 19 |*wa/i-nà ara/i-la-* (“3”) *tara/i-su-u* “4”-*su-u* | (“MANUS”) *pa + ra/i-si*
 (“CRUS”) *ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i*
- § 20 |*wa/i-ta* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*bu-ti-i* (DEUS) SOL-*ti-i*
7. (DEUS) *ku + AVIS-pa-pa-ia-ha ta-ni-mi-i-ha-a-wa/i* || DEUS-*ni-i*
| FRONS-*ti-i* | SUPER + *ra/i-a-ta* PUGNUS-*ri + i-wa/i*
- § 21 |*a-wa/i* (LOQUI) *ha + ra/i-nu-wa/i* (DEUS) *ku + AVIS-pa-pa-*
- § 22 *u-zi²-sa-wa/i-ma-ta-* (MANUS) *i-sà-tara/i-i* | MAGNUS + *ra/i-nu-*
wa/i-ta-ni-i
- § 23 |*wa/i-sà* | *za-ti* LOCUS-*ta-ti* | REL-*i-* | PES₂(-) *HWT-ia-ta*
8. § 24 |*wa/i-tù-u* | *za-na* (“MENSA.SOLIUM”) *à-sa-na* || AEDIFI-
CARE + *MI-ha*
- § 25 *za-sa-pa-wa/i* (MENSA.SOLIUM) *à-sa-sa* CRUS + CRUS(-) *ni-za-ia*
| REL-*a-ti* REL-*ti-i-ha* REX-*ti* | PRAE-*na*
- § 26 *wa-ara/i* | SCRIBA + *RA/I(-)tà-i* | REL-*sa*
- § 27 |*zi-i-pa-wa/i* | “SCALPRUM”-*su-wa/i-ti-i* | “SCALPRUM”-*su-na-*
| NEG₃-*i* CUM-*ni* .ARHL1 | *tà-ia*
- § 28 |*ta-sà-pa-wa/i-* *ta-si* | NEG₃ + *i* CUM-*ni* .ARHL1 | *tà-ia* ||
9. § 29 |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta* | *à-ma-za* | *à-ta₅-ma-za-* | REL-*i-sà* | .ARHL1
“MALLEUS”-*la<-i>*
- § 30 |*ni-pa-wa/i* | INFANS-*ni-na-ti-i* | *zi-i-na* | *ni-pa-wa/i* (“*474”) *wa/i-si-*
na-sa-ti *zi-na* REL-*sa* CUM-*ni* .ARHL1 | *tà-ia*
- § 31 *à-pa-pa-wa/i-* (DEUS) *ni-ka + ra/i-wa/i-sà* CANIS-*ni-i-zi* *à-pa-si-na*
| CAPUT-*hi-na* | .ARHL1 EDERE-*tù*

with honour to them thereupon I
put KATUNI's in (their) hand(s),
and for them who (are) of
TARPUNA-,
with honour to them thereupon I put
TARPUNA's in (their) hand(s).
And *though* Kamanis was a child,
I shall cause him to stand ... three
times, four times ...
I shall raise(?) them(?) up in front
of Tarhunzas, the Sun and
Kubaba and every god,
I shall cause (him) to say:
“O Kubaba,
you yourself shall make them great
in my hand”.
When he ran to this precinct,
for him I built this seat.

If this seat shall pass down to any
king,
who shall ... ,
whether he shall take away on the
one hand a stone from the
stones,
or whether he shall take away a
stele for a stele,
or who shall erase my name,

or who shall take away on the one
side (a child) from the children,
or on the other side (a eunuch)
from the eunuchs,
(for) him may Nikarawas' dogs eat
up his head!

Commentary

§ 1. For a consideration of the titles, see Hawkins, loc. cit.

DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa*: identified as participle of denom. verb formed from DEUS(var.LITUUS).AVIS-*ta-ni/ni-*, contextually “day(s), time(s)” or the like (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 10, Commentary), thus here something like “endowed with days(?)”.

LITUUS + *ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa*: for alternation of LITUUS and DEUS and the relationship of both signs to concept of “seeing”, see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 141; the present usage is perhaps in place of DEUS as divine determinative (so also Meriggi). The recognition of this word as a compound of *Tēsub* (*ta-sa-pa-*, cf. *-ti-sa-pa-* / TONITRUS-*pa-*, KARKAMIŠ A7, §§ 7, 9, 10, 13) and the Stag-God *Runtiyas/Runzas* (identification with Hier. *ru-wa/i-ti-i*, Cun. *ruwa(ta)* by no means established) is possible but uncertain.

AUDIRE + *MI-ma-ti-mi-i-*, “heard” = *tuma(n)timi-*: see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 151 app. 3Aa, with

parallels (BOHÇA, § 1; MARAŞ 1, § 1 h); and for the verb further below, §§ 4–6; KARKAMIŠ A31, § 14; A11b + c, § 32; ASSUR letter e, § 7; TELL AHMAR 1, § 25; BABYLON 2, § 3; MARAŞ 3, § 2.

§ 2. [x]-[x]-*zi*: Bossert's restoration [REL]-*zi* neither fits traces nor makes sense. Penultimate sign appears to be *ni* (so also *Carchemish* I, p. 28), which suggests [DEUS]-[*ni*]-*zi*, possible but rendered somewhat awkward by the subsequent *Tarhunzas Tiwazasha*.

“PES₂(-) *hi-nu-wa/i-ta-*”: published copy suggests (-) *sa-*, but photograph shows that sign could be *hi* in the linear form of Yariris's inscriptions, and the likelihood is of course that this verb is the same as that of the following clause, where (-) *hi-* is certain. Besides the two attestations of this verb here (obj., “name”), and the three in KARKAMIŠ A15b, §§ 7–9 (also Yariris; obj., “river”), there is now also PES(-) *hi-nu-*, KÖRKÜN, § 3, see Commentary. The interpretation

"cause to pass" would seem to be sufficiently neutral to fit both "name" and "river".

§ 3. FINES+*bi-ti-i-na*: for other derivatives from *irhati/irhiti* (= Hitt. *arabza*), see FINES+*ba-ti-i-li*-, "external" (BABYLON, § 12), and FINES-*ba+ra/i*-, "external" (CEKKE, § 15, and Commentary). The form here seems likely to represent *irhitina*, = Hitt. *arabzēna*-, i.e. with suffix *-ina*(-), nom./acc. plur. N, adverbial, or possibly dat. sing.

§§ 3–6. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating verb AUDIRE±*MI-ti-i* (*tuma(n)ti*), "hear"; also § 4, *wa/i-ma-ta₅* = *wa+mu+ata*, "and me they ...", supporting an *a*-vocalization of *ta₅*. Note that Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 223, now interprets "it (*-ata*, i.e. the name) for me"; also § 5, *-ara*, similarly "it (the name)".

§§ 4–6. *zin...zi(n)-pa...zi(n)-pa*:- for *zin...zin*, see KARATEPE, § V, and Commentary; also below, § 30.

§ 4. ("MĪ.REGIO")*mi-za+ra/i*(URBS), "Egypt": as noted since its proposal by Bossert, a key word in the reinterpretation of the sign *i* as *za*.

§ 5. *475-*la*(URBS)-: Bossert's contextually plausible suggestion of "Babylon" here (*Or. NS* 29 (1960), p. 442) implies a value *papi* or the like for the otherwise unknown sign *475.

§ 6. *mu-sa-za*(URBS) *mu-sa-ka-za*(URBS): identified as the Lydians (*Musioi*) and Phrygians (*Moschoi*) as long ago as 1917 (Cowley, *JR-IS* 1917, p. 579), which still seems satisfactory. The forms should be dat., which suggests that the endings are best understood as *-anza*, dat. plur., of the basic roots *Musa*, *Muska*, designations of the peoples. Alternatively, Starke identifies the forms as nom./acc. plur. N of adjectives in *-za*-, used adverbially, "in Musian, Muskian" (*Stammbildung*, § 223 and Anm. 1242). Whichever interpretation is correct, the same should apply to the following word.

su+ra/i-za(URBS): cf. *sū+ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti*(URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 19), an ethnic adj. referring to a script; *su+ra/i-* and *sū+ra/i-* probably refer to the same people – for the linking of the value *sū* to *su*, see Introduction, p. 35 f., App. 2. An identification with the name *Syria* (so Meriggi) is probably inappropriate, since the latter term, normally thought to derive from *Assyria* via the Persian satrapy *Athura*, could hardly have evolved at this date. My preference remains that this should be the Hier. designation of *Urartu*, perhaps by connection with the KUR *Šura/i/u* of the titularies of the Urartian kings. Professor Gernot Wilhelm has now written a study of the morphology and usage of this term *Šura/i/u*, and concludes that it could well provide the basis for the present two Hier. forms; see *JME-I* 31 (1993), pp. 135–141.

§ 7. In spite of clear structure of clause, the actual sense is unclear; in particular SERVUS-*ta₄-ti-i-zi*, a derived or extended form of SERVUS-*ta(i)*-, "servant", for which cf. KÜRTÜL, § 1, and Commentary. Starke, loc. cit., interprets: "I caused (my) subjects to make it (*-ata*, i.e. my name) agreeable to every king".

§ 8. For the interpretation "Kamanis my lord's son", i.e. son of Astiruwas, see Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 158 n. 35 (following Meriggi).

[REL-*i-ia*: though formally nom./acc. plur. N of relative, its function inside a subordinate clause introduced by *kuman*, "when", is obscure; perhaps indefinite, as Hitt. *kuiti* (for *kuitki*).

("MENSA.SOLIUM")*ā-sa*:- logograms and stem already identified by Hrozný, *IHH* I (1933), p. 18; cf. (SOLIUM)*ā-sa*-, "sit" (KARKAMIŠ A11b, § 10, and Commentary). The use of verb *tama*-, "build", indicates that this should be an architectural construction, but unfortunately the character of the Karkamiš buildings behind their excavated facades is unknown. Gods could also possess such a building (HAMA 4, §§ 5, 6, 8). The word seems to occur also on KARAHÖYÜK, § 4.

§ 9. LOCUS-*ta₄-ti-i* (and § 23 below): clearly dat. sing.; for note on forms of word, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary.

("PES₂")*HWT-HWT-ta*: for reading of sign *HWT* and the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, and Commentary.

§ 10. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating *wa/i-NEG₂* (= *wa/i-nā*), *wa+an*, "and him".

§ 11. ("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pa-ta₅*: for interpretation as pret. not pres., see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JR-IS* 1975/2, p. 130; for connotations of verb, see A. Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

The stem of the verb(s) ("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pa//pi*- remains somewhat unclear. Forms in *-pa*- include:

("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-[pa]-ba*, 1 sing. pret. (MARAS 4, § 6, and Commentary).

("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pa-ta₅*, 3 sing. pret. (present attestation)

PES₂.PES-*pa-i-tu-u*, 3 plur.(?) imp. (KARKAMIŠ A16a, § 7)

PES₂.PES-*pa-mi-//tara/i-pa-mi-*, participle?

(ŠIRZI, §§ 1, 5//ANCOZ 3, l. 2)

("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pa-ma-za*, participle? (JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 2)

tara/i-pa-mi-, participle, personal name (KULULU lead strip 3, side ii, reg. 1; ASSUR letter *a*, § 6).

Also, for earlier period, *tara/i-pa-a-ti*, 3 sing. pres. (KARAHÖYÜK, § 22)

Forms in *-pi*- include:

("PES₂")*tara/i-pi+ra/i*, 3 sing. pres. (TÜNP 1, § 5)

PES₂.PES-*pi-ti*, 3 sing.(?) pres. (KARKAMIŠ A27^{oo}, l. 1)

(PES₂.PES)*tara/i-pi(-i)-tu(-u)*, 3 sing. imp. (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 11, 15).

PES₂.PES-*pi-tu*, 3 sing. imp. (ŠIRZI, § 6)

(“PES₂.PES”) *tara/i-pi-ru-u*’, 3 sing. imp. (KAYSERİ, § 16).

These latter forms are all 3 sing. (pres. and imp.). Alternations between 1/3 sing. pres./pret./imp. in *-i-* and 3 plur. pres./pret./imp. in *-ai-* form a recognizable pattern (see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, Commentary), so PES₂.PES-*pa-i-tu-u* would fit regularly into the paradigm of the *-pi-* forms. This leaves the *-pa-* forms *tara/i-pa-ha//ta₅* and *-mi//ma-* as a distinct group.

§ 12. Cf. the parallel clauses, § 18 below, and KARKAMIŠ A7, § 5. The last is virtually identical to the present clause, both being introduced by REL-*za*, while § 18 is introduced by REL-*i*. In neither case is the sense of the relative or the reasons for the variation clear from the context.

§ 13. Cf. parallel KARKAMIŠ A7, § 2; also KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 15. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for consideration of FRATER-*la-*, “brother”; also MARAŞ 6, l. 1, and Commentary.

§§ 14–17. See Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit., for new division of clauses, and analysis of §§ 14 and 16; also for *i-zi-i-sa-ta+ra/i* as noun, abl. (or dat.?) sing. (“*314”) *ka-ti-na/ni-*, (“LIGNUM”) *tara/i-pu-na-*: for association of these stems with *tarpi-* and *kati-* see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

zi-la: see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HIL*, p. [47] for identification with Cun. Luw. *zi(-i)-la*; also KÖRKÜN, § 3; TELL AHMAR 1, § 13; and cf. *zi-la-ta*, HAMA 4, § 3. The recently discovered Empire Period inscription BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG also has *zi/a-la* (§§ 6, 7, 11), presumably the same word.

§ 19. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for *wa/i-NEG₂* (*wa/i-ná*), *wa+an*, “and him”; but the clause, which is notable for its abrupt change to pres. tense, still contains obscurities.

ara/i-la (cf. HAMA 4, § 15, *ara/i-la* ?): seems to be adverb like SUPER-*la-ia*, § 10 above; derived form of *ari-*, “time” (*-ali-* adj. suffix., nom./acc. plur. N, adverbial)?

(“3”) *tara/i-su-u*, “4”-*su-u*: Starke identifies *-su* as Luw. multiplicative suffix (*Stammbildung*, § 24).

(“MANUS”) *pa+ra/i-si*: plausibly associated with Hitt. *palš-*, “way”, by Meriggi, and by Neumann, *KZ* 90 (1976), p. 140. The same word could be represented by Hier. *pa-la-sa-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 22, see Commentary), a form perhaps recurring in an alternative spelling *pa+ra/i-sa₅+ra/i* (SULTANHAN § 47, see Commentary).

§§ 20–22. See Hawkins, loc. cit., suggesting the reading [SUPER+*ra/i-a-ta₅* PUGNUS-*ri+i-na/i* as against the more natural SUPER+*ra/i-* PUGNUS-*ri+i-ta₅-wa/i* in order to obtain a well attested verb, PUGNUS-

ri+i-, for which see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, and Commentary (for SUPER+*ra/i-a-ta₅*, cf. SUPER+*ra/i-ta*, KARATEPE, 43, 47, 51, 302). It may be preferable, however, to read SUPER+*ra/i-* as usual, and identify a verbal form PUGNUS-*ri+i-ta₅-*, an extension of PUGNUS-*ri+i-*.

(LOQUI) *ha+ra/i-nu-wa/i*: apparently causative of (“LOQUI”) *ha-ti-i//ha-ri+i-* (ASSUR letters, see General Commentary (A)) – so Laroche and Meriggi.

Context: it looks as if this passage could describe the actions of Yariris in making Kamanis swear an oath by Kubaba to protect (“make great”) his brothers.

§§ 21–22. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., establishing the pronoun *u-zi²-sa* (and pres. ending *-tani* (both 2nd plur.)), following Mittelberger, *Sprache* 10 (1964), p. 52 n. 8.

§§ 25–30. See Hawkins, loc. cit., explaining in particular REL-*a-ti*, “if”; *zi(n)*, “here, (on the one hand)”; *ta-sà/si-*, “stele”; NEG₃, = *ni* (prohib.) For further comments, see Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 609 f.

The following may be offered in amplification:

§ 25. CRUS+CRUS(-)*ni-za-ia* ... PRAE-*na*: for this verb used of a building “passing down to” (changing ownership), see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 13; and for verb, = (-)*ni(ya)za-*, and other forms, “follow”, see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 128. The present (-)*ni-za-ia* (3 sing. pres., (-)*ni(ya)+za-*) is paralleled by [(-)*ni²*]-*ia-za-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 21); and (“)CRUS.CRUS(“)-*i* (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 21; A31, § 11); cf. CRUS.CRUS-*ta* (3 sing./plur. pret., KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 13).

§ 26. See Starke, loc. cit. for interpretation: “who takes it (*-ara*) for writing (*-surface*)”.

§§ 27–28. NEG₃-*i*...NEG₃: explained previously simply as prohibitive *ni*; but new light is thrown on the construction by KULULU 5, § 7 a–f, where *ni-i* ... *ni-pa-wa/i* can be translated “whether ... or”. This gives both a phonetic parallel to NEG₃...NEG₃ here, and also an easier translation than was previously envisaged. Cf. also particularly Stefanini, loc. cit.

§ 27. “SCALPRUM”-*su-wa/i-ti-i* “SCALPRUM”-*su-na-*: writing (“SCALPRUM”) *á-su-* (TÜNP 1, § 2) gives full phonetic rendering. SCALPRUM is known as the equivalent of Cun. NA₄, “stone”, and this word looks suspiciously like Hitt. ^{NA}*aku-*, “stone” (for which see now Puhvel, *HED* I, s.v.; Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 351–354 etc.), though the phonology would need to be established before the equation could be accepted.

§ 28. *ta-sà, ta-si*: see MEHARDE, § 1, Commentary.

§ 29. “MALLEUS”-*la(-i)*: for restoration see A. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 607 n. 8, referring to forms listed on p. 584.

§ 30. INFANS-*ni-na-ti-i* (abl. plur.): cf. INFANS-*n[?]na-ḡ[a]*, dat. plur. (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2, l. 1, § iii); also INFANS-*na-ni* (or -*ni-na*? dat. sing.; KÖRKÜN, § 11). These three forms seem to give a fuller phonetic writing of INFANS-*ni*-, implying possibly the word (-) *nini*-.

("*474") *wa/i-si-na-sa-ti* (abl. plur.): *wasinasi-/usinasi*-, "attendant" explained as -*asi*- gen. adj. of *wasini*-, "person", thus lit. "(he) of the person, attendant"; for further

attestations, see MARAŞ 4, § 14, and Commentary; KULULU 4, § 14; KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3, § 1; MARAŞ 14, § 1; MALPINAR, § 21; also perhaps restored, IZGIN 1, § 17. Here the word is actually illustrated by the sculptures KARKAMIŞ B4-5; for the interpretation "eunuch", see MARAŞ 14, § 1, Commentary; and for (*474) *sariyasi*-, "eunuch" (< Akk. *ša rēši*), ANCOZ 4, § 1.

ḡi-i-na ... ḡi-na: cf. above, §§ 4-6.

II.23. KARKAMIŞ A7 (plates 31-35)

Location. Epigraphs to sculptures, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 91, 92, 93 (Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 266, correct). Different numbering, Akurgal, *AH*, p. 304 (91, 93, 92); Orthmann, *USK*, p. 510 (91, 97¹, 93).

Description. Epigraphs to sculptures on three successive orthostat slabs of basalt, placed next to heads of designated figures and arranged as space permitted in boxes. A7a, 3 lines; A7b, 2 lines; A7c-i, single-line boxes only; A7j, 2 lines; all running dextroverse (except A7i, left part), those with more than one line continuing *boustrophedon*.

Dimensions: 7a, max. ht., 0.30 m.; w., 0.52 m.; 7b, ht., 0.21 m.; w., 0.12 m.; 7c, ht., 0.08 m.; w., 0.05 m.; 7d, ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.12 m.; 7e, ht., 0.15 m.; w., 0.09 m.; 7f, ht., 0.12 m.; w., 0.07 m.; 7g, ht., 0.14 m.; w., 0.13 m.; 7h, ht. 0.16 m.; w., 0.09 m.; 7i, ht., 0.14 m.; w., 0.22 m.; 7j, ht., 0.23 m.; max. w., 0.29 m.

Condition: until modern damage, excellent.

Script, sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: as for KARKAMIŞ A6.

Discovery. Excavated *in situ* during 1911-1914 operations, as part of the "Royal Buttress", the slabs were almost undamaged when found. In 1919 the head of Yariris was broken. In 1920 or after, the heads of the top row of children along with the epigraphs A7c-g were broken off, but have since been partly reassembled and restored; the head of the second child, together with part of the inscription A7e, is in the Louvre (no. AO 10829). Casts preserved in the British Museum were made before the damage.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I, p. 28, pls. A7a-j (photographs of inked squeezes: a and j only survive in the British Museum), B7a-b, B8a also B8b (photographs of monuments *in situ*; frequently reproduced, e.g. Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 68-70; Vieyra, *HL* 1 (1955), pls. 35-38; Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 837-841); see also Orthmann, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Band 14 (1975), Abb. 359 (photograph of complete monument). For state of monument after

damage, see Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pls. 121-123; also Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 294-296 (partial only).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), no. 2, pp. 245-251 + 41 (1934), pp. 35-37; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 242-246 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 191-195; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 1, pp. 9-14; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 9, pp. 19-23.

Excerpts.

- §§ 1-2 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 11; id., *Or. Ex.* 6, p. 31 f.; Laroche, *HH*, nos. 34.II(a); 45.III; Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 158 f., n. 43.
 §§ 1-5 Bossert, *SCO* 1, p. 47.
 § 2 Bossert, *WdO* II/4, p. 358; id., *Or.* NS 29, p. 436.
 § 3 Bossert, *Asia*, p. 151 f.; Laroche, *HH* nos. 41.I; 59.1.
 § 4 Laroche, *HH* nos. 70.1(a); 93.7.
 §§ 4-5 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 31 f.; id., *Or.* NS 29, p. 434.
 § 6 Bossert, *Or. Ex.* 6, p. 31; Laroche, *HH* no. 12.
 § 14 Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 159, n. 45; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, p. 175 cit. 9.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* G/5-7), pp. 35, 135, 187 f., 191, 287, 290, 510; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 153-167; İ. Özgen, *Studies T. Özgün*, pp. 373-375.

Content. Identification of the figures by name.

Date. See KARKAMIŞ A6.

Texts. 7a and j: the new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the surviving inked squeezes in the British Museum and checked against tracings direct from the stones in Ankara Museum. 7b-i: the new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the British Museum casts made before damage to the monuments. 7g-i have been checked against tracings made direct from the stones in Ankara Museum.

Photographs. 7a+b, c-j, prints of published photographs taken from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. 029823, 031465), reproduced

by kind permission of the Trustees; also a photograph of the Louvre fragment itself, reproduced by the kind permission of the Louvre authorities (see pl. 31).

Transliteration

Translation

- a, 1. § 1 |*ṣa-sa-wa/i-¹ka-ma-ni-i-sá*
 § 2 |*ṣa-ṣi-pa-wa/i-ti* POST + *ra/i-i-ṣi* |FRATER-*la-ṣi-i*
 2. § 3 |*á-mu-pa-wa/i-na* |*ṣa-ti* (MANUS)*i-sá*||-*tara/i-na* |*tá-ha*
 § 4 |*wa/i-na* DEUS.DOMUS-*tá* ¹SUPER + *ra/i-*
 |("PES₂")*wa/i-tara/i-sa-ha-*
 3. § 5 |INFANS-*ni-sa-wa/i-sá* || |REL-*ṣa á-sa-ta*
 b, § 6 |*ṣa-pa-wa/i-* ¹*i-a* + *ra/i-ri* + *i-sa* (STATUA)*ta-ru-sá*
 c-d, § 7 |*ṣa-[sa]-wa/i* ¹*ma-li-i*-TONITRUS-*pa-sá*
 d-e, § 8 |*ṣa-sa-pa-wa/i-* ¹*á-sa-ti*-TONITRUS-*bu-ṣa-sa*
 e-f, § 9 |*ṣa-sa-pa-wa/i* ¹*tara/i-ni-ti-sa-pa-sá*
 g, § 10 |*ṣa-sa-wa/i* ¹*i-si-ka* + *ra/i-ti-sa-pa-sa*
 h, § 11 |*ṣa-sa-wa/i* ¹*si-ka-ra* + *a-sa*
 i, § 12 |*ṣa-sa-wa/i* ¹TONITRUS-*HALPA-pa-wa/i* + *ra/i-sa*
 § 13 |*ṣa-sa-wa/i* ¹*ia-bi-la-ti-sa-pa-sa*
 j, 1. § 14 |*ṣa-sa-pa-wa/i-* ¹*tá-wa/i* + *ra/i-sa-i-sá* |IUDEX-*ni-i-sa*
 2. ("*357 + R.1/I") *ṣa* + *ra/i*||-*ṣa-mi-sa* |"FRONS"-*bi-ti*
 |*á-sa-ṣa-mi-i-sá* CAPUT-*ti-sa*

This (is) Kamanis,
 and these are his younger *brothers*.
 Here I took him (by) the hand,
 and I *established* him over the
 temple,

though he was a child.
 This (is) the image of Yariris.

This (is) Malitispas
 and this (is) Astitarhunzas
 and this (is) Tarnitispas.
 This (is) Isikaritispas,
 this (is) Sikaras,
 this (is) Halpawaris,
 this (is) Yahilatispas,
 and this (is) Tuwarsais, the
 desired(?) (one) of the ruler,
 the prince proclaimed for
 preeminence.

Commentary

§ 2. Cf. parallel clauses, KARKAMIŠ A6, § 13; A15b § 15; also Hawkins, loc. cit., for consideration of FRATER-*la-*, "brother"; POST + *ra/i-i-* (= **apari-*, Hitt. *appeṣṣi-*), "after, later", i.e. "younger".

§ 4. DEUS.DOMUS-*tá*: cf. KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, Commentary, for DEUS.DOMUS(-*ha*)-*tá*, nom./acc. plur. N (plur. tantum?), as against DEUS.DOMUS + *MI-ṣa*, nom. sing. N. The present form, in context, is hard to take as acc. plur. N, which would give the clause an awkward double accusative (though our ignorance of the verb does not absolutely preclude this). It looks much more likely to be dat. sing., which would give an additional example of a singular word.

¹SUPER + *ra/i-*: very curious use of personal determinative as word-divider (so also Meriggi); cf. now TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE), § 1.

("PES₂")*wa/i-tara/i-sa-*: *hapax legomenon*, clearly transitive in spite of PES₂ (cf. Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 131); contextually "appoint" emerges, unless a verb to account for a double accusative (see above) is demanded.

§ 5. Cf. parallel clauses KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 12 (see Commentary), 18. The sense of REL-*ṣa*/REL-*i* is in each case unclear.

§§ 7-14. Children's onomastics are remarkable. Besides a normal Luw. theophore ending -TONITRUS-*bu-ṣa-* (i.e. -*tarhunṣa-*, § 8), we have three ending -*ti-sa-pa-* (§§ 9, 10, 13), which, compared with -TONITRUS-*pa-* (§ 7),

establish the onomastic element -*tispa-* as a name of the Storm-God, i.e. *Tēšub*. (For a further appearance of this old Hurrian Storm-God, see TELL AHMAR 1, § 2; Kalaç, *Or. NS* 34 (1965), p. 423). The first elements of these -*tispa-* names, *ma-li-i-*, *tara/i-ni-*, *i-si-ka* + *ra/i-*, and *ia-bi-la-*, are not self-evidently Hurrian, but not identifiably Hitt.-Luw. either (cf. Laroche, *Noms*, p. 348, but note changes arising from new readings).

§ 10. ¹*si-ka-ra* + *a-*: formerly read ¹*sa(n)gara-* and identified with *Sangara*, king of Karkamiš c. 870-848 B.C., but new reading *si-* weakens the identification of the name. (For chronological reasons there is of course no question of identifying the individuals.)

§ 13. ¹*ia-bi-la-*: identification with Hurrian onomastic element *ebli-*, based on old reading *ā* for *ia*, is probably to be discarded.

§ 14. See Hawkins, loc. cit., suggesting that the epigraph refers to the baby: CAPUT-*ti-*, "person, prince", would not apply to woman?; IUDEX-*nis* would not apply to woman or baby? — thus not nom. but gen. sing. dependent on *ṣarṣami-*, participle, verb otherwise unattested; "FRONS"-*bi-ti*, dat. sing. of *bantabi*, "firstness, preeminence" (cf. KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 14); *á-sa-ṣa-mi-i-*, participle of *asaṣa-*, "pronounce, declare" (see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (A)). Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., now connect the participle *ṣarṣami-* with the verb *ṣarti-*, "desire, want", denom. of *ṣart(iya)-*, "heart".

II.24. KARKAMIŠ A15b (plates 36–37)

Location. Statue base (?), Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 100.

Description. Half of cylindrical basalt drum, the upper surface preserving part of a rectangular hole, clearly to take the tenon at the bottom of a stele or statue. The piece bears on the side the right-hand part of a 4-line inscription (left part lost with the lost half of cylinder), beginning upper right, running sinistaverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending lower right. To the right of the inscription's preserved right edge is an unscribed blank space showing that the inscription did not completely circle the drum. Further, on the top of the drum, a single-line inscription apparently completely circled the block, preserving (right to left) a short stretch of the end, a narrow dividing line, and the beginning for about 1/3 of circle. The text as preserved is thus: (side) beginning, l. 1 [lacuna], ll. 2+3 [lacuna], l. 4, end; (top, i.e. l. 5) beginning [lacuna] end.

Dimensions: ht., 0.43 m.; diam., 0.80 m.; max. preserved line-length (side, l. 4), 1.24 m., (top) beginning, 1.00 m.; end., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.09 m.

Condition: side, as preserved, good; top, faint, difficult to read.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: largely monumental, but also cursive *u*.

Peculiarities: linear *hi* (as KARKAMIŠ A6–7).

Word-dividers: infrequent.

Discovery. Found out of position during 1911–1914 operations, “high up in Roman soil, south of the great block of concrete foundation that lay west of the Hilani area, between that and the Herald's Wall” (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii, pl. A15b, b* (photograph of part of side only, photograph of inked squeezes of top and side – these are no longer preserved in the British Museum collection of Karkamiš squeezes); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), p. 259, Tav. XXI nr. 20 (photograph of segment of top only).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), pp. 227–233 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 176–182; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 3, pp. 21–28; id., *Manuale* 11/1 (1967), no. 11, pp. 31–36.

Excerpts (side).

- § 1 Laroche, *HH* no. 191.3; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 155 cit. 5.
 §§ 1–4 Bossert, *SCO* 1, p. 52 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 157 f. nn. 33, 36.
 § 2 Laroche, *HH* no. 70.1.
 §§ 2–3 Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 111 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 39.1–2.
 § 4 Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 197.
 §§ 7–9 Bossert, *AJO* 18, p. 365.
 § 9 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 126/130 cit. (x).
 § 10 Bossert, *HKS*, p. 225; Laroche, *HH* no. 249.
 § 11 Laroche, *HH* nos. 268.5; 341.2.
 §§ 11–12 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 155 cit. 5.
 § 12 Laroche, *HH* no. 90.1; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 592.
 § 13 Bossert, *AJO* 9, p. 113; id., *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 11 f.; Laroche, *HH* nos. 87; 363.1(e); Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 207.
 §§ 13–17 Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 159 nn. 48–52.
 § 15 Bossert, *AJO* 9, p. 113; id., *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 11 f.; id., *Or. NS* 29, p. 436.
 §§ 15–16 Laroche, *HH* no. 45.III.
 §§ 19–22 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 150 app. 2.
 (top)
 § 23 Meriggi, *WZKM* 40, p. 241 f.; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 182.

Content. Dedicatory inscription of Yariris, regent of Karkamiš. § 1, name and titles; §§ 2–5, his rule in Karkamiš [lacuna]; §§ 7–9, irrigation works; § 10, building of temple; §§ 11–12, dedication of own *image* to Kubaba; §§ 13–18, goodness to Kamanis and lord's children [lacuna]; §§ 19–22, skill in writing and foreign language; (top, very uncertain) §§ 23 ff. apparently details of monument, perhaps protective curse.

Date. See KARKAMIŠ A6 – c. 800 B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings made from the stone itself in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration**Translation****side**

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* ¹*i-ara/i-ri+i-sá* |IUDEX-*ni-sa* (DEUS)TONI-
 TRUS-*ta-ti-i* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-pa-ti* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-ti-i*
 (DEUS)SOL-*tà-ti-i-ha* (LITUUS)*ā-za-mi-sa* CAPUT-*tì-sá*
 § 2 *ua/i-mu-u kar-ku-mi-sà*(URBS) SUPER+*ra/i-* PUGNUS(-)
la/i/u-mi PUGNUS-*ri+i-i-ia-ha i-zi-ia-ta* DEUS-*ni-zi*

I (am) Yariris the Ruler, the Prince
 beloved by Tarhunzas, Kubaba,
 Karhuhas and the Sun.
 Me the gods made strong and
 exalted over Karkamiš,

- § 3 *a-wa/i kar-ka-mi-sà-na*(URBS) PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-ha*
 § 4 DOMINUS-*na-ni-ia-za*-[*pa/ha*]-*wa/i-mu* [DOMUS?]-*na-za*
 [PUGNUS?-*ri*]+*i-ha*
 § 5 *kar-ka-mi-sà*-[*pa*]-*wa/i*(URBS)...
 2. ... || ...
 § 6 ...[*x*...]-*ha*(-)?
 § 7 [*wa/i*]-*ta* FLUMEN-*pi-na* |“PES₂”(-)*hi-nu-ha* (X²)*á-ta₅*(-)|*sà-na-ha*
 § 8 *wa/i-ta* |*zi-na* FLUMEN-*pi-na* |“PES₂”(-)*hi-nu-ha*
 § 9 |*zi-ha-wa/i-ta* FLUMEN-*pi-i-na* |“PES₂”(-)*hi-nu-ha*
 § 10 (DEUS)*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa-pa-wa/i*(URBS) DEUS.DOMUS-*tà*
 AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha*
 § 11 *á-mi-i-na-pa-wa/i*(-)*u'-mu'* (“VAS”) *a-tara/i-i-na* |“SCALPRUM”(-)
i-ara/i-za *i-zi-i-ha*
 § 12 *wa/i-mu-tà* (DEUS)*ku* + AVIS-*pa-pa-sa* |“(“PES”) *pa-ta₅*-
 PONERE-*mi-i-na* |*tà-i* ||
 3. § 13 |*ka-ma-ni-na-pa-wa/i*- CRUS + CRUS(-)*ní-ia-sa-ta-la-na*
 MAGNUS + *ra/i-nu-ha*-
 § 14 *wa/i-ta* |REX-*tà-za* |“FRONS”-*hi-ti* *273-*na* |REL-*ti* MANUS.
 *273(-)*su-bi-i-ti-ha*
 § 15 POST + *ra/i-zi-pa-wa/i-tú* |FRATER-*la-zi-i* MAGNUS + *ra/i-nu-ha*
 § 16 |*wa/i-ta* |“(INFANS.NI”) *á-ta₅-la-za* |*a-ta sa-sa-ha*
 § 17 |“(CUBITUM”) *ka* + *ra/i-pá²* + *ra/i-ta-bi-sà-pa-wa/i-ma-za-ta*
á-mi-ia-za- |DOMINUS-*na-ni-ia-za* |*á-sa-ti-ru-wa/i-sà*
 |INFANS-*ni-ia-za* |ARHL 1 (“LONGUS”) *ia* + *ra/i-i-ha*
 § 18 |*wa/i-mu* DEUS-*ni-zi-i*-*x* *x*[...]
 4. ... || ...
 § 19 ... |URBS-*si-ia-ti* |SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti* *sù* + *ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti*(URBS)
 |SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i* *a-sù* + *ra/i*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na-ti*(URBS)
 |SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i* *ta-i-ma-ni-ti-ha*(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ti*
 § 20 12-*ha-wa/i*- |“(LINGUA”) *la-ti-i-na* (LITUUS) *u-ni-ha*
 § 21 |*wa/i-mu-u* *ta-ni-ma-si-na* REGIO-*ni-si-i-na*- |INFANS-*ni-na*
 |“(VIA”) *ha* + *ra/i-wa/i-ta-bi-ta₅-ti-i* CUM-*na* |ARHL 1-*sa-ta*
 DOMINUS-*na-ni-i-sa* *á-mi-i-sa* |“(LINGUA”) *la-ti* SUPER
 + *ra/i*-
 § 22 *ta-ni-mi-ha-wa/i-mu* (*273) *wa/i* + *ra/i-pi-na* (LITUUS) *u-na-nu-ta*
 top
 § 23 [*z*] *a-pa-wa/i* |“SCALPRUM”-*su-na* *za-ma-ti-i-na*-*wa/i-mi*-
 LITUUS-*ha*
 § 24 [*wa/i*]-*mu-u* STATUA-*ti* *u-mu* SUPER²-*ru-x-x*
 § 25 *i-zi²-ia-sa²-sà²-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* |REL-*i-sa* |NEG₂-*LITUUS* + *u-x-ti-i*
á²-la²-sa²-i²
 § 26 |*za-sa-wa/i*-*sà-na-x-i(a)*²
 § 27 *wa/i-mu-u* [...] *-ti²-sa²...-sà* ...
 § 28 *x-x-ta...ha-na...wa/i-mu²-ti* *x-sa-ha* |“FRONS”-*su²-ta₅²* *x x* |*á*[...] |*l*[...]
 ...
 § 29 ... |*á*... LOCUS-*ta₄-ti* |“CRUS”-*nu-sà-wa/i*-

I strengthened Karkamiš,
 [and] I [exal]ted(?) my lord's
 [hou]se(?),
 and Karkamiš [...
 ...
 ...
 I caused the river to pass ... ,
 I caused the river to pass here,
 and here too I caused the river to
 pass.
 I built the temple of the Harman-
 ean god,
 and I made my own *image* ... ,
 and for me Kubaba will take (it)
 placed at (her) foot.
 I brought up Kamanis as successor,
 wherefore I *displayed*(?) *virtue* in pre-
 eminence over kings,
 and I brought up his younger
 brothers,
 I ANTA SASA-ed to the *brothers*(?),
 and to them, to my lord Astiruwas's
 children, I extended *protection*.
 Me the gods[...
 ...
 ...] in the City's writing, in the Sura-
 ean writing, in the Assyrian writ-
 ing and in the Taimani writing,
 and I knew 12 languages.
 My lord *gathered* every country's son
 to me by wayfaring concerning
 language,
 and he caused me to know every
 skill.

This ZAMATI stone (or: stone
 ZAMATI) I found(?),
 and for my statue ... [I ...-ed].

Commentary.

§§ 2–4. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for restoration of § 4;
 and the parallel passage, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 4, with
 Commentary, for PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi*, “strong” etc.
 (adj.?), “strengthen” (verb); PUGNUS-*ri*+*i*, “raise” //

PUGNUS-*ri*+*i-i-ia*- *i-zi-i(a)*-, “make PUGNUS-*nja*”.
 The status of PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi* is in the absence of
 ending, uncertain – noun, adjective or adverb? PUG-
 NUS-*ri*+*i-i-ia*- is presumably parallel, thus a derived

form in *-iya-* from verbal stem PUGNUS-*ri+i-*. It may of course stand for a regular acc. sing. MF (*-n* not written before *-ba*).

§ 4. Cf. Starke, loc. cit., for examination of Luw. *ariya-* and derivatives.

§§ 7–9. Three parallel clauses, the relationship of which is obscured by uncertainty where § 7 began (damage) and the division between §§ 7 and 8 (obscure phrase). It seems best to divide §§ 8–9 as indicated, to produce two parallel clauses balanced by *zi(n) ... zi(n)*, “here ... here”, which simply repeat § 7. See detailed discussion below, § 7; and cf. also pair of parallel clauses KARKAMIŠ A24a, frags. 19 a + 19.

§ 7. [*wa/i*]-*ta*: it is clearly possible that all signs visible at beginning of line belong with § 7, leaving no “§ 6”; thus perhaps read [...]*x*[...]-*ba-wa/i-ta*. This would indicate a lost word at beginning of § 7.

FLUMEN-*pi*: for identification of Hitt.-Luw. *hapi-*, “river”, see Laroche, *Fs Otten* (1), pp. 179–184.

“PES₂”(-)*hi-nu*: for verb, cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 2, 3, and Commentary.

(X²)*á-ta₅*(-)*sá-na-ba*: quite obscure, even to the extent of deciding with which clause it belongs. There is even doubt whether it is to be taken as two words, in spite of the presence of a word-divider ostensibly splitting it. The final *-ba(-)* could be part of a particle chain, as in the following clause, thus placing it (if a single word) at the beginning of § 8, and indeed we would expect § 7 to end with “PES₂”(-)*hi-nu-ba*, as do §§ 8 and 9. In such a position it could perhaps be a river-name, possibly balanced by one missing from the beginning of § 7.

§ 10. (DEUS)*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa*: cf. now *hara/i-ma-na*(URBS), KULULU 5, § 1. Present form clearly *-wani-* ethnicon, either gen. sing. *-wanas*, or possibly gen. adj., acc. plur. N *-wanasa*; sense remains the same either way.

§§ 11–12. See Hawkins, loc. cit. for consideration of context.

§ 11. (-)*u-mu*: unclear; recurs in § 24 (top), apparently separate word (not enclitic). Is it to be associated with 1 sing. pronoun (so Meriggi)?

(“VAS”) *á-tara/i-i*: for meaning “form, figure, image”, see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary. Here it seems likely that a physical statue is so designated, the monument which stood on base A15b. Cf. also § 24 (top), with the more usual term STATUA.

“SCALPRUM”(-)*i-ara/i-za*: morphology quite uncertain, perhaps acc. sing. N, apposition to *atrin*, perhaps dat plur. SCALPRUM is generally agreed to determine words/objects of “stone”. May we compare *i+ra/i-ia-za* (IVRIZ 1, § 3, perhaps similar context?). Both words might be forms of an original **i(a)ri-(ya)uza*. Or could this denote a type of stone from

which the statue was made? Could it indeed have any connection with the name of the ruler, itself beginning *i-ara/i-i*?

§§ 13–17. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for (-)*niyasatala-*, “successor”; “FRONS”-*hi-ti* (= *hantabiti*), “preeminence” (dat. sing.; lit. “in first-ness”); *273-*na* (= *warpin*), generally “virtue”; (-)*subiti-*, “display(?)”; *átala-* = FRATER-*la-*, “brother”(?) ; *sasa-*, “?”; (“CUBITUM”) *karpartahisa*, N abstract in *-abi(sa)*?

The following amplifications may be added:

§ 13. (-)*niyasatala-*: for stem (-)*ni(ya)(za/sa)-*, “turn, follow” (= Hitt. *nai-*), see further Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 128. Starke, loc. cit., now firmly argues for the identification of a reduplicated root *niniya-*. He further objects to the interpretation as “successor” (nomen actoris in *-tala-*) on the grounds that only *-talli-* forms occur in Luwian. He therefore postulates for *-niyasatalan* an adverbial function, translating “Ich machte Kamani durch ständige Führung/Lenkung gross”.

§ 14. |REX-*tá-za* | “FRONS”-*hi-ti*, “in preeminence to (over) kings”: cf. *sarli hantilis tanima(n)za* REX-*ta(n)za*, “highly preeminent over all kings (KARATEPE, § L). For “FRONS”-*hi-* (= *hantabi-*), “priority”, see also KARKAMIŠ A7, § 14.

warpi: other passages throwing light on the range of this word are below, § 22; KARKAMIŠ A12, §§ 8, 12; SULTANHAN, § 8; KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 16; KÖRKÜN, § 4; MARAŞ 14, § 3; EĞREK, § 2; MARAŞ 1, § 1 d; for further consideration, Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kaniššumar*, p. 76 f.

RIEL-*ti*: cf. KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 6, Commentary.

§ 16. (“INFANS.NI”) *á-ta₅-la-*: for writing of logogram, cf. GÜRÜN, § 1 b, INFANS.NI.NEPOS. Still unclear whether this is the full phonetic writing of FRATER-*la-*, “brother” (for which see MARAŞ 6, l. 1, and Commentary); see further Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), p. 154, § 17.

|*a-ta sa-sa-ba*: perhaps identify with verb (“*69”) *sa(sa)-*, equated by Melchert with Cun. Luw. *ša-/šašša-*, Hitt. *tarna-* and *lai-*, “let (go)”; see MALPINAR, § 5, and Commentary. This would point to an interpretation: “I admitted them (the brothers) to the ATALA’s”, which would stand against identifying *atala-* as phonetic writing of “brother”.

§ 17. ARH-L (“LONGUS”) *ia+ra/i-i-ba* (for order of reading, cf. HAMA 4, § 7, *pa-ba-la-ti-i-sà*): see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 3; and for other attestations see SULTANHAN, § 24, Commentary.

(“CUBITUM”) *ka+ra/i-pā²+ra/i-ta-bi-sà*: collation definitely identifies the form of the logogram as an arm (without the hand), whence transliteration. This suggests the concept (German) “Umarmung” (i.e. “protection”) in determining the meaning of the word, which otherwise can be seen to be an abstract in

-*ahi(sa)* of a stem *karmar(a)h(?)*- (for increasing evidence for a value *ma_x* for *pa²*, see KULULU 2, § 6).

§§ 19–22. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for “LINGUA”-*la-ti(-i)*- = *lala(n)ti*-, “tongue”; (LITUUS)*u-ni/na-nu*-, “(cause to) know”; (“VIA”)*ha+ra/i-wa/i-ta-hi-ta₅-ti-i*, abl. sing. abstract -(a)*hi(t)*- formation of (“VIA”) *harwa(nt)*-, “road”, thus “travelling”; *ARHLA-sa*-, “gather?”.

In amplification, the following is offered:

§ 19. *SCRIBA-li(-ia)-ti(-i)*-, “writing, script” (abl.): identified with *SCRIBA-la-li-ia*, KARATEPE 4, § 2; see Commentary.

Beside scripts “of the City” (Hieroglyphic) and “Assyrian” (Cuneiform), *su+ra/i*-, probably = *su+ra/i*- (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 6, see Commentary), may designate “Uratian” (Cuneiform, or Hieroglyphic?). A further script with which Yairis must have been in contact is Aramaic; thus it seems possible that *ta-i-ma-ni*- (URBS) = Assyrian (KUR)*teman*, an upper Mesopotamian Aramean tribe (see Grayson, *RLM* 2, A.0.99.2, ll. 39, 46, 49, 63, 80; id., *Bi. Or.* 39 (1982), p. 354 f.), could have served as the Hier. designation for the people and their script. An alternative and bolder suggestion by F.A. Pennacchietti (pers. comm. to Professor G. Neumann, 1988) is to identify the form with the Hebrew and Aramaic term for “south”, and see this as a reference to the South Arabian script. This identification is now further examined by J. Greenfield in *Phoinikeia Grammata* (Collection d’Etudes Classiques 6; Liège-Namur, 1991), pp. 173–185. [Starke, *Fs Röllig*, (1997), pp. 381–395].

§ 20. “LINGUA”-*la-ti-i-na*: Meriggi’s association of this with Hitt. *lala*-, “tongue”, and identification of logogram as “tongue” (*Manuale* II/1, p. 34) is undoubtedly correct, but was confused by his further association with *SCRIBA-la-li*-. The contrast here is between *SCRIBA(-la)-li*-, “script” and “LINGUA”-*la-ti*-, “language”. My identification of the Hier. word as *lala(n)ti*- has been refined by Starke to *lalati*- (KZ 94 (1980),

p. 76 and n. 11). The word is probably to be connected with Cun. *£lalat(a)šši*-, for which see CHD 3/1, s.v.

(LITUUS)*u-ni*-, “know”: for LITUUS determining verbs of perception, see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 123 ff., esp. p. 125 f. Now *uni*- has been established as the full phonetic writing by the attestation of the form *unimis* (without LITUUS), “known”, on the seal of Kuzi-Tešub of Karkamiš: see LIDAR bullae (XIII.1 below). Caus. (LITUUS)*unanu*-, “teach” (§ 22).

§ 21. *DOMINUS-nanis amis*: previously suggested by me to be a god, but in view of other references to “my lord” (= Astiruwas), it seems more likely that this reference too is to that Karkamiš ruler (see Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 158 with nn. 34, 35, 36). For the unusual feature of the possessive adj. following qualified noun, see KULULU 4, § 6; CEKKE, § 2 (both with *DOMINUS*); also JISR EL HADID frag. 1, l. 2; KARKAMIŠ A21, §§ 4, 13 (with *tati*-, “father”).

ARHLA-sa-ta: for possible identification of verb *ARHLA-ia*-, see KARKAMIŠ A21, § 3, and Commentary.

§ 22. *warpi*-. cf. above, § 14.

§ 23. “SCALPRUM”-*su-na*: for (“SCALPRUM”) *asu*-, “stone(?)”, see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 27, and Commentary.

za-ma-ti-i-na-. new reading *za* gives plausible looking form, associated by Starke, loc. cit., with Cun. Luw. *zammanti*-, adj. of uncertain meaning; thus “this ZAMANTI stone” (or “this stone ZAMANTI”?).

wa/i-mi-LITUUS-*ha*-. cf. KARABURUN, § 6, and Commentary, for this verb, perhaps in a similar context.

§ 24. *STATUA-ti* (= *taruti*), “for (my) statue”: this also may describe the actual monument set up in the base; cf. § 11 above, and the word (“VAS”) *atri*-.

u-mu-. cf. § 11 above. Context here shows it not to be enclitic.

§ 25–29. All readings too uncertain for translation or comment.

II.25. KARKAMIŠ A24a (plates 38–39)

Location. Two large and twenty small fragments, some of which survive in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara; nos. 11 (1183?) (frag. 1); 131+140 (frags. 2+3, now joined); 20 (frag. 4); 11132 (frag. 10); 10895 (frag. 11); 10891 (frag. 13); 10886 (frag. 15); 11166 (frag. 18); 10892 (frag. 19); 10893 (frag. 20); 11146 (frag. 22). Frags. KARKAMIŠ A27^{mm} (no. 10888) and A33c (lost?) may belong with these fragments, according to Woolley’s suggestion (see Publication). Other fragments (5–9, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21) lost? Working in the depots of Ankara Museum in 1987 and 1996, I was unable to locate frags. 1 and 4. See, besides

Carchemish III, p. 266, Güterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 103 n. 2; Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), p. 14 f.; id., *Edition*, p. 153.

Some pieces not surviving in Ankara are preserved as squeezes, inked and uninked, and photographs in the British Museum. The whole group may be tabulated as follows:

Frag.	Ankara no.	B. M. squeeze(s)	B. M. photographs
1	11(1183)	2 uninked	1
2+3	131+140	inked, also 2 uninked	1

4+5	20[+ lost]	2 uninked + inked	1+[-]
6	[lost]	3 uninked	1 side only
7	[lost]	—	—
8	[lost]	—	—
9	[lost]	—	—
10	11132	—	1
11	10895	inked	—
12	[lost]	2 uninked	1 side only
13	10891	—	1
14+15	[lost]+10886	—	[-]+1
16	[lost]	uninked	1
17	[lost]	—	—
18	11166	—	—
19	10892	(19 a, uninked)	—
20	10893	—	—
21	[lost]	—	1
22	11146	inked and uninked	—

Description. Fragments of monument, originally inscribed on more than one face (frags. 6, 12, 17), apparently a block surmounted by sculptured figures with guilloche band (frag. 4; also A33a²), with herringbone-patterned band below inscription (frags. 21, 22). Frags. 1 and 11 apparently preserve left edge of inscription, and frag. 6 right face *may* have shown right edge. Frags. 4+5 seem to preserve the beginning of the inscription, a sinistroverse line, as is usual. First line of inscription being sinistroverse (frags. 4+5), last line dextroverse (frags. 22 and 21), on the original inscription the sinistroverse lines were odd numbers, the dextroverse even numbers. Frags. 2+3 have parts of 5 lines and traces of another below; first line is not l. 1 of inscription (it is dextroverse) nor is the fifth the bottom (further traces below, rather than herringbone band). This indicates an inscription which originally contained a minimum of 7 lines. *Recoverable passages:* on frags. 2+3, each line forms an isolated unit of 1–3 clauses; the smaller fragments preserve isolated phrases (frags. 6, 11, 13, 14–15, 19, 21) or words (frags. 1, 4+5, 8, 10) or no complete or identifiable word (frags. 7, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18). Original form seems to have been similar to KARKAMIŠ A12 and KELEKLİ.

Dimensions: frags. 2+3, preserved ht., 0.46 m.; w., 0.58 m.; line ht., 8–9 cm. (For dimensions of the fragments, see below, under discussion of each).

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: rhotacism.

Word-dividers: infrequent.

Discovery. Frags. 2+3, also smaller fragments(?), excavated by Hogarth in 1911, together with mass of other stones in front of Great Staircase. See Woolley,

Carchemish III, p. 174. Recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 76 (frags. 2+3), 79 (frag. 12), 81 (frag. 4), 101 (frag. 6), 112 (frag. 1), which confirms discovery in 1911.

Publication. Frags. 2+3 only: Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), pls. XXXIX–XL = *IHH* III (1937), pls. XLIV–XLV (photograph and copy); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 10, p. 25 f., pl. XXIV (photograph and copy).

Frag. 1–22: Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 266, 275, pl. A24 (photographs of stone + inked squeezes, frags. 1, 2+3, 6 (partial photograph), 11, 12 (partial photograph), 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21; inked squeezes only, frags. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, 18, 22; photograph + drawing, frag. 4). For inked and uninked squeezes still preserved in the British Museum, see above under Location.

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit., pp. 179–184 = 399–344; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 220, pp. 153–160, Tav. XXVII (redrawn and rearranged in attempt to reconstruct positions of fragments).

Excerpts, frags. 2+3.

§ 6 Bossert, *Or.* NS 30, p. 320; Laroche, *HH*, no. 93.6.

§§ 6–7 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 29; Hawkins, *Iraq* 36, p. 72 n. 39.

Content. Inscription of Yariris (frags. 4+5), regent of Karkamiš, which originally contained important historical information, especially concerning Assyrian king (§ 6, also frag. 6(?)), the Storm-God of Aleppo (§§ 6–7, 11), and another king (§ 13).

Date. See KARKAMIŠ A6.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of inked squeezes in the British Museum, where extant (frags. 2+3, 5, 11, 22), otherwise uninked squeezes, where extant (frags. 1, 4, 6, 12, 16, 19 a). Tracings have been made of the extant stones in Ankara Museum, which have been used to provide texts (frags. 10, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20) and to check tracings from squeezes (frags. 2+3, 11, 22). No texts can be offered for the lost frags. 7, 8, 9, 14, 17, 21.

Photographs. The extant available pieces were photographed in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987: frags. 2+3, (10), 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22. Prints of the published photographs taken from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. PS 033868, PS 039203, PS 033866, PS 084162, PS 084189) are given for frags. 1, 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 21, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3	Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1	...]na[...]na ("*474") [wa/i]-si-na-si-i-zi (*91/92/94) [z]a-la-la- [...]-na x[...]	...]the eunuchs ... the cart [...]
2.		...
§ 2	...]-ia-ta	...]he/they[...]ed.
§ 3	pa+ra/i-na-sa-pa-wa/i-ta-(URBS) (ASINUS ₂ .ANIMAL) tu+ra/i- la-ka-li-si-i-zi-ARHLA CAPUT.CULTER ² -tā	The TURLAKALISI's ... ed away the city Parnassa. (or He/they ... ed away the TUR- LAKALISI's for/in/from the city Parnassi.)
§ 4	[wa/i-za] (PUGNUS+PUGNUS) i-ka+ra/i-zi-i REL-[t]i [ā]-su-[x]-ba-	wherefore I ² [...]ed ² the IKARA's for us,
§ 5	[...]za[...]a[...]na[...]x[...]	for us(?) ... [...]
3.		...
§ 6	... ku-m]a-na a-sú+ra/i[(REGIO)]-wa/i-ni-[sa](URBS) REX-ti-i-sa i-la-pa-za<a>-na(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za<a>-na-ARHLA "PES ₂ "(-)wa/i-za-tā	[Whe]n(?) the Assyrian king carried off Halabean Tarhunzas,
§ 7	a-wa/i a-sú+ra/i(REGIO)-ia-na-(URBS) (FLAMMAE(?)) ma-ru- sā-na-ti-i (*273) hu-ta-i-li-ta-	and he smote Assyria with the fire- brand,
§ 8	[wa/i-na-] [...]	and it [...]
4.		...
§ 9	...]ti x[...](DEUS)ku+AV[IS]-pa-pa-[x]-AR[HLA] ("PES") [u]-sa-t[a] ...	...] Kubaba (nom. or acc.?) brought forth,
§ 10	...]-i[a]-na[(URBS?)]-ARHLA "*402+*195"(-)ka-ri+i-tā	and Assyr[ia(?) she KARI-ed away.
§ 11	i-la-pa-za-ha-wa/i-(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-ti "PUGNUS" (-)wa/i+ra/i-mi-i-na SUPER[...]	and up to Halabean Tarhunzas ... [...]
5.		...
§ 12	...]-zi-ta ₅	...]he/they [...]ed.
§ 13	[wa/i-ra+a (*349)ta-la/i/u ² -pa-ti-za-sa(URBS) REX-ti-i-sa (*428) tā-ia-t[i] "OV[IS]" ...	It/them the Talupatean king ... [...]

Commentary

Frgs. 2+3 (for other frgs., see below).

§ 1. [(*474)] [wa/i]-si-na-si-i-zi, "eunuchs": for (*474) *wasinasi-/usinasi-*, "he of the body", i.e. "eunuch", see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 30, Commentary.

(*91/92/94) [z]a-la-la-[...]-na: the logogram(s) *HH* nos. 91, 92, 94 (= *Glossar*, 76/77/78.1–3) should be regrouped under one heading, since they mostly determine the same stem *zalala-* and consist of the same elements, a *foot* (PES, once PES₂), + something looking like *ladder* or *steps* (SCALA), over 2 *wheels* (RO-TAE). Phonetic complements are: *za-la-la* (BULGAR-MADEN, § 9); *za-la-la-si-na*, also *ā-tu-ti-zi* (ASSUR letter *d*, §§ 9, 6); nothing (TOPADA, § 4); the present [z]a-la-la-[...]-na, and below, frag. 11, l. 2, [i²]-la/i/u-[...]. Starke identifies the stem with Cun. Hitt.-Luw. *zalla-*, "gallop" (noun), *zalliya-*, "gallop" (verb), and postulates the formation *zalal-*, "Transportwagen", as the basis for the Hier. attestations (*KZ* 95 (1981), pp. 149 n. 25, 155 n. 58; also now *Stammbildung*, § 211). For considerations of meaning in each context, see respective

Commentaries. Here perhaps restore [z]a-la-la-[si]-na, but context is too defective to establish sense.

§ 3. Syntax of clause effectively beyond reach:

subj.: *turlakalisi(n)zi* or "he/they"?

dir. obj.: *turlakalisi(n)zi* or *parnasa*-(URBS)?

indir. obj.: *parnasa*-(URBS)?

pa+ra/i-na-sa-(URBS): Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, list ^{URU}*parnašša/i*, and indeed the toponym would doubtless have been common and widespread; present form either acc. or dat. sing. MF of *-a*-stem or perhaps dat. sing. (*-san*) of *-i*-stem.

(ASINUS₂.ANIMAL) *tu+ra/i-la-ka-li-si-i-zi*: logogram presumably indicates that some part of stem at least designates the depicted equid, but analysis or identification of suffixes does not help the recognition. The ^D*turešgala-*, "harnessing-gods" (*KUB XXXI*, 127 i 62: suggestion of von Schuler, see Friedrich, *HWb*, Ergän. 3), look similar, but the divergence of the spellings are probably such as to preclude identification.

[CAPUT.CULTER²-tá: obscure; second sign uncertainly identified, appears to be pictogram of “knife”.

§ 4. *wa/i-za*: presumably *wa* + *a(n)za*, “and (to) us”; cf. MARAŠ 4, § 14, also perhaps § 7; the pronoun of 1st plur. is rare outside the ASSUR letters.

(PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*i-ka+ra/i-zi-i*: obscure stem and unhelpful logogram, recurrence may be restored on frag. 11 without logogram, thus full phonetic writing.

[á]-*su*-[x]-*ba*: cf. causative *a-su-nu* (2 sing. imp.), ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 5, and Commentary. The missing sign does not look as if it could have been *nu/nú* (insufficient space); a restoration *-[sa]* or *-[wa/i]* would perhaps still permit the identification of the stem with the ASSUR letter verb.

§§ 6–7. See Hawkins, loc. cit., to which the following observations should be added.

§ 6. *i-la-pa-za* (URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za* (URBS): emendation of *zi* to *za* in both cases likely. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zi-na* would be unparalleled; and *i-la-pa-za* (URBS) (below, § 11) points to ethnic adj. formed with *-(i)za* suffix, as *karkamisi-za*. The toponym *i-la-pa* can hardly refer to anywhere but Halab (so also Bossert, Meriggi, with old reading *a-la-pa*), normally written TONITRUS-*HLALP-i-pa*, for which see KÖRKÜN, § 5, Commentary. In the present phonetic writing, the initial *i* instead of *(b)a* is paralleled by *i-ma-tu*, “Hamath”, for which see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [15] f.

PI:S₂(-)*wa/i-za-lá*: verb clearly transitive, unexpectedly after PI:S₂, which normally determines intransitive verbs of motion (see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 131); contextually here perhaps “carry (off)” (so Meriggi, Laroche). For other attestations, see parallel passages KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 7//A12, § 4; also iterative PES₂(-)*wa/i-a-za-sa*, ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 30, and Commentaries.

§ 7. (FLAMMAE(?))*ma-ru-sa-na-ti*: Hier. *hapax legomenon*, should be considered along with Hitt.-Luw. root *mar(ru)wa-/maruša-*, for which see now *CHD* 3/2, s.v. *marwai-* (adj.); *maruwait-* (verb); *marruwammi-* (participle); ^N*mar(r)uwaša-* (noun); *marušamme-* (participle); *marušaš(a)*-(?). The former basis of interpretation, **maruša-* = SA₅, “red”, has been shown to be incorrect, and Starke envisages a meaning “black, dark, blue” (*Bi. Or.* 43 (1986), p. 162 f.; cf. also *Stammbildung*, § 285). That the logogram *HH* no. 477 represents flames (thus FLAMMAE(?)) and determines words of “burning” is likely (see CEKKE, § 4, Commentary). The context suggests that the clause describes the Storm-God’s punishment of Assyria with *marusana-* (abl.), perhaps some fiery or celestial phenomenon (but not thunder (= TONITRUS) or lightning (= (FULGUR)*pihas-*). The Hitt. *kalmisana-*, “fire-brand”, also a celestial phenomenon wielded by the

Storm-God, might be compared: see Goetze, *AM*, p. 212 ff.; and recently Laroche, *Fs Bittel*, p. 309.

(*273)*hu-ta-i-li-ta-* (or possibly *hu-ta-li-i-ta-*): logograms *273/*274 both determine verbs of smiting *tupi-*, “hit”, and *batali-*, “club” (but also the semantically quite unrelated nouns *warpi-* and *upatit-*). *huta(i)li-* may well be assigned to the “smiting” range, which would fit the context. A connection with the Hitt.-Luw. root *huta-*, “speed” (for which see *StBoT* 16, p. 47 f.), is possible but not immediately apparent.

§ 10. “*402+*195”(-)*ka-ri+i*: further unknown *hapax legomenon*.

§ 11. “PUGNUS”(-)*wa/i+ra/i-mi-i-na*: the logogram normally complemented *(-)/la/i/u-mi(-ta)-*, “strong”; *-ri+i*, “rise, raise”. The present word may be compared with PUGNUS(-)*wa/i+ra/i-ma-a-ti* (verb? MEHARDE, § 5, and Commentary).

§ 13. (*349)*ta-la/i/u²-pa-ti-za-sa* (URBS): for *349, apparently a pre-determinative for toponyms, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 3, Commentary; here an ethnic adj. in *-(i)za-* of unidentified toponym *ta-la/i/u²-pa-t-* (form of *la/i/u* unusual, identification uncertain; cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8; CEKKE, § 21).

(*428)*tà-ia-t[i]* “OV[IS]”: the sign *428 is twice used to write a city name (*428)*tà-i-ti* (URBS) (GÜRÜN, § 2) and *428-*tà(-wa/i)* (URBS) (IZGIN 1, § 6). The present form, in spite of its resemblance to the first writing, can hardly represent the city-name, since there is no space for the determinative URBS. Melchert proposes to recognize a verb *taya-*, to be identified with Hitt. *taya-*, “steal”, and to explain the logogram *428 accordingly (*An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 39). The further identification of the last sign *-t[i]* makes a verbal form possible, but would give unexpected sense: “The T-ea-king will steal them”.

Other fragments

Any attempt to place the fragments begs too many questions. Thus for example, although the existence of 3 corner pieces, frags. 6, 12, and 17, shows that the monument was inscribed on at least two faces, there is no secure evidence whether these belong on the right or the left of the inscription (except possibly in the case of frag. 6, see discussion below). The front of the original monument is assumed to be represented by frags. 2+3, also probably by frags. 4+5 if those are the beginning of the inscription (see discussion below). The only possible evidence for the right edge of the inscription is frag. 6 (see below), and for the left edge frags. 1 and 11 possibly, but there is no evidence whether these belonged to the front or left side (see below). The publication and description of the fragments are inadequate, and in some cases further inspection might serve to establish important points, in particular for frags. 1 and 4 (unavailable – see above), and

for the lost frags. 6, 12, 17. For these reasons I prefer to reserve the fragments for separate discussion.

Frag. 1. (Fragment unavailable in Ankara; uninked squeezes in British Museum). Uninscribed band on left marks a left edge; this piece does not clearly belong to front, but possibly left side. Its first line is dextroverse, thus an even-numbered line. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.18 m.; w., 0.09 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

1. 1. ||URBS+MI-na x-i-na [...]

1. 2. ...]xx [*273]

Frag. 4+5. Frag. 4 unavailable in Ankara; 2 uninked squeezes in the British Museum; frag. 5 lost, inked squeeze survives, no photograph. Possibly beginning of inscription: right edge appears to be preserved, and inspection of right face would be desirable to establish whether it were preserved and blank, as on e.g. KARKAMIŠ A12. The preserved foot would be front foot of right-facing figure, and as far as may be judged the guilloche band is complete at right end. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.19 m.; w., 0.12 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

If the text does indeed begin here, it is sinistroverse as is normal, and it would have to be restored, as pointed out by Meriggi:

||[za(-sa)-]pa-[wa/i] i-ara/i-ri+i-sá [...]

"And this (is) Yariris" (or: "Yariris's [image]").

The reference would presumably be to the figure above with the surviving foot. The passage would be closely similar to KARKAMIŠ A7, § 6, and as Meriggi notes the use of -pa-, "and/but", indicates that the text was not regarded as beginning a separate new inscription, but one which was paired with another.

Frag. 6. (Fragment lost, 3 uninked squeezes survive in the British Museum; photograph of left face only survives). First line is dextroverse, thus an even-numbered line. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.16 m.; w. (left), 0.07 m., (right), 0.05 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

A piece of some interest because of the alleged appearance on it of the name of an Assyrian king, variously identified as Aššur-dan (II or III), or Esarhaddon: see Bossert, *Belleten* 16 (1952), p. 535 f.; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 30 (1952), p. 175 f.; id., *RSO* 29 (1954), p. 16; Friedrich, *RHAI* XIII/56 (1955), p. 30. The state of publication of this lost corner fragment is such as to leave unanswered several crucial problems which might have been resolved by further inspection: in particular whether the right edge of the right face could possibly have been the right edge of the complete inscription, which would thus permit a continuity of reading ll. 1–2, as looks possible from the text itself. Thus –

a-si+ra/i[-x?](REGIO)||wa/i-ni[-x]REN[...]PRAE[...]

"... the Assyrian king (case?) ... before ..."

Inspection of the surviving uninked squeezes in the British Museum provides no confirmation for the recognition of a right edge here, and it would seem very unlikely. It would imply that the inscribed right face of

the monument was only 5 cm. wide, itself improbable and not agreeing with the other alleged corner fragment, frag. 12 (also lost but surviving in an uninked squeeze), which would show that the right face was at least 9 cm. wide. On balance it must be concluded that the attractive sequence a-si+ra/i[-x?](REGIO)||wa/i-ni[-x] is more likely to be a coincidence.

There remains the alleged Assyrian king's name. The signs read (VAS)á-ta-na-sá-. Bossert's extraction of an equivalent to *Aššur* out of the first sign was always totally implausible, even if we allow for the phonetic liberties which he took with the word now read *atri*, the most common reading of VAS. From a modern standpoint, it would seem that we should recognize here a word (VAS)*atni*-, a variant form of (VAS)*atri*-, for which see KULULU 4, § 9, Commentary. The present word could be gen. sing., or nom./acc. plur. N of the -asi- gen. adj. In such a lack of context this must remain speculative, but the approximate meaning postulated by this analysis should be "(those?)" of the form/figure/image".

Frag. 7, 9. (Lost, with no surviving squeezes or photographs). No complete or identifiable words, no evidence for placement.

Frag. 8. (Lost, no surviving squeeze or photograph). Only preserved line sinistroverse, thus odd-numbered line.

...]-na-x[...] |kar-k[a]-mi-si-i-zi-[ha]-wa/i[-x]-' ||IN-FANS-ni[...]

"..., and the so[ns] of Karkamiš [...]"

Unusual and interesting phrase preserved.

Frag. 10. (Fragment survives in Ankara Museum.) Part of sinistroverse line. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.09 m.; w., 0.08 m.

... i ... | REX ...

Frag. 11. (Fragment survives in Ankara Museum, also inked squeeze in British Museum.) Appears to be left edge, so its two lines run continuously. Its first line is sinistroverse, thus an odd-numbered line. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.18 m.; w., 0.13 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

1. 1. [a]-wa/i [3x?]*CENTUM EQUUS* [i]-ka+ra/i[-i]-si-[n]a-'

1. 2. "406"(-)wa/i-na-si-na PES+X+ROTAE[...] [i?]-la/i/n[...]

1. 1. Appears to include beginning of clause.

EQUUS: the marking of the mane on the equid head links it with the renderings of EQUUS on KARATEPE, Hu. 41–42, and BOHÇA, § 10, though the renderings of KARATEPE, Ho. 41–42, ANDAVAL, § 4, and TOPADA, §§ 5, 8, 10, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26, are more schematic.

[i]-ka+ra/i[-i]-si-[n]a-': clearly to be restored from PUGNUS+PUGNUS(-)i-ka+ra/i-i-zi (frag. 2+3, § 4), apparently gen. adj. agreeing with following.

*406(-)wa/i-na-si-na: because of the juxtaposition of the determinatives *474 and PES+X+ROTAE in

frags. 2+3, § 1, Meriggi sought a similar combination here. But his alteration of the logogram *406 to *474 is shown by collation to be unjustified, thus also his identification of (-) *wa/i-na-si-na* with *wa/i-si-na-si-* is unacceptable.

PES+X+ROTAE: collation shows X to be rectangle with two incised horizontal lines (relation to SCALA unclear); also apparent [*i*²]-*la/i-u*[...], which would exclude a restoration of form of *ṣalala-* here (see above, frags. 2+3, § 1).

Frag. 12. (Lost corner fragment, survives as uninked squeeze, photograph of right face only). No single complete or identifiable word preserved. It must be pointed out that if frag. 6, right face, did indeed preserve the right edge of the inscription (see above), this fragment's right face being wider, the two fragments could hardly belong to the same corner. No other evidence for placing fragment; its first line is sinistroverse, thus odd-numbered line. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.09 m.; w. (left), 0.06 m., (right), 0.07 m.

l. 1. ...]ṣa[...]-*ti-i*[...]-*ta*[...][*i*]-*ba*[...]*195[...

l. 2. ...]-*ri*+*i*[...]*349²(-)*t*[*a*²...]*ṣ*[*i/a*...]*CAPUT*[...

Frag. 13. (Fragment survives in Ankara museum). No evidence for placement, juxtaposition by Meriggi with frag. 22 impossible. Its first line is sinistroverse, thus odd-numbered line. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.10 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.

l. 1. ...]x[...]*wa/i-la-ta* | *a-wa/i* | *i-ta*[...

l. 2. ...]*wa/i-sa*[...]*161 (MANUS)*i*-[*sā*]-*tara/i*[...] x[...

...]*wa/i-la-ta* = *wala-/wara-*, "suffer, die"?

a-wa/i: new clause.

...]*wa/i-sa*[...]: new clause? "and he ...".

*161 not understood, several occurrences; see TUNP 1, § 2; TELL AHMAR 2, § 20, and Commentary.

(MANUS)*i*-[*sā*]-*tara/i*[...]: certain restoration, what case?

Frag. 14+15. (Frag. 14 lost, no surviving squeeze or photograph; frag. 15 survives in Ankara Museum). Its first line is sinistroverse, thus an odd-numbered line. *Dimensions* (frag. 15): ht., 0.17 m.; w., 0.12 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

Meriggi's identification of the first line as a sinistroverse [*tara/i*]-*wa/i*-[*n*]*i-sa* belonging to a titular in l. 1 of the inscription is possible but very unsupported, nor are the additions to the contexts of frags. 2+3, first and second lines, such as to provide independent support.

l. 1. ...] [...] *wa/i*-[*n*]*i-sa*[...

l. 2. ...]-*ta-ti-i* | *wa/i*-[*n*]-*ni-mi-i-sa* x x[...

l. 3. ...]*CAPUT*[...]x[...]*wa/i-t*[*a*] | *ta*[...

l. 1. Even if Meriggi were right in identifying the title, the restoration should be [IUDEX] rather than [*tara/i*]: the word is never written without determinative, and cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1; A15b, § 1.

l. 2. "...] he/they shall [...], and all [...]"

Meriggi is clearly right in identifying verb, 3 sing./plur. pres.; copula *wa/i*-, and beginning of following clause (for *wa/i*- (order), see SHEIZAR, § 2, Commentary, with other attestations).

l. 3. Meriggi's contextual join of this line to frags. 2+3, § 5, is possible but not self-confirming.

Frag. 16. (Fragment lost but uninked squeeze survives). No evidence for placement, no complete or identifiable word preserved; first line dextroverse thus even-numbered. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.15 m.

l. 1. ...]-*wa/i*[...]URBS[...

l. 2. ...]x[...]*t*[*a*...] | *wa/i*-[...]*BRACCHIUM* [...] *na*[...

Frag. 17. (Lost, no surviving squeeze or photograph). Corner piece, but uncertainty which corner; first line sinistroverse, thus odd-numbered. No complete or identifiable word preserved.

l. 1. ...]x x [...] *ma*[...]x-*pa*[...]-*sa*[...

l. 2. ...]x[...]*161[...]*ṣa*[...]*ṣ*[*i/a*...]x[...]*x*[...

Frag. 18. (Fragment survives in Ankara Museum). Only two certainly identifiable signs, |*i*, show second line to be dextroverse thus even-numbered. On l. 1, a probable *i* ... *na* (sinistroverse) may be recognized. No other evidence for placement. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.12 m.; w., 0.08 m.

Frag. 19. (Fragment survives in Ankara Museum). Preserved line dextroverse, thus even-numbered; no further evidence for placement. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.09 m.; w., 0.15 m.

Frag. 19 a. An unexpected find among the British Museum squeezes was an uninked squeeze not of frag. 19 but of a closely similar, otherwise unrecorded fragment. Comparison of the two shows that in spite of the close resemblance, these must have been distinct fragments. The parallelism of wording suggests that the two belong to the same context, and indeed it looks quite likely that frag. 19 joins the right side of frag. 19 a. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.17 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

The combined text would then read:

...]x | *417. ANIMAL FLUMEN-*pi-i* | "PES₂"(-)*bi-nū*-[x]

| *ṣi-ba-wa/i*- *417. ANIMAL FLUMEN-*pi-i* "PES₂"(-)*bi*-[...

Pair of clauses closely parallels the triple KARKAMIŠ A15b, §§ 7-9.

"PES₂"(-)*bi-nū*-[x]//[(-)*bi*[-...]: presumably both to be restored as 1 sing. pret. from parallel passages.

FLUMEN-*pi-i*: presumably dat. sing., but the sense is difficult when compared with the parallel passages' FLUMEN-*pi*(-*i*)-*na*, acc. sing. MF.

*417. ANIMAL: marking ANIMAL, normally used to show animal heads as logograms not syllabograms, can hardly have that function here. For similar uncer-

tain usage, see TUNP 1, § 2, and Commentary. The sign *417 looks like a pictogram of a tunnel.

ṣi-ha-wa/i-': as in parallel passage, § 9, but note the absence of -ta Ortspartikel here.

Frag. 20. (Fragment survives in Ankara Museum). First line dextroverse, thus even-numbered; no other evidence for placement. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.12 m.; w., 0.07 m.

1. 1. ...]x x- [k]ar-ka-[mi-sa...

1. 2. ...]-si[...] AEDIFICARE-ru[...] -[...]

[k]ar-ka-[...]: undoubtedly "Karka[mis]".

AEDIFICARE-ru[...]: unparalleled combination, intelligible only if -ru is 3 sing. imp. rhotacized.

Frag. 21. (Fragment lost, no surviving squeeze; photograph only). Last line of original inscription, dextroverse, thus even numbered.

NEG₂-ha-wa/i-ta (DEUS)ku+AVIS[...]

"and Kubaba [...] not [...]"

Possibly part of curse formula, but note that we have neither the usual disjunctive NEG₂-pa, "(n)or", nor the prohib. ni.

Frag. 22. (Fragment survives in Ankara, also inked and uninked squeezes in British Museum). Also last line, no other evidence for location; no complete or certainly identifiable word, but ...]-wa/i-ta may be connective particles. *Dimensions*: ht., 0.08 m.; w., 0.10 m.

II.25a. KARKAMIŠ stone bowl (plate 47)

Location. Stone libation vessel, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

Description. Stone pedestal bowl, of which the original bowl part has been cut down to a shallow saucer shape. The lower part of the bowl preserves a line of dextroverse inscription completely encircling it, and there are remains of another, sinistroverse line preserved above. There is no obvious indication as to where the writing descended from the upper to the lower line, and areas of unclearness on the lower line preclude a decision on this question: see further below.

Dimensions: circumference of bowl, 0.67 m.; line ht., 0.05 m.

Condition: fair.

Script, line dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive (*ma*, *ta*).

Peculiarities: ?

Word dividers: none visible.

Discovery. No information available; provenance, presumably Karkamiš.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. Dedication of the object by Yariris.

Date. Reign of Yariris at Karkamiš, c. 800 B.C.; see KARKAMIŠ A6, Date.

Text. Traced from the stone in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, May 1995.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Joan Goodnick Westenholz.

Transliteration

- § 1. ṣa-ha-wa/i (*522)hu-ri+i-na (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-si-na EGO
i-ta+ra/i-ri+i-sa ("PURUS")ku-ma-ni-ha (DEUS)ku+AVIS-
pa-pa-sa-ti-i (DEUS)ka+ra/i-hu-ha-sa-ti (LIGNUM)ta-pa+ra/i-a-ti
§ 2. (PONERE)tu-wa/i-x-x hu... ṣa-ti x x x x
§ 3. ṣa-ti-[pa/ha]-wa/i ta-ha (PONERE)tu-wa/i-ha

Translation

And this HURI of Kubaba I, Yariris,
consecrated by the authority of
Kubaba (and) of Karhuhas.
...
Here ... I put.

Commentary

As observed above, it cannot be determined at what point the inscription descended from the line above, thus at what point the line begins and ends. I have thus begun the text arbitrarily at a point where it is clear.

§ 1. (*522)hu-ri+i-na: apparently the designation of the object itself, which is probably a vessel for receiving libations, as shown e.g. on MALATYA 8 (pl. 147). The logogram, though not particularly clear, looks as if it is

an ad hoc creation depicting the vessel; for the allocation of the number *522, see Introduction, p. 24 and Table 1.

("PURUS")ku-ma-ni-ha: though not attested elsewhere, this verb seems to be a denominative formation based on *ku-ma-*, "pure", for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 14, and MALPINAR, § 7, with Commentaries.

(LIGNUM)ta-pa+ra/i-a-ti: usual writing of this word is LEPUS+ra/i-ia-ti(-i) (MARAS 1, § 5; SUL-

TANHAN, § 41); cf. also *ta*-LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-ti*, BOROWSKI 3, § 5; and the verb written LIGNUM.CRUS(-)LEPUS+*ra/i-* and ("LIGNUM")LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-*, TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 9, 19, and Commentary. All these writings point to a stem (*ta*)*tapariya-*. The apparent *-pa+ra/i-a-* in the present writing is unu-

sual, and one wonders whether it represents *-para-* or conceivably *-paria-*.

§ 3. *ta-ba*: quite unclear what this is, whether verb, 1 sing. pret. paired asyndetically with *tuwaba*, or something else. The verb *ta-*, "stand", is attested written with plain *ta* (see HİSARCIK 1, § 3, and Commentary).

II.26. KARKAMIŠ A31 + fragments A30b1–3 (plates 40–41)

Location. Stele, British Museum, London no. 125007 (not 125008 as stated in *Carchemish* III, p. 267; date no., 1881-12-10 (1)); fragments KARKAMIŠ A30b1–3 (1 in Museo Missionario, Vatican, Coll. Gauttieri, no. 159; 2 and 3 lost, survive as uninked squeezes in the British Museum).

Description. Basalt stele, top lost, obverse flat and sculptured, reverse curved and inscribed. *Obverse*: frontal figure of goddess Kubaba (head missing), in long, pleated robe with elaborate necklace and pectoral, arms held at waist, mirror(?) in left hand; guilloche band along base; raised frame round figure, now chipped away, originally bore "rope pattern ornament", preserved on back of fragments A30b.

Reverse: last 5 lines of inscription. Top line, sinistrovers, only partially preserved, was not first line; if inscription began, as usual, top right, top line is probably l. 3; if top left, running dextrovers (cf. BABYLON), then it could be l. 2. Estimate of height of lost section on front (head of figure) suggests former more likely. Both edges of inscription missing, but fragments A30b1–3 joined by Meriggi (*RSO* 29 (1954), p. 12 f.) take inscription up to right edge and show 2–4 columns of signs missing. Similar, or slightly less, lost from left side.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.62 m.; w. (obverse), 0.76 m., (reverse) 1.03 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: fair, l. 1 traces only, ll. 2–5, one/two words lost between each.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: form of *á*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: very few.

Discovery. Stele seen and sketched by Drummond (*Travels* (1754): see below, Hogarth); seen, drawn, and inscription copied by George Smith in March 1876 (see Fig.); said by Boscawen to have been found lying high up on north-west slope of citadel mound; removed by Henderson in December 1878, dispatched to Alexandria (Iskenderun) in 1880, arrived 1881, and taken to England. See Boscawen, *Graphic*, 11 December 1880, p. 608; Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), pp. 5, 7 f., 10.

Fragments. Recovered during 1911–1914 operations (Woolley, see below, Publication). No further information available. Frag. A30b1 was in the Collection Gaut-

tieri donated to the Museo Missionario, Vatican, in 1961.

Publication. Stele. Rylands, *TSB* 7 (1882), pl. III ("J[erabis]III", lithographed drawing), = Wright, *EH* (1884//1886), pl. X (reengraved, = Perrot and Chippiez, *HA* IV (1887), p. 497 fig. 256), and (1886 only) pl. XX for obverse; Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 10, Taf. XI, 1–2 (1. Ryland's drawing of obverse; 2. drawing of text from squeeze sent from British Museum to Berlin); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 278 f., pls. A31, 32 (photographs of reverse, copy from tracing), B62a (photograph of obverse).

Fragments. Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 278, pl. A30b3, b*1–3 (photograph of frag. 3 only; photograph of inked squeeze no longer preserved in British Museum – uninked squeezes of frags. 2 and 3 only survive).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 238–243; Meriggi, *MLHG* 39/1 (1934), no. 8, pp. 65–69; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 257, pp. 185–187, Tav. XXXIII (redrawn with fragments added); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 155–157 cit. 6.

Excerpts.

§ 3	Bossert, <i>A/O</i> 19, p. 147.
§§ 3–4	Bossert, <i>Or. Ex.</i> 6, p. 37 f.
§ 4	Laroche, <i>HH</i> nos. 12; 14.1(a); 82.2.
§ 6	Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, <i>Kanišunvar</i> , p. 75.
§ 8	Laroche, <i>HH</i> nos. 6; 95; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, <i>Studia Meriggi</i> , p. 402.
§ 10	Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 93.2.
§§ 10–14	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 25, p. 146 cit. 53c.
§ 14	Meriggi, <i>WZKM</i> 41, p. 40 f.; Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 73; Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 25, p. 133 cit. 18.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Karkemis K/I)*, pp. 191, 275 f., 360, 512.

Content. Building inscription of Kamanis, king of Karkamiš, recording building of Kubaba temple. [Name, genealogy and titles lost; also further text?]; § 1, traces; §§ 2, lost; § 3, building of temple; § 4, dedication of statue; §§ 5–6, conquest and resettlement; §§ 7–9, establishment of cult-centre; §§ 10–16, protective curse.

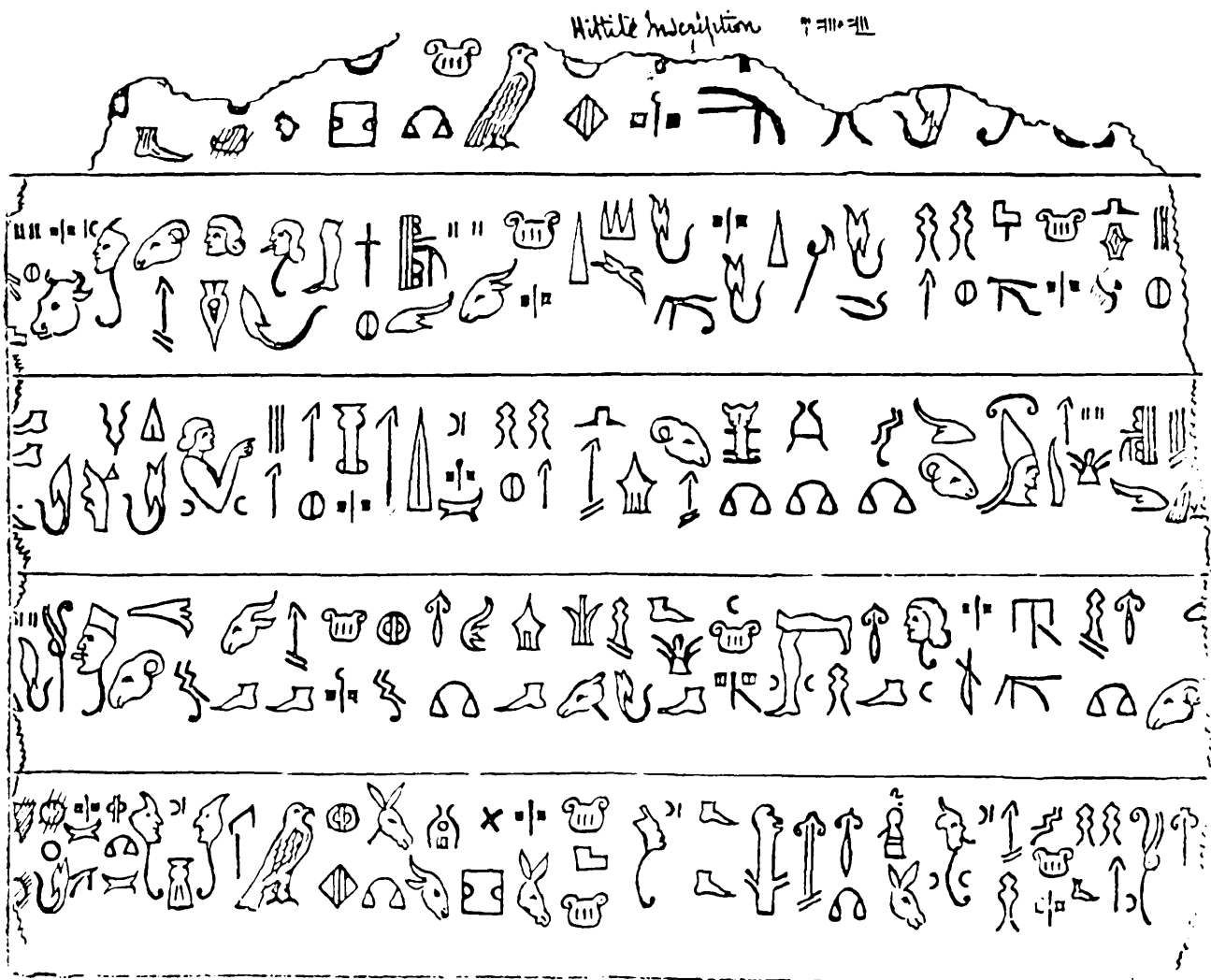


Fig. George Smith's copy of KARKAMIŠ A31 from his sketch-book 1875–6 preserved in the British Library, Dept. of Manuscripts (book identified as Add. MS. 30425). Of interest in itself, this copy also records the presence of a sign now lost, LOCUS, at the upper edge of 1.2 right-hand end.

Date. Kamanis, mid-8th century B.C.; see Karkamiš, *The Historical Context*, p. 78 and n. 62.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the original monument in the British Museum. The lost fragments 2 and 3 were traced from the uninked squeezes in the British Museum, and fragment 1 was traced on the original monument in the Vatican Museum by Professor Alfonso Archi.

Photographs. Photographs of the stele itself and of its inscription are British Museum prints reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees (those of the inscription have been mounted together to present a composite photograph of the curved surface). For the photograph of frag. 1 I am indebted to Dr. Hatice Gonnet. A print of the published photograph of frag. 3 taken from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 039201) is reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [...]||[a]-ta i-[zi-i]-tā [(DEUS)ku]-AVIS[...
 § 2 [...]-tā
 § 3 [a]-wa/i [(DEUS)ku]-AVIS-[pa-p]a-sa [DEUS].DOMUS[-z]a
 2. [...]-ni[...]-ti[...]. AEDI]FICARE-*MI-ba*
 § 4 wa/i-mu [a]-ma-za STATUA PRAE-na CRUS-nu-ba

Translation

- ...
 [...]
 Kubaba's temple [...] I built,
 I myself set up my statue in front.

- § 5 *kar-ka-mi-sà-pa-wa/i*(URBS) CASTRUM *pi-na-tà-wa/i-na*(URBS)
SUB-*na-na i-zi-i-ha*
- § 6 VACUUS-*tà-pa-wa/i* [LOCUS]-*ta₄-ta₅* [...] -*x-ha*
3. § 7 [...] -*wa/i zi-REL(?) á* [...] || [...] (DEUS) *ku-AVIS-ia kar-ka-mi-si-zi*(URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA *ka-ma-ni-sa IUDEX-sa*
BONUS-*sa-ma-za* LOCUS-*ta₄-za i-zi-i-ha*
- § 8 |*wa/i-tú* REX-*zi* *356-*wa/i-zi-ha* DOMINUS-*zi* "ADORARE"-
su-na a-ta-na PES₂.PES₂-*ti*
4. § 9 [...] || [...] *x-[s] a-mi-na* CUM-*ni* (LOQUI) *la-ma-ni-sà-ti*
- § 10 *za-ti-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni* REL-*sa* MALUS-*ta₄-ti* VERSUS-*ia-na*
PES₂-*si-ti*
- § 11 *ni-pa-wa/i + ra/i* "CRUS.CRUS"-*i* REL-*ti* PRAE-*ni*
- § 12 *wa/i-ra + a* SCRIBA + *RA/I(-)tà-ia* REL-*sa*
5. § 13 *ka-ma-ni-sa* [*pa-wa/i* DOMUS-*ni(?)* || BONUS-*za(?)*] [NEG₂]
CUM-*ni i-zi-i-ti*
- § 14 *ni-pa-wa/i | za-ia* | ("LOQUI") *pá² + ra/i-ta* REL-*sa* NEG₂
AUDIRE + *MI-ti-ti*
- § 15 |*á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* CENTUM (DOMUS) *ki-sà-ta + ra/i-sa*
(DEUS) *ku-AVIS-sá* | *LIS-la/i/u-sa-tú*
- § 16 *wa/i-tú-tá* PANISS.CUTELLA-*na pi-ha(-)* [...]

I subjected the Pinatean fortresses
to Karkamiš,
and the devastated precincts I
[(re)settl]ed(?).
[...] for Kubaba, Queen of Kar-
kamiš, I Kamanis the Ruler made
an honoured precinct.
Kings and ... lords will come in to
pray to her,
for [her/me(?)] they will *proclaim*(?)
[me/her(?)] the [...]ed.
(He) who shall *come* against this
divinity with malice,
or if she shall pass down to (one)
who shall ... ,
and shall not do [good to the
house] of Kamanis,
or who shall not listen to these
words,
against him may Kubaba of 100
KISTARA's litigate,
and for him [may she] ... [...]

Commentary

After my recent *Edition* of the text (1981), the following observations are offered in amplification.

§ 1. May contain end of one clause (verb) and beginning of next, [...]AVIS[...]. Restoration of latter as [(DEUS)ku+]AVIS may be impossible in the space: this inscription elsewhere writes (DEUS)ku-AVIS in two columns.

§ 3. [DEUS].DOMUS[-*za*]: Bossert, loc. cit., identified the context. For note on form of word for "temple", see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, Commentary. Other contexts show a form (-)ha-tà, plur. tantum(?), but HAMA 4, § 10, has DEUS.DOMUS+MI-*za*, clearly nom./acc. sing. N, and a similar form perhaps occurred here, as restoration suggests.

§ 6. VACUUS-*tà*: now identified as form of (VACUUS) *tanati*, "empty, waste" (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; and for the logogram VACUUS (transcribed by him as VASTUS), see Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 32), since VACUUS is not attested as determining any other stem. For other attestations, see MARAŞ 1, § 4, Commentary.

[LOCUS]-*ta₄-ta₅*: LOCUS, as noted, copied by George Smith (see Fig., above, p. 141). The clear (nom.) acc. plur. N here, with dat. sing. LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-ti(-i)* (KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 9, 23; BOHÇA, § 13; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1a, l. 1, frag. 1b, l. 2) and dat. plur. LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-za* (KARATEPE, 120, 172, = Phoen. *b-mqmm*), together point to a -*t*- or -*nt*- stem, LOCUS-*ta(n)t*, i.e. **pita(n)t*; cf. § 7 below.

[...] -*x-ha*: sense will certainly parallel MARAŞ 1, § 4, thus "I [repair]ed the devastated precincts". Possibly restore [SOL]IUM[-*nu*]-*ha*, "I [resettl]ed", as there (cf. also GÜRÜN, § 5); or perhaps [PUGNUS-*ni*] + *i-ha*, "I raised up" (for verb, see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, and Commentary).

§ 7. LOCUS-*ta₄-za*: reading confirmed by collation, form certainly (nom.) acc. sing. N. Set beside the -(*n*)-*t*-suffixed forms recognized as dat. sing, acc. plur. N and dat. plur. (above, § 6), can the present form be the corresponding (nom.) acc. sing.? For a parallel form LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za*, occurring in a repeated topos, and the problem of its identification (nom./acc. sing. N or dat. plur.), see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, Commentary. The present form could correspond strikingly to Lyc. *pddāt*- (= Greek τέμενος; see Laroche, *BSL* 62 (1967), p. 61 f.), and occurs in a closely similar context, that of divine precincts. This suggests that, *pace* Laroche, the Lyc. root should be associated with Hitt. *peda*-, "place", rather than *petta*-, "lot".

kar-ka-mi-si-zi(URBS): dat. sing. in -*i*, cf. *kar(-ka)-mi-si-za*(URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 5, 16 – 10th or early 9th century B.C.); also cf. *i-la-pa-za*(URBS), "Halabean" (KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 11 – beginning of 8th century B.C.).

§ 8. *356-*wa/i-zi*: if first sign correctly identified with that in *356(-)REL-*s[u-...]* (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 15), the latter, though apparently a verb, could point to a stem **kuisu*- here (cf. Commentary there).

PES₂.PES₂-ti: identified in my *Edition* with verb PES₂.PES₂(-)tā-, “walk”; for forms of this now attested, see KARATEPE, 187, Commentary.

§ 9. (LOQUI)la-ma-ni-sā-: my *Edition* questioned association with stem “name” (Hier. *ataman-*) but accepted as verb of speaking. But cf. now Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 189.

Restoration envisaged: dir. obj. “her” or “me”, qualified by [...-s]a-mi-na, participle; indir. obj. “me” or “her”.

§ 10. PES₂-si-ti: otherwise unattested verb of motion paralleled elsewhere by PES-wa/i- (*awi-*), “come”. [See now TELL AHMAR 5, § 15, and Commentary.]

§ 11. ni-pa-wa/i+ra/i: -ra/i should not represent -ta *Ortspartikel*, which being -ta not -da (cf. Cun. Luw. -tta) would not rhotacize (see A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 248). Where the parallel passages have -wa/i-tā (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 21; A11b+c, § 21), it must presumably be identified as -ata, “it”, always subject of the following intrans. verb, 3 sing. pres., even when there is no obvious sing. N antecedent, i.e. “this god” or “these gates”, “these *haristani*-buildings”. The same problem occurs in a more acute form here: -wa/i+ra/i must represent -wa + ara < ata, “it”, although the only obvious antecedent is “this god”. Note that other examples of PRAE-na CRUS.CRUS-, “pass down to”, where the subject is expressed in the clause, do not have -ta *Ortspartikel* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 25; A11a, § 13).

§ 12. Cf. the parallel KARKAMIŠ A6, § 26, and Commentary.

§§ 13–14. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for restoration, and for elucidation of negatives and of AUDIRE+MI-ti (= *tumanti-*, “hear”).

§ 14. (“LOQUI”)pā²+ra/i-ta: occurs frequently in curse formulae, usually as object of verb *arha* MAL-LEUS-, “erase” (interdicted action), with determinative LOQUI as here (MALPINAR, § 18), or without (CEKKE, § 23; KARKAMIŠ A25b, § 2; ANKARA, § 6; BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 15); fragmentary (KARKAMIŠ A29f1, l. 2; TELL AHMAR 1, § 22?, see Commentary); for singular, “LOQUI”-ta-za, see KAYSERİ, § 20, and Commentary (also KARKAMIŠ

A27ff2?). A proposed association of this word with Cun. Luw. *paratta-* (Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [33]), has been rejected by Melchert, who suggests an alternative reading of pā² and association for the word (see *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 36 f.). It does not seem that firm ground has yet been reached with this word: it would appear to be an utterance (determinative LOQUI), which can be recorded in stone and erased, but there is no clear evidence to locate the sense between “word” and “curse”. Cf. also KULULU 1, § 12, Commentary. For the reading pā², see Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 36 f.).

§ 15. CENTUM (DOMUS)ki-sā-ta+ra/i-sa: interpretation follows that of Barnett (*Carchemish* III, p. 262) in recognizing this form of CENTUM and taking (DOMUS)ki-sā-ta+ra/i- as some type of temple of Kubaba’s.

LIS, “litigate, sue” (formerly IRA, “be angry”): see for reinterpretation MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

§ 16. See my *Edition*, identifying *422, acc. sing. MF (not understood) and discussing the possible form of *piha*[...], dir. obj. or verb?

PANIS.SCUTELLA-na: the logogram *422, elsewhere found determining *tunikara-* (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 45, and Commentary), and *muša²nuwa(n)ti-* (MARAŞ 1, § 1 i, and Commentary), has now been plausibly analysed and explained by Melchert as “bread+tray”, i.e. “serve food” (*KZ* 101 (1988), pp. 225–229 cit. 7–8). For the connotation of the logogram, we could compare (PANIS.PITHOS)á-za/za-li-sa/za, “food, feast” (CEKKE, §§ 10, 11; KARKAMIŠ A4a, §§ 4, 11, and see Commentaries), and PANIS.PITHOS-ni-i-na (KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 35, and Commentary). Indeed the last context, a blessing, could be somewhat parallel to the present, a curse, to the extent that PANIS.PITHOS-ni-i- could even represent the same word as PANIS.SCUTELLA here, i.e. the imprecation would be directed against the malefactor’s *food*.

pi-ha[...]: the stem is now identified by Starke as denoting “lightning” and derived concepts; see KARATEPE, 299; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 14, and Commentaries there. The identification of PANIS SCUTELLA as perhaps indicating “food”, would incline one to seek here an aggressive action on the part of the gods: “[blast with] lightning” (abl. sing. + missing verb, or perhaps simply denom. verb from *piha-*).

II.27. CEKKE (plates 42–43)

Location. Stele, National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, no. 2459.

Description. Basalt stele, front flat, reverse curved. Front bears relief figure of Storm-God facing right, bearded and pigtailed, wearing horned helmet, long,

fringed, belted robe and shoes with upturned toes; he stands on the back of a bridled bull, facing right, and holds in his left hand a trident thunderbolt and the bull’s reins, in his right a pine-cone(?). The stele bears two separate inscriptions: (1) lower obverse, 4 lines, beginning on background to sculpture below bull’s head

running dextroverse (l. 1), *boustrophedon* (ll. 2–3) and on to raised band below sculpture (l. 4); a 3-line inscription, obverse top, on background to god's head, beginning top right and running sinistroversely, then *boustrophedon*, forms continuation and conclusion of inscription 1 (see Content); (2) reverse, 12 lines, beginning top right, running sinistroversely, then *boustrophedon*; ll. 4–7 run round left edge of obverse on to background of sculpture between god's skirt and bull's reins up to right edge of obverse; inscription ends l. 12 lower right.

Dimensions: ht., 1.62 m.; w., 0.70 m.; line ht., 0.10–0.11 m.

Condition: good, completely preserved.

Script: cut as for relief but without background being cut away; line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: monumental, but occasional cursives (*ma*, *mu*, *ā*, *na*, *sā*, *tā*), also linear (*nu*, *mi*, word-dividers).

Peculiarities: form of *ā* (cf. KARKAMIŠ A31); *sa* consistently plain semicircle (see KARKAMIŠ A18e, Date); rhotacism.

Word-dividers: rare (except with INFANS/FRATER).

Discovery. Found in field at village of Cekke, 46 km. north-north-east of Aleppo, in connection with some foundations taken by Dunand as original base, therefore approximately *in situ*? (Dunand, loc. cit. below, Publication).

Publication. Dunand, *Bull. Mus. Beyrouth* 4 (1940), pp. 85–92, pls. I–II (photographs, obverse (1), reverse (3)); Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), pp. 122–136, pls. XIX (photograph of obverse), XX (photographs of inked squeezes), XXI (photographs, details of inscription, obverse, middle and lower), XXII (3 photographs of reverse), fig. 34 (transcription of text into linear arrangement); cf. Pritchard, *ANEP* (1954/1969), no. 500 (photograph of obverse).

Editions. Barnett, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 5, pp. 31–43 (with new drawing); id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 28, pp. 108–112, Tav. XI.

Excerpts.

- § 1 Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 97 f.; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 51; Bossert, *Or.* NS 26, p. 114, Abb. 5.
 §§ 1–2 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 125 cit. 4.
 §§ 1–3 Bossert, *SCO* 1, p. 57 f.
 § 3 Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94, p. 102.
 § 5 Laroche, *HH* no. 27 (a).
 § 6–a) Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 98 f.; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 86; Bossert, *SCO* 1, p. 57 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 149 f. app. 1 cit. B.

- § 6(b) Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 128.
 §§ 6–7 Meriggi, *Acme* 4, p. 190 n. 1; Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 160 f.; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 93 cit. 2.
 § 7 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 89.
 §§ 8–9 Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94, p. 94 cit. 4.
 §§ 8–12 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 96 cit. 6.
 § 12 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 128 cit. 16; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 261.
 §§ 15–16 Melchert, *Studies Cougill*, p. 192 n. 26.
 §§ 19–21 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 273.
 § 20 Laroche, *HH* nos. 93.5; 329.1.1; 368.4; 447.1 (a).
 §§ 20–23 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 146 f. cit. 55 b; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 596 f.
 § 22 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 134 cit. 4; cf. ead., *Studies Cougill*, p. 216 and n. 27.
 §§ 22–23 Laroche, *HH* no. 268.4.
 § 24 Laroche, *HH* nos. 90.11; 309.1; Hawkins, *RHL* 4 29, pp. 115/128 cit. (vi); Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 591.
 §§ 24–27 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 163 f. cit. 17.
 §§ 24–28 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 281.
 §§ 25–26 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 138 cit. 15.
 §§ 25–27 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 142 cit. 47b; id., *Kadmos* 19, p. 131 cit. 8.
 §§ 25–28 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 63.

Content. *Inscription 1* (obverse bottom + top): dedication of stele and inscription by DOMINUS-*tiwaras*, servant of Sasturas; offerings to Storm-God.

Inscription 2 (reverse (+ obverse, middle)): foundation charter of city Kamana established by Kamanis, ruler of Karkamiš, acting with Sasturas his vizier. § 6 a, Names and titles of Kamanis and Sasturas; §§ 6 b–7, purchase of city from men of Kanapu-city; §§ 8–12, contractual declaration of payments to interested parties; §§ 13–16, establishment of city, its officials(?) and frontiers for “fathers and sons”; § 17 a–o, names of fathers and sons, 15 pairs from 8 cities; §§ 18–19, statement of settlement(?) and frontiers; §§ 20–28, protective curse against infringements of foundation.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Dieckke)* 1, pp. 53, 147, 157, 234, 239, 360, 482; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 157–159.

Date. Reign of Kamanis, mid-8th century B.C.; see KARKAMIŠ A31, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Aleppo Museum in the summer 1971, checked against the stone and collated photographs.

Photographs. These were taken in Aleppo Museum in 1978 by the late Peter Dorrell.

Transliteration	Translation
Inscription 1, <i>obverse</i> (bottom) 1–2. § 1 EGO-mi DOMINUS.SOL -wa/i+ra/i-sā sa-sa-tū+ra/i-sā 3. wā/i-sa -mi-sa SERVUS-ta₅ 4. § 2 a-wa/i za LIGNUM[x]-[pa]-ma-za [DOMINUS]SOL-wa/i +ra/i-sā sa-sa-[tū+ra/i]-ia [DOMINUS]-ni ā-pa-sa-na PONERE-tā § 3 za-ba-wa/i STELE-zi²¹ ā-pa-sa pu-pa-li-ta (top) 1. § 4 za-ti-pa CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS VITELLUS 2. (ANIMAL) ARHL4 (“[FLAMM]AE(?)”)k[i]-n]u-ti § 5 POST+ra/i-tā-pa-wa/i BOS(ANIMAL) OVIS 3. (ANIMAL) LIBARE(-)sa₅+ra/i-la-ti	I (am) LORD-tiwaras, beloved servant of Sasturas. This ... LORD-tiwaras set up for Sasturas his lord, and this <i>stèle</i> the latter <i>composed</i>. For this celestial Tarhunzas they shall <i>burn</i> up a <i>calf</i>, and in future they shall offer an ox and a sheep.
Inscription 2, <i>reverse</i> 1. § 6a ka-ma-ni-sa IUDEX-sa kar-ka-mi-sā(URBS) M-4_x-zā(URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS sa-sā-tū+ra/i-sa¹ka-ma-ni-sa FRONS-la/i/u-sa SERVUS-ta₄ 2. b ka-ma-na-na(URBS) URBS+MI-ni-na ka-na -pu-wa/i-na-za (URBS) CUM-ni (“CONTRACTUS”)i-sa-ta ā-pa-sa-ti *314(-)sa-tā-na-ti § 7 wa/i-ma-za 600 ASINUS(ANIMAL)-i-za DARE-tā § 8 za-CRUS+R-1/I-pa-wa/i SUB²¹-ni 1 “ARGENTUM”-ri+i 3 (SCALPRUM)ma-na-zi ARGENTUM-za 3. § 9 wa/i+ra/i-pa-tā -sa-za (INFANS)ni-wa/i-za DARE-mi-na bā-ia-la¹la-pa+ra/i-na-ia¹za-za-ia-ba 4 (SCALPRUM) ma-na-zi ARGENTUM-za (*349)nū-hu-za-ti(URBS) DARE-mi-na § 10 bā-ia-la URBS+MI-ni ta-ni-mi¹ā-ba-li-ia FLUMIN. DOMINUS PRAE-na (PANIS.PITHOS)ā-zā-li-za 4. i-zi-ia-mi-na § 11 wa/i BOS(ANIMAL) 15 OVIS ka-na-pu-ia(URBS) 2 SCALPRUM-na-zi ARGENTUM-za (PANIS.PITHOS) ā-zā-li-sā DARE-mi-na § 12 DOMINUS-ti-wa/i+ra/i-ia-pa-wa/i ā-ba-li-sa-na PRAE-ti *179.*347.5-sā-pa-sā 1 SCALPRUM-sa (*33(2))mi+ra/i- sa₅+ra/i-zi DARE-mi-na § 13 URBS+MI-ni-pa-wa/i 20 tā-mi 10 INFANS-ni ki-tara/i-sa (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)bi-sā-bi-mi-na 5. § 14 (LIGNUM)ba-za-ni-sa-pa-wa/i za-sa(-)ba-pu-zi-sa (INFANS) ni-wa/i-za-sa ā-sa-ta BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-[x]-ni-sa MAGNUS+ra/i-ia-zi-ba § 15 a-wa/i FINES-ha+ra/i-ia(-)ta-sa ba-zi-mi-na § 16 wa/i-ta tā-ra+a-za (INFANS)ni-wa/i-za-ba ki-tara/i-sa (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)bi-sā-bi-mi-na § 17 a zi-la-pa+ra/i-ba+ra/i(URBS) TONITRUS-hu-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sā¹hara/i-na-(m)u²-sa-ha (INFANS)ni-wa/i-za-sa ā-pa-sā 6. b¹ba+ra/i -li-sa TONITRUS-hu-tā-wa/i+ra/i-sa-ba (INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā c¹ba+ra/i-ni-sa ba-wa/i+ra/i-za-sa(URBS) ¹sā-tā- FRATER- la-sa-ba (INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā d na-ni-sa FRATER-la-wa,i+ra/i-sa-ba (INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā	Kamanis the Ruler, the Country- Lord of the cities Karkamiš (and) Malizi(?), (and) Sasturas, “first servant” of Kamanis, – the city Kamana they bought from the Kanapuweans with their ... , and to them they gave 600 mules, (saying): “... 3 <i>minas</i>(?) (of) <i>silver</i>(?) to Warpatas’s sons we give, ... to Labarnas and Zazas 4 <i>minas</i>(?) (of) <i>silver</i>(?) from the city Nu- huza we give, ... in every city before Ahalis the River-Lord we make a feast(?), an ox, 15 sheep to the city Kanapu (and) 2 <i>minas</i>(?) (of) <i>silver</i>(?) (and) a meal(?) we give, and before LORD-tiwaras Ahalis’s (son) we give ... We bind the city (as) a <i>donation</i> for 20(+)-10 TAMI(’s) and child(ren), and there was the <i>mayor</i>, Zashapuz- is(?)’s son, BRACCHIUM-la- [...]-nis(PN?), and the great ones(?). We engrave <i>frontier stelae</i>, and we bind them (as) a <i>donation</i> for the fathers and sons. From the city Zilaparaha Tarhuntiwaris and Harana- (m)us(?) his son, Haralis and Tarhuntawaris his son, Haranis the Hawarean and Sant- adalar(?) his son, Nanis and Adalarwaris(?) his son.

- e [la/i/u-tā]-pa-ti(URBS)
¹ka-pā² + ra/i-sa ¹REL-za-ia + ra/i-sa-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa
 ā-pa-sā
7. f PUGNUS-ri + i-mi-sā za-ha-mu-sa-ha|| |(INFANS)ni-za-sa
 ā-pa-sa
 g ā-pa-ku-ru-tā-ri + i(URBS)
 PUGNUS-mi-la/i/u-li-sa sū-zi-sa-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa
 ā-pa-sā
 h za + ra/i-ha-nu-ri + i(URBS)
 la-sā pi-ia-TONITRUS-hu-za-sā-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā
 i SOL-wa/i + ra/i-mi-sā ¹sā-tā-(m)u²-sā-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa
 ā-pa-sā||
8. j sa₅ + ra/i-mu-tara/i(URBS)
 pa-pi-sā AVUS-ha-wa/i + ra/i-sa-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sa
 k TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-mu-sa ā-sa-ti-TONITRUS-za-sā-ha
 <(INFANS)ni-za-sa> ā-pa-sa
 l i-sa-tara/i(URBS)
 MAGNUS + ra/i-TONITRUS-sa TONITRUS-hu-wa/i-su-
 wa/i-sa |(INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā||
9. m OMNIS-mi-FRATER-la-sa PUGNUS-ri + i-mi-sā-ha
 |(INFANS)ni-za-sa <ā-pa-sa>
 n hu-hu + ra/i-tā-ti(URBS)
¹ā-mu-sa wa/i-li-na-ia-sa-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā
 o sa-tara/i-pa-ti(URBS)
 zu¹-na-(m)u²-sa TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-SOL-wa/i + ra/i-
 sa-ha |(INFANS)ni-za-sa ā-pa-sā
10. § 18 |wa/i-tā su + ra/i-i-zi || (“CAPUT”)ha-ra/i-ma-bi MANUS.
 *311(-)la/i/u²-mi-na
 § 19 a-wa/i FINES-bi-zi PONERE-mi-na
 § 20 |za-ti-pa-wa/i URBS + MI-ni REL-sa MALUS-bi-tā-ri + i
 VERSUS (PES₂)i + ra/i
 § 21 ni-pa-wa/i FINES-bi-zi .ARHA MANUS.*218(-)la/i/u²-ha-i
 § 22 |ni-pa-wa/i-sa za-ti STELE-ri + i (SCALPRUM)tara/i-pi ||
11. CRUS-ia
 § 23 wa/i-ta za-ia pā² + ra/i-ta .ARHA MALLEUS-i
 § 24 ā-pa-ti-pa-wa/i CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)
 ka + ra/i-hu-ha-sā (DEUS)ku-AVIS-ha (DEUS)BONUS
 (DEUS)i-sa-ha (DEUS)LUNA + MI-sa (DEUS)SOL
 (CRUX)wa/i-la “PES”-wa/i-tū
 § 25 a-wa/i |“CAELUM”-sa CORNU + RA/I-na |ni
 LITUUS + na-ti
12. § 26 TERRA-pa-wa/i CORNU + RA/I-na |ni || (PES₂.PES)
 [tara/i-pi-ti]
 § 27 (DEUS)ku-pa-AVIS-pa-si-pa-wa/i *476-wā/i-sa-ha-na
 CORNU + RA/I-na |ni LITUUS + na-ti
 § 28 wa/i-tū-ta za-zi DEUS-ni-zi |“TERRA”-sa *185(-)hu-sa-za
 SCALPRUM-na x ā-[...] .ARHA i-zi-ia-tū

From the city Lutapa(?)

Kaparas and Kwazayaras his son,

Arimis(?) and Zahamus his son.

From the city Apakuruta

...lumilis(?) and Suzis his son.

From the city Zarahanu

Las and Piyatarhunzas his son,

Tiwarimis and Santa(m)us(?) his son.

From the city Sarmuta

Papis and Huhawaris his son,

Halpamus and Astitarhunzas his son.

From the city Isata

Uratuhunzas and Tarhuwasuwas his son,

Tanimadalas(?) and Arimis(?) his son.

From the city Huhurata

Amus and Walinayas his son.

From the city Satarpa

Zuna(m)us(?) and Halpatiwaras his son.

We ... the SURI's at the head(?),

and we establish frontiers.”

(He) who shall approach this city with malice,

or shall *infringe* the frontiers,

or shall stand for TARPI- against

this stele,

and erase these *words*,

against him may celestial Tarhunzas,

Karhuhas and Kubaba, the Good

God and Ea, the Moon (and)

the Sun come *fatally* !

Let him not behold the *abundance* of the Sky,

and let him not [TARPI-] the

abundance of the Earth,

and let him not behold the TAW-

ASHA *abundance* of Kubaba!

For him may these gods change(?)

the land's *life* (to) stone(?)!

Commentary

§ 1. DOMINUS.SOL-wa/i + ra/i-sā (also § 2): cf. DOMINUS-ti-wa/i + ra/i-ia, § 12. Correct reading DOMINUS (§§ 1–2), and identification with name in § 12, noted by Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 162 n. 63. The logogram DOMINUS, “lord”, represents two words, one with phonetic complement (-ia)(-i)-, found nor-

mally after REGIO-ni/ni-ia-si- (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary; also after wa/i + ra/i-pa-si, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 16; and cf. also ANDAVAL, § 1); the other, more common, with phonetic complement -(na-)ni(-i)-, used in general contexts (see KARATEPE, § XIV, Commentary). As an onomastic element, com-

pare ¹DOMINUS-*ni-za+ra/i-ma-ia* (dat. sing.) (KULULU lead strip 1, § 5 entry 29(4)), indicating the use of the form in *-(na-)ni(-i)-* in this context too.

wā/i-sa-mi-sa: only full phonetic writing of usual BONUS-*sa-mi-* (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 19; A11b+c, § 34; A20a1, l. 1; A31, § 7) or BONUS-*mi-* (KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 1; A1a, § 22; KELEKLİ, § 2; ALEPPO 2, § 1; BABYLON 1, § 3; EĞREK, § 1, ŞIRZI, § 1).

SERVUS-*ta₅*: for the endless writings of this word, elsewhere always *-ta₄*, see below, § 6; also BEIRUT bowl, § 1; ÇİFTLİK, § 1(?); KARKAMIŠ A21, § 7.

§ 2. LIGNUM[x]-[*pa*]-*ma-za*: form is acc. sing. N, apparently of participle of verb [...]-*pa-*. The word must describe either the stele itself, the text or its content. The logogram LIGNUM (HH no. 382) is taken to denote “wood”, determining either wooden objects or words connoting authority, as would seem to be most likely here; see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary. Thus perhaps “decree” or the like.

[DOMINUS]-*ni ā-pa-sa-na*, “for his lord”: reading proposed following collation by Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 162 n. 63; cf. Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. For possessive *apasi-*, “his”, (as also *ami-*, “my”) to follow its qualified noun is rare but found: cf. SULTANHAN, § 9; ALEPPO 2, § 23; also KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21, Commentary, for *ami-*.

§ 3. STELE-*zi²¹*: in context, acc. sing. N, following *za*, “this”, expected form is *wa/i-ni/nī-za*, as in RESTAN/QAL’AT EL MUDIQ, § 3; ERKİLET 1, § 2; BABYLON 1, § 13; ANKARA, § 4; TİLSEVET, § 5. A series of stelae however have, as here, (*wa/i*)-*nī-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A18b, A18f, A5a, TİLSEVET, all § 1), a form still unexplained. See TİLSEVET, Note (p. 180).

ā-pa-sa: uncertain whether to take as nom. sing. MF, the subject, “that one” (i.e. DOMINUS-tiwaras, or perhaps Sasturas); or gen. sing. “(as) his (own)” (i.e. DOMINUS-tiwaras’s).

pu-pa-li-tā: Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., compares with (“LOQUI(-)”) *pu-pa-la-ta* (ASSUR letter a, § 5) and speculates on a possible connection with Lyc. (p)pu(we)-, “write”.

§§ 4–5. Contextually these lines prescribing offerings to the stele’s Storm-God belong with §§ 1–3, describing the setting up of the stele, not at the end of the quite unrelated text of the reverse. For very comparable paired clauses, see MARAŞ 5, §§ 1–2; MARAŞ 3, §§ 4–5.

§ 4. *za-ti-pa*: for omission of connective particle *-wa/i*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 2, and Commentary citing other parallels.

(“[FLAMM]AE(?)”) *ē[i-n]u-ti*: probable reading. Meriggi’s *ē[i-nu-u]a/i-ti*, though possible, looks less easy to accommodate. Verb could be either 3 sing. or plur. pres., subject either “he” (DOMINUS-tiwaras or Sast-

uras) or “they” (both), but since the verb of the following clause is identified as 3 plur. pres., the plural is likely here too. This context, and the two parallels noted, give the general sense as “offer” animals to a god, parallel in each case to (*sa*)*sarli-*, “libate, offer”. A closely comparable verb is (“FLAMMAE(?)”) *la/i/u-sā-la/i/i/u-sā-*, also from context “offer” animal (HAMA 4, § 11, Commentary). This contextually-based sense combines with the apparent pictographic character of the logogram, interpreted as “flames” already by Meriggi in 1934 (*MVAG* 39/1, pp. 113, 136), to suggest the interpretation “offer (animal) by burning”, or simply “burn”, for both *kinuwa-* and *lulus-*. Cf. also ALEPPO 2, § 23, Commentary; also (FLAMMAE(?)) *la_x-há-nū-wa/i-*, TOPADA, § 14, and Commentary; and (FLAMMAE(?)) *marusana-*, KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 7, Commentary.

§ 5. POST+*ra/i-tā*: this writing found also on SULTANHAN, §§ 27, 28, where *ā-pa+ra/i-ta* (§ 34) is identified as the phonetic writing (see Commentary there).

LIBARE(-)*sa₅+ra/i-la-ti*: the simple verb is attested in forms *sa₅+ra/i-li-ha* (1 sing. pret., MARAŞ 3, § 5); ([LIB]ARE)[*sa*]₅+*ra/i-li-ta* (3 sing. pret., TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 2, l. 3); (LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-li-i-tu* (3 sing. imp., KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 31); (LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-la-i-ti* (3 plur. pres., ANCOZ 1, § 2, see Commentary), which together indicate the stem *sarli-*. The reduplicated form is attested as *sa-sa₅+ra/i-la-wa/i* (1 sing. pres., KULULU 1, § 6); *sa₅-sa₅+ra/i-la-i* (3 sing. pres., BULGARMADEN, § 11); (LIBARE)*sā-sa₅+ra/i-la-ti* (3 plur. pres., MARAŞ 5, § 2); *sa-sa₅+ra/i-la-tu* (3 sing.(?) imp., MALPINAR, § 26); these together indicate the stem *sasarla-*. It is easier to identify the present form as 3 plur. pres., *sasarla-* than 3 sing. pres., *sarli-* (unattested, **sarliti*) or 3 plur. pres., *sarli-* (*sarlainti*, see above).

§§ 6–7. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for identification of § 6 as single clause without introductory or connective particles (cf. introductions to DARENDE, EĞREK, ERKİLET 1, TOPADA; also KARABURUN, §§ 2–4); also for elucidation of “Sasturas, Kamanis’s first servant”, i.e., “vizier”. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for identification of CUM-*ni* (“CONTRACTUS”) *i(-ia)-sa-*, “buy from”; and cf. TÜNP 1, § 1; ASSUR letter f+g, § 34. For an etymology see now Melchert, *KZ* 102 (1989), pp. 42–45.

§ 6. IUDEX-*sa kar-ka-mi-sā*(URBS) *M-ā_x-zā*(URBS) REGIO. DOMINUS: Kamanis’s titles here recur on A21, § 1 (with HEROS for IUDEX-*sa*) as titles of Sasturas’s son with interesting dynastic implications.

kar-ka-mi-sā: endless form certainly archaizing; cf. archaic KARKAMIŠ A4b.

M-ā_x-zā(URBS) is found only here and as *M-ā_x* (REGIO) on KARKAMIŠ A21, § 1, as a component of Karkamiš titulary. Its similarity to the writing of the

name Malatya (*MA_xLI_x-zi*(URBS)), for which see GÜRÜN, § 1, and Commentary, raises the possibility that Kamanis and a later king of Karkamiš could have had claims over Malatya, as Meriggi supposes (*Manuale* II/2, p. 147 f.). Although such a claim could hardly have had any substance at this late date, it could be seen as an archaizing revival of a genuine claim of Kuzi-Tešub (c. 1200 B.C.) as Great King and perhaps also of the other "Great Kings" of Karkamiš: see Karkamiš, The Historical Context, pp. 73, 76 f., and Malatya, The Historical Context, p. 283.

§ 7. ASINUS(ANIMAL)-*i-za* (cf. Mittelberger, loc. cit.): apparently (nom.) acc. sing. N, collective noun, = *tarkasni(n)za* < *tarkasniya(n)za*?; cf. (EQUUS) *á-sü-wa/i-za*, "horse-herd" (ANDAVÁL, § 4, Commentary); also "9" BOS(ANIMAL)-*za*, "(group of) nine oxen" (MARÁŠ 5, § 2, Commentary). The phonetic writing *tara/i-ka-sa-ni* attests an *-i*-stem *tarkasni* while ASINUS-*na* indicates an *-a*-stem *tarkasna*, and differentiations in the logogram (ASINUS₁₋₂) also suggest a distinction: see Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 110 f. Starke recognizes *tarkasna*, "donkey", and the derived adj. form *tarkasni*, "mule" (*Stammbildung*, Anm. 1477).

§§ 8–9. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., identifying the *-mi-na* endings of the verbs of these, and the following clauses, as 1 plur. pres. This ending can now be seen to be frequent in practical documents, and seems to represent a verbal declaration which underlay contractual agreements: see KARKAMIŠ A4a, §§ 4, 11; KULULU lead strip 1, §§ 6.35, 36; 7.40; 9.60, 61; strip 2, § 1.3, 6; SULTANHAN, § 3(?), § 41.

§§ 8–12. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., proposing numeral (SCALPRUM)*ma-na-zi* ARGENTUM-*za*, "so-many minas(?) (of) silver(?)"; also (PANIS.PITHOS)*á-za-li-sá//za*, "food//feast"; and examining *za*-CRUS + *R-1/I* (unclear, cf. TOPADA, § 26, Commentary); INFRA²¹/SUB²¹-*ni* (unparalleled, emend to CUM¹-*ni*?); 1 ARGENTUM-*ni* + *i*, "from one (ingot of?) silver(?)"; *há-ia-la*, otherwise unknown word, acting as conjunction?; (*349)*nú-bu-za-ti*(URBS) (see below), "from the city Nuhuza", recurrent formulation in texts of this type; PRAE-*ti*, supported by collation but unparalleled beside the usual PRAE-*na*/PRAE-*i(a)*; *179.*347.5-*sà-pa-sá*, identified with *179.*347.5(-)*wa/i-sà-pa* (ASSUR letter *e*, § 18) and compared with Hitt.-Luw. *waš(ša)pa*, "clothing" (but see below).

The following remarks may be offered in amplification.

§ 8. (INFANS)*ni-wa/i-za*: here, and in § 16, clearly dat. plur. (so Meriggi, *Glossar*, p. 89), which should lead to analysis (-)*níwa* + *-a(n)za*. Yet CEKKE has some curious writings of the word "child", which demand comparison with writings elsewhere. Thus (INFANS)*ní-wa/i-za-sa*, §§ 14, 17 a, is nom. sing. MF (as also in KIR-

ÇOĞLU, § 1), and the latter attestation is paralleled by, thus probably identical to, (INFANS)*ni/ní-za/za-sa/sá* (§ 17 b–o). From other inscriptions, (INFANS)*nim-wi-za* is well attested in genealogies, where it can be seen to alternate with, thus equate to, (INFANS)*ni-za*: see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary where the identification (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za* = (INFANS)*ni-za* was taken to suggest the latter to be a colloquial or graphic abbreviation of the former. By the same token, the equation here (INFANS)*ni/ní-za/za* = (INFANS)*ni-wa/i-za* (§ 17 b–o//a) should imply that the latter too is a similar abbreviation of *nimwi-za*. If these abbreviations are graphic they could be expressed by the transliterations INFANS.VI/VI(-*wa/i*)-*za*; if colloquial, by the interpretation *ní(wi)za*. The problem of the dat. plur. (INFANS)*ni-wa/i-za* remains, since in the context it is hard to believe it is a different word, yet *-za* must represent ending of dat. plur., *-a(n)za*. It seems that this must be either another graphic abbreviation, to be transliterated INFANS.VI-*WÁ/I-za*; or perhaps a haplographic writing for (INFANS)*ni-wa/i-za-za* representing *ní(mu)wi-za(n)za*.

§ 9. ¹*la-pa+ra/i-na-ia* ¹*za-za-ia-ba*: personal determinatives omitted by Meriggi but clear; name *Zaza* useful in argument to identify sign value *za* (see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HfIL*, p. [47] and n. 165).

(*349)*nú-bu-za-ti*(URBS): for *349 as a prefixed determinative with place-names, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 3, Commentary.

§§ 10, 12. ¹*á-ba-li-ia*, *á-ba-li-sa-na*: for identification of name and patronymic, both dat. sing., see Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 162 n. 63.

§ 10. FLUMEN.DOMINUS, "river-lord": see BOY-BEYPINARI 1, § 2, Commentary.

§§ 10, 11. (PANIS.PITHOS)*á-za-li-za/sá*: both identified as acc. sing. N with usual *-sa* suffix; former form identified as *azali(ya)n*, derivative of latter form *azali*. The words Hitt. *azallaia* (Kronasser, *Umsiedlung* (§ 6) i 32 and p. 43; cf. now Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb²*, s.v. *azalli*.) and Lyc. *azala* (TL 44, b59; c10), both otherwise unknown, could perhaps be connected. Cf. Cun. Luw. form *azzašti*, "food": Starke, *Sprache* 31 (1985), pp. 249–255.

§ 12. PRAE-*ti*: otherwise unattested phonetic complement to PRAE (but cf. now perhaps MALPINAR, § 5, and Commentary), compared by Meriggi for formation to SUPER + *ra/i-ti* (ÇİFTLIK, § 7 – but this should actually be read SUPER + *ra/i-la-ti*, see Commentary); beside PRAE-*na* (*paran*) and PRAE-*i(a)* (*pari(ya)*), it presumably represents **paranti* or **pari(ya)nti*.

(*33(2))*mi+ra/i-sa+ra/i-zi*: only other attestation, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 8, see Commentary. Here the context is somewhat clearer: *mirasari-zi* acc. plur. MF,

dir. object, thus the word denotes a kind of thing which may be given in quantities as payment. Other attempts to penetrate this word could work from the logogram, at present unexplained, and from morphological analysis.

*179.*347.5-*sà-pa-sá*: the identification with (-)*wa/i-sà-pa* (ASSUR letter *e*, § 18) made the association with Hitt.-Luw. *waš(ja)pa*-, "clothing", plausible. Yet now it is likely that *179 stands for "barley" (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 10, Commentary), and the difficulty of seeing how "barley" could feature in a compound logogram determining clothing raises doubts. It may be preferable to see in this word a type of cereal. Syntactically it is hard to take the word as anything apart from genitive, or possibly -*asi*- adj., acc. plur. N.

1 SCALPRUM-*sa*: previously identified with the SCALPRUM (*ma*)-*na*-, "mina", of §§ 8, 9, 11. Syntactically also best taken as genitive, or -*asi*- adj., acc. plur. N.

Combined sense appears to be: "MIRASARI's of 1 mina of WASAPA"; though it is hard to envisage what could replace the unknown words to give plausible sense. Starke, loc. cit. with Anm. 1561, takes *mirasarinzi* as nom. plur. MF (apposition to "we"), and (-)*waspasa* as acc. plur. N, the dir. object, and translates: "... geben wir als *mirasari* eine ... -Kleiderausstattung² im Werte von 1 Mine".

§§ 13–16 and 18–19, which frame the long list of paired fathers and sons, give details of the actual foundation of the city and establishment of the frontiers. Cf. also §§ 20–21, where in the protasis of the protective curse, infringement of the city and its frontiers are the first outrages envisaged.

§§ 13, 16. Closely similar clauses, must be considered together in parallel.

URBS+*MI-ni*-//*-ata* (so identified from *wa+ata* not *wa+ta* *Ortspartikel*, which is not present in parallel clause): dir. objects of *hishamin*. The -*ata*, "them", doubtless refers to the FINES-*ba+ra/i-ia(-)ta-sa* of preceding clause.

20 *tá-mi* 10 INFANS-*ní* // *tá-ra+a-za* (INFANS) *ni-wa/i-za-ba*: latter pair, "for fathers and sons" (cf. above, § 8, Commentary), already related by Meriggi in his first edition to the fifteen pairs of named fathers and sons following in § 17. The first pair should also relate to this list, especially with the numerals totalling 30.

tá-mi INFANS-*ní*: looks closely parallel to *tá-ra+a-za* (INFANS) *ni-wa/i-za*, yet *tá-mi* is problematic. An emendation *tá-ti* would give an instantly recognizable pair "father (and) son" (dat. sing.), coupled in the recognizable asyndetic Hittite manner (*buhha-hanna*-, *attanna*-, *bašša hanzašša* etc.); but if this be thought too drastic, *tá-mi* could be understood as a general designation (participle?) for the group of fathers, thus "for TAMI's) (and) son(s)", appearing in sing., as is normal for such pairs and after numerals.

numerals: may be understood as 20(+)10, i.e. 30, the total number of the 15 pairs named in § 17; this would apply as a total, though graphically divided by the reins of the bull, to the paired nouns below. Thus 20(+)10 *tá-mi*? INFANS-*ní*, "for 30 (pairs of) TAMI's) [= father(s)?] (and their) son(s)"?

(PUGNUS.PUGNUS) *hi-sa-hi-mi-na*: guessed as "bind" by Barnett from logogram, and identified with Cun. Luw. *hišhiya* = Hitt. *išhiya*-, "bind", by Meriggi in his first edition. The Hitt. sense of the verb is usually "impose (an onerous obligation) on someone"; cf. senses quoted by Puhvel, *HED*, s.v. *išhiya*.

ki-tara/i-sa: while this word of uncertain form is otherwise unknown, a hypothetical identification as acc. sing. N, *kitara/i* + particle -*sa*, in apposition to dir. objects URBS+*MI-ni*- and -*ata*, opens the way to a possible interpretation with the following translations:

§ 13. "We bind the city (as) *kitara/i* for 30 TAMI's) (and) son(s)".

§ 16. "We bind them (frontiers) (as) *kitara/i* for the fathers and sons."

This is very reminiscent of the language of donations, recalling *ANA NÍG.BA-ŠU N-AD-ANU* (Hitt. donations, see Riemschneider, *MIO* 6 (1954), pp. 330–332), and *ki rimūti riāmu/nadānu* (Neo-Assyrian, see von Soden, *AHw*, s.v. *rimūtu*). We may note that the Antakya stele of Adad-nirari III, already identified as a likely model for CEKKE (Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 161), actually employs *ki rimūti irimū*, "they gave as a gift", as its donation clause (see Hamath, The Historical Context, n. 46). If *kitara/i* indeed expresses the nature of the donation, an equivalent of NÍG.BA and *rimūtu*, a possible external origin of the word may be suggested: Nuzi *kitru/kiterru* denotes just such a donation (see *CAD* K, s.v. *kitru* B, but especially Schaffer, *Studies Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 185–189). The large geographical and chronological gap between Nuzi and Karkamiš could be bridged, since *kitru/kiterru* is recognized as foreign to Akkadian (*CAD*), probably Hurrian (*AHw*), by a transmission through undocumented Hurrian legal terminology.

§ 14. (LIGNUM) *ba-za-ni-sa*: the determinative LIGNUM is identified, thus transcribed, as "wood", and taken to mark (a) wooden objects and (b) words of authority; see above, § 2. Here an Akk. loan word *ba-za-annu*, "mayor", may be recognized; cf. *ba-zi-ia-ni-sá* (BULGARMADEN, § 10, Commentary). The loan would be paralleled by (LIGNUM) *su-ka-la*-, "vizier" (EĞRİKÖY, § 3, Commentary; = Akk. *šukkalu*, Hurr. *šukkali*). Akk. *ba-za-annu* is widely attested in W. Akkadian of Mari, Alalah, Ras Shamra and El Amarna; it appears at Boğazköy as an Akkadographic writing ^{LU} *HA-ZA-AN-NU/I* (see Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, p. 449 f.), and if the present Hier. identification is correct, the word itself probably existed as a loan in Hitt. behind the Akkadogram. The survival of the word in (Jewish) Aramaic

ḥṣn may have been due to its general circulation in Syria in the 1st millennium B.C.

ḥa-sa(-)ha-pu-ḥi-sa: division uncertain, either (a) "(son) of *Zashapuzis*", or (b) "this (*ḥas*) (son) of *Hapuzis*", or even (c) "*Zas*, (son) of *Hapuzis*" (for possibility of PN *Za*-, cf. Zgusta, *Personennamen*, no. 378-1, 2).

BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-[x]-ni-sa: under options (a) or (b) above, this might be taken as the son's name. For *BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-* (noun/adj.), see JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 3, Commentary. Here it could be an onomastic element in compound name. Under option (c) (i.e. if son's name has already appeared) it would presumably be an additional qualification or title: "(As) mayor there was *Zas*, *Hapuzis*' son, the *BRACCHIUM*".

MAGNUS+ra/i-ia-ḥi-ha: awkward appendage to this clause; could even belong with following, with reading *MAGNUS+ra/i-ia-ḥi-ha-a-wa/i* (for which cf. *-ha-a-wa/i*, KARKAMIŠ A6, § 20), but not likely, since this inscription does not use *a* as space filler elsewhere, and the word would be more difficult to accommodate to sense in following clause. The Luw. word "great" seems to occur in two forms: *uraḥḥa-* (*MAGNUS+ra/i-ḥa*-, cf. Cun. Luw. *uraḥḥa-*), and *uriya-* (*MAGNUS+ra/i-ia-*), see KULULU 2, § 5, and Commentary. Here the form seems to be nom./acc. plur. MF, *uriya-*, probably meaning "commanders" (Hitt. ^{LC.MES}*GAL/R-IBUTIM*: see Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, pp. 496–501). Cf. *MAGNUS+ra/i-ḥi EQUUS-sa/ḥi*, "commanders of the horse(?)" (TOPADA, §§ 16, 21, Commentary); also *MAGNUS+ra/i-ia-li* (KULULU lead strips 1, § 9 entry 49, 6b, Commentary; 2, § 1 entry 4, 6b).

§ 15. *FINES-ha+ra/i-ia(-)ta-sa*: most readily explained if divided into two words.

ta-sa, acc. plur. N, "stelae" (see MEHARDE, § 1, Commentary, for other attestations).

FINES-ha+ra/i-ia: *FINES+hi-ti-i-na*, "abroad" (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 3, Commentary, = Hitt. *arabḫena-*), and *FINES+ha-ti-i-li*, "foreign" (BABYLON 1, § 12), must derive from original **irhati/irhiti*, "outside" (= Hitt. *arabḫa*). The present form, **irhariya*, may be explained as a further derivative, in *-iya-*, with rhotacism, parallel to Hitt. *arabḫiya* (for which see now Friedrich–Kammenhuber, *HWb*², s.v.; Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, p. 132). For an alternative explanation, see now Melchert, loc. cit., where however the apparently phonetic *-ha+ra/i-* is ignored.

ha-ḥi-mi-na: already compared with Hitt. *haḫḫiya-*, "hit, pierce, incise, engrave" (for which see Neu, *StBoT* 18 (1974), pp. 82–85) by Oettinger (*Stammbildung*, p. 346 n. 176). The sense "engrave, inscribe" now emerges clearly from the present context.

The Antakya stele (see above, §§ 13, 16, Commentary) has a comparable clause, *taḥūmātišu [gabbe?] ana miṣir KUR-šu ukīn<nū>*, "[all?] its boundary(-markers) on the border of his land they(?) set up".

§ 17. The onomastics are markedly similar to those on the KULULU lead strips: note in particular the problems of reading FRATER (*adala-?*) and REL(*kwi/a?*); also recurrence of PUGNUS-rimis, and Las.

§ 17 a. *ḥi-la-pa+ra/i-ha+ra/i(URBS)*: order not completely certain, perhaps *ḥi-ha+ra/i-la-pa+ra/i(URBS)*, "from the city Ziharalapa".

¹*hara/i-na-(m)u²-sa*: in two names, a final element *-mu-* (= *-muwa-?*) is certain, namely *Zahamu-* (f) and *Halpamu-* (k); in three others the final element appears to be *u* not *mu*, the present *Harana(m)u-*, *Santa(m)u-* (h), and *Zuna(m)u-* (o). In view of the commonness of such compounds, geographical/divine/lexical element + *muwa-* (Laroche, *Noms*, p. 322 f.), it seems right to follow Laroche in assuming that *-mu-* was intended throughout.

§ 17 g. *PUGNUS-mi-la/i/u-li*: order of *-mi-la/i/u-* probably to be reversed, following argument in KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 4 (see Commentary), to give here a name derived from the verbal stem PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-*.

§ 18. *wa/i-tá*: given our ignorance of the verb, it cannot be determined whether here we have *wa+ata* "(and) them" (dir. object), or *wa+ta Ortspartikel*.

su+ra/i-i-ḥi: presumably acc. plur. MF either in apposition to *-ata*, "them", or itself dir. object.

§ 19. *PONERE-mi-na*: collation definitely establishes PONERE against DARE.

§ 20. (PES₂)*i+ra/i*: for identification as 3 sing. pres., *i-*, "go", see Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 21. *MANUS.*218(-)la/i/u²-ha-i*: verb compared with Hitt. *labḫiya-* by Hawkins, loc. cit., but actually identity of *la/i/u* in doubt (form unusual, cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8; A24a2+3, § 13); for verb, cf. *MANUS+*218(-)li(-x?)-ti*, TELL AHMAR, frag. 5 l. 1?

§ 22. *STELE-ri+i*: confirmed as dat. sing. of (STELE) *waniḫa* by parallel passage, TILSEVET, § 6, see Commentary.

(SCALPRUM)*tara/i-pi CRUS-*: see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

§ 24. For recent parallel, see KULULU 5, § 8, and Commentary.

§§ 25–27. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating LITUUS+*na-*, "see"; also remarks on **476-wá/i-sa-ha-na*, for which cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 20, and Commentary.

§ 26. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., considering (PES₂.PES)*tarpi-*.

§ 28. **185(-)hu-sa-ḥa*: probably acc. sing. N, dir. object. Meriggi's suggestion "life" (SCO 2 (1953), p. 42; WZKM 53 (1957), p. 195 n. 9) fits context very well,

“the land’s life”, and could take some support from the logogram “triangle”, which on Empire Period seals = Cun. SIG₅, “good”, beside the “*ankh*” = Cun. TI, “life”. Elucidation of the morphology is however problematic: Hitt. *hūiṣ-* = Cun. Luw. *huit-*; cf. Hitt.-Luw. *huitar* = Hier. (BESTIA) *HWṬ-sa₅ + ra/i// -sà + ra/i// -lara/i* (= *hwīsar-/hwītar-*), “wild beasts”. A writing *hu-sa* is perhaps not irreconcilable with the quoted Hier. forms. Ending presumably to be identified as *-an(+sa)*, conceivably *-at(+sa)*. The interpretation remains speculative.

SCALPRUM-*na* x: x looks like a left-hand logogram marker, or possibly a reversed *nī*, but either are difficult to accommodate. In view of usual usage of SCAL-

PRUM, perhaps interpret “stone”, acc. sing. (MF?); cf. KÖTÜKALE, § 3, and Commentary.

á-[...]: perhaps simply read *á-[pa]-[na]*, *apan*, “back, behind”; for phonetic writings, cf. KULULU 1, § 11; SULTANHAN, § 32 // POST-*na*, KAYSERİ, § 11; also (“POST”) *á-pa-*, İSKENDERUN, § 2.

a[pa]n arba iziya-: force of preverbs could perhaps give verb a reversed, negative sense, “make back away”, thus “change”?

For the possible sense “change(?) the land’s life(?) into stone(?)”, cf. the Cun. Luw. curse, ^{NA}*uwaniit-aimman ašdu taparu* [..., “let it be petrified, the spittle, [the cursed oath etc.]”] (KUB XXXV, 70 ii 17 – see *StBoT* 30, p. 184).

II.28. KARKAMIŠ A4a (plate 44)

Location. 6 fragments of basalt drum + fragment joined by Meriggi, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 144 (frag. 1) + 10912 (frag. 2) + 2026 (frag. 7, joined by Meriggi); frag. 4, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva; frags. 3, 5, 6 lost? (Bossert, *JVO* 18 (1957–58), p. 361 f.: “Da vier von den sechs Bruchstücken der Inschrift heute verschollen sind ...” [i.e. frags. 3, 4, 5, 6]).

Description. Cylindrical basalt drum broken up in period before 1911. The excavators assembled the fragments and made the still extant paper squeeze (see below, Publication), stating: “As now published the inscription is put together from six fragments which give almost the entire surface” (Hogarth, see Publication). With frags. 6 and 5 lost, and frag. 4 in Geneva, this statement is difficult to check, but seems likely. The assembled fragments, which preserve in places the top and bottom of the cylinder, bear a 3-line inscription ending on l. 3, part of which was uninscribed. Bossert, loc. cit., pointed out that ll. 2–3 on frags. 3+2 form a connected text, so that this must be the right edge of the inscription, which would therefore have begun immediately above in l. 1 (where the two surviving signs permit restoration, see below, Commentary). Thus the beginning, top right, is identified, from where the text ran *sinistroverse*, continuing *boustrophedon* until its end, one-third of the way along l. 3. The left part of the text is mutilated or destroyed, taking with it l. 1 end + l. 2 beginning, a loss of $\frac{1}{4}$ – $\frac{1}{3}$ of original length according to excavators’ estimate. No evidence survives to check excavators’ estimate of gap between frags. 5 and 4. Text sequence is thus: beginning, l. 1 [lacuna, end l. 1 + beginning l. 2], ll. 2+3, end.

Dimensions: ht., 0.27 m.; original lg., estimated by excavators, 1.97 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: characteristic *pi*(DARE).

Word-dividers: seldom.

Discovery. Stated by Hogarth (see Publication) to have been broken up and partially used as a mill-stone (*Carchemish* I, pp. 12, 27), and by Woolley (*Carchemish* III, p. 167) to have been found in the court of the Storm-God temple, though his plan, pl. 29, marks find spot of A4c incorrectly identified as A4a. He further states: “The largest part of this inscription was found in the flour-mill north of the Citadel” (*Carchemish* III, p. 272). Pencilled on the original squeeze in the British Museum are the following notes: [frag. 6] “found by Abdo Jadur in the Flour Mill on the N. of the Kalaat in Thompson year 1911”; [frag. 4] “spring 1912”; [frag. 3] “Excavations, Thompson year”, [frag. 2] “autumn 1912”. The evidence for the original position of the piece is thus uncertain. A combination of these statements appears to show that frag. 6 only was taken to the flour-mill, while frag. 1 was found in the court of the Storm-God temple, the presumed original provenance of the monument.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 27, pl. A4a*, a (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum, photograph of frag. 1); Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18d2 (frag. 7, photograph of inked squeeze only), also A18g (photograph of inked squeeze of frag. 2); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 272, pl. AB (photograph of inked squeeze with improvements, photographs of frag. 1 (repeated), frag. 5); Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), p. 13 and Tav. I (top right), join of new fragment (photograph).

Editions. Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 4, pp. 28–31; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 162, pp. 108–111, Tav. XVIII (redrawn with joined frag. 7).

Excerpts.

- §§ 1–2 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 94 cit. 4.
 § 2 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 126 cit. 10.
 §§ 3–5 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, pp. 98 cit. 7.
 §§ 11, 12 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 98 (cit. 7), 94 (cit. 4).
 § 12 Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 435 f.
 § 13 Bossert, *AfO* 18, pp. 361–363.
 §§ 13–14 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 13 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 162 f. cit. 15.

Content. Record of sale of “houses” (estates?) involving Kamanis, king (of Karkamiš). §§ 1–2, statement of sale to Kamanis, and by him to another; §§ 3–4, details of payment; § 5, [lacuna]; §§ 7–10, names and qualifications of persons (involved in transaction?); § 11, further payment; §§ 12–14, protective curse against violation of sale.

This text has many points of resemblance to CEKKE, particularly in the payment clauses.

Date. Reign of Kamanis, mid-8th century B.C.; see KARKAMIŠ A31, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings made direct from the surviving stone fragments in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, supplemented by a tracing made from the surviving inked squeeze in the British Museum for the missing pieces. I collated frag. 4 in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva, in the summer 1982.

Photographs. Photographs of the surviving parts of the piece in Ankara Museum, including the added frag. 7, were taken in the summer 1987. Frags. 4 (in Geneva) and 3 and 5 (lost) are given as prints from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. 84180, 039199, and the published no. 032292), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [ṣa-ia]-wa/i [DOMUS]-na [... ..]x-sa-’ [(INFANS)]ni-ṣa-a-sa
 [ka]-ma-ni-ia [REX]-ti [CUM]-ni .ARHLA (CONTRACTUS)
 DARE-tu
 § 2 ka-ma-ni-sa-pa-wa/i + ra/i] PRAE-ri + i-[ṣARM-1]-ma-ia-’
 FRATER-la-sa-na [(INFANS)]ni-ṣa-’ pa-pi-[tā]-ti-sā-na-’ INFANS.
 NEPOS CUM-ni .ARHLA (CONTRACTUS) DARE-ta
 § 3 [wa/i-tu-u 20+2[+?]] (“SCALPRUM”)ma-na-ṣi ARGENTUM-ṣa
 DARE-mi-na]
 § 4 [wa/i-tu-u PANIS.PI]THOS-[li]-ṣa i-ṣi-ia-mi-na
 § 5 BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-sa-pa-wa/i[...][...t]i-ṣa ...
 2. ... || ...
 § 6 ... U]RBS
 § 7 MAGNUS+ra/i-ṣARM-1-ma-sa-’ i-ba-[sā]-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS)
 § 8 ¹pa-mu-... (DI)ES²][u]-li-ia-na-tā-sā
 § 9 mu-wa/i-sa [*279-la/i/u-sa
 § 10 ku-ma-wa/i+ra/i-sā-ba sū-wa/i-ni-sa
 § 11 (“PANIS.PITHOS”)á-ṣa-li-sa-pa-wa/i DOMINUS-na-ni
 “*419”-sa-ba-sā-’ DARE-mi-na
 § 12 ṣa-ia-pa-wa/i-ta DOMUS-na-’ REL-sa á-mi-i|INFANS-ni-i INFANS.
 NEPOS-ṣi INFANS.NEPOS.REL-la [ARHLA]
 [CAPERE-i]a-’
 § 13 wa/i-tu-u “CAELUM” (DEUS)TONITRUS-bu-ṣa-sā-’ ||
 3. (DEUS)kar-bu-ba-sa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ba
 (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa-’ (DEUS)SOL-sa-[ba-’]
 (DEUS)pa+ra/i-[k]a+ra/i-sa-ba-’ |LIS-la/i/u-sa-tu
 § 14 a-wa/i á-pa-sā (“CAPUT¹”)[ba+ra/i]-ma-[bi-na] .ARHLA
 DELERE(-)[x²]-nu-tu-’

Translation

[These hou]ses [So-and-so, So-and-so]’s son sold to Kamanis the King,
 and Kamanis sold them to Parisarmas the brother’s son, Papitatis’s grandson, (who said):
 “To him 22 (+?) m[inas(?) of silver(?) we shall give (?)],
 [and for him a] feast we shall make.
 ...
 ...
 ...
 Urasarmas of the city Ihasa,
 Pamu[...] the ... ,
 Muwas the ... ,
 and Kumawaris the Dog.
 We shall give a meal to the lord of the WASHA-
 But (he) who shall take away these houses from my son, grandson (or) great-grandson,
 against him may Celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, the Moon and the Sun and Parakaras litigate,
 and may they destroy his head!”

Commentary

§ 1. [ṣa-ia]-wa/i [DOMUS]-na: so restored by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., from § 12, which shows that “these houses” are the subject of the transaction.

[PN₁, title(?), PN₂]x-sa-’ [(INFANS)]ni-ṣa-a-sa, “[So-and-so, title(?), So-and-so]’s son”: this seems to be the extent of the loss, with a query as to whether there

would have been space for a title or qualification after the vendor's name.

[(INFANS)]*nī-za-a-sa*, also § 2, [(INFANS)]*nī-za-*; (dat. sing.): for this writing as an abbreviation of the usual *nimuwīza-*, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary.

[CUM]-*nī ARHA* (CONTRACTUS)DARE-: identified by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., as “give away for”, i.e. “sell”. For the logogram CONTRACTUS (HH no. 344 expressing ideographically the concept of “agreement, contract”, see TUNP 1, § 1, Commentary.

§ 2. *-pa-wa/i [+ra/i]*: further examination of photographs and the original squeeze suggested, and collation confirms, the presence of *ra/i*, visible in text *Carchemish* I, pl. A4a*, but omitted by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. Interpret *pa+wa+ata*, “and them”.

[FRATER-*la-sa-na*, *pa-pī-[tā]-ti-sā-na-*? for *-asan* datives of *-asi-* gen. adjectives, see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

pa-pī-[tā]-ti-sā-na- INFANS.NEPOS: the difficulties of finding Kamanis's brother's son with a grandfather Papitatis, when Kamanis was son of Astiruwas, have been noted. Either Parisarmas was someone else's nephew, or Papitatis must be his maternal grandfather.

§§ 3–4, 11. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for restorations following comparable passages in CEKKE; also for elucidation of “(SCALPRUM[*ma-na-zi* ARGENTUM-*za*], “*minas(?)* of *silver(?)*”; (PANIS.PITHIOS) *ā-za-li-sa//za*, “food/feast” (also CEKKE, §§ 10–11, Commentary). These clauses with verbs ending *-mī-na* (1 plur. pres.) seem to be characteristic of contracts and probably represent verbal declarations (cf. CEKKE, §§ 8–9, Commentary). Here the declaration would appear to be that of Parisarmas, the purchaser, made in relation to Kamanis, the vendor. Note also, § 12, “my son, grandson, great-grandson”, where the 1 sing. possess. can only meaningfully refer to the purchaser.

§ 5. BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-sa*: see CEKKE, § 14, where BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-* is perhaps an onomastic element, and JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 3, Commentary, where it occurs as noun or adj. It does not seem that this occurrence can be compared with that of CEKKE, § 14, nor that this clause is parallel to that. Its character remains obscure.

ll. 1–2, gap: for estimates of the length of lost section, based on the excavators' observations, see above, Description – perhaps 1/3 of length of ll. 1 and 2 missing. The list of names with which the preserved part of l. 2 begins may have occupied much or even all of the lacuna: traces on frag. 6 look possible, but not sufficiently preserved to be sure.

§§ 7–10. Sections consist of series of compartments marked off by vertical lines, perhaps only the last of a larger group now lost, each containing a personal name

with title or qualification; whole passage very reminiscent of KULULU lead strips. Purpose of listing individuals not clear because of break: were they in some way participants in the transaction, as the individuals named on CEKKE, §§ 8–12, or were they perhaps members of the “houses” transferred, as we find listed e.g. in the Donation of Kuwatalla (KBo V, 7; Riemschneider, MIO 6 (1958), p. 338 ff.)? O. R. Gurney suggests that they may have been witnesses.

§ 7. *i-ba-[sā]-wa/i-nī-sa*(URBS): only clear qualification, ethnic adj. in *-wani-*; reading of city name itself somewhat uncertain (does *i-* belong there?). Other qualifications less obvious.

§ 8. Damaged logogram apparently HH, no. 358; (DIES)[*u*]-*li-ia-na-tā-sā* compared by Meriggi with *wali-ya(nu)-*, “exalt”, but the connection and interpretation are not obvious; cf. (BONUS)*u-li-ia-mi-*, “exalted” (title; MARAŞ 1, § 1 i).

§ 9. *279-*la/i/u-sa*: logogram clear but otherwise unidentified.

§ 10. *sū-wa/i-nī-i-sa*: clearly and unambiguously “Dog”! Perhaps nickname of Kumawaris, perhaps patronym in gen. sing. (cf. use of Akk. *kalbu*, “dog”, as personal name). The name *Syennesis*, attested in Greek as borne by kings of Cilicia, appears to reflect accurately a Luw. form *suwanasis*, “(son) of a dog/‘Dog’”.

§ 11. “*419”-*sa-ha-sā-*: writing of the problematic word *washa-*; cf. (*419)*wa/i-sa-ha-sa* (TUNP 1, § 6); (*420)*wa/i-sa-ha-sa* (ASSUR letter f+g, § 27); (*419)*wa/i-sa-ha-i-za* (BABYLON 2, § 4); also the equally problematic Cun. Luw. stem *wašha-* (identification with Hitt. *išha-*, “lord” to be discarded), attested in forms *wašhai(a)-* (adj., Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 317 with Anm. 2028, also Anm. 1399), *wašhazza-* (derived adj., Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 238 l. 10' and n. 130; also KUB XXV, 32 i 7), and *wašhašši-* (KUB VIII, 30 rev. 4 (reference from Starke), also KUB XXXVIII, 1 (= Bildb. 2), iv 21). The three contexts of (*wa/i*)-*sa-ha-sa/sā* are all similar, apparently commercial, while that of *wa/i-sa-ha-i-za* is a religious dedication: see Commentary at each attestation. Here the form cannot be nom. sing. MF and is thus almost certainly gen. sing. dependent on DOMINUS-*na-nī*, an unusual order of elements, giving a probable “lord of the WASHA”. Cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

§ 12. INFANS.NEPOS.REL-*la*: Meriggi's join of frag. 7 yields this reading, which confirms the same writing in MARAŞ 4, § 10; for a further, new example, see MARAŞ 14, § 5. This word “great-grandson” occurs elsewhere with full phonetic writing *ha-ma-sū-ka-la* (MARAŞ 1, § 1 d; KÖRKÜN, § 11) = Cun. Luw. *ha-am-šu(-uk)-kal-la-* (Laroche, DLL, s.v.). The present writings -REL-*la* are curious and unexplained; in other comparable alternations the inference REL = *ka* would be drawn (cf. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3, loc. cit.), but in view

of other indications for the value of REL this does not seem likely. The problem is now examined by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kadmos* 32 (1993), p. 57 n. 27.

§§ 13–14. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for consideration of these clauses, including the adoption of Bossert's collation of (DEUS) *pa+ra/i-[k]a+ra/i-*, and the identification with the goddess Pirinkir.

§ 13. LIS-*la/i/u-sa-tu*, “let them litigate”, for former transliteration IRA, “be angry”: see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

§ 14. “DELERE”(-)[x²]-*nu-tu-*: for the elucidation of the logogram as DOMUS+MINUS, i.e. “destroy”, see Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 34 ff. This commonly attested verb normally appears in the caus., written (“DOMUS”) + MINUS-*nu/nu(-wa/i)-*: KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 9; ADIYAMAN 1, § 8; BABYLON 1, § 15; BOROWSKI 1, § 4; BULGARMADEN, § 14; KULULU 5, § 10; MALPINAR, § 24; MEHARDE, § 8. The writing DELERE-*wa/i-* is probably an archaic way of indicating the causative -(*nu*)*wa-*: see KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 5, and Commentary. The Empire Period writing DELERE-*i(a)* (3 sing. pres., EMIRGAZI altars, § 28: see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 129 f. cit. 10 (v) [and

now *StBoT* Bh. 3, pp. 88 f., 100]) probably represents the simple (non-caus.) form of the verb, as compared with DELERE-*nu-wa/i-ha* (EMIRGAZI block, l. 3). The same simple verb may be rendered by “DELERE”-*tú* (3 plur. imp.: see ALEPPO 2, § 22, and Commentary). For the reading of the verb, Melchert's elucidation of the logogram has eliminated all grounds for seeking a phonetic interpretation of the supposed “DOMUS+RA/I”, and the resulting comparison with Hitt. *parb(nu)-* and Luw. *para-*, as advocated by Laroche (*HH* no. 248; *DLL*, s.v. *para-*: see Melchert, loc. cit.). The present attestation has been thought to show unidentified traces of the syllable before -*nu-*, incorrectly *u* in *Carchemish* III, pl. AB; and *x* by Laroche and Meriggi; cf. Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 162 f. In fact collation shows that the traces are simply a final -', and that the space below “DELERE” probably contained nothing. The only other piece of evidence is, as Melchert notes, the fragment KARKAMIŠ A28g, with its writing DELERE(-)*p[á'] + ra/i-nu-w[a/i-...]*. Adopting on other grounds a value *ma_x* for the doubtful *pá'*, Melchert associates the verb with Hitt. *mer-*, “disappear, perish”, caus. *mernu-/marnu-*, “cause to disappear”. The proposal is plausible, but awaits fuller confirmation.

II.29. TUNP 1 (plate 45)

Location. Stele, Gaziantep Museum, Turkey, no. 1987.

Description. Small, irregularly shaped, partially dressed basalt boulder, bearing on one face a 4-line inscription, with two further uninscribed lines marked off. Right side of stone is chipped away, taking with it the beginnings/ends of alternate lines from the right side of the inscription, including the beginning and end of the text. The text runs sinistrowise along l. 1, continuing *boustrophedon* down stone, and the text continuity is thus: [beginning, lacuna] ll. 1+2 [lacuna], ll. 3+4 [lacuna, end].

Dimensions: ht. 0.88 m.; preserved w., 0.58 m.; th. 0.38 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive (except one monumental *ta*).

Peculiarities: rhotacism.

Word-dividers: used on 6 occasions when word does not begin at top of line (but cf. § 7, discussion of word division).

Discovery. “The above mentioned Hier. Luw. inscription was brought to Gaziantep Museum from the village of Tünp belonging to the Oğuzeli district of Gaziantep on the information given by one, Mahmut Bozhüyük by name, on the date 23/5/65.” (Translation from Turkish of Kalaç, loc. cit. below, Publication, p. 3; account differs slightly from German version, p. 19).

Publication. Mustafa Kalaç, *Tünp Hiyeroglif Yazıtı/Die hieroglyphische Inschrift aus Tünp* (Fakülteler Matbaası, Istanbul, 1965), pp. 3–11 (Turkish); 12–18 figs. 1–7 (12, map; 13–15 photographs; 16, drawing; 17, drawing of text, linear arrangement divided into clauses; 18, comparative passages); 19–27 (German).

Editions. Kalaç, op. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 153, pp. 101–104, Tav. XVII.

Excerpts.

- § 1 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 128 cit. 18; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 93 cit. 3.
 § 5 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 138 cit. 14.
 §§ 5–6 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 99 cit. 8.

Content. Land purchase document, recording transaction between vendor [...]*aratalas*(?) son of Santatiwaras and purchaser(s), whose name(s) is/are lost. Document shows similarities with CEKKE and KARKAMIŠ A4a, both documents involving Kamanis, king of Karkamiš, and may well be contemporary with them.

Date. Reign of Kamanis of Karkamiš, mid-8th century B.C.?

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of an enlarged photograph, and was checked against the stone in Gaziantep Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photographs. For the clear photograph *c*, I am much indebted to Professor J. B. Segal. Photographs *a*, *b* were taken in Gaziantep Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [... ...] *ara/i*-|FRATER-*la-ia* CUM-*ni* *sà-ta-ti-wa/i*+*ra/i-sa-na*
2. ("TERRA") *ta-sà-REL*+*ra/i-na* CUM-*ni* || ("CONTRACTUS")
i-ia-sà-ta
§ 2 *a-wa/i* ("SCALPRUM") *á-su-sa* *ARHLA* ("CAPUT+SCALPRUM")
ku-sà-mi-na |*161. ANIMAL(?) *sù-ki-sa*[... ||
3. § 3 ... SU|B-*na-na* ("TERRA") *ta-sa-REL*+*ra/i-sa* *i-LITUUS-wa/i-ni-sa*
§ 4 |SUPER+*ra/i-la*+*ra+a-pa-wa/i* ("CAELUM") *ti-pa-sà* |*i-tà²-wa/i-za*
4. § 5 ("PES₂") *tara/i-pi*+*ra/i-pa-wa/i* || REL-*sà*
§ 6 |*wa/i-i* '1 "ARGENTUM"-*sa* 1 ("SCALPRUM") *ma-na-sa* |1
("SCALPRUM") *ma-na-sa-ha-na* ("*419") *wa/i-sa-ha-sa*
§ 7 |CAPUT+*ra/i-sa-pa-wa/i(-)* *ta(-)*REL-*sa(-)* *na a-ta i-zi-ia+ra/i*
§ 8 *wa/i-ta* [...]-*pa*[...]

Translation

...]the land from [...]aratalas(?)
Santatiwaris's (son) he/they
bought,
(saying): "We remove the (things) of
stone ..."
...] below, the earth (is) Ia-ean(?),
and above, the sky (is) Itawean(?).
(He) who shall TARPI- (this),
one mina of silver and one MANA-
SAHAN (is) the WASHA-
But the person who is not in-
volved(?),
[...]

Commentary

The links between this inscription and CEKKE and KARKAMIŞ A4a lie in certain key words and phrases, notably CUM-*ni* (CONTRACTUS) *i(ya)sa-*, "buy from"; ("SCALPRUM") *mana-*, "mina (weight)", and ARGENTUM, "silver". These have been examined, with proposals for interpretation, by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

§ 1. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for elucidation of the apparent vendor's patronymic (dat. sing., gen. adj., -(a)*san*); and for verb CUM-*ni* (CONTRACTUS) *i(ya)sa-*, "buy from". Loss from beginning would undoubtedly have contained subject(s) of verb, in form of personal name(s), perhaps with title(s) etc.; possible nothing else is lost. Verb is 3rd person, either singular or plural.

[...] *ara/i*-|FRATER-*la-*: FRATER is a common onomastic element (cf. ALEPPO 2, § 3, Commentary), with the possible reading *atala-* (for which see KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 16, Commentary).

CUM-*ni* ("CONTRACTUS") *i-ia-sà-*: of the other attestations of this verb, CEKKE, § 6, writes it with the determining logogram CONTRACTUS (HH no. 344), and ASSUR letter *f*+*g*, § 34, also § 28, writes it without. The logogram also determines the verb *arha piya*, KARKAMIŞ A4a, § 1, 2. A comparison of its four occurrences permits its recognition as two "profiles", joined by a line at the bottom, facing each other over a seal, thus ideographically expressing "agree, contract". We may also recognize its opposite, the two "profiles" unjoined on either side of a seal, thus expressing "disagree, quarrel, litigate", for which see MEHARDE, § 6.

Commentary. The transcription CONTRACTUS follows this recognition.

§ 2. *ARHLA* ("CAPUT+SCALPRUM") *ku-sà-mi-na*: this verb, previously obscure, has now been illuminated by its appearance on the new inscription İVRİZ 2 (for a knowledge of which I am much indebted to Poetto, B. and A. Dinçol), where in one of a series of regular clauses expressing damage to monuments we find the verb *ARHLA* ("CAPUT+SCALPRUM") REL-*sà*-[...], to be restored as 3 sing. pres. This in turn permits the recognition of an Empire period attestation repeated on EMİRGAZİ altars, §§ 8, 20, where *ARHLA* CAPUT+SCALPRUM can be seen from the contexts to mean something like "remove": see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 94. The present attestation is presumably 1 plur. pres., a form common in documents of this type (see KARKAMIŞ A4a, §§ 3–4, Commentary).

("SCALPRUM") *á-su-*: this clearly gives a full phonetic writing of a word *asu-*, to be identified, as recognized by Kalaç, with the other attestations ("SCALPRUM") *-su-na(-)*, acc. sing. MF (NİĞDE 1, § 1; KARKAMIŞ A6, § 27 (see Commentary); KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 23); SCALPRUM-*su-wa/i-ti-i*, abl. sing. (KARKAMIŞ A6, § 27). ("SCALPRUM") *asu-* certainly denotes some kind of stone monument (possibly simply "stone", cf. Hitt. ^{NA}*aku-*), and Kalaç and Meriggi sought to combine it with *ARHLA* to give sense "boundary-stone", which could so well designate this monument itself; for possible sense, cf. CEKKE, § 15, and Commentary. But we can now see that *ARHLA* is certainly the preverb, which precludes the latter interpretation. Identification of the case of *á-su-sa*, seen else-

where as MF, is difficult: (nom.) acc. plur. N of the gen. adj. seems the only possibility, thus “(those) of stone”, dir. obj. of *arba kusamin*.

*161.ANIMAL(?): the “animal marker” found with animal heads, *HH* nos. 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 111 and 115, is found also with other signs, *HH* no. 417 (KARKAMIŠ A24a, frags. 19a+19) and an unclear sign (BULGARMADEN, § 17), and now recurs here with *HH* no. 161, itself found only on KARKAMIŠ A24a, frags. 13 and 17; and on TELL AHMAR 2, § 20, see Commentary.

§§ 2–3, gap: need not be large, perhaps one clause, perhaps only end of § 2, beginning of § 3.

§§ 3–4. Curious pair of parallel clauses, each consisting of 3 elements (apart from connectives, lost for § 3): (1) adverb “below/above”; (2) “earth/sky”, nom. sing.; (3) apparent ethnic adjectives; verb “to be” presumably understood.

(1) [SU]B-na-na//SUPER+ra/i-la+ra/i+a: clearly paired, restoration SUB (= *anan*) natural (not with Meriggi, *336-na-na). SUPER+ra/i-la+ra/i+a by parallelism presumably adverbial form but morphology uncertain; *la+ra/i+a*, so transliterated and interpreted *lara* (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), p. 104 f.) implies **sarlara* < *sarli-*, “superior” + *-ara-* (< *-ata-*?), nom./acc. plur. N, adverbial?

i-IITUUS-wa/i-ni-sa: apparently rare syllabic value of LITUUS, on available evidence = *a*, cf. Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 123 f. and n. 6; AKSARAY, § 4, Commentary; cf. KARABURUN, § 6, Commentary; form *iawuni*(?) appears to be ethnic(?) adj. in *-wani-* but note absence of determinative URBS/REGIO.

i-tā²-wa/i-za: also by comparison with preceding appears to be ethnic adj., nom. (acc.) sing. N, predicate of *tīpas*; formation perhaps that of an *-i(ya)-* adjective parallel to *ā-T.4.N.1-wa/i-za*(URBS), “Adanawean” (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), p. 106), but again note absence of determinative.

Significance of paired clauses in practical land sale unclear.

§ 5. (“PES₂”) *tara/i-pi+ra/i*: see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for consideration of verb.

§§ 5–6. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; for consideration, especially of the intractable § 6, where 1 “ARGENTUM”-*sa* appears to be gen. sing. (against ARGENTUM-*za*, (nom.) acc. sing. N, CEKKE, §§ 8, 9, 11); 1 (“SCALPRUM”) *ma-na-sa* could be nom. sing. MF or gen. (sing.); 1 (“SCALPRUM”) *ma-na-sa-ha-na* remains unclear; for (*419) *wa/i-sa-ha-sa* as gen. sing., see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 11; ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 27, and Commentaries.

wa/i-; for usual *a-wa/i*: see SHEIZAR, § 2, Commentary with other attestations.

§ 7. CAPUT+*ra/i-sa*: here taken as rhotacized form of usual CAPUT-*ti-sa*, “person”. It is less likely to represent PRAE, which it otherwise resembles, since this sign normally shows clearly the protruding tongue.

-pa-wa/i(-)ta(-)REL-sa(-)na: division(s) not obvious, though it is clearly desirable to extract REL-*sa* and take as relative clause. This should leave *-ta* as *Ortspartikel*. The following *(-)na* could be identified as a rare phonetic writing of the factual negative, usually written NEG₂: for this cf. AKSARAY, § 8, and Commentary. This analysis is provisionally adopted as likely to offer the best hope of sense.

a-ta i-zi-ia+ra/i: the writing *i-zi-ia+ra/i* is best identified from the context as 3 sing. pres. med.-pass., a rarely attested form but parallel to *i-ziyar(r)u*, 3 sing. imp. med.-pass.; see MARAŞ 14, § 5, and Commentary. The present form could also be 3 sing. pres./pret. act. with rhotacism, but such a form is hardly found (*i-zi-i-ri+i*, KULULU 5, § 4, seems to be the only example). The sense of *anta i-ziya-*, interpreted as med.-pass., should be parallel to that of Hitt. *anda kiš-*, “be involved in” (for which see Friedrich, *St. I* 73, II 192; note its use with *-kan* (also *-jan*), paralleled here by *-ta Ortspartikel*).

Sense: “But the person who is not involved in (the evil act?) ...”. Space indicates that § 8, beginning *wa/i-ta* must be the last.

II.30. KARKAMIŠ A25b (plate 46)

Location. Fragment of block, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1913.914.

Description. Lower fragment of basalt block, original form uncertain, inscribed on two preserved faces. Left side of left face, right side of right face, and other faces, all lost. Preserved, right face: left part of last two lines of face; left face: right part of last line of face. Corner between two faces forms right edge of inscription on left face, left edge of inscription on right face, which suggests that the inscription may have originally encirc-

led four sides of block, beginning with a sinistaverse line on left face, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending with present right face, lowest line, which did not run all way round monument (corresponding area on left face blank). Preserved text sequence would thus be: [lacuna of indeterminable length] left face, top line [lacuna including missing faces], right face, top line + lower line [lacuna, end].

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.42 m.; preserved w. (left face), 0.15 m., (right face), 0.23 m.; line ht., 0.14 m. Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: as preserved, cursive (*ta*, *ma*, also LIS).

Peculiarities: linear *bi*; *ba* with 2 vertical lines; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. "From Çiftlik, Sajur Valley" (Woolley, see below, Publication).

Publication. Sayce, *AfO* 7 (1931/32), p. 185 (sketch); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 276, pl. A25b, b* (photographs of both faces, copy from tracing).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 222, p. 161, Tav. XXVI (redrawn).

Excerpts.

§ 3 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 15; Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 440; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 163 cit. 16.

Content. Inscription of Kamanis(?) or successor, little more than curse formula preserved.

Date. For Kamanis, see KARKAMIŠ A31, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Photographs. Prints from Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, reproduced by kind permission.

Transliteration

1. § 1 a ...]NEG₂-na PONERE-wa/i-i
 b *ka-ma-ni-si*[...
 [...
 § 2 [n]*i-pa-wa/i-ta* | *za-ia* | *pá² + ra/i-ta* | .1RHL1 | "MALLEUS"-ia
 § 3 *pa-ti-pa-wa/i* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa | (DEUS)*ka + ra/i-hu-ha-sa*
 (DEUS)*ku + AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ba* | LIS-la/i/u-b[i]-ri+i-ti [...

Translation

- (a) ...] he shall not put
 (b) Kamanis's [...
 ...
 or erases these words,
 against him may Tarhunzas, Karhu-
 has and Kubaba by prosecution [...
 ...

Commentary

§ 1. Perhaps parts of two clauses: (a) ...] NEG₂-na PONERE-wa/i-i; (b) *ka-ma-ni-si*[...]

NEG₂-na: reading apparently correct, in place of Publication's NEG₂-ba, but function of -na obscure.

§ 2. [n]*i-pa-wa/i-ta*: collation establishes first sign, thus eliminating Meriggi's suggestion of [REL-sa].

§ 3. LIS-la/i/u-b[i]-ri+i-ti: for the rereading of IRA as LIS, and for the forms lying behind the logogram, see

MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary. The present form looks as if it might be the abl. sing. of the -*abi(t)*- abstract form from LIS-*za-sa-li*, "prosecutor", which would be expected to end -*abitati* > -*abirati* by rhotacism, though the writing with -*ri+i*- (= -*ri*- rather than -*ra*-) is an obstacle to such an identification. Could this be a mistake, or an example of an internal writing of -*i+ra/i*- (= -*ira*-), which is found elsewhere only initially? Cf. LIS-tà-ti (BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 10, and Commentary).

II.31–32. KARKAMIŠ A21(b+a) with A20b (fragments 1–13) (plates 48–49)

Location. Two orthostat slabs, b+a, British Museum, London, nos. 125003, 125009 (date nos., 1879-8-19 (1+), 1881-10-9 (3)); joining frag. 4 Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10875. The feet of the figure of slab a were excavated *in situ* (see Discovery) but have since disappeared. For details of Fragments, see separately below.

Description. Pair of adjoining basalt orthostats showing (b) badly damaged figure of ruler facing right, left arm held out in front, hand clasping two rods (outline of figure preserved with fragments of beard, folds of long garment and shoes); (a) lower part of 4-winged

figure facing right, holding siren-handled bucket in right hand, wearing short kilt with long, fringed, embroidered over-skirt which leaves bare, advanced left leg free but covers right leg (the torso, upper wing pair, griffin head and raised left arm holding lustral pine-cone are lost but may be restored from comparable figures, especially the paired fragment *Carchemish* III, pl. B35c). Background to figure b bears an 8-line inscription, of which the right side must have been on lost element(s) to right (for the possibility that this element is represented by fragments 1–2, see below, Fragments); on left, ll. 5–8 continued on slab a, where they are preserved in front of figure a, as did probably also ll. 3–

4 but this part of the slab is lost (ll. 1–2 probably did not, since this part would have been occupied by upper left wing of figure: see Fig.). As far as may be judged, the text did not continue to left of figure *a*. It would thus seem that the left edge of the text is preserved on ll. 1–2 (slab *b*), lost for ll. 3–4 (slab *a*) and preserved for ll. 5–8 (slab *a*). The text thus began top right, ran *sinistroverse* along l. 1 to edge of slab *b* and continued *boustrophedon* down slab, running over on to slab *a* on ll. 3–4 (probably), and ll. 5–8. The text continuity is thus: [lacuna/frag. 1?] ll. 1+2 [lacuna/small gap?, (l. 3) lacuna/frag. 2 l. 1?] ll. 3 [small gap] + 4 [lacuna/frag. 2 l. 2?, (l. 5) lacuna/small gap?] ll. 5+6 [lacuna/small gap?] ll. 7+8 [...]

Dimensions: (*b*) ht., 1.17 m.; w. 0.65 m.; (*a*) preserved ht., 0.75 m., preserved w. 0.65 m.; line ht. (both), 0.11 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: archaizing forms, especially *i+a = ia*, *NEG+a = NEG₂*, *zi* for *za*; also omission of *ra/i* (*kar*, MAGNUS, *Sastu(ra)*, *tiya(ri)*); also forms of *i*, *mu*, *ma*, *á*, *ta*, and perhaps *LOCUS*?; characteristic late *sa* (see CEKKE); *INFANS* without upper "crampon".

Word-dividers: only one (§ 13, *ti-ti*, see Commentary).

Discovery. Excavated in 1878–79 by Henderson *in situ* on Great Staircase forming south-east wall of entrance to Gatehouse; removed for dispatch to England in spring 1879 without recording of location, but lower part of *a* was found still *in situ* in 1911 by Hogarth, which gives exact location. See Hogarth, *Carchemish* I

(1914), p. 9; Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 161, pl. B35*a*.

Publication. Rylands, *TSBA* 7 (1882), pl. [II] ("J[erabis] II", photograph of *b*) = Wright, *EH* (1884/1886), pl. [IX] (engraved from Rylands' photograph; redrawn by Ball, *Light from the East* (1899), p. 141 f.); Rylands, *TSBA* 7 (1882), pl. VI, fig. 4 = Wright, *EH* (1884/1886), pl. XI, fig. 4 ("J[erabis] IV. 4", lithographed drawing of *a*); Ball, *Light from the East* (1899), p. 141 f. (photograph of *a*); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 10 f., Taf. X, XII.1 (drawings, after Rylands); id., *CIH*¹ (1902), pp. 2–4, Taf. X, XII (improved texts drawn from autopsy); Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXXVII.1 = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 834 (photograph of *b*, from Rylands, 1882); Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 266, 275, pls. A21*b*+*a* (photographs), *c* (sketch by Boscawen, showing monument *in situ*, slightly more complete); A22*b**+*a** (copy from tracing).

Editions. Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 102–106, 112–114; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 217, pp. 147–150, Tav. XXV (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 157–160 cit. 7.

Excerpts.

§ 1	Bossert, <i>A/O</i> 9, p. 330 f.
§§ 1–2	Bossert, <i>SCO</i> 1, p. 58 f.
§§ 2, 4	Bossert, <i>Or. NS</i> 26, p. 116, Abb. 5.
§ 8	Meriggi, <i>MLAeG</i> 39/1, p. 47 f.; Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 310.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* Ba/1–2), pp. 35 f., 191, 287, 292, 297, 320 ff., 499, Taf. 21 d, 22 a–b; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 160–167.

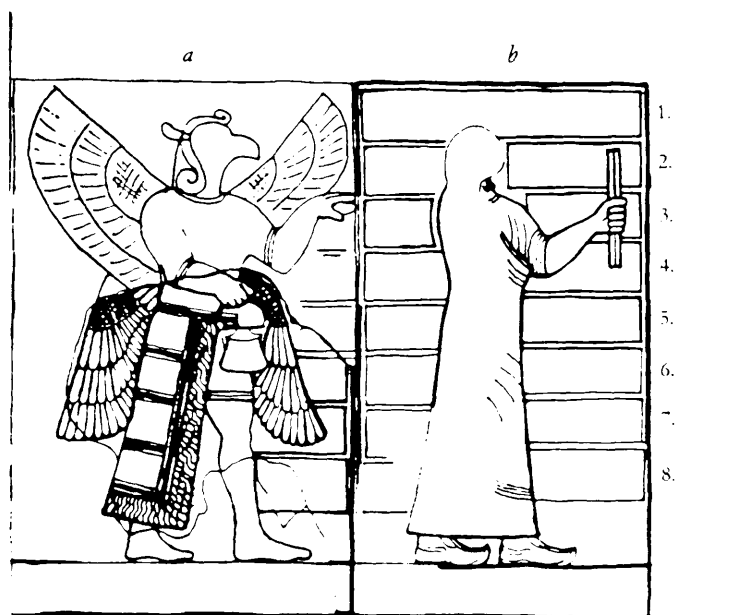


Fig.
Sketch restoration of the upper part of the orthostat KARKAMIŠ A21*a* to demonstrate the amount of space available for the inscription: see *An. St.* 22 (1972), p. 108 and facing fig. 4. The matching winged griffin figure B35*c* with its now lost fragment (see pl. 50 here) may be used to support the restoration. Both figures preserve evidence for the original presence of a pair of upward-pointing wings in addition to the pair of downward-pointing. It seems probable that ll. 1–2 of the inscription could not have continued on A21*a*, but that ll. 3–4 did.

Content. Fragmentary “autobiography” of Sasturas’s son, ruler of Karkamiš (name lost – unless restored by frag. 1). § 1 [name (etc.) – frag. 1 ?], titles; § 2, promotion by father [lacuna?]; §§ 3–4, promotion by Kubaba; [lacuna/frag. 2 l. 2?]; §§ 5–6, benefits by [Kubaba?]; §§ 7–8, [Kubaba?] and forebears; § 9 a [lacuna/small gap?], b, ...; §§ 10–12, [Kubaba?] and author; § 13, author and father [...]

Date. Sculpture appears datable to period of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon; thus attribution to Pisiri, last king of Karkamiš (at least 738–717 B.C.) should be

assured. But see below, frag. 1 and Commentary, which would restore a different name. See also Karkamiš, The Historical Context, p. 79 and nn. 74–78, also n. 51.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the stone made in the British Museum.

Photographs. These are British Museum prints, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. The lost lower part of slab *a* has been rephotographed from the publication (*Carchemish* III, pl. B35a).

Transliteration, Translation: follows Fragments.

(II.32. KARKAMIŠ A20b)

Fragments 1–13 (also 1a and 14)

Location. Frag. 1, Ankara, no. 10876; frag. 1a, Ankara, no. 11144; frag. 2, Gaziantep Museum, no. 290; frag. 3, Ankara no. 10883; frag. 4, Ankara, no. 10875; frag. 9, British Museum, no. 131688 (date no. 1953-10-10 (36), transfer from Hove Museum); frag. 11, British Museum, no. 125000g (date no. 1881-10-9 (2)); frag. 12, British Museum, no. 125001c (date no. 1882-10-15 (7)); frag. 14, Ankara, no. 10932.

Frgs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13: lost? Uninked squeezes of frags. 1, 2, 4, 8 (two), 10, 13 are preserved in the British Museum. The published inked squeezes of frags. 3 and 4 also survive.

Description. Thirteen published fragments, and others, associated with KARKAMIŠ A21 by peculiar archaizing sign forms, particularly $i+a = ia$, $\tilde{z}i+a = \tilde{z}a$, $NEG+a = NEG_2$; also characteristic $\acute{a}$, sa .

Dimensions (taken from squeezes when original no longer extant):

frag. 1, preserved ht., 0.14 m.; w., 0.18 m.
 frag. 1a, preserved ht., 0.08 m.; preserved w., 0.06 m.
 frag. 2, preserved ht., 0.21 m.; w., 0.18 m.
 frag. 3, preserved ht., 0.18 m.; preserved w., 0.16 m. (frag. 4, joined to A21b).
 frags. 5, 6, 7, lost, no record.
 frag. 8, preserved ht., 0.16 m.; preserved w., 0.07 m.
 frag. 9, preserved ht., 0.24 m.; preserved w., 0.13 m.
 frag. 10, preserved ht., 0.10 m.; preserved w., 0.07 m.
 frag. 11, preserved ht., 0.22 m.; preserved w., 0.14 m.
 frag. 12, preserved ht., 0.12 m.; preserved w., 0.17 m.
 frag. 13, preserved ht., 0.13 m.; preserved w., 0.13 m.
 frag. 14, preserved ht., 0.14 m.; preserved w., 0.11 m.
 line ht. throughout, wherever measurable, 0.11 m.

Discovery. Frags. 9, 11 and 12 were found by Henderson in December 1878, along with A21b and *a*, and sent

with them to London. The remainder were presumably found by Hogarth, but details are not recorded.

Publication. Rylands, *TSBA* 7 (1882), pls. V (frag. 11, engraved drawing), VI Fig. 3 (frag. 9, engraved drawing) = Wright, *EH* (1884/1886), pls. XI, XIII; also *EH* (1886), pl. XXI.2 (frag. 12, engraved drawing); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 10 f., Taf. XII.2, XIII.1, 8 (frags. 9, 11, 12, drawings after Rylands); Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 266, 274 f., pl. A20b*1–13 (photographs of inked squeezes, nos. 3, 4; of hand copies, nos. 1, 2, 5–13), b1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 13 (photographs of fragments themselves). See also Bossert, *Sprache* 5 (1959), p. 14 f. (frag. 2 reported in Gaziantep Museum, with accurate drawing).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), with KARKAMIŠ A21 (frags. 1, 2 and 4), with KARKAMIŠ A22c (frag. 6), and no. 219, p. 151–153, and Tav. XXV (other frags.).

Content, Date. As for KARKAMIŠ A21.

Text. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the fragments themselves in Ankara Museum (frags. 1, 1a, 3, 4, 14), Gaziantep Museum (frag. 2), and the British Museum (frags. 9, 11, 12). For the lost frags. 8, 10, 13, the texts are taken from tracings of the surviving uninked squeezes in the British Museum. Frags. 5, 6, 7 are lost and no squeezes survive, so no new text can be offered here.

Photographs. The surviving fragments were photographed in Ankara Museum (frags. 1, 1a, 3, 4, 14) and Gaziantep Museum (frag. 2) in the summer 1987, and in the British Museum (frags. 9, 11, 12). Frag. 13, print from excavation negative. Note that frags. 3 and 14 are placed with following inscription, A22c+.

Transliteration	Translation
(A21)	
1. § 1 ...] HEROS <i>kar-ka-mi-sà</i> (URBS) <i>MA_x</i> (REGIO) REGIO. DOMINUS (DEUS) <i>ku</i> [+AVIS] AMPLECTI- <i>mi</i>	[I (am) ...] the Hero, the Country-Lord of the city Kar- kamiš and the Ma(lizi)(?)-land, beloved of Kubaba.
2. § 2 <i>wa/i-mu mi-i tá-ti sa-sa-tù</i> (DEUS)SOL- <i>mi</i> CAPUT- <i>ti</i> MAGNUS- <i>nu-na</i> [...	To make me great my father Sastu(ras) the sun-blessed prince [...]
3. § 3 ...] (DEUS) <i>ku</i> +AVIS MANUS- <i>tara/i</i> ARH- <i>4²</i> (-) <i>i</i> + <i>a-t</i> [<i>á</i>	Kubaba ...-ed [me?] the hand,
4. § 4]*190.THRONUS <i>tá-ti mi-i za₄-la</i> SOLIUM- <i>nú-tá</i>	[and me(?)] she caused to sit on my paternal throne(?),
5. § 5]AMPLECTI- <i>nú-ta</i>	[...] she(?) caused to embrace [me(?)],
§ 6 NEG + <i>a-pa-wa/i-mu</i> REL- <i>zi</i> BONUS[...]	who (were) not dear to me.
6. § 7 [...]- <i>t</i> [<i>á²</i>] <i>tá-ti-zi mi-zi</i> SERVUS- <i>ta₄</i>	My fathers (were) servant(s) [to her(?)] (or “serve(d)”),
§ 8 <i>wa/i-tà-na zi/a-ti</i> LOCUS ² - <i>ti</i> SOLIUM- <i>nú-tá</i>	and her they seated in this precinct.
§ 9a <i>ku-ma-wa/i</i> [...	And when [...
7. § 9b ...]- <i>li-tá</i>	...] she/they[...] -ed,
§ 10 <i>wa/i-ma-sa tá-ti i-zi</i>	and (she) made me father(?).
8. § 11 <i>wa/i-mu</i> INFANS-[<i>x</i>] REL- <i>ti</i> [(<i>x</i>)] <i>ti-i</i> + <i>a-ta</i>	As(?) she guarded me (as) a child,
§ 12 MAGNUS- <i>i</i> + <i>a</i> [... REL ² ...]	[so me] adult [she ...],
§ 13 <i>wa/i-mu-tá tá-ti mi-i</i> [...	and me (acc./dat.) my father [...]

Commentary (A21)

In my recent *Edition*, I considered in some detail the amount likely to be lost from this inscription: *left side*, probably very little, since the text does not appear to have continued to left of left figure and there would have been little unoccupied space to its right; *right side*, an element, which must have contained (l. 1) name, perhaps also genealogy of the author. Meriggi considered that this element was represented by frags. 1 (joining l. 1) and 2 (joining ll. 3–4), which is plausible, but there are contrary arguments – for detailed discussion see Fragments, frags. 1 and 2, Commentary. I also considered the prosopographical implications of the relations between Astiruwas, his son Kamanis, and Sasturas and his son the author of this inscription. The peculiarities of the inscription, sign forms and orthography (*ia*, NEG₂ written *i*+*a*, NEG + *a*, *za* written by *zi*, omission of +*ra/i* and of case endings), were noted and attributed to late conscious archaism. To these features should be added the use of the word-divider before *tá-ti*, “father” (§ 13 – see Commentary).

In the following remarks, * indicates prior discussion in more detail in my *Edition*.

§ 1. For possible restoration of beginning by frag. 1, see below.

HEROS: title used as late archaism here, and on the fragment of genealogy KARKAMIŠ A27^e1+2, attributed to Kamanis (see Commentary there); found at Karkamiš elsewhere on the archaic stelae KARKAMIŠ

A4b (§ 1, twice) and 16c (§ 1), also perhaps on the lion fragment A18d l. 1; elsewhere archaizing title of late rulers on Anatolian plateau, Wasusarmas (TOPADA, § 1; SULTANHAN, § 1; KAYSERİ, § 1; SUVASA); Warpalawas (BOR, § 1; BULGARMADEN, § 1; NİĞDE 2) and son (NİĞDE 2); Kurtis (BOHÇA, § 1). Its occurrences in the MARAŞ 1 lion genealogy are perhaps archaic survivals (§ 1, c, f), as also the Malatya rulers’ use (IZGIN 1, § 1; MALATYA 1, § 1; GÜRÜN, § 1b; ŞIRZI, § 1).

kar-ka-mi-sà(URBS) *MA_x*(REGIO) REGIO. DOMINUS: cf. CEKKE, § 6, and Commentary.

(DEUS) *ku*[+AVIS] AMPLECTI-*mi*: cf. KARKAMIŠ A13c, § 1; and for AMPLECTI, BEIRUT bowl, § 1, Commentary.

*§ 2. *mi-i tá-ti sa-sa-tù* (DEUS)SOL-*mi* CAPUT-*ti*: probably subject of clause with omission of nom. sing. ending -*s* throughout. If frag. 2 joins ll. 3–4, this would leave space of only one column of signs for verb of present clause; for consideration of this, see below, Fragments (frag. 2).

§ 3. Previously compared with KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3//A11a, § 2, the case of MANUS-*tara/i* regarded as uncertain and the verb identified as sign *HH* no. 314. The recent appearance of the Empire Period inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG however now permit the identification of the Empire form

of *ARHLA* (*HH* no. 216), which can also be recognized in a previously misunderstood sign occurring several times on EMİRGAZİ. The form is : see now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 36 and Fig. 4. It seems likely that in this skilfully archaizing inscription the sign with the verb does indeed represent the archaic form of *ARHLA* in which case it must be separated from *HH* no. 314.

*ARHLA*²(-)*i*+*a*-*t*[*ā*]: verb, possibly representing *irh-iyā-* (*arhiya-*), cognate of Hitt. *irhai-*, “bound, circulate”. Such a verb has already been recognized in *ARHLA-sa-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21, see Commentary). Alternatively identify the verb *i*+*a*-*t*[*ā*] as representing *arhā-yari*(*ya*)-, “stretch (forth)”, for which see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 3; SULTANHAN, § 24; and Commentary there. Indeed it would be possible, in view of the damage, to restore *i*+*a*[+*ra*/*i*]-*t*[*ā*], but as has been noted above, this inscription appears to omit +*ra*/*i* as an attempt at archaism (cf. below, § 11, *tī-i*+*a*-, interpreted as representing the verb *tīyari*(*ya*)-, “watch, guard”); thus the present verb could be taken as another example of this omission of +*ra*/*i*. For a possible restoration of the present context by frag. 2, and the implications for the translation of the verb, see below, Fragments (frag. 2).

*§§ 3–4. Loss probably only 1 column of signs on *b*, representing the connective particles (see restoration of figure, Fig., above, p. 158).

*§ 4. *za-la*: phonetic reading by comparison with *za-la*, KARKAMIŠ A2, § 9 (//*pi-na*-, Commentary); also *za-la-na*, KARKAMIŠ A13c+a+b, § 3//BOYBEY-PINARI 2, § 142; or possibly representing *zila*, now well attested on the Empire Period BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG (see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 15, Commentary).

*190.THRONUS: apparent use of winged-disc (*190), (paralleled in Late Hier. inscriptions only on KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 9), perhaps another archaizing affectation to dignify “throne”.

tā-ti mi-i: possibility of omitted case-endings precludes certainty in identifying, whether nom., acc. or dat. sing. Previously taken (see Hawkins, *Editions*) provisionally as dat. sing., with *190.THRONUS, suggested to be a variant of *ā-mi tā-ti-i* (THRONUS) *i-sā-tara/i-ti-i*, “on my paternal throne” (MARAŞ 1, § 3), subject – Kubaba, object – “[me]”.

§ 5. For a partial restoration if frag. 2, l. 2, joins l. 4, see below, Fragments (frag. 2, Commentary).

*§ 6. Clause recognized (Hawkins, *Edition* 2) as best taken as negative relative clause, NEG+*a* (archaizing writing of NEG₂, +*pa*+*na*+*mu*) REL-*zi*, “who ... not”.

BONUS[...]: most likely restore as verb, “be good, friendly, dear”, either *nasā*(*za*)- (BULGARMADEN, § 2), BONUS-*siya**za*- (AKSARAY, § 5), or BONUS) *nasu*- (BOHÇA, §§ 2, 4); see Commentaries there. Here

there is probably space for one column of signs, thus phonetic complement(s) (-*sa*-, -*za* or -*sa**za*-?) and verbal ending, 3 plur. pret., -*ta*/*tā*.

*§ 7. [... -*t*]*ā*² or -*t*]*ā*²: text as noted probably does not extend to left of winged genie, so this must represent connective particles introducing the following clause, possibly a nominal sentence (cf. also § 11); probably restore [*wa*/*i*-*tu*-*t*]*ā*²//*t*]*ā*². For -*ta* *Ortspartikel* in similar context, see KARATEPE, § LXI.

SERVUS-*ta*₄: the word has a tendency to appear without ending, almost as if it were a logogram; cf. CEKKE, §§ 1, 6; BEIRUT bowl, § 1. To understand the clause as a nominal sentence, “my fathers (were) servant(s)” is perhaps difficult, since in such sentences the verb “be” would normally be omitted only in present tense. Thus perhaps take SERVUS-*ta*₄ as verb without written ending (archaism), “serve(d)”.

-*ta*₄: the recognition of this sign form as archaizing is crucial in the identification of actual archaic forms on YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG.

§ 8. *wa*/*i*-*tā*-*na* (*wa*+*ata*+*an*), “and her they ...”.

zi/*a*-*ti*: presumably standing for *za*-*ti*, though note that frags. 9 and 11 both write *zi*+*a* for *za* twice. The archaizing TOPADA also writes *zi* for *zi*/*za*, but does not omit the +*a* from *ia*.

LOCUS²-*ti*: formerly identified as PODIUM-*ti*, in spite of lower projection not elsewhere found in the logogram PODIUM; but perhaps better identified as archaizing form of TERRA/LOCUS (archaic forms on EMİRGAZİ, YALBURT, also later KARAHÖYÜK, KARADAĞ and BURUNKAYA; archaizing form KARATEPE, Hu. 23).

§ 9 a–b. If the missing right hand element is indeed represented by frags. 1 and 2, the gap is small (2 columns of signs on each line), which would make it likely that § 9 a and b were beginning and end of same clause.

§ 10. Interpreted in *Edition* as “and she to me (*wa*+*mu*+*as*) (is) fathers (parents)”, i.e. “she is father and mother to me”. Here an alternative interpretation is proposed. As a supposed plene writing, -*i*-*zi* looks suspect in the context of this inscription. Now the recently appeared Empire Period inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG show clear examples of *izi*-, “make”, written in archaic style without ending, and the same can be seen on KARAHÖYÜK (see § 9, Commentary). We may well recognize the same here as an archaism, thus “me she made father”. For the sense, cf. KARATEPE, §§ III, XVIII; KULULU 4, § 11.

§ 11. [(x)]*ti*-*i*+*a*-*ta*: cf. (OCULUS)*ti*-*i*+*a*-*ta*, frag. 3 below. The latter clear writing now affords an entry to this verb. A verb (LITUUS)*tīyari*(*ya*)-, “watch, regard, guard”, has now been identified, and a writing without LITUUS may be recognized in *tī-ia*+*ra*/*i*-*ti*; see KULULU 5, § 13, and Commentary with other attestations.

The logogram OCULUS has been recognized as an alternative to LITUUS, as in the KARATEPE writings of (OCULUS) *Aḫatwata-* (Ho. 143, 275, 290 and 326) for the usual (LITUUS)... We may certainly recognize OCULUS in the “circle” of frag. 3; and on § 11, what appears to be the same verb has a damaged sign before it, which has been taken as a word-divider, though it does not look like it (note the only certain example and form of the word divider in this inscription, § 13, *|tá-ti*). Thus this inscription’s verb (OCULUS) *tí-i+a-*, in view of its archaizing penchant for omission of the *-ra/i*, may well be identified as a writing of the verb *tiyari(ya)-*, “watch, guard”, which appears to be particularly appropriate in the context. Cf. above, § 3, where the recognition of the verb *i+a-* as representing *yari(ya)-*, “extend”, is proposed.

INFANS-[x]: pointed trace of one sign below INFANS unfortunate insufficient for positive identification.

REL-*ti*, “as(?)”: see following clause, Commentary.

§ 12. MAGNUS-*i+a*[-...]: Hier. “great” appears as MAGNUS+*ra/i-ḫa-* (*uraxa-*) or MAGNUS+*ra/i-ia-*

(*uriya-*); here apparently the latter with omission of *ra/i* (as also from *kar, tü(+ra/i)*). Form could be adj. or verb, and should be followed by connective particles.

[REL]: Boscawen’s crude sketch (KARKAMIŠ A21c) which shows many fairly recognizable signs in places, shows hereabouts an “arrow”, possibly *ḫi* or REL. There can be little space after MAGNUS-*i+a-* [+ ending + particle(s)], probably 3 columns of signs only (compare lines above). Possibly correlative with preceding REL-*ti* would fit to give “(§ 11) as ..., (§ 12) so ...”, thus perhaps *ḫati* (written *ḫi-ti*).

Verb: probably space of only 1 column of signs would remain for this.

§ 13. *wa/i-mu-tá: -mu-* acc. or dat.

|tá-ti mi-i: as mi-i tá-ti etc., (§ 2), this could probably be subject without writing of nom. ending. The use of the word-divider before *tá-ti* appears to be an archaism. It is found on IZGIN 1, § 2, probably an archaic survival in a text which otherwise does not use word-dividers. Cf. the Empire Period writing *|TÁ.AVUS-ḫi/a*, “fathers (and) grandfathers” (YALBURT, block 4, § 2). See also KARAHÖYÜK, § 22, Commentary.

Commentary (Fragments)

Frag. 1, l. 1. *á-sa-ti-ru*

Meriggi, noting that the fragment preserves the upper edge of an element, also a left and right edge with border, and thus constitutes the upper part of an independent element with its first line, placed this immediately to the right of A21b, and thus supplied the missing beginning of the inscription, no more than the missing name of the author, Astiru(was). The absence of the nom. ending *-s* is explained as an archaizing feature of the kind recognizable throughout the inscription. This restoration is not impossible, and would give an Astirus, son of Sasturas, certainly not identifiable as Astiruwas father of Kamanis, thus a hypothetical Astirus II. Such a ruler however would have to be dated before the period 738–717 B.C. (reign of Pisiri, as attested by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon). There is difficulty in dating the style of sculpture visible in KARKAMIŠ A21 so early, and I have favoured the attribution to Pisiri (see KARKAMIŠ A21, Date, for references), which involves the allocation of this *Astiru-* fragment to the genealogy of Sasturas’s son [Pisiri?]. Cf. also frag. 1a. The question cannot be decisively resolved on the available evidence.

Frag. 1a

A curious, otherwise unrecorded fragment noted by Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, no. 268aa, p. 195, Tav. XXXIV), who thought that it might be a surviving

fragment of frag. 1, which he had not seen. In fact it is not: it is simply another fragment reading *[á]-[sa-ti]-[r]u* [..., Astiru(was)].

Frag. 2

1. 1. [...] *i-sa(-)ta[ra/i²]-na*
1. 2. *wa/i-ta OMNIS-mi*

Like frag. 1, frag. 2 preserves left and right edges of element and borders. Measurements also agree with frag. 1 (see above, Dimensions). This suggests that it was a lower part of the element of which frag. 1 formed the top. Meriggi found a plausible juxtaposition of its two lines with A21b, ll. 3 and 4; i.e. the fragment supplied a missing word at the beginning of § 3, and the missing beginning of § 5. Meriggi is of course correct to point out that the present l. 2 (dextroverse) could not have given the continuation of the dextroverse lines 6 or 8 of A21b. The implications of Meriggi’s proposed combination of KARKAMIŠ A21b, ll. 3–4 with A20b2, ll. 1–2 must be examined in detail here.

§ 2. *wa/i-mu mi-i tá-ti sa-sa-tu* (DEUS) SOL-*mi* CAPUT-*ti* MAGNUS-*nu-na* || [...]

§ 3. ... (MANUS) *i-sa-ta[ra/i²]-na* || (DEUS) *ku+AVIS* MANUS-*tara/i .ARHLA²(-)i+a-tá*.

The missing “l. 0” of frag. 2 would, like ll. 1–2, have had space for 2 columns of signs, thus one or two words. §§ 2–3, as divided here, would have required connective particles, minimally *wa+mu*, leaving one word for the verb of § 2. The difficulty of deciding the

case represented by “my father ...”, thus its status in the clause, remains (subject, direct or indirect object?). “My father ... [...-ed] to rear me” seems possible sense.

§ 3. [(MANUS)]*i-sa-ta*[*ra/i*]²-*na* looks to be a plausible restoration, though it should be pointed out that elsewhere *istri*, “hand”, is always written with *sā* not *sa* (but cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 21, and Commentary). “[For me] Kubaba extended the hand (to) the hand” would appear plausible sense if the verb is correctly interpreted. Cf. in similar contexts “raised by the hand”, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 2b; A23, § 3. But an alternative reading for this line could be [*mi*]-*i-sa* [DOM]INUS²-*na* “my sovereign (Kubaba)” (cf. KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 6, and Commentary).

§ 5. *wa/i-ta* OMNIS-*mi* || [...]AMPLECTI-*nū-ta*: if frag. 2 correctly restored here, the resulting clause would have lost 2 columns of signs at the beginning of l. 5, thus 1–2 words. Sense looks plausible: “and all [...] she caused to embrace ...”.

Frag. 3 (see pls. 50–51)

ll. 1–2. ...]x (OCULUS)*ti-i + a-ta* || REL-*z[i/a]* (-)x[...]

The fragment, showing an upper surface and right edge, with borders, is clearly an upper right hand corner of an element, containing the end of l. 1 and beginning of l. 2, dextroverse then sinistroverse. Meriggi correctly noted that it could not have belonged with KARKAMIŠ A21 (first line sinistroverse), but could plausibly be associated with its mirror-image pair, the fragment KARKAMIŠ A22c + A20b6.

For the only fully preserved word, to be identified with the verb (LITUUS)*tiyari(ya)*-, “watch, guard”, see KARKAMIŠ A21, § 11, and Commentary.

(Frag. 4: joined to KARKAMIŠ A21b, ll. 4–5).

Frag. 5

l. 1 ||NEG + *a* x[...]
l. 2 [...] INFANS[...]

The published copy of this lost piece indicates that it preserved a left edge with border, thus perhaps but not certainly the left edge of its inscription. It can hardly have belonged with KARKAMIŠ A21a, where the left-edge is all accounted for, but could have belonged to a lost element to the right of A21b, if this was not represented by frags. 1 and 2. Otherwise it could have belonged to KARKAMIŠ A22c.

(Frag. 6: to be joined to KARKAMIŠ A22c).

Frag. 7. ... *pa* ... *ta* ... *tā*²

ta appears to be dextroverse, *tā*² sinistroverse; suspicious, but uncheckable.

Frag. 8. *sa-sa-tū*[...]

Indicated by squeeze to preserve right edge and border, thus right edge of element (but not necessarily of inscription); repeats father's name of KARKAMIŠ A21.

Frag. 9

l. 1. ... ||*zi + a-pa*(URBS) REX[... (sinistroverse)
l. 2. ...]||*zi + a* NEG + *a*||[... (dextroverse)

Preserves right edge and border, thus right edge of element (but not necessarily of inscription). First word appears to be the remains of a city-name.

zi + a: an example of such a writing of *za* has now appeared on an Empire Period inscription, i.e. is genuinely archaic; BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, § 18, for which see Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 307 and n. 12; id., *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 43.

Frag. 10. ||NEG + *a* (dextroverse)

Preserved left edge and border.

Frag. 11

ll. 1–2. ...]||*zi + a* REL-*zi + a* || INFANS x[...]

Preserves left edge and border, thus left edge of element but not necessarily of inscription, thus uncertain whether l. 1 continues directly on l. 2.

zi + a: see note to frag. 9.

Frag. 12. ...]||*ā-lā/i/u-ti* ([OCU]LUS)*ā*-[... (dextroverse)

First word unknown; second word perhaps represents the more usually written (LITUUS)*aḫa*-, “love” (OCULUS = LITUUS).

Frag. 13

Left edge and border, not necessarily continuous, unclear which line is sinistroverse and dextroverse. Parts of *i* and *z[i/a]* only preserved.

Frag. 14 (see pls. 50–51)

This fragment was recorded by Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, no. 263, p. 193, Tav. XXXIVh), who compared the remains of the hand holding an egg-shaped object with the hand of the child on the Royal Buttress, KARKAMIŠ B7, extreme lower right. In fact the hand surely holds a lustral pine-cone like the left-facing figures KARKAMIŠ B35c, d, and 36a, and the surviving sign *na* (sinistroverse) shows that the original sculptured slab bore an inscription. The hand looks too large to have been that of KARKAMIŠ B35c.

II.33. KARKAMIŠ A22c (+ A20b6 + B 35b, also B35c) (plates 50–51)

Location. Fragment of orthostat slab, British Museum, London, no. 125011 (date no. 1882-10-15 (17)). Associated fragments KARKAMIŠ A20b6, lost?; B35b, lost?; B35c, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, unnumbered?; also KARKAMIŠ A20b3, and frag. 14 (see above, II.32).

Description. Fragment of basalt orthostat showing middle part of left-facing figure, shoulder to thigh, with outstretched right arm, broken off across forearm (only surviving surface detail: folds of garment at elbow and chest). On background of figure small parts of 4 lines of inscription preserved, top line dextroverse. The fragment A20b6 is stated probably to have been the figure's head, and this seems plausible, but in the absence of the piece, this cannot be confirmed; it bears traces of 3 lines of inscription, of which the lowest (dextroverse) should join the top line of A22c. The fragment with feet B35b shows the skirt of long robe and the shod feet (only surviving surface detail: design on shoes). Background, preserved behind figure as far as knees, shows no trace of inscription. Surviving details of figure and inscription point to left-facing pair to right-facing A21b. It was noted above that the fragment KARKAMIŠ A20b3 could have formed the upper right-hand corner of the piece, with a dextroverse first line. The fragment B35c and unpublished joining fragment (see Orthmann, below, Sculpture) show middle part of left-facing figure, shoulder to loins, right arm raised in front broken off at wrist, left arm held down with siren-handled bucket in hand, traces of the 4 wings (2 pairs up, 2 pairs down); griffin-head missing but end of curled hair lock preserved at neck; right hand would have held lustral pine-cone; torso clad in short-sleeved vest, fringed embroidered over-skirt partly preserved from waist. In front of figure, between right arm and lower right wing, line-divider of inscription preserved, and below that trace of a sign. Surviving details point to left-facing pair to right facing A21a.

Dimensions: (A22c), preserved ht., 0.50 m.; preserved w., 0.77 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.; (B35b), w., 0.54 m.; (B35c), preserved ht., 0.42 m.; preserved w., 0.37 m.; other measurements of lost pieces not given but presumably correspond to their counterparts A21b+a.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, sign forms, peculiarities: as for KARKAMIŠ A21; note also PRAE (archaizing form without long "neck").

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Found in 1878–79 by Henderson and sent via Aleppo to Alexandretta (İskenderun) for dispatch to England in spring 1879. The associated fragment

with the feet B35b was found in 1911 by Hogarth "on the east side of the staircase at the edge of the steps but not *in situ*": Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 161; cf. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 9, "... the feet of the two broken figures now in the British Museum [i.e. A21a, A22c] were left *in situ*". The fragment B35c, the 4-winged figure with the bucket, with traces of inscription on the background, was also found by Hogarth in 1911 (Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 161), as was also presumably the head, A20b6, though this is not stated.

Publication. Wright, *EH* (1886), pl. XXII ("[erabis] VI", drawing by Rylands, 1885); Messerschmidt, *CIH*, p. 11, Taf. XIV.7 (drawing, after Rylands); id., *CIH*¹ (1902), p. 5, Tav. XIV.7 (improved text, drawn from autopsy); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 275, pl. A22c, c* (photograph of stone, copy from tracing); and associated fragments, id., *ibid.*, p. 274, pls. A20b*6 (photograph of inked squeeze(?) no longer preserved in British Museum, no photograph of stone), B35b (photograph), B35c (photograph).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 218, p. 150 f., Tav. XXV (redrawn with additional fragment).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Karkemis* Ba/4 and 3), pp. 35 f., 138, 150, 191, 322, 499, Taf. 23c, 21e (adding the previously unpublished joining fragment, now lost).

Content. (No complete word preserved).

Date. As for KARKAMIŠ A21.

Text. The new text of KARKAMIŠ A22c here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in the British Museum. The drawing of the fragment KARKAMIŠ B35c is taken from a tracing of the stone made in Ankara Museum. The joining fragment KARKAMIŠ A20b6 is lost, and no squeeze or photograph survives, so no new text can be offered, but the copy from the publication is reproduced in position as restored.

Photographs. The photograph of A22c was taken in the British Museum, and that of B35c in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987. The latter is supplemented by a print from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 084176) of a joining fragment now lost, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. The probable lower part of A22c, B35b, has been rephotographed from the publication.

Transliteration

(||represents figure, which divides text).

- l. 1. ...p]a² || [...
 l. 2. ...]x x -tā[||
 l. 3. ...]x na || sa-ta[...

- l. 4. ...]wa/i-ma-[x] || FRA[TER²]-la[...
 l. 5. ...]PRAE(-)sa-ha SUPER+ra/i || [...
 l. 6. ...] || (-)i+a-ti-pa-wa/i-[x] RE[L...

(Translation, Commentary: no intelligible context, hardly a certainly recognizable word).

II.34. KARKAMIŠ A27u (plate 52)

Location. Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10899 (left part lost since the squeeze was made).

Description. Large fragment. "Basalt. The last sign but three should be read as [ti] not [la] as copied. Size of inscribed surface, 0.22 m. x 0.40 m." (Woolley, see below, Publication). The piece preserves parts of 2 lines, sinistreverse-dextroverse.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.41 m.; preserved w., 0.43 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-divider: relief, rather crude.

Sign forms: cursive (*ma*, *a*).

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none preserved (except with INFANS).

Discovery. No information available.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 277, pl. A27u* (photograph of inked squeeze only, still preserved in the British Museum).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 231, p. 169, Tav. XXIX.

Content. l. 1, curse formula apodosis; l. 2, genealogy.

Date. House of Suhis, 10th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the squeeze in the British Museum; the right part has been checked against the surviving fragment. Note the emendation of two of the squeeze's signs on the copy (*ma* to *tú*, *na*² to *si*).

Photograph. Taken in Ankara Museum in the summer 1996.

Transliteration

- l. 1. ...](DEUS)TONITRUS LIS(-)sa-tú
 l. 2. ...]-si-sa |INFANS.NEPOS ¹á-sa-tu-wa/i-la¹-ma-za-sa[...

Translation

- ...] may the Storm-God prosecute!
 ...]'s grandson, Astuwalamanzas[?...

Commentary

l. 1. LIS(-)sa-tú: perhaps verb as translated, but perhaps noun LIS, "prosecutor", with verb "be" (3 sing. imp.). For forms and for LIS for former IRA, see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

l. 2. ¹á-sa-tú-wa/i-la¹-ma-za-sa: in spite of Woolley's statement (see Description), *la* cannot be altered to *ti*, which in any case would not be expected. Is *la* a mistake for *ta*₅ (which would be expected), or is *la* in fact a significant variant?

Genealogy: not easy to reconcile with known examples in the House of Suhis, where "father" normally

precedes "grandfather". If it is to be attributed to a known member of the established sequence Suhis I-Astuwatamanzas-Suhis II-Katuwas, it would have to be restored: "[Suhis (II), Suhis (I)'s] grandson, Astuwatamanzas[? son]". But note that the cursive *ma* is not found in any inscription attributed to Astuwatamanzas, Suhis II or Katuwas, but occurs at the earliest in inscriptions of Yariris. There is also the question of *la*, mistake or variant. Could this be a ruler of the House of Suhis later than Katuwas?

II.35. KARKAMIŠ A27e, frags. 1 and 2 (plate 53)

Location. Three fragments of basalt orthostat(?), A27e1+2 (now joined = frag. 1, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 10878+10938. A27e3 (=

frag. 2) lost? (survives as published inked squeeze, also 4 uninked squeezes in the British Museum).

Description. Frag. 1, A27e1 + 2, now joined, show part of flat upper surface of inscribed element, and a section of sinistroverse l. 1, with traces of dextroverse l. 2 below. Frag. 2, A27e3 shows parts of last 3 lines of inscription, ll. 1 and 3 sinistroverse, l. 2 dextroverse. Below l. 3 was a blank unscribed space and the flat lower surface of element. It is possible, but not certain, that l. 3 preserves part of right edge of inscription (so indicated on published inked squeeze, but not apparent on surviving photograph and uninked squeezes); if correct, then l. 2 runs almost directly on to l. 3 (see below, Commentary).

Dimensions: frag. 1, max. preserved ht., 0.23 m.; preserved w., 0.31 m.; max. preserved th., 0.19 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.; frag. 2, max. preserved ht., 0.30 m.; max. preserved w., 0.29 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: mixed (monumental *ta*, cursive *u*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *á*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: 4 preserved.

Discovery. No published information available; but pencilled note on rev. of inked squeeze of e3 reads: "Surface in St. Gate of Kala'at, Jerablus". Frag. 2 recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 97, so found in 1911.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pl. A27e*1-3 (photographs of inked squeezes: e1-2 no longer

survive in the British Museum, but e3 does; also 4 uninked squeezes of A27e3 and one of A27e1 survive).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 227 p. 165 and Tav. XXIX (suggesting the subsequently confirmed join of A27e1 and 2).

Excerpts.

§ 1 Hawkins, IX *TTK*, p. 261 f. cit. 3a.

§ 4 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 125 cit. 6; Starke, *Stamm Bildung*, § 260 and Anm. 1548.

Content. Frag. 1: genealogy; frag. 2: protective curse.

Date. Attribution to Kamanis very probable (see § 1, Commentary), thus mid-8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone A27e1 + 2 in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, and from a tracing of an uninked squeeze of A27e3 in the British Museum.

Photographs. A27e1 + 2, photographed in Ankara Museum at the same time; A27e3, print of an unpublished photograph taken from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 033867) reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

(frag. 1)

1. § 1 ...]REGIO DOMINUS ¹*á-sa-ti-ru-si-sá* [HEROS]
[(INFANS)*ni-za-sa*]... ||
2. § 2 ...] [*u/mu/BOS?*][...]*300 + MINUS²-x ||...

(frag. 2)

1. § 3 ... PRAE]-*na* CRUS[+CRUS(-)*ni*³]-*za-ia-* [...] ||
2. § 4 ...]x [(SCALPRUM) [*k*]*u-ta-sa₅ + ra/i-zi* | *zi-ri + i pa-sa-na*
3. LO[CUS]-*ta₄-ti* [-*IRH-I*] || REL-*sa* MALLEUS-*i*
- § 5 |*wa/i-tu-u* *3[00 ...

Translation

...] Country-Lord, the Hero
Astirus's son [...
...

[If this ...] passes down to (one)
...
... or] who erases [these] orthostats
in this their place,
for him [...

Commentary

Frag. 1

§ 1. HEROS: title employed at Karkamiš only in archaic inscriptions (KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 1; A16c, § 1 – both in conjunction with title "Great King"), or in late archaizing ones (besides the present, only on KARKAMIŠ A21, § 1 – Sasturas's son).

(INFANS)*ni-za-*: for the identification of this as a variant (graphic or spoken?) of *nimwiṣa-*, see KAR-

KAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary. The writing is found in HAMA genealogies of Uratamis, and at Karkamiš once as an alternative for *nimwiṣa-* in a genealogy of Katuwas (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 1). Otherwise it is found at Karkamiš in inscriptions of Kamanis, KARKAMIŠ A4a, §§ 1, 2; also CEKKE, § 17b-a.

Attribution of the genealogy. Presumption of an attribution to Kamanis is very strong, on several

grounds. (1) Kamanis was the only known regnant son of Astiruwas (but cf. KARKAMIŠ A13c; KARKAMIŠ A20b2, and Commentaries, for a possible Astiru(wa)s II); (2) the form of *ā* is characteristic of the inscriptions of Kamanis, KARKAMIŠ A31 and CEKKE (i.e. it does not occur on the early Suhis-Katuwas group, nor even on the Yariris inscriptions, nor on the late KARKAMIŠ A21 and associated fragments – but cf. KARKAMIŠ A26f, § 2, and Commentary); (3) (INFANS)*ni-za-*, as noted, is a form found mainly in the inscriptions of Kamanis, and additionally the form of INFANS is not in the late archaizing form of KARKAMIŠ A21; (4) the title HEROS, as noted, is late archaizing, and though it is not elsewhere attested in Kamanis's inscriptions, we may well envisage its introduction in the mid-8th century B.C. in inscriptions which, like the present fragment, are quite distinct from the late archaizing KARKAMIŠ A21.

§ 2. ¹“*300+MINUS²”: only completely preserved sign; the deficient context does not permit a decision on whether the vertical stroke attached to *300 could plausibly be explained as an example of the MINUS identified by Melchert (*An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 32 ff.).

Frag. 2

§ 3. Clearly remains of clause of the recurrent type best exemplified by KARKAMIŠ A6, § 25 (see Commentary), introducing the recurrent theme of envisaged in-

fringements of the monument, found in the inscriptions of Katuwas, Yariris, and Kamanis.

§ 4. Continuity: if the right edge of the inscription is correctly signalled on the inked squeeze as originally published (and this cannot be confirmed from inspection of the surviving photograph and uninked squeezes), l. 2 would have continued directly on l. 3, with loss of only one column of signs. This seems possible, though the resulting clause differs somewhat from other such in parallel contexts, which offer either “overtake ((SA₄)*sani-*) these orthostats (etc.) in their places”, or “erase (ARH₄ MALLEUS) my name/ these words from the orthostat(s)”.

pa-sa-na LO[CUS]-*ta₄-ti*: clearly now recognizable as dat. sing. (Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; Starke, loc. cit.). This has a bearing on the identification of LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za* in parallel contexts, acc. sing. N, or dat. plur.? (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23, 24, and Commentary).

zi-ri+i: unparalleled form, variant of (or mistake for) *za-ri+i* < *zati*? Thus either “here” (adv.), or “to this” qualifying *pasan* LOCUS-*ta₄-ti*.

[ARH₄-1] MALLEUS: verb practically always occurs with ARH₄ (but see MARAŠ 14, § 8, and Commentary), and normally with *-ta Ortspartikel*; usual objects *atamanza*, “name”, or *pā²+ra/i-ta*, “words”; but also “stele” (BABYLON 1, § 14), “Tarhunzas” (ADIYAMAN 1, § 3), “throne and table” (BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 5; also 2, § 15); thus it is not perhaps surprising to find here “orthostats”.

II.36. KARKAMIŠ A13a–c (plates 54–55)

Location. Fragments, now largely lost? Left and central part of *a*, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10960. See *Carchemish* III, p. 266; Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), p. 16.

Description. “The base of the great seated figure from the South Gate [B27a]. Three sides of the square were inscribed in linear characters practically in *relief en creux* showing elaborate internal detail. Text restored from some twenty fragments; one side (*c*, frs. 1, 2 and 3) still very imperfect. A further line of inscription was carved in the drapery: of this only a few fragments remain of which the largest, *c*4 and 5, are figured”, Woolley (see Publication). Only the left-hand section of side *a* now survives, which is regrettable, since it is impossible to understand the excavator's description of the monument and inspection would have been desirable. It would seem that the sides *a* and *b* with their dextroverse inscription were adjoining sides with continuous text. Side *a* was originally complete (length, 0.75 m.), and side *b* broken off at its right side but perhaps close to the end of the text (see Commentary). These two lines were both framed between two bands of 4 incised horizontal lines, and they appear to have constituted the lowest, last line of the inscription. It is not possible to

understand what relationship the sinistroverse fragments *c*1–3 bore to sides *a*+*b*. Being sinistroverse they probably belonged to a line above that of sides *a*+*b*, and would thus have stood on an upper stage of the base. This is consistent with the observation that while side *c*1–2 and probably also 3–5 show traces of the titulary and genealogy, thus belonging to the beginning of the inscription, sides *a*+*b* contain the protective curse, protasis and apodosis, and thus belong at the end.

Dimensions: side *a*, total ht., 0.25 m.; lg., originally 0.75 m. (excavator's estimate, also for the not fully preserved side *b*); line ht., 0.15 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: monumental (*ā*, *ma*, *ta*, *mu*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *ā*, *ma*; *sa* simple arch form, see Date; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: several visible.

Discovery. During the 1911–14 operations, in the second right-hand gate recess of the South Gate of the inner town, fragments of a colossal statue and its inscribed base (part of the same block) were discovered below or built into the floor. A large block of white

limestone *in situ* against the north wall seems to have formed the original podium of the statue. The excavators considered that the statue had been deliberately smashed and dispersed, and attributed the act to the Assyrians at the time of the conquest of Karkamiš by Sargon in 717 B.C., a plausible interpretation supported by the observation of similar damage at other Neo-Hittite sites, e.g. Malatya, Tell Tayinat. See Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. 92, pls. 11b, 13a (photographs), 12 (plan), B27a (photograph of statue, head and shoulder fragment, rear view).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. vii, pl. A13a-c (photographs of fragments, no copies).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 174, p. 117 f., Tav. XIX (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 164 f. cit. 18.

Excerpts.

- § 1 Hawkins, IX *TTK*, pp. 262 f., 270.
 §§ 2-4 Meriggi, *MLAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 10, p. 71;
 Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 6 (1934), p. 264 = *IHH* II (1934), p. 213.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* J/1), pp. 43, 142, 191, 512; Genge, *NSR*, p. 167.

Content. Fragmentary titles, genealogy (§ 1) ... protective curse (§§ 2-7).

Date. Attribution uncertain. Formerly by myself attributed to Sasturas's son (= Pisiri, c. 738-717 B.C.?), author of KARKAMIŠ A21. But if in genealogy ¹[á²]-[s]a-[t]i²-[ru(-wa/i)]-sa INF[ANS], "Ast[iru(wa)]s's son", is correctly read and restored, then the likely attribution is to Kamanis, thus date mid-8th century B.C.: see Karkamiš, the Historical Context, p. 78 f. and nn. 72, 75. The palaeography of the piece is also significant. The sign forms are characteristic of the inscriptions of Kamanis's relief inscriptions (KARKAMIŠ A31, also CEKKE - particularly á and ma), and the sa as a plain arch is found in Karkamiš inscriptions from Kamanis onwards. The style of the present piece closely resembles that of KARKAMIŠ A18e.

Text. Apart from the surviving section of side a, the rest of this text is lost and survives only as the published photographs, of which the excavation negatives are preserved in the British Museum. The text here offered is taken from tracings of the photographs, checked against the stone for the surviving part of side a.

Photographs. Prints of the published photographs made from the excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. CAR 271, PS 083834, CAR 455C) are reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

- § 1 ... (c4) [kar]-ka-[mi-sa/si...](URBS) [...]x[...]
 (c 1) (DEUS) ku-AVIS-s[a²] AMPLECTI-mi[...] ¹[á²]-[s]a-[t]i²-[...]-sa INF[ANS(?)]... (c 2) ...] INFANS.NEP[OS...]
 (c 3 and 5: no identifiable word).
 § 2 (a) ...]-na-ia
 § 3 ni-pa-wa/i+ra/i za-la-na |PONERE-wa/i-ia
 § 4 ni-pa-wa/i-ta á-ma-za |á-[tu_s]-ma-za |.ARFLA "MALLEUS"
 § 5 (b) pa-pa-[wa/i] (DEUS) ku-AVIS-sa |á-ta-[...]
 § 6 [...-p]a-w[a/i]-tu-tá *464[...] PES₂[...-t]u
 § 7 (DEUS) SOL [...]

Translation

- [... of] the city [Kar]ka[miš ...]
 the beloved of Kubaba, [...]'s
 son,[...-s] grandson.
 [...] shall ... ,
 or shall put it/them ZALAN,
 or shall erase my name,
 him [may] Kubaba eat [up],
 for him [may ...] trample the ruins
 (/ruinously),
 (and) the Sun[...]

Commentary

§ 1. Titles. [kar]-ka-[mi-sa/si...](URBS) [...] (DEUS) ku-AVIS-s[a²] AMPLECTI-mi[...]: traces on two fragments c4 and c1 point to same titulary as found on KARKAMIŠ A21, § 1; hence attribution of this piece to same author, Sasturas's son - but this may be invalidated by reading of genealogy. The gen. sing. *Ku-papas* (as against abl.) may demand the restoration AMPLECTI-mi[-sa SERVUS...], "beloved [servant] of Kubaba" (cf. BEIRUT bowl, § 1).

Genealogy. ¹[á²]-[s]a-[t]i²-[ru(-wa/i)]-sa INF[ANS...] INFANS.NEP[OS ...]: possibility of so reading patronym discussed by Hawkins, *Edition*; collation needed, but fragments apparently no longer extant. If correct, attribute monument to Kamanis, only known regnant son of Astiruwas (grandfather's name unknown); or to Pisiri, who might have been son of the possible Astiru II.

Gap between fragments *c*, and sides *a+b*. Given the uncertainty about the relationship of the fragments to the reconstructed sides, it is still surprising to find titles + genealogy (i.e. introduction) in proximity to protective curse (i.e. conclusion).

§ 2. ...]-*na-ia*: must represent verb in first or subsequent clause of protasis of curse formula, yet a verb, stem ...-*na*-, with 3 sing. pres. in -*i(a)* not -*ti*, is not easy to parallel.

§ 3. *za-la-na*: also in parallel clause BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 14, but still unclear (see Hawkins, *Edition*).

§ 5. *ā-ta*-[...]: for possibility of identifying verb *ata*, "eat", see Hawkins, *Edition*.

§ 6. As pointed out by Meriggi, to be restored following KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 11 (see Commentary there).

§ 7. The excavator stated that side *b* was like side *a* 0.75 m. in length. It was restored from fragments and no evidence survives on the reliability of the length of the gaps. § 7 beginning with (DEUS)SOL breaks off. It is unclear whether the remainder of the clause, which could have been the last of the inscription, could have been accommodated on side *b* or would have turned the corner on to another side.

II.37. KARKAMIŠ A26f (plate 56)

Location. Fragment of orthostat, British Museum, London, no. 125005 (date no., 1882-10-15 (15)).

Description. Fragment of basalt block bearing remains of sculptured figure and of 4 lines of inscription on two adjacent faces. The figure, on the right side of right face, looks as if it was a full-height introductory *amu*-figure like that of Katuwas on KARKAMIŠ A13d, which would imply that it stood on the original right edge of block and formed the right edge of the inscription; neither of these assumptions can now be certainly established by examination of the fragment. Of the figure only the middle part from shoulder to waist, with the left arm, are preserved in outline. Of the text, the first line looks as if it were the original line 1, which is supported by the apparent survival of the upper surface of the block as indicated in the copy; only a few signs along the bottom of the line survive, but these show it to have run sinistaverse from right face round on to left face. It is probable, but not certain, that the original left edge of the inscription was aligned with the uninscribed reverse of the block, which would imply that ll. 1-2 were almost continuous with loss of about 2-3 words. It is contextually likely that l. 2 continued directly on l. 3, confirming that here the figure formed the right edge. The text thus appears to run: beginning, l. 1 (traces only) [small gap], ll. 2+3 [lacuna], l. 4 (traces only) [lacuna].

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.44 m.; w. (right face), 0.62 m.; th. (left face), 0.22 m.; line ht., 0.12 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: as preserved, monumental.

Peculiarities: elaborate surface detail on animal-head signs; also form of *ā*, characteristic of Kamanis's relief inscriptions; cf. KARKAMIŠ A31, also CEKKE, KARKAMIŠ A27e.

Word-dividers: apparently frequent.

Discovery. Found in 1878-79 by Henderson, apparently in neighbourhood of Great Staircase, and sent via

Aleppo to Alexandretta (İskenderun) for dispatch to England in spring 1879 (Hogarth, *Carchemish* I, p. 9).

Publication. Wright, *EH*² (1886), pl. XXII ("[erabis] V", drawing by Rylands, 1885); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 11 f., Taf. XVA (drawing, after Rylands); id., *CIH*¹ (1902), p. 6 f., Taf. XVA (improved text, drawn from autopsy); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 276, pl. A26f, f* (photographs of both faces (different scales and inaccurate juxtaposition), copy made from tracing of photographs).

Editions. Meriggi, *RSO* 29 (1954), p. 11; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 225, p. 163 f.; Tav. XXVIII (redrawn); Hawkins, *IX TTK* (1986), p. 268 f. cit. 7.

Excerpts.

§§ 2-3 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 24 f.; Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 129 f. cit. 6.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* Ba/7), pp. 35 f., 499.

Content. Commemorative inscription of unidentified successor of Kamanis as ruler of Karkamiš. § 1. Traces of genealogy(?); §§ 2-3, accession, by divine favour(?).

Date. Apparently between Kamanis (see KARKAMIŠ A31) and Pisiri (see KARKAMIŠ A21), i.e. c. 750-740 B.C. The sign forms associate the piece stylistically with the inscriptions of Kamanis rather than the archaizing inscription of Pisiri.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone itself in the British Museum.

Photographs. That of the front is a British Museum print reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees; that of the side is my own photograph taken in the British Museum in 1989.

	Transliteration	Translation
1.	§ 1 ... }-sa[...] -ma- [...] -sa[...] ... i}a-i}sa[...] ...	(genealogy and titles?)
2.	§ 2 wa/i-mu-ta á- [...] -x-sa [...] -x-sa VAS-tara/i-zi a-ta LITUUS + na-tà	For me my? [...] looked upon the images,
3.	§ 3 wa/i-mu [...] DOMINUS-[x?] -na i-zi-i-tà-'	and me he made [Country]-Lord.
	§ 4 za-ia-[pa/ha]-wa/i- [...] DOMUS? [...] TERRA[...]-i(-)a [...]	These ... [...]
4.	... w}a/i-tú [...]	

Commentary

§ 1. ... }-sa[...] -ma- [...] -sa: if, as suggested, this is the original l. 1 and the figure forms the introductory *amu*, “I (am)”, these signs may well be traces of the name and/or genealogy of a ruler of Karkamiš. Meriggi points out that a restoration [ka]-ma-[ni-si]-sa, gen. sing., is plausible, as being the only known ruler’s name which would fit. The implication of the name’s restoration here is that the author would have been a descendant or dependant of Kamanis.

... i}a-i}sa: traces suggest restoration [REGIO. DOMINUS], as few other words show this termination. This would belong to the titulary and confirm that the author was indeed ruler of Karkamiš (cf. § 3).

ll. 1–2. If original left edge of inscription aligned with present back of block, there would have been 2–3 words missing here, perhaps titles or epithets belonging to § 1. § 2 would be the first clause of the narrative.

§ 2. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating *a-ta* LITUUS + *na* (+ *Ortspartikel -ta*), “look upon”.

á- [...] -x-sa [...] -x-sa: options for restoration limited by spacing and sense. First word, á-[m]i-sa/ á-[mi-]i-sa, “my”, likely from traces and sense (so Meriggi). Second word, penultimate sign hard to identify positively, but traces exclude some possibilities, e.g. [tá-t]i-sa, “father”; [DOMINUS-n]i-sa, “lord”, and [AVUS-b]a-sa, “grand-father”, suggest themselves as epigraphic and contextual possibilities, but other options too could be appropriate.

VAS-tara/i-zi: for (VAS)*atri*-, “form, figure, image”, see TOPADA, § 38, and Commentary. We should note that *atri*- is only attested in the acc. sing., except for the present occurrence. The context here is not sufficiently clear to show the sense of the word itself, or to explain its appearance in the acc. plur.

§ 3. Further collation suggests the present reading as preferable to that given by Hawkins, loc. cit.

[...] DOMINUS-[x?] -na: while a restoration [REGIO. DOMINUS], “country-lord” (supreme title in Karkamiš) is likely, another possibility is [DOMUS.] DOMINUS, “major-domo”, for which cf. KULULU 4, § 8, and Commentary.

II.38. KARKAMIŠ A15e (plate 57)

Location. Basalt fragment, lost? Survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Description. “Stone stolen during war”; bears part of top(?) line of inscription running sinistaverse, and traces of the next.

Dimensions: ht., 0.28 m.; w, 0.24 m.; line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: not diagnostic, probably monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: two preserved.

Discovery. “Lower Palace area”; no further details.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii, pl. A15e* (photograph of inked squeeze only; still preserved in the British Museum).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 182, p. 125, Tav. XX (redrawn from *Carchemish* II); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 165 cit. 19.

Content. Titulary of Karkamiš ruler only preserved.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C., but perhaps early.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Photograph. No photograph survives of this lost piece.

Transliteration, translation

- l. 1 ... *k**ar-ka-mi-si-za-sa*(URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa*-[*sa/si* ...] |B[ONUS ...
 ... Karkamišean Country-Lord, Kubaba's d[ear servant(?) ...
 l. 2 (unidentified signs only).

Commentary

(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS: the cursive form of AVIS is found at Karkamiš as early as the inscriptions of Katuwas (e.g. in LITUUS.AVIS-*ta-ni*-, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 7, 8),

but not elsewhere in the writing of the name of Kubaba.

II.39. KARKAMIŠ A27c (plate 57)

Location. Basalt fragment, lost? Survives as published inked squeeze in British Museum, also 2 uninked squeezes.

Description. Fragment from upper part of inscription with parts of first two lines. The top line has an un-inscribed space above it.

Dimensions: ht. (inscribed area), 0.19 m.; w, 0.16 m.; line ht., 0.13 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (*mu*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Note on uninked squeezes reads: “Mar. 14 1911 Jerablus”; recorded in Thompson, *Report* (1911), p. 74 (gives same date). No details of locus.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 276 and pl. A27c* (photograph of inked squeeze only).

Edition. Meriggi, *RSO* 29 (1954), p. 8; id., *Manuale* II/2, no. 226, p. 164 and Tav. XXVIII (redrawn).

Content. Fragment of titulary or genealogy only preserved.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph.

Photograph. The print is an unpublished photograph taken from an excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 033867), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

- l. 1 ...](**462*)*mu-wa/i-si-sa* REGIO DOMINUS[...
 l. 2 ...]i[...]*z*[*i/a* ...]*n*[*a/i*...

Commentary

(-)(**462*)*muwasir*: the sign **462* is probably not a syllabogram but a logogram determining the stem *muwa*–; see (**462*)*mu-wa/i-i-ta*– (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 28, and Commentary). The present word could, as

Meriggi supposes, be (part of) a personal name *Muwa*– or [...]-*muwa*–. But it could simply be an adjective qualifying REGIO.DOMINUS, thus “potent Country-Lord”.

II.40. KÖRKÜN (plates 58–59)

Location. Stele, Gaziantep Museum, Turkey, no. 4136.

Description. Flat-topped stele, obverse flat, reverse somewhat curved, narrow left and right sides. It bears two separate inscriptions, (1) on reverse with 2nd line

overlapping to obverse), and (2) on obverse. *Obverse*: figure of Storm-God, facing right, surmounted by winged disc. He wears the usual beard and pigtail, horned helmet, short, belted, fringed tunic with sword at waist, and boots with upturned toes, and holds in his

left hand raised before him the trident thunderbolt, here with dependent tassel, and in his right raised behind him, the double axe. The background to the god's figure is inscribed: upper left by the continuation of reverse, l. 2; and for the remainder of the space by a self-contained inscription separate from that of the reverse, and somewhat irregularly placed. This runs down the left side, background, sinistroverse, then turns to run dextroverse, between the god's legs (1 sign) and ascends the right side, background, the signs being largely read in ascending order (see Commentary); it terminates upper right, between god's face and arm, with 2 words written in normal descending order, sinistroverse. For a comparable stele inscription descending left side, turning along bottom and ascending right side, see MARAŞ 5. *Reverse*: 3½-line inscription, beginning upper right, running sinistroverse, returning *boustrophedon* along l. 2, at the end of which the unfinished clause overlaps round on to the obverse, upper left, behind figure of god. Lines 1–2 are defined by line-dividers above and below l. 1 and below l. 2, the latter continuing around on to obverse to mark off the area inscribed there in a curve. The inscription resumes l. 3, right side, running sinistroverse, returning *boustrophedon* and terminating before the halfway point of l. 4. These lines are not marked off by any line-dividers below them.

Dimensions: ht. (with tenon), 1.33 m.; w., 0.72 m.; th., 0.35 m., line ht. (rev.), 0.20–0.23 m.

Condition: good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: largely cursive, some monumental (*ta, sa*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: quite frequent, especially for words beginning below top of line.

Discovery. Ploughed up in vineyard of Abdullah Gökboncuk, 2 km. from Körkün village, about 20 km. south-east of Gaziantep; brought into Gaziantep Museum by director, Sabahat Göğüş on 22/6/1967. See

Kalaç, *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), pp. 160 (Turkish), 164 (German) and Taf. VIII.

Publication. Alkim, *Belleten* 33 (1969), p. 401; Kalaç, loc. cit. (1969), Tav. I–V (photographs of obverse, left side, reverse (2), right side), VI–VII (photographs of inked latex squeeze).

Editions. Kalaç, loc. cit., pp. 160–163 (Turkish), 164–167 (German); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 152, pp. 96–101, Tav. XVI (redrawn from Kalaç).

Excerpts.

- § 3 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 136 cit. 30; cf. *An. St.* 31, p. 165 cit. 20; Melchert, *KZ* 101, p. 237 cit. 15.
 § 7 Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 325.
 §§ 8, 11 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 395 f.
 § 10 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliesi Carratelli*, p. 171 cit. 3.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Körkün* 1), pp. 52, 147, 235, 241 f., 551, Taf. 38 f.

Content. Dedicatory inscription of Kazupis(?). § 1. Name and patronym; §§ 2–3, ?; §§ 4–5, setting up of Storm-God of Halab in reign of Astiru(wa)s; §§ 6–7, author's posterity, to make offerings to god; §§ 8–9, protective curse against removal; § 10, author's wife and child; § 11, curse (protasis) protecting vine.

Date. Reign of Astirus, presumably king of Karkamiš, father of Kamanis, overlord of Yariris; thus late 9th century B.C. (see KARKAMIŠ A6, Date).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze of the monument made in Gaziantep Museum.

Photographs. Taken in the Gaziantep Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

Reverse.

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi*¹ *ka-zi*² *pi*² *-sá*¹ *á-zi-ni-sá* |(INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*
 § 2 *wa/i-mu* |30 "ANNUS" x-x(-) *ka+ra/i-sá-ha*² *-tá-sá* |*á-sa-ha*
 § 3 *wa/i-mu-ta* |*á-mi-ti* "VAS"-*na-ti* ("VAS") *ba-pa-sù+ra/i-wa/i-ti*
 2. DOMINUS-*na-sa* *ba-ti-sá* |NEG_{<2>} || *ma-nu-ba* |*zi-la* "PES"
 (-) *bi-nu-ba* |(DEUS) *ku+avis-pa-pa-sa-ti* |LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-ti*
 |TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sa-ti-ba*
 § 4 |*wa/i-ti* *ku-ma-na á-sa-ti-nu-sá* REX-*ti-sá* *wa/i+ra/i-pa-si* DOMUS-*na*
 "AEDIFICARE"
 § 5 |*a-wa/i* |*za-na* |H-ALP-4-*pa* ||(obv.) |*-wa/i-ni-sá* |(DEUS) TONI-
 TRUS-*hu-za á-pa-ti* |(SOLIUM+MI) *i-sá-nu-ba*

Translation

I (am) Kazupis(?), Azinis's son.
 I myself was ... (for) 30 years(?),
 (and) I myself, by my *trusty*(?) *per-*
son the lord's preferred (?), did
 then by no means cause to ... by
 Kubaba's command and
 Tarhunzas's.
 When King Astirus built himself
craft-houses,
 I seated there this Halabean
 Tarhunzas.

(rev.)

3. § 6 |á-mi-sa-wa/i |(NEPOS)ha-ma-si-sá |NEPOS-ka-la-sá |á-mi |*91-ta-ti
|CRUS EXERCITUS-la/i/u-ti pi-ha-mi-sá |ARHA |“PES”-
wa/i-tà
§ 7 |á-pa-sa-pa-wa/i za-ti |DEUS-ni |X+RA/I-sa |á-sa-ha-na-ti-sa-za
|pi-ia-tu
4. § 8 na-na-si-pa-wa/i-ta INFANS-ni || |REL-sá |ARHA tà-i
§ 9 |á-pa-ti-pa |“(CAELUM”)ti-pa-sá |TERRA-sá-ha LIS-la/i/u< >

My grandson (and) great-grandson
to my ... glorified by the
army came forth.
May he give a ... blood-offering to this
god!
(He) who takes (it) away from
Nanasis (or) the child,
against him <may> heaven and
earth litigate!

Obverse.

- § 10 |á-mi-sa |FEMINA²-ti-sá |na-na-si-sá |BONUS-mi-sa X(-)za+ra/i-
ta-si-na |INFANS-ni-na pi-ia-ta
§ 11 |za-pa-wa/i-tu-ta (VITIS)wa/i-ni-na |REL-sa |ARHA la-i |na-na-si
|INFANS-na-ni (NEPOS)ha-ma-si (NEPOS)ha-ma-su-ka-la

My wife(?) Nanasis, the dear one –
she gave (me?) a child of the
body (lit. “heart”).
(He) who takes this vine away from
her, from Nanasis, (or) the child,
(or) the grandchild, or the great-
grandchild ...

Commentary

§ 1. *ka-zu²pi²-sá*: identification and value of second sign uncertain, third sign also somewhat unclear.

¹*á-zi-ni-sá*: for name, cf. MARAŞ 2, §§ 1, 3.

§ 2. Between first and last words somewhat obscure.

30 “ANNUS”: “(for) 30 years” quite likely.

x x(-)ka+ra/i-sà-ha²-tà-sá: so Meriggi, who interprets as a title determined by two unknown logograms.

§ 3. “VAS”-na-ti (“VAS”)ha-pa-sù+ra/i-wa/i-ti: first word likely to be abl. sing. of VAS-ni, near synonym or by-form of (VAS)atri-, “form, figure, image”; see KULULU 4, § 9, and Commentary. Second word compared by Kalaç with Hitt. *hapaṣuwalanni* (KUB XXIV, 7 iv 51); proposal now explored more fully by Melchert, loc. cit., with the additional vocabulary entry Akk. *la taklu* = Hitt. *UL ha-pa-an-zu-wa¹-a[n-z]a* (KBo 1, 42 i 13; Hitt. reading corrected by Melchert, loc. cit., n. 36). Melchert’s basic **hapanzu*, “obedient, loyal”, is rather difficult to tie up with the present form (he reads Hier. *sù* as *zi*, but is not justified in dismissing the +ra/i-). If the morphology of the present word can be satisfactorily explained, the sense “loyal” is certainly very acceptable.

DOMINUS-na-sa: presumably gen. sing. of DOMINUS-na-ni-i, cf. dat. plur. DOMINUS-na-za (KULULU 4, §§ 5, 6). The probable gen. sing. DOMINUS-ni-sá (ALEPPO 3, § 1, and Commentary) may represent the derived adj. in -i(ya)-, “lordly, of-the-lord”.

ha-ti-sa: no longer to be interpreted by reference to the superseded reading †ha-na-ti, supposedly the phonetic writing of CAPUT-ti, with the meaning “person”, now read FEMINA-na-ti- (see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 1, Commentary). I had envisaged an association of this word with FRONS-ti-, = hanti- (TOPADA, §§ 19, 21, see Commentary), and the Hitt. adj. hanti- (KUB XVII, 10 ii 30; XXXI, 127 iii 38; see Goetze, JAOI 74 (1954), p. 188); another Hier. attestation perhaps ha-ti-

ia (acc. plur. N, ASSUR letter a, § 12, and Commentary). The sense could then be “first, prime, special”; for sense “the lord’s first”, cf. “first servant” (*hantilis SERVUS*, CEKKE, § 6). The “lord” here should be Astirus (§ 4). Alternatively Melchert (loc. cit.) now proposes to recognize in ha-ti-sa the expected but otherwise absent object of the caus. verb; thus *hati-*, acc. sing. N(+sa), associated with *hati-/hari-*, “speak” (ASSUR letters, General Commentary (A)), “the lord’s command (I in no way transgressed)”.

NEG₂ ma-nu-ha: see Hawkins, loc. cit. for examination of the negative, which must here be emended from NEG₃ to NEG₂ (by supplying the two strokes across the base) in order to replace a prohibitive with the factual negative.

zi-la: cf. KARKAMIŞ A6, §§ 15, 17, for two further attestations, and Commentary there for comparison with Cun. Luw. *zi(-i)-la*; also TELL AHMAR 1, § 13; and perhaps also *zi-la-ta*, HAMA 4, § 3.

“PES”(-)hi-nu: hard not to identify with the “PES₂” (-)hi-nu-wa/i- (KARKAMIŞ A6, §§ 2, 3, see Commentary), apparently “cause to pass”, objects “name” and “river”; but here no object of the necessarily transitive verb is apparent, unless we follow Melchert’s interpretation of ha-ti-sa.

§ 4. wa/i+ra/i-pa-si DOMUS-na, “houses of the *warpi*”: cf. (*273)warpasaliya DOMUS-na (MARAŞ 14, § 3, similar context to present); also (*273)wa/i+ra/i-pa-si DOMINUS-ia-zi-i, “masters of *warpi*”, KARKAMIŞ A2+3, § 16, and Commentary. The masters there seem to be craftsmen and artisans dedicated to a temple; these houses are presumably the places where they learnt or practised their *warpi*.

“AEDIFICARE”: unusual logographic writing of verb without phonetic complements or verbal ending.

§ 5. |*za-na* |*HALPA-pa-wa/i-ni-sa* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za*: Kalaç and Meriggi have noted the curious failure to write correctly the acc. sing. MF endings on adj. and noun.

HALPA-pa: omission of the expected TONITRUS as first element of *HALPA* may imply that it is a logogram and inessential. The sign transliterated *HALPA* can be seen from its clearest monumental forms (e.g. MARAŞ 1, §§ 1 a, 1 e; MARAŞ 4, §§ 1, 10) to represent a kneeling leg. Possibly a phonetic value *hal(a)* might be envisaged as a rebus writing from Hitt. *haliya*-, “kneel”. Cf. Hier. (LOCUS)*pitahaliya*-, KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 4, and Commentary. There is apparently an erroneous word-divider before *-wa/i-ni-sa*.

(SOLIUM+*MI*)*i-sa-nu-ha*: further example of purely graphic (i.e. non-phonetic) addition of “*MI*” to logogram SOLIUM; cf. KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 16, and Commentary.

§ 6. General structure of clause very similar to KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 14, but difficulty lies in dividing and analysing *á-mi* |*91-*ta-ti* |CRUS EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ti*.

á-mi, “my”: as it stands, dat. sing., unless corrected to *á-mi* < *-ti* >, abl. sing.; it must qualify the following word, or entire phrase, if it all belongs together.

*91-*ta-ti*: distinguish logogram *91 (i.e. PES+SCALA²), which is attested elsewhere only determining noun *á-tu-ti-zi* (acc. plur. MF, ASSUR letter *d*, § 6), from *92//*94 (i.e. PES//PES₂ + SCALA + ROTAE), which determines root *za-la-la*- (see KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3, § 1, Commentary). The general connotation of the latter seems to connect with Hitt.-Luw. *zalla*-, *zalliya*-, “gallop”, while the former is unknown but perhaps related. *91-*ta-ti* must be qualified by *á-mi*, i.e. must be dat. sing., unless *á-mi* is emended, and thus seems more likely to be dat. sing. with *-a(n)ti*- suffix, than abl. sing.

CRUS: unclear whether independent word without phon. complements, perhaps dat. sing. going with preceding two words; or logographically associated with following.

EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ti*: the reading of the logogram has been shown to be *kulana*-, with attested forms ending *-la/i/u-za* (nom./acc. sing. N), *-la/i/u-na-sa* (gen. sing.), *la/i/u-ni-i* (dat. sing.), and the present form, which recurs on TOPADA, § 8; see Poetto, *Kadmos* 21 (1982), p. 102, who identifies the forms in *-la/i/u-ti* as abl. sing., as did Meriggi and Laroche (*Glossar*, p. 228; *Manuale* II/1, p. 124; *HH* no. 269). The discrepancy between the forms which are clearly *-n*-stem (gen. sing., dat. sing.) and the abl. sing. without *-n*- might be surprising, but Starke accepts two different stems, and quotes corresponding Cun. Luw. forms, as well as Hitt. parallels (*Stamm-bildung*, § 148). The phrase REGIO-*ni-ia-ti* (FULGUR)*pi-ha-mi-sa*-, “glorified by the land(s)” (KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 14, see Commentary), closely parallels the present EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ti pi-ha-mi-sa*; thus here “glorified by the army”.

ARH-A “PES”-*wa/i-ta*: as Meriggi observes, it is somewhat disturbing to find a statement about the

author’s posterity (“grandson (and) great-grandson”) with verb in pret. tense. *arha awi*-, “come forth”, seems to have here as elsewhere, especially MARAŞ 4, §§ 16–17, a connotation similar to Hitt. *šara išpart*-, “emerge, accede, come of age” (see Puhvel, *HED*, s.v.).

§ 7. *á-pa-sa*: apparently refers back to the *hamsis hamsu-kalas*-, “grandson (and) great-grandson”, treated as a collective entity, “posterity”.

á-sa-ha-na-ti-sa-za: doubtless correctly associated by Kalaç with Cun. Luw. *ašhar*://*ašhan*-, “blood” (cf. Hier. *á-sa-ha-ra/i-mi*-, KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 18), though the form is a rather complicated derivative; one may analyse *ašhana(n)ti*-, (= Hitt. *əshanant*-, animate form; see Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, p. 308) + *-(a)s(i)*-(gen. adj.) + *an+sa* (nom./acc. sing. N ending + *sa* particle), literally “thing of the blood” (so also now Starke, loc. cit.). Comparison of this form directly with Cun. Luw. *ašhanuwanti*-, “bloody”, as does Meriggi, is less helpful, since the latter is clearly a formation *ašhan*- + *wanti*-; see Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, p. 308 f.

X+*RA/I-sa*: sign identified as MAGNUS by Kalaç, which is doubted by Meriggi, with reason. No alternative identification readily suggests itself however. The reading *ku+ra/i-sa* is not likely (Poetto, *apud* Starke, loc. cit., and Anm. 1436). The sign is as drawn in the copy, i.e. open at the bottom; and cf. the sign *ku* in the line above (in (DEUS)*ku+AVIS*). A further problem is in any case the ending *-sa*, if this word is to be taken with the following acc. sing. N; but here in fact examples of neuter vowel stems suffixed *-sa* rather than *-za* (i.e. *-an+sa*) are multiplying; see KARATEPE, 295, and Commentary for two examples of *sa-na-wa/i-sa/sa*-, “good”, qualifying nouns in nom./acc. sing. N. It seems not unlikely that the present case is another such example. But it remains unclear which of the pair *x-ra/i-sa ašhana(n)ti**sanza* is adj. and which noun. Starke, loc. cit., prefers to interpret the context as referring to a “blood line” rather than “blood offering”.

§§ 8, 11. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., reading these two clauses as parallel, to get closely similar results, which justify the orders of reading; i.e. § 8 running on reverse, 1.3–1.4; and § 11 read from obverse, lower left, between god’s legs and in ascending order up the right side.

§ 8. *na-na-si*:- probably from § 10 a woman’s name, here and in § 11 apparently dat. sing.

INFANS-*ni*:- so read by comparison with § 11; for INFANS Kalaç omits its usual accompanying “crampons” (i.e. word-dividers) above and below, but these seem to be present.

ARH-A ta-i: parallel to § 10, *ARH-A la-i*, as noted. Should one therefore read the former as *ARH-A* CAPERE-*i*, i.e. *lai*? Cf. HAMA 4, § 8 // İSKENDERUN, § 6 (“CAPERE”-*ia* // *la-si*).

Object not apparent, cannot be sought as *-ata* in *-pa-wa/i-ta*, since verb appears to require *-ta Ortspartikel* (cf.

§ 11); must presumably be understood from previous clause, perhaps the “blood offering”.

§ 9. *á-pa-ti-pa*: for absence of *-wa/i*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 2, Commentary, with other examples.

LIS-*lu/i/u* ...: “litigate, sue”, formerly read and interpreted IRA, “be angry”; see MEHARDE, § 6. The sign *lu/i/u*, though part of the phon. complement of LIS, often seems to be written as part of the logogram, i.e. along with the “seal” between the two profiles. This may explain its presence here where the end of stem and the 3 plur. imp. ending *-za/sa-tu* have been omitted; i.e. the writing could be thought of as purely logographic, cf. AEDIFICARE, § 4 above.

Obverse: order of reading. This is not self-evident, and must be decided essentially by the possibility of producing a coherent text. Kalaç, followed by Meriggi with only slight divergences, passes direct from the end of reverse l. 3 to obverse, lower left side, thence to right side upper and lower read in descending order, finishing on rev. l. 4. This is epigraphically a difficult sequence and does not produce notably pellucid sense. As stated (above, Description), the inscription on the obverse is best treated as separate and read down left side, across bottom and in ascending order up the right side. This is epigraphically paralleled by MARAŞ 5, and also produces good sense. CEKKE, obverse, shows a parallel of an independent, perhaps secondary, inscription added to the obverse of a stele, and here too some of the main text from the reverse is overlapped on to the obverse.

§ 10. Introductory/connective particles absent; cf. CEKKE, § 6.

FEMINA²-*ti-sá* (read instead of *ba-ti-sá*): crucial to the understanding of the identity of the three times mentioned Nanasis. In § 3 above, *ba-ti-sá* was interpreted as “first, prime, special”; do we have the same word here? The statement that Nanasis “gave a ... child” must suggest the possibility that this was a woman. If so, it seems likely that we should read FEMINA instead of the apparent *ba*; for a similar confusion see BOY-BEYPINARI 1, § 1, Commentary, and for FEMINA with a central dividing line, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 22,

and Commentary. This interpretation seems preferable to maintaining the reading and interpretation *ba-ti-sá*, “first, etc.”, although conceivably the author could have used this term of someone who was *also* his wife.

X(-): sign form exactly as represented by Kalaç, contrary to Meriggi’s reinterpretation. Is this an unidentified sign, and does it act as determinative to the following word?

za+ra/i-ta-si-na: in spite of the uncertain sign preceding, it seems likely that this should be associated with the noun (VAS) *zarti(ya)*- and its denominative verb, the former being identified as the oblique stem of *zarza* (KULULU 5, § 11; see ALEPPO 3, § 1, Commentary), which may be interpreted contextually and morphologically as the Luw. word “heart”; see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit. The present context supports this view: the phrase “child of the heart” (i.e. child of one’s own body) is well attested in Hitt. (*KBo* III, 34 iii 17; *KLUB* XIV, 1 obv. 80 (Madd.); *VBoT*, 58 i 13; cf. Sommer, *HAB*, p. 94 f.).

§ 11. (VITIS) *wa/i-ni-na*, interpreted as *vinin* < *wi(ya)-nin*, “vine”: the identification of this word here establishes the validity of reading between the god’s legs and in ascending order up the right side. For the interpretation “vine” rather than “wine”, see SULTANHAN, § 7, Commentary; and for the vine as a possible object of outrage, *ibid.*, § 40, and Commentary.

na-na-si: further good evidence for reading in ascending order, by parallel with § 8.

INFANS-*na-ni*: most likely order of reading, again ascending; gives a further syllable to the very common INFANS-*ni(-i)*-, though this does not agree with the only other example of an extended writing, the abl. plur. INFANS-*ni-na-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 30 see Commentary).

arha la-, “take away (from)”: followed as usual by dative(s) of disadvantage, here an asyndetic series *-tu, nanasi, INFANS-nani, hamsi hamsukala*; cf. KARABURUN, §§ 7, 9.

Inscription on obverse breaks off without apodosis (curse formula), but since § 11 is so closely paralleled by reverse, § 8, it seems likely that the apodosis there, § 9, would be understood to apply here also.

II.41. KARKAMIŠ A17b (plate 60)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 134.

Description. Small broken stele. *Obverse*: larger figure leading smaller rightwards; missing (top right corner) head, shoulders, left arm of larger figure, (lower part) larger figure knees downwards, smaller figure chest downwards. Details of figures largely effaced: larger wears long garment with typical Royal Buttress belt.

Unclear whether right edge of stele is preserved or to what extent lost; top seems to be preserved on left. *Reverse and side(s)*: 3-line inscription on left edge and reverse, beginning top right, running sinisterverse, continuing *boustrophedon*. Right edge of inscription damaged with minimal losses; left side lost with surface of right side of stele. Text continuity thus: Beginning (damage) l. 1 [lacuna], ll. 2+3 (1–2 words lost) [lacuna, end].

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.50 m.; w., 0.30 m.; th., 0.16 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive (but monumental *ma*, *ta*).

Peculiarities: rhotacism? (author's name).

Word-dividers: few.

Discovery. "In the foundations of one of the Roman walls crossing the Lower Palace area" (Woolley, see Publication (p. 175)). Additional information pencilled on rev. of inked squeeze: "... Autumn 1912"; the discovery of the piece is reported in Woolley's letter to the British Museum, describing the work of October 1912, preserved in the Museum archives.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A17b, b* (photograph of stone, obliquely to both sides, photograph of inked squeeze, still preserved in British Museum); cf. id., *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 175, 266, 273, pls. AC (collations), B66a (photograph of sculptured obverse).

Editions. Meriggi, *MLAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 5, pp. 60–62; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 243–245; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 190, p. 131 and Tav. XXI (redrawn).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Bossert, *SCO* 1, p. 37 f.; Hawkins, IX *TTK*, p. 266 f.
 §§ 3–4 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 133 cit. 19.
 §§ 4–5 Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 134 cit. 14.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* K/31), pp. 39 f., 156, 191, 516; Genge, *NSR*, p. 154.

Content. Dedication to Storm-God by one Azatiwaras(?), descendant or dependant of Kamanis (king of Karkamiš). § 1, Name and titles [lacuna]; § 3, prayer for honour to god; §§ 4–5, curse against failure to comply; § 6, ? [lacuna].

Date. Mid-8th century B.C., reign of Kamanis or later.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, and has been checked against the surviving published squeeze in the British Museum.

Photographs. These are prints made from the surviving excavation negatives in the British Museum, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [... (LITUUS)á(?)]-ṣa-[t]i-wa/i+ra/i-sa DEUS-ni-sa IUDEx-ni-sa
 SERVUS-ta₄-i-sa ka-ma-ni-si-sa [...]DOMINUS-[-...]-sa[...]
 2. § 2 [... || ...]x x x
 § 3 [ṣa-ba-wa/i DEUS-ni-[na] |i-ṣi-i-sa-ta-tú-u
 § 4 NEG₂-pa-wa/i-na REL-sa i-ṣi-i-[sa-ta-i ||]
 3. § 5 [...] ṣa-[-...] LITUUS+na-mi-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-ṣa-sa
 |("MALUS")ba+ra/i-tú-tá VERSUS-wa/i-na PUGNUS-
 |ri+i(?)]-tú
 § 6 |ANNUS-si-[sa]-pa-w[a/i ...

Translation

- [(...?) A]za[t]iwaras, Ruler-Servant
 of god (?), the [Country]-
 Lord(?) Kamanis's [descendant/
 servant(?)].
 [...] ...
 let him honour this god.
 (He) who [does] not honour him,
 against [him] may this beheld Tar-
 hunzas raise evil (or "rise evilly"),
 and the year's [...

Commentary

§ 1. See Hawkins, loc. cit., since writing which I have had the opportunity to work on the piece in Ankara Museum depot.

[...(LITUUS)á(?)]-ṣa-[t]i-wa/i+ra/i-sa, name of author of stele: this likely reading and restoration would make the author a namesake of the author of KARATEPE. Probably the inscription began directly with the personal name; it does not look as if there could have been space for [amu-wami] or [ṣa-wa STELE] etc., since probably only 1 column of signs is lost (cf. below, §§ 4–5, Restoration).

DEUS-ni-sa IUDEx-ni-sa SERVUS-ta₄-i-sa: presumably first word gen. sing., third word nom. sing., middle could theoretically go with either depending on its exact

connotations. Whichever way, the title is quite unusual. Pintore translates "just servant" (*Studia Meriggi*, p. 477).

SERVUS-ta₄-i-sa: for spelling with -i-, see ALEPPO 2, § 1, and Commentary.

ka-ma-ni-si-sa [...]DOMINUS-[-...]-sa: first word gen. adj., nom. sing. MF; second word either gen. sing., title of Kamanis (restore [REGIO].DOMINUS-[-...]-sa); or nom. sing., title of author (perhaps restore [DOMUS].DOMINUS-[-...]-sa, and cf. KULULU 4, § 8, and Commentary).

§ 2. Size of gap between ll. 1–2 depends on how much of the stele is missing on this side, and how far the inscription extended on to it. It is probable that only

one clause is lost, of which the surviving traces would be the verb.

§§ 3–4. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating negative.

§§ 4–5. Restoration: in § 4, *i-zi-i-[sa-ta-i]* must be virtually certain, occupying 1½ columns of signs and reaching the right edge of the inscription at the end of l. 2. The probable 2 columns of signs at the beginning of l. 3 could have accommodated the connective particles and pronoun, probably [*pa-ti-pa-wa/i*].

§ 5. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating LITUUS + *na-mi-sa*, “beheld, revealed”, as epithet of god, indicating that the god is one of the figures on front of stele.

(“MALUS”) *ba+ra/i-tú-tá*: this *bapax legomenon* is the only exception to the proposition that all phonetic

complements to MALUS are consistent with an interpretation of writing as indicating the stem *atuwa(ta)-*, “bad” (see Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 150, 156 Addendum 3). Present word is presumably a synonym, nom./acc. plur. N (?), either dir. object if verb is transitive or adverbial if verb intransitive.

PUGNUS-*[ri+i(?)]-tú*: collation suggests this as a possible reading. For PUGNUS-*ri+i-*, “rise, raise”, see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, Commentary.

§ 6. ANNUS-*si-[sa]*: nom. sing. MF seems contextually unlikely, so this is probably gen. sing.; cf. ANNUS-*sa₄-si-*, gen. adj. (HISARCIK 1, § 3); also “ANNUS”-*si-si-*, gen. adj. (MARAŞ 11, l. 4). This clause is probably the last of the inscription, and thus should still be part of the curse.

II.42. KARKAMIŠ A30b (plate 61)

Location. Stele base, British Museum, London, no. 125008 (not 125013, as given by Publication); also registered as S.O.C.10.

Description. Rectangular basalt stele base with square mortice hole in top, bearing 2-line inscription on wide front face, beginning upper right, running sinistaverse, returning *boustrophedon* on l. 2, ending lower right. Right narrow face bears epigraph (name, title); left narrow face, 8-pointed star with 2 central rings, 8 curving rays between points. Below inscriptions and star is an unincised raised band. Text is complete, apart from damage to upper right corner.

Dimensions: ht., 0.42 m.; w. (front face), 0.81 m.; th. (side faces) 0.33 m.; line ht., 0.14 m.

Condition: fair, crudely executed.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: monumental but crude.

Peculiarities: archaic use of *a*, NEG₃ for NEG₂ (*ia*, *za* not present).

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. “Found by T.E. Lawrence at Yusuf Beg, 7 miles south-west of Carchemish” (Woolley, see below, Publication). Entry to British Museum: unrecorded.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 267, 278, pl. A30b*, *b* (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in the British Museum, photographs of the 3 faces (different scales)).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 256, p. 328 f., Tav. XVI (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 160 f. cit. 9.

Content. Dedication of granary to Kubaba by official.

Date. Placed by Meriggi in his IIIa. Serie (Testi antichi), and by Laroche in the period 1200–1000 B.C. (*HH*, p. 262). But perhaps not genuinely archaic, but archaizing, crude; date in 10th–9th centuries B.C. not excluded.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the stone itself in the British Museum.

Photographs. These are British Museum prints, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

(front)

1. § 1 [(DEUS) *ku+*]AVIS (*256) *ka-*282-na* NEG₃ REL-*i-sa-ba su-su-tá*

2. § 2 *wa/i-tá- DOMUS-sa- || DOMINUS-na mu- a-tá x-pa-tá*

§ 3 *wa/i-na- su-wa/i-ba* 3×MILLE(?) X 4×MILLE(?) *wa/i-ni-ti*

(right side)

§ 4 X(-)DARE.TONITRUS MAGNUS.DOMUS(+DOMINUS?)
MAGNUS.INFANS

Translation

No one used to fill Kubaba's(?) granary,

(but) she/they ...-ed me House-Lord,

(and) I filled it with 3000 (measures of) *cereal*(?) (and) with 4000 (measures of) wine.

(...)Piyatarhunzas(?)/x-pi-Tešub(?),
Great House(-Lord?) Great Son.

Commentary

In my recent *Edition* (1981), the problems of this text were examined if not solved, thus: (§ 1) [...]AVIS, probably to be restored as *Kubaba*; (*256)*ka*-*282-*na*, almost certainly identified as *karuna*-, “granary” (so too Meriggi), though *282 remained unexplained; NEG₃ for NEG₂, omission of +*a* archaizing ?; (§ 2) DOMUS-*sa*- DOMINUS-*na*, read and interpreted as “house-lord, major-domo” (also now KULULU 4, § 8, and Commentary); x-*pa-tá*, x (= *Glossar*, no. 268 b) unidentified, sense contextually clear; (§ 3) problems of reading numerals and adjoining signs; (§ 4), problems of name x-DARE.TONITRUS (= Luw *Piyatarhunzas* or possibly Hurr. x-*pi-Tešub*?), titles MAGNUS.DOMUS(+DOMINUS?) MAGNUS.INFANS, equated with GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL (following Meriggi).

§ 1. (*256)*ka*-*282-*na*: beside the writings (*255)*ka-ru-na*-, “granary” (KARATEPE, 40; İSKENDERUN, § 3), see now the writing (*255)*ka-la/i/u-na*-, (MARAŞ 8, § 7, twice; also new inscription HAMA 8, § 2). The identification of the present word points to recognition of the logogram as *255 (not *256); and towards a phonetic interpretation of *282 by reference to the forms with -*la/i/u*-, i.e. perhaps as -*la/i/u+ra/i*-, giving a form *kalura*- beside *karuna*-//*kaluna*- (for *n* > *r*, cf.

tarimanza < *tanimanza*, AKSARAY, § 5, and Commentary). This interpretation would dissociate the sign from *282 which would then be found only on TELL AHMAR 1, § 2, see Commentary.

§ 3. 3×MILLE 4×MILLE: numeral probably to be identified with more cursive form of MILLE (so Laroche, *HH*.no. 400), for which see İSKENDERUN, § 4, Commentary (passage generally parallel to present).

Commodities: further collation of the stone in the course of drawing the text suggested to me the following identifications: (1) the roughly oval sign, which has some incised lines on either side, is likely to be a logogram representing some sort of “cereal” (unclear whether it could be a crude form of *179, = “barley”, for which see AKSARAY, § 4, and Commentary); (2) *wa/i-ni-ti* is likely to be a phonetic writing of *wi(ya)ni*-, “vine” (for which see SULTANHAN, § 7, Commentary), though in this one attestation, the word is better understood as “wine”. Thus the probable interpretation of these words is: “with 3000 (measures of) grain, and with 4000 (measures of) wine”. In a Karkamiš context, the measure is likely to be the *homer*: see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 10; KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 8. [The context in the new TELL AHMAR 5, § 2, now supports “barley”].

II.43. TILSEVET (alias EKINVEREN) (plate 62)

Location. Stele, Gaziantep Museum, Turkey, no. 1719.

Description. Basalt “altar”, in fact a tomb-stone, of a type known from several other examples (KARKAMIŠ A18b, A5a, A4c) and fragments (KARKAMIŠ A5b, A16f, and 18f), none of which were discovered *in situ*. Characterization as tomb-stones depends on internal evidence of the inscriptions as funerary (see Contents) and the external evidence of possible context of discovery of this example. As typically, the rectangular block has, top front, a projecting band carved with 3 treble-stepped crenellations, representing the stele as a tower. Below this it bears a 3-line inscription, beginning upper right, running sinistrowise, continuing *boustrophedon* and ending l. 3, lower left. Together the crenellations and inscription occupy the upper third of the front, the remainder being left blank.

Dimensions: ht., 1.31 m.; w., 0.47 m.; th., 0.30 m.; line ht., 0.075 m.

Condition: surface fair but signs faint.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: characteristic *ua/i*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: very few (2 only, + |INFANS).

Discovery. The stele was bought from one Davut Yılmaz of the village Tilsevet (alias Ekinveren), 16 km.

south-east of Oğuzeli, 35 km. south-east of Gaziantep, and brought to Gaziantep museum on 29/8/1955.

“We located the find-spot of this monument neither in the village nor on the *höyük* [of Tilsevet], but in an ancient grave-yard 1.5 km. south of the village. According to explanations by signs of Davut Yılmaz, a dumb treasure-seeker, he himself had brought out this stele, together also with other ornaments, from one of these graves. This stone block had been used as one of the stones of the side of the tomb, and on the other stones no relief or inscription whatever was found. According to this information it may be admitted of the origin of the stele that it was found on the *höyük* and later (perhaps in the Roman period) brought to this grave.” (Translated from Turkish, Kalaç, loc. cit. below, Publication, p. 315; German version, p. 323, differs slightly). The details were elicited by Kalaç on visits to Tilsevet in summers 1966 and 1967.

The fact that the inscription is of a recognizably funerary type (see Content), and that the stele was found as a part of a tomb, suggests the possibility that it was actually found *in situ*, i.e. a Neo-Hittite grave emplacement. Since it is the only one of this type of monument perhaps so discovered, it is particularly unfortunate that the exact archaeological circumstances of its discovery could not be established and recorded.

Publication. Kalaç, *Belleten* 32 (1968), pp. 315–317 (Turkish), 323–325 (German), Abb. 1–2 (photographs of stele, general and detail), Abb. 3 (drawing from latex squeeze, reversed text); Hawkins, *Studies Tabsin Özgüç* (1989), pls. 42, 44 (general photograph, copy with photograph of inscription).

Editions. Kalaç, loc. cit. (Turkish, German); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 155, pp. 105–107, Tav. XVII (redrawn); Hawkins, *Studies Tabsin Özgüç* (1989), pp. 193–196 cit. 7.

Excerpt.

§ 6 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 135 cit. 5; cf. ead., *Studies Cougill*, p. 216 n. 27.

Content. Funerary inscription of Uwawas. § 1, Statement of ownership; §§ 2–4, actions in life(?); § 5, erection of stele by children; §§ 6–7, protective curse. Specifically funerary features (for details, see Commentary) are §§ 2 and 5.

Date. 8th century B.C. (rhotacism visible, (STELE) *wa/i-ni-ri+i*, § 6).

Text. The text here offered is that of my publication, traced from an inked paper squeeze made in Gaziantep Museum by myself in August 1987.

Photographs. The same as those of my publication, taken in the Gaziantep Museum at the same time as the squeeze.

Transliteration

1. § 1 *za-wa/i* (STELE) *wa/i-ni-zi¹* *u-wa/i-wa/i-sa ta-ta*
- § 2 FEMINA-*ti-zi-wa/i-mu-ta á-mi-zi ara/i-zi ha-si-ha*
- § 3 *a-wa/i* |*462 *77-*ba* ||
2. § 4 FEMINA.*462-*ti-pa-wa/i* DARE-*ba*
- § 5 *wa/i-mu-u* |*za* (“STELE”) *wa/i-ni-za á-mi-zi INFANS-ni-zi*
BONUS-*sa-tà-ti* CRUS-*nu-ta* ||
3. § 6 *za-ti-pa-wa/i* (STELE) *wa/i-ni-ri+i* REL-*sà* (“CORNU”)
tara/i-pi-wa/i CRUS-*i*
- § 7 *wa/i-tu-u* DEUS-*ni-zi* LIS-*za-tu-u*

Translation

This stele Uwawas *put*(?).
I myself *recalled*(?) my woman(ly)
times,
and I *pledged* (male) issue,
but I gave female issue.
This stele my children erected in
goodness for me.
(He) who stands for TARPI(WA)
against this stele,
against him may the gods litigate!

Commentary

§ 1. *za-wa/i* (STELE) *wa/i-ni-zi¹*: fullest writing of phrase which introduces this type of inscription; cf. KARKAMIŠ A18b, A5a, A18f, also A4c(?). For discussion of this and other forms of (STELE) *wani(t)*-, see below, Note, after § 7.

ta-ta: apparently verb, lacking in parallel clauses. Since the author's children are said to have “erected” (*tanu-*) the stele (§ 5), what action and verb could be represented by this *ta-* (so Meriggi)? Lycian has verbs *ta-* and *tuwe-*, both “put”, and some shadowy survivals in Hier. of *ta-*, “put”, alongside *ta-/la-*, “take”, and *ta-*, “stand”, are suspected (see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 28–29, and Commentary). The present verb could be one of these. Hawkins, *Edition*, quotes A. Morpurgo Davies as considering an identification with *ta-*, “put” (*Studies Cougill*, p. 226 n. 56), or more recently as *ta-*, “stand”.

§ 2. FEMINA-*ti-zi*: apparently nom./acc. plur. MF, but unclear whether belonging at end of § 1, (which looks difficult to translate – Anna Morpurgo Davies wonders whether it could be an adjective in apposition to (STELE) *wa/i-ni-zi*, “(as) a woman's (one)”); or beginning of § 2, with enclitic particles, as given, where it could perhaps qualify *aminzi arinzi*, “my woman(ly)

times”, which would indicate that the author Uwawas was a woman. Cf. MARAŞ 2, § 2?

ara/i-zi ha-si-ha: see KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 2, Commentary.

§§ 3–4. Best understood by reference to KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 28–29, where we have (*462) *mu-wa/i-i-tà-*, “(male) seed, issue”, and (FEMINA.*462) *4²-tà-* (also *muwita*?), “female seed, issue”; thus here too, *462 and FEMINA.*462-*ti-* (both *muwiti*?), “male issue” and “female issue”?

Verbs, *77- // DARE-: former recognized by collation, summer 1987, as sign occurring three times in ASSUR letters, apparently a downward-pointing hand with crossed forefingers (e, § 30; f+g, §§ 16, 52); there an interpretation “promise, pledge, betroth” (apparently of a female child), seemed contextually likely. Can this be supported by the present context, in which male children are “*77-ed” and females “given”? Perhaps, if the two verbs describe different stages in the marriage ceremony: “pledging” vs. “giving”?

§ 5. (“STELE”) *wa/i-ni-za*: for morphology, see below.

BONUS-*sa-tà-ti* (*sa* confirmed by collation): this reading is not easily linked with the usual BONUS

(*wa/i*)-*sa*₅ + *ra/i*-*ti*, “with goodness”; surely not non-rhotacized form of *wasara*- (so Kalac), since (1) *wasara*- occurs in non-rhotacizing inscriptions; and (2) it is identified already in Cun. Luw. *wašsar*- (Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 223; cf. Anm. 1234, identifying the present form as derived from a stem *wasata*-).

§ 6. (“CORNU”) *tara/i-pi-wa/i* CRUS-*i* (cf. CORNU + *ra/i-pi* CRUS-*i*, KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 4): for studies of phrase *tarpi(wa) ta*-, see A. Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

§ 7. LIS-*za-tu*: LIS, “litigate”, for earlier IRA, “be angry”, see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

Note: morphology of (“STELE”) *wani*-.

TİLSEVET has 3 different fully spelt forms of the word:

(1) *wa/i-ni-za* (§ 5). Identification of this form is straightforward, (nom./) acc. sing. N, supported by agreeing form *za*, “this”. Same form found and so identified in RESTAN/QAL’AT EL MUDIQ, § 3; ERKİLET 1, § 2; ANKARA, § 4; BABYLON 1, § 13 (-*ni*-). Analysis of form is more problematic, since it is unusual in ending -*Ci-za*, where most nom./acc. sing. N end -*Cu-za*.

(2) *wa/i-ni-ri+i* (§ 6). This form agrees with STELE-*ni-ri+i*, KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 12; also STELE-*ri+i*, CEKKE, § 22, same context. Since these forms are qualified by *zati*, “this” (dat. sing.), and stand as indir. objects to *tarpi(wa) ta*-, which elsewhere takes the dat.

(ALEPPO 2, § 25; SULTANHAN, § 21), the form must be dat. sing. An attempt to interpret as abl. sing. solely because of the ending -*ri+i* runs counter to the known form *zati*, dat. sing. (though abl. not attested), and the known usage of the verb.

Thus: (nom.) acc. sing. N, *wa/i-ni-za*
dat. sing., *wa/i-ni-ri+i*

The explanation that brings these forms together must be that the word is a -*t*-stem, *wanit*- (i.e. *wanid*-), giving nom./acc. sing. N. *wani*(+ *sa*), dat. **waniti* > *waniri*. Identification of such a consonant stem is supported by the Cun. Luw. form, (NA₄) *u-wa-ni-ta-im-ma-an*, “petrified” (acc. sing. N. -*mmi*- participle of denom. verb, *uwanitai*-). For identification of comparable -*t*-stem, cf. LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za* (= **pitai*+ *sa*), KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, Commentary.

(3) *wa/i-ni-zi* (§ 1): This provides a full writing of a form found repeatedly in same or similar contexts, STELE-*ni-zi*, KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 1; A18f, § 1; A5a, § 1; A4c, § 1(?); cf. STELE-*zi*, CEKKE, § 3. In all cases it is qualified by *za*, “this” (nom./acc. sing. N), and it appears to be nom. in all cases except CEKKE, § 3, and the present TİLSEVET, § 1 (both acc.). These forms in -*zi* are too frequent and consistent to be explained as mistakes for the expected forms in -*za*. They remain extremely problematic, and until a plausible explanation can be found, they must simply be noted as oddities.

II.44. KARKAMIŠ A18b (plate 63)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10092.

Description. Basalt “altar”, in fact tomb-stone (see TİLSEVET, Description, for identification and other examples). As typically, rectangular block with, top front, projecting band carved with 4 crenellations (later cut back flat for reuse). Below, 1-line sinistroverse inscription occupying entire width of stele; framed by incised line above and below. Remainder of front left blank (about ¾ of total).

Dimensions (stele): ht., 1.25 m.; w., 0.64 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.

Condition: good.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: characteristic *a*, also *pi*. cf. KARKAMIŠ A5a; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. “Found built into a Roman house outside the walls near the station” (Woolley, see Publication). No further details available.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. xi, pl. A18b, b* (photograph (detail) of top of stele, photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 266, pl. AC (redrawing of last part of text).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), p. 259 + *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 7, p. 64; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 15, pp. 42–44, fig. (redrawn); Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç* (1989), pp. 193–196 cit. 6.

Excerpts.

§ 1 Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 98 f.; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 106.

§ 2 Bossert, *AfO* 17, p. 70, Abb. 21.

§ 6 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 135 cit. 6; cf. ead., *Studies Cougill*, p. 216 f. n. 27.

Content. Funerary inscription of Zitis. § 1, Statement of ownership; §§ 2–3, actions in life(?); §§ 4–5, protective curses.

Date. As for TİLSEVET, KARKAMIŠ A5a (possibly generation earlier than latter, if Zitis = Zitis, father of Zahananis).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made from the stone in Ankara Museum.

Photographs. Prints of published photograph taken from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 83852), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

Translation

- § 1 *za-wa/i STELE-ni-zi¹ VIR-ti-sa (DEUS)SOL-wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa-
CAPUT-ta-sa*
§ 2 *wa/i-mu-ta á-mi-zi ara/i-zi ha-si-ha*
§ 3 *a-wa/i á-mi-x wa/i-wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa ARHLA PES₂-ha*
§ 4 *CORNU+ra/i-pi-wa/i REL-sà CRUS-i*
§ 5 *[wa/i]-tu-u DEUS-[ni?]-zi LIS*

This stele (is) of Zitis the Sun-blessed person.
I myself *recalled(?)* my times,
and ... I went away WAWARAMIS
(dead?).
(He) who stands for TARPI-
against him (may) the gods litigate!

Commentary

§ 1. *za-wa/i STELE-ni-zi¹*: for common introduction to these inscriptions, see TILSEVET, § 1, Commentary.

VIR-ti-sa (*zitis*, gen. sing.): same as Zitis, father of author on KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 1?

(DEUS)SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa* CAPUT-*ta-sa*: same title on KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 1; note gen. sing. in -*mas/-tas*, in contrast nom. sing. MF in -*mis/-tis* (e.g. KULULU 2, § 1; KARATEPE, § 1).

§ 2. Parallel clauses in TILSEVET, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 2; probably also KARKAMIŠ A4c, § 2; cf. also KARKAMIŠ A5a, §§ 7–8 (and Commentary); EGREK, § 2 (and Commentary).

ara/i-zi: KARATEPE, 404, gives *ara/i-zi* = Phoen. *ʾlm*, “(future) time”; cf. HAMA 4, §§ 10, 12, 13, and Commentary. Hier. *ara/i-* may now be identified with Cun. Luw. *ari-*, “time” (KUB XXXV, 133 ii 29; KBo IX, 143 rev. 14; distinguish from *arrai-*, “long”, = Hier. *a+ra/i-*); see Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, Anm. 339 a, associating the stem with Gr. ὥρα, Goth. *jēr*, etc. Anna Morpurgo Davies had suggested the same etymology verbally; cf. her remarks in *Studies Cougill*, p. 218 f. n. 31. The connotations of the word in Hier. seem to be “time” rather than “generation, i.e. progeny”.

ha-si-ha: note use of determinative (VAS) in KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 8. Verb formerly identified with Hier.

ha-sa/sá-, “beget” (KARATEPE, 321), Hitt. *hašš-*; thus (with *ara/i-zi*), “beget posterity”. But with new reading *si*, probably *ha-si-* here should be separated from *ha-sa/sá-*, “beget”; and *ara/i-* = “generation” is no longer compelling. The context of EGREK, § 2, seems to demand a different sense for *ha-si-*, perhaps “recall, record”; cf. also KARKAMIŠ A5b, §§ 1–2; A5a, §§ 7–8, with Commentaries.

§ 3. *á-mi-x*: last sign uncertain (hardly *sa₆*, so Meriggi), and thus form of word, even identity as pronoun, doubtful.

ARHLA PES₂-ha, “I went away”: apparently euphemism for “died”, cf. KULULU 1, § 15; also KULULU 3, § 5.

wa/i-wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa: cf. ASSUR letter *e*, § 10, (MORI)*wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-*, and Commentary. Here the context suggests death, and the morphology a reduplicated form of (MORI)*wala-/wara-*, “suffer, die” (cf. (CRUX)*wala*, “ill(?)”, KULULU 5, § 8, Commentary).

§§ 4–5. Parallel clauses, TILSEVET, §§ 6–7, are more explicitly written and better preserved, thus resolving any doubts about the present passages: see Commentary there.

II.45. KARKAMIŠ A5a (plates 64–65)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10102.

Description. Basalt “altar”, in fact tomb-stone: see TILSEVET, Description, for identification and other examples. The rectangular block has, top front, a projecting band carved with 4 crenellations, below which there is a 4-line inscription, beginning top right, running sinistroversely, then *boustrophedon*, ending immediately after l. 4 lower right, with one word written

down on l. 5. Crenellated band and inscription together occupy top half of front only, the rest of which is blank.

Dimensions (inscribed area): ht., 0.35 m. (+ 0.05, l. 5); w., 0.51 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.

Condition: inscription almost complete but faintly incised, surface badly pitted, damage down right edge, reading generally difficult.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive, occasional monumental (*ara/i, mu*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *a*; *sa* simple semicircle; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: not frequent, but used especially when word begins not at top of line.

Discovery. Excavated during 1911–14 operations in association with “Kubaba Temple” on acropolis but re-used in later level: see Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 213, pls. 49 (plan), 50a, also 51a. Note on published squeeze reads: “N. end of Kalaat, 1911”.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 28, pl. A5a, *a** (photograph of stone, photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 266 [ref. on p. 272 is to A5b not *a!*], pl. AB (photograph of inked squeeze with collations).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 166, p. 112–115, Tav. XVIII (redrawn).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Meriggi, *WZKM* 40, p. 259; Melchert, *KZ* 103, p. 203.
 §§ 1–2, 7–8 Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç*, pp. 194–197 cit. 11.
 § 5 Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Cowgill*, p. 217.
 §§ 12–13 Morpurgo Davies, *Is Risch*, p. 135 cit. 7.

Content. Funerary inscription of Zahananis, son of Zitis, presumably autobiographical and laudatory but somewhat obscure. Mention appears to be made of author's elder brother and parents, also “my TARPUNALA/I's”. Gods invoked are principally “divine Lady of the Earth”, also the Sun. Contrary to statements in Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 240, 262, there is no mention of Kamanis, king of Karkamiš. The author makes no reference to any office held and may therefore be reckoned a “private” person.

Date. 8th century B.C. (rhotacism clearly discernible).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made from the stone in Ankara Museum, and checked against uninked paper squeezes preserved in the British Museum.

Photographs. This inscription is extremely difficult to bring out with a photograph. The prints are the published photograph and a detail taken from the excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 033863), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees. I add also a photograph taken by myself in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

1. § 1 *ṣa-wa/i* STI:LI:ni-ṣi¹ *ṣa-ba-na-ni-sa* VIR-ti-sá | INFANS-mu-wa/i-ia²-ia-ṣa (DEUS) SOL-wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa CAPUT[...]
 § 2 *wa/i-mu-u* *ku-ma-na* ba-IUDEX+R-1/I á-sa-[há]
 § 3 *a-wa/i* FRONS-[la/i/u-li²] FRATER-la-[ni²] NEG₂-ma-ni-ba SUB/INFRA .ARHL-1 | pa+ra/i-bá
 2. § 4 NEG₂-pa-wa/i || (DEUS) ma-sa-ti-na(?) tu-pi-bá
 § 5 *wa/i-mu-u* [x]-na²-si-[x] á-[mi²]-sa | tá-ri+i-sa [MATER²]-ti-sa tara/i-pu<-na?>-la-bi-ri+i-i CRUS-ta
 § 6 *wa/i-mu-u* [x x]-mi-i na-bu-ti-na .ARHL-1 pu-[ta²]
 § 7 *wa/i-mu-u* ta á-mi-ṣi ara/i-i-ṣi na(-)ba-[... ||
 3. § 8 [...] *wa/i-mu-ta* (FEMINA²) ara/i-na || [pi²]-na (VAS) ba-si-ba
 § 9 | *wa/i-ta* (“*476”) bi-ru-[tá²]-ri+i | si-su-wa/i á-mi-ṣi tara/i-pu-na-la-ṣi-i | POST+ra/i-ta TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA SOL₂.DEUS.SOL PRAE-i | CRUS-wa/i+ra/i² | á-sa-ti
 4. § 10 | *wa/i-mu* REL-ṣa | ma²-|| x-pa ...
 § 11 *wa/i-mu-u* á-[mi²]-ṣi | tara/i-pu-na-li-ṣi | x(-) wa/i-su || POST+ra/i-ta | á-wa/i-ti
 § 12 | *ṣa*-[ti]-pa-wa/i STELE-ni-ri+i | REL-[sa] tara/i-pi[...]
 CRUS-[...]
 § 13 | *wa/i-tu*-[u²] TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA tara/i-pi-wa/i CRUS
 5. § 14 *wa/i-tu-u* ta á-[... || ...] *69²(-) i ...

Translation

This stele (is) of Zahananis, Zitis's son, the Sun-blessed person.
 While I myself was in life,
 I by no means ... ed to/for(?) the elder brother,
 nor ... did I smite.
 And for me ... my father (and) mother(?) stood for TARPUN-
 <NA>LAHI,
 and for me the [...]ed they .ARHL-1
 PU-ed the NAHUTI-,
 and for me my times [I/they] did not rec[all(?)],
 ... I myself recalled(?) there.
 And by the oath ... hereafter my TARPUNALA's shall be to stand before the divine Lady of the Earth and the ... Sun.
 And (for) me because ...,
 for me my TARPUNALI's hereafter shall come well(?).
 But [(he) who shall] stand for TARPUNALA against [this] stele,
 for him (may) the divine Lady of the Earth stand TARPUNALA,
 and [may she] destroy [his ...] for him!

Commentary

In spite of the surface damage and the poor visibility of signs, careful collation of the squeezes and photographs permits the substantial restoration of the text, though uncertainties of reading and obscurities of interpretation remain.

§ 1. Exactly paralleled by KARKAMIŠ A18b (apart from patronym, absent in latter). The author of A18b, Zitis, is likely to be the same individual as Zitis, father of Zahananis, in the present inscription.

[INFANS-*mu-wa/i-ia²-ia-za*: first *ia* uncertain, may have semicircular line above, as represented inaccurately on published squeeze; but this would hamper positive identification of the sign and may simply be damage. If the form is indeed as suggested, Melchert's interpretation (loc. cit.) is very plausible, namely a derived adjective in *-ya-*, nom. sing. N agreeing with STFELE, in place of a gen. sing. agreeing with *Zahananis*; for comparable usages also built on *nimuwīya-* instead of the usual *nimuwīza-*, see MALATYA 1 and Commentary.

(DEUS)SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa* CAPUT[...]: cf. same title better preserved on KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 1, with Commentary.

§ 2. *ba-IUDEX+R·1/I*: closely paralleled by KARATEPE, 277, Hu. *ba-IUDEX+R·1/I* // Ho. *ba-tā+ra/i*, = Phoen. *hym*, "life" or *šlm*, "health, peace", see Commentary there.

Sense, "While I was in life" (or possibly "health") emerges clearly, giving good example of the dead "speaking" from tomb-stone. A catalogue of virtues displayed in life might be expected to follow.

§ 3. FRONS-[*la/i/u-li²*] | FRATER-*la-[ni²*]: the certainly visible signs clearly suggest "elder (*bantili-*) brother", but the ending in both words is uncertain, hence doubt on case and context. Phrase might be expected to be in acc. or dat. sing. MF, dir. or indir. object of clause.

|FRATER-*la-[ni²*]: word for "brother" is FRATER-*la(-i)-* (see ALEPPO 2, § 3, Commentary) with attested acc. sing. in *-la-na* (ALEPPO 2, § 9), dat. sing. in *-la-i* (KULULU lead strip 1, § 7, entries 38 and 44 (element 6 a)). With the present writing, it is hard to identify the apparent reading or to propose an alternative which would fit with attested forms.

FRONS-[*la/i/u-li²*]: FRONS-*la/i/u-* (//*-li-*, KARATEPE) = *bantili-*, "former, first", is now well established (see KARATEPE, § XXVI, Commentary), so reading *la/i/u* is probable. Expected acc. sing. MF would be *-la/i/u-na*, dat. sing. *-la/i/u(-ia)*. Here the last sign, though damaged, appears to be *li*, which would be difficult to interpret, so it may be that another sign, *a* or conceivably *-na*, should be read.

SUB *ARH·4* [*pa+ra/i-bā*]: context, being negative, is probably denial of having injured the elder brother.

Possible associations of verb might be either Cun. Luw. *para-*, "chase" (Laroche, *DLL*, s.v.) or "zusagen, verkünden, verwünschen" (Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 77 and Anm. 405); or Hitt. *par-* and derivatives, "be high", Cun. Luw. *parrai-*, "high" (Starke, *Stammbildung*, §§ 248, 331). But in the uncertain context (as regards possible object), this is speculative.

§ 4. (DEUS)*ma-sa-ti-na(?)*: reading thus yields an apparent divine name, "the god Masati", acc. sing., dir. object, very suspect sense in context. Could we read (DEUS) *ma-sa-na-ti(!)*, "by the god(s)!" assuming incorrect reversal of last two signs? This could be an asseverative oath supporting the denial "by no means did I smite (him, the elder brother)". It would have the advantage of producing a recognizable phonetic writing of the word "god", abl. sing.

§ 5. *wa/i-mu-u¹* (also § 6): *-i* used instead of usual *-'* as word-ender/space-filler; cf. also İSKENDERUN, §§ 3, 4; MARAŞ 1, §§ 6, 11; and ASSUR letters, *passim*.

|*tā-ri+i-sa* [MATER²]-*ti-sa*: apparently "father (and) mother, parents". For rhotacized *tari* < *tatis*, cf. *tā-ra+a-za*, "fathers", dat. plur. (CEKKE, § 16). For MATER-*na-ti-*, "mother" (indistinguishable from FEMINA-*na-ti-*, "woman"), see KARATEPE, 15, and Commentary.

tara/i-pu<-na?>-la-bi-ri+i-i: restoration <-na?> seems likely in view of *tarpunala/i-*, §§ 9, 11, where see Commentary; here we apparently have an *-abi(t)-* abstract formation, dat. sing.

CRUS-*ta* (so, correctly, *Carchemish* III, pl. AB): verb *ta-* + dat., "stand for (something abstract)", is an established usage in Hier., paralleled by Hitt. *tiya-*, Cun. Luw. *da-*; see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for inclusion of the present context in a consideration of usages of *ta-*, "stand".

§ 6. *-mu*: acc. or dat., dir. or indir. object?

[x x]-*mi-i*: perhaps participle, dat. sing.; qualifying *-mu* if indir. object?

na-bu-ti-na: cf. ("VAS")*na-bu-ti-zi*, apparently adj., ASSUR letter e, § 10, and Commentary, perhaps associated with Hitt.-Luw. *nahhuwa-* (verb); qualifying *-mu* if dir. object?

ARH·1 pu-[ta²]: cf. SUPER+*ra/i pu-tu*, KARABURUN, § 13, and Commentary, where possible connection with Hitt.-Luw. *puwai-*, "press, crush", Lyc. *ppuwe-*, "write", is considered.

Sense remains intangible: subject, "they (my parents?)"; dir. object, NAHUTI-; indir. obj., *-mu* [...] *-mi-i* – or is *-mu* dir. object with NAHUTI- in apposition?

§§ 7–8. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for a consideration of these two clauses. They resemble a recurrent clause in this type of inscription: TILSEVET, § 2 // KAR-

KAMIŠ A18b, § 2, see Commentary; cf. also KAR-KAMIŠ A5b, § 2; but it differs from this clause by ending *na(-)ha-[-...]*, where other examples have *ha-si-ha*, for which cf. following clause.

na(-)ha-[-...]: *na* possibly phonetic writing of negative (usually NEG₂), as in AKSARAY, § 8; *ha-[-...]* should represent verb *hasi-*, and for negative statement with this verb in funerary context, cf. EGREK, § 2, and Commentary. Restoration likely to be *ha-[si-ta//ha]*, “[they//I did] (not) HASI-”.

§ 8. Probably space for column of signs at beginning of l. 3, likely to be word with *(-)wa/i-mu-ta* attached, perhaps just *[á-mi//mu-pa//ha]*-, i.e. *amin*, “my” (acc. sing. MF), or *amu*, “I”.

(FEMINA[?])*ara/i-na* (FEMINA uncertain, could possibly be syllabogram *ha-*, but no central line visible): looks as if it might connect with FEMINA-*ti-zi(-...)* *á-mi-zi ara/i-zi*, “my woman(ly) times (?)” (TILSEVET, § 2, see Commentary). This might indicate that Zahananis was a woman, but the name would hardly favour this.

[pi[?]]-na: surviving traces suggest form of *pi* like that in CORNU + *ra/i-pi*, KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 4.

(VAS)*ha-si-ha*: only occurrence of this several times attested verb to have determinative VAS, which may be significant in establishing its semantic range; for consideration of the sense, see KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 2, Commentary.

§ 9. (“*476²”) *hi-ru-[tá[?]]-ri+i*: cf. (“*476.*311”) *hi-ru-ra+a-ti*, ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 7, and Commentary, identified there tentatively with Cun. Luw. *hirut-*, “oath, curse”. In present writing, *[tá[?]]* most likely reading to bring form into line with rhotacized *hirurati*; determinative also likely to parallel (“*476.*311”), perhaps form of *476.

si-su-wa/i: quite unclear. *su* and/or *wa/i* may have + *ra/i*, but *si-su[+ra/i[?]]-wa/i[+ra/i[?]]* does not seem any easier to analyse; connection with Hitt. *šiššuriya-*, “irrigate” (for which see Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, p. 778), can hardly be proposed unless some relevance in the context could be suggested.

á-mi-zi tara/i-pu-na-la-zi-i: to “stand for TARPUN- <NA>LAHI for someone” (§ 5) might well involve becoming their TARPUNALA-; if so, these people would again be the author’s parents. The stem(s) *tara/i-pa//pi-*, and derivatives including these, are considered by A. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 129–145 (note especially p. 133 f. and n. 12).

TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA, literally “earth’s divine Lady”; cf. (DEUS)REGIO-*nisi* (MAGNUS.DOMINA)*basusari-*, “divine land’s Queen”, title of goddess in MEHARDE, §§ 1, 6, 8; SHEIZAR, § 7; KIRÇ-

OĞLU, § 2. There is a distinction between TERRA (= *tasREL-ra/i-*, *takami-*, “earth”) and REGIO (= **utni-*, “land”), which may separate the two deities, only the present one being clearly chthonic.

SOL₂.DEUS.SOL: traces of first sign appear to be *winged disc*, thus SOL₂, sign not generally used in Late Hier. signary (but cf. KARKAMIŠ A21, § 4), though common in sculptural iconography. This writing of the Sun God may be parallel to CAELUM.DEUS.SOL, “Sun God of Heaven” (KARATEPE, 391 f., = Phoen. *šmš ’lm*), but possibly in association with a chthonic goddess, a Sun God of the Earth might be indicated.

PRAE-*i* |CRUS-*wa/i+ra/i[?] |á-sa-ti*: the presence or absence of the *-ra/i* is of consequence, but even after careful collation, remains only probable, not certain. If present, it could indicate a construction CRUS-*wara/i asa-*, “be to stand”, parallel to the ASSUR letters repeated *ha-tu-ra+a (asa-)*, “be to write” (see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (C)), i.e. verbal noun in *-war-*, dat. sing., + verb “to be”, a periphrastic construction indicating obligation.

§ 10. End of clause (beginning of l. 4) quite obscure.

REL-*za*: translation “because” (conjunction) rather than “(that) which” (relative) looks likely to give better sense.

§ 11. Many signs somewhat doubtful, yet whole seems to add up to near intelligibility.

á-[mi]-zi [tara/i]-pu-na-li-zi: likely to be so read to give nearly identical phrase to that in § 9, though here *-i-stem tarpunali-* against previous *-a-stem tarpunala-*.

[x(-)wa/i-su: phrase *wasu awi-*, “come well”, is well established, and seems likely here in spite of doubtful readings. *wasu*, “well” (adv.), is never written with determinative, though a verb (BONUS)*wasu-*, “be good”, is (BOHÇA, §§ 2, 4). But in any case the sign before *wa/i-su* is not BONUS but looks like LIGNUM, “wood”. Unclear.

§§ 12–13. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for consideration in context of examination of phrase *tarpi(wa)* CRUS-.

§ 12. Enough certainly preserved to suggest clause nearly identical to TILSEVET, § 6 (see Commentary there), so restoration may be made with confidence.

§ 14. Verb on following line suggests defective(?) writing of *69(-)*i-ti*, “destroy”: see KARATEPE, 387, and Commentary. Possible restoration (expected sense):

wa/i-tu-u-ta á-[pa-sa CAPUT...ARHA] *69(-)
i<-ti-tu>

“and for him [may she] destroy his [head]!”.

II.46. KARKAMIŠ A5b (plate 66)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10961.

Description. Limestone(?) “altar”, in fact tomb-stone of type represented by TILSEVET, KARKAMIŠ A5a, etc. (see Description there). The stele, originally a rectangular block with (front) crenellated band above 2-line inscription, has been cut down for reuse as Roman tomb-stone on its left side. Preserved on the narrow right side of this is a segment of the original face. If, as seems usual (see KARKAMIŠ A18f, Description), the monument originally had four crenellations, about three-quarters of its original width is lost. Of the text, l. 1 ran sinistaverse, returning *boustrophedon* on l. 2, and indeed it seems that the text of l. 1 continued directly on l. 2. If so, this implies that very little was lost from the left side of the monument in the recutting; and we have the left side of the inscription intact. Inspection supports the statement of Hogarth (see Publication) that the text ended after the visible signs of l. 2. Finally, even the beginning of the text may be preserved (see Commentary). Thus it is possible that this very short text is actually complete. If so, the inscription would have been placed on the left hand quarter of the stele's front. For such an inscription which does not begin on the right edge, see KARKAMIŠ A18f.

Dimensions (inscribed area): ht., 0.31 m.; w., 0.20 m.;
line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive (monumental *ta*).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. No information available.

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 28, pl. A5b*, b (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum, oblique photograph of stone).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), p. 270 f.; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), p. 229 n. 19; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 14, p. 41 f. fig. (redrawn); Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç* (1989), pp. 193–196 cit. 8.

Excerpt.

§ 1 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 327 f.

Content. Funerary inscription like other examples.

Date. Presumably 8th century B.C. like other examples.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, and checked against the inked and uninked paper squeezes preserved in the British Museum.

Photograph. Taken in Ankara Museum at the same time as the tracing.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO²-(*m*)*u*² *nu-nu + ra/i-sá* (DIES)*ba-li* (PES₂)*pa-za-ba*||
2. § 2 *ara/i-zi-pa-mu'-ta ba-si-ba*

Translation

I myself(?) Nunuras passed (my)
days,
and I recalled(?) (my) times.

Commentary

§ 1. EGO²-(*m*)*u*²: uncertain, but perhaps unusual writing for *amu*-, “I” (if first sign correctly identified); differs from usual introduction *amu + wa + mi*, “I (am)”, perhaps because here the initial clause leads straight in with verb (PES₂)*pa-za-ba*.

(DIES)*ba-li* (PES₂)*pa-za-ba*: Meriggi suggests “I passed the time, lived”, which seems very likely.

(DIES)*ba-li-i* (< *haliya*) is twice attested elsewhere as acc. plur. N (BOR, § 11; ÇİFTLİK, § 17), and the same form is doubtless to be identified here.

(PES₂)*pa-za-ba*: for the sense “I passed (my) days”, cf. SHEIZAR, § 2, ... CENTUM-*ni* ANNUS-*si-na* (PES₂)*pa-za-ba*-, argued to mean “I passed (lived) 100 years” (see Commentary).

The following paradigm for the simple and -*za*-suffixed forms of the verb may now be assembled:

3 pl. imp.	(“PES ₂ ”) <i>pa-tu</i> (ASSUR letter <i>e</i> , § 24).
1 sing. pret.	(PES ₂) <i>pa-za-ba</i> (KARKAMIŠ A12, §§ [10], 11, 12).
1 sing. pret.	(PES ₂) <i>pa-za-ba_x</i> (SHEIZAR, § 2).
3 plur.(?) pret.	(PES ₂) <i>pa-zi/a-ta_x</i> (TOPADA, § 23).

§ 2. Variant of clause recurring several times in this context: see KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 2, and Commentary for consideration of constituent elements, including *ar-*, “time”; also rejection of the usual identification of verb *ba-si-* with *ba-sa/sá-*, “beget”, and instead a contextually

based proposal, “recall, record(?)”. The two preserved clauses here show a recognizable parallelism, particularly with the balance “days/times”.

-pa-mu¹-ta: for absence of connective *-wa/i-*, see KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 2, and Commentary, citing other parallels.

II.47. KARKAMIŠ A18f (plate 67)

Location. Fragment, lost? Not recorded in Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 266; Güterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 102–114; Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 12–20. Survives as published inked squeeze (also one uninked) in the British Museum.

Description. Fragment of upper right part of limestone “altar”, actually tomb-stone of type represented by TILSEVET, KARKAMIŠ A5a etc. (see Description there). Preserved is part of the upper crenellated band, and below, the right end of 1-line inscription, running sinistroverse, framed by incised line and, unusually, with incised line bisecting inscription horizontally. The inscription, unusually, begins at a distance (0.35 m.) from the right edge of the monument below the second crenellation. If, as seems usual, the monument originally had four crenellations (as KARKAMIŠ A5a, A18b, and A4c), about three-quarters of the width of the text is lost.

Discovery. “Brought in from MERJ KHAMIS” (Woolley, see Publication) – village about 4 km. north of Karkamiš (see *Carchemish* II, p. 37 fig. 5). Recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 113, so found in 1911.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18f* (photograph of inked squeeze); id., *Carchemish* III (1952), pl. AC (photograph of stone).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), p. 258 f.; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 15 a, p. 43, fig. (redrawn, upside down); Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç* (1989), p. 193 f. cit. 9.

Content. Beginning of funerary inscription (statement of ownership).

Date. Presumably 8th century B.C., like other examples.

Text. The text here offered is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze preserved in the British Museum. (An uninked duplicate also survives).

Photograph. Print of published photograph taken from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 083699), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

§ 1 *za-wa/i STELE-ni-zi¹ á-sa-ti-TONITRUS-bu-za-sá* |(D[EUS)SOL
... CAPUT...]

Translation

This stele (is) of Astitarhunzas the
S[un-blessed man ...]

Commentary

§ 1. Seems to be exactly parallel to TILSEVET, KARKAMIŠ A18b and A5a, including enigmatic form STELE-ni-zi¹ (see TILSEVET, § 1, Commentary).

Traces indicated on squeeze but not visible on photograph suggest restoration |(D[EUS)SOL... CAPUT...], “Sun-blessed man”.

II.48. KARKAMIŠ A4c (plate 67)

Location. Stele, lost?; not recorded in Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 266, not mentioned by Güterbock (*JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 102–114), nor Meriggi (*QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 12–20), as being in Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara. Survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Description. Limestone(?) “altar”, in fact tomb-stone of type represented by TILSEVET, KARKAMIŠ A5a, etc. (see Descriptions there). The rectangular block

bears, top front, projecting band, carved with 4 crenellations, below which is a 1-line sinistroverse inscription, which probably occupied entire width of stele.

Dimensions (stele): ht., 1.0 m.(?); w., 0.60 m.(?); (inscription), ht., 0.10 m.; preserved w, 0.25 m.

Condition: inscription almost entirely erased.

Script, framing line: incised.

Sign forms: presumably cursive.

Peculiarities, word-dividers: not legible.

Discovery. Excavated in court of Temple of Storm-God during 1911–14 operations. The sketch plan, *Carchemish* I, following p. 29, showing A4c in court to left of entrance, where revised plan, *Carchemish* III, pl. 29, marks “ALTAR”, is clearly a misunderstanding. Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 167, states that it was found in room 3 on south corner of court, and this is confirmed by pl. 36a, photograph and caption (plan, pl. 29 shows A4a here, but the accompanying sketch, showing rectangular block not cylinder, suggests that this is a mistake for A4c). (Note on inked squeeze reads simply: “Limestone Altar from Temple Court”).

Publication. Hogarth, *Carchemish* I (1914), p. 28, pl. A4c, c* (photograph of stone and of inked squeeze).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 164, p. 111 f., Tav. XVII (redrawn).

Content. Presumably funerary inscription like other examples.

Date. Presumably 8th century B.C. like other examples.

Text. The original piece is lost, and the surviving inked squeeze in the British Museum does not look reliable. No new text can be offered.

Photographs. Prints from two excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. PS 033862, PS 033864) of published and unpublished photographs, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration, translation

Text almost entirely illegible in published photograph, identification of signs on inked squeeze suspect; stele no longer available for collation. Surviving traces suggest restoration from KARKAMIŠ A18b:

§ 1	[<i>ṣa-wa/i</i>] STELE- <i>ni-ṣi</i> PN + title(?)	[This] stele (is) of So-and-so ...
§ 2	<i>wa/i-mu²¹-ta²¹</i> (for <i>-ka-ha!</i>) [<i>a'</i>]- <i>mi-ṣi</i> [<i>ara/i</i>]- <i>ṣi</i> [<i>ba-si</i>]- <i>ba</i> .	I myself [<i>recall</i>]ed(?) my times. ...

Comment

§ 1. Title. “Sun-blessed (person)” expected from parallel texts, but can hardly be retrieved from visible traces.

II.49. KARKAMIŠ A16f (not illustrated)

Location. Fragment, now lost? Survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Description. “White limestone. Fragment of altar inscribed with linear text, one line of very small characters. Both ends of the inscription are cut away and the stone surface is deeply pitted, making text almost illegible” (Woolley, see Publication). The fragment appears to be of a crenellated tomb-stone of the type KARKAMIŠ A5a, TILSEVET, etc. The single-line inscription appears to have run sinistroversely, like other examples.

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.09 m.; preserved w., 0.49 m.; original w., estimated 0.70 m.

Condition: desperate.

Script, frame of inscription: incised (faintly).

Sign forms: few identifiable.

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. “Brought in from YARIMJE (= YUNUS)” (Woolley, see Publication); i.e. provenance from the ancient cemetery site.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. ix, pl. A16f, f* (photograph of stone, photograph of inked squeeze).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 188, p. 128, Tav. XXI (redrawn), Tav. XXII (attempted restoration).

Content. Illegible, presumably personal memorial like other tomb-stones of this type.

Date. Uncertain, within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text, photograph. The published photograph (negative not surviving) and the surviving published inked squeeze do not permit the reliable identification of a single sign, and thus can provide no basis for the reconstruction of a new text.

Transliteration, translation: not possible.

II.50. KARKAMIŠ A15a (plates 68–69)

Location. Stele fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 39.

Description. Lower part of stele, front flat, reverse curved, bearing last 6 lines of inscription. A large section has been cut out of it, taking obverse, right side, parts of ll. 3–6, and reverse left side, parts of ll. 3–5. Reverse, ll. 1, 3 and 5 are dextroverse, ll. 2, 4 and 6 sinistroverse; the obverse seems to agree with this. Although little enough is securely legible on obv., it appears that the lines obv.-rev. ran continuous over obv. left edge, thus that obv. right edge was the original edge of the text (so Meriggi). This is supported by the observation that rev. ll. 5–6 do not show continuity. Below the inscription, the stele was uninscribed, and below that, the bottom is shaped as a tenon for erection.

Dimensions: preserved ht. (including tenon), 0.77 m.; w., 0.49 m.; th., 0.32 m.; line ht., 0.06–0.08 m.

Condition (inscription): very poor.

Script, line-dividers: relief (very worn).

Sign forms: probably monumental.

Peculiarities: distinctive form of *ara/i*.

Word-dividers: few visible.

Discovery. Stated to come from Sinsereh (Sinsile) (Woolley – see Publication); copied and squeezed by Thompson in 1911.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii (report of the traces of a 7th line does not seem to be correct), pl. A15a, a* (photograph taken obliquely to obverse, left side – reverse, right side, and of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum – this squeeze has been incorrectly assembled so that on the rev., the left end of 1.6 has been aligned with 1.5, and the traces indicated below probably do not exist.); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), Tavole fuori testo, Tav. II, figs. 2–3 (photographs of reverse right side, obverse).

Edition. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), p. 20; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 178, pp. 122–124, Tav. XX (redrawn).

Content and Date. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings made from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summers 1987 (rev.) and 1996 (obv.) The published inked squeeze and an unpublished duplicate are preserved in the British Museum.

Photographs. Obv., rev. (details), prints from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb. Rev., taken in Ankara Museum in 1987.

Transliteration

Translation

1. (rev.) ...	
§ 1 ...]-i-sa REL-[...] PES-wa/i-ti-i	...] ... shall come.
§ 2 NEG ₂ -a-sa-p[a]-wa/i [...] -sa [...] -sa (obv.) ...	...
2. obverse has virtually no identifiable signs except	... Storm-God ...
(l. 1) ... (DEUS)TONITRUS ... (l. 2) ... wa/i-tá ...	
§ 3 ... (rev.) FORTIS ² ara/i-zi ² -ta .ARHLA (FLAMMAE(?))	... let him/them burn(?) up the
sa ₅ + ra/i-nu-wa/i-tu	ARZUTA!
3. ... -tu-u	...
§ 4 ... x wa/i ... ara/i-zi ² -ta .ARHLA (FLAMMAE(?))	... let him/them burn(?) up the
[sa ₅ + ra/i-n]u-wa/i-tu	ARZUTA!
4. (obv.)	...
§ 5 ... (rev.) -tu-	... let him/them ... !
§ 6 a-wa/i AEDIFICIUM-sa(-)wa/i-zi-ti-i(-)na	...
5.	...
§ 7 ... pa + ra/i-li-i-sa REL + ra/i (INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-	... if(?) ... child ...
(obv.) ...	
6.	
§ 8 ... (rev.) -ara/i-i	...
§ 9 wa/i-tu-ta- ("BRACCHIUM")i-sa ₅ + ra/i-wa/i-la...	for him right-(hand) ... [...
... ma [z]a x ... [z]a ...	

Commentary

§ 2. NEG₂-a-sa-: unparalleled form.

§§ 3–4. Duplication curious.

FORTIS² ara/i-zu²-ta: Logogram possibly determinative for unknown word.

(FLAMMAE(?))sa₅ + ra/i-nu-wa/i-tu: Logogram assumed to represent “flames” and to determine verbs meaning “burn”, kinuwa- (see CEKKE, § 4), luslus-

(HAMA 4, § 11), marusana- (KARKAMIŠ A24a 2+3, § 7). The present verb, otherwise unknown, presumably belongs in the same sphere.

§ 9. (“BRACCHIUM”)i-sa₅ + ra/i-wa/i-la... : apparently a Hier. attestation of Cun. Luw. išarwili-, “right(-hand)” (DLL, s.v.).

II.51. KARKAMIŠ A15c (plate 70)

Location. Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 88.

Description. Two joining pieces of orthostat or stele, showing lower part of left-facing human figure wearing long garment, pleated at rear and hemmed, with elaborate tassels, also a decorated scabbard, and laced boots, all rendered with fine detail. On the left background, in front of the figure, are the remains of the last 3 lines of inscription, which have lost about half their total width by the damage to the left edge of the piece; the lines run dextroverse-sinistroverse-dextroverse, ending lower right.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.95 m.; w., 0.73 m.; th., 0.27 m.; inscribed area, preserved ht., 0.40 m.; w., 0.15 m.; line ht., 0.15–0.13 m.

Condition (inscription): as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: probably cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: only one preserved (not at top of line).

Discovery. Found in Yunus cemetery (Woolley, see Publication); no further details available.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii, pl. A15c* (photograph of inked squeeze of inscription

only, still preserved in the British Museum); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 835 (photograph); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pl. AC (photograph, collation).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 180, p. 124, Tav. XX.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Karkemis L/3)*, pp. 39, 517, Taf. 37d.

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine; funerary stele?

Date. Stylistic criteria only; Orthmann, *Karkemis* IV, associated with Yariris style, i.e. early 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the stone made in Ankara Museum in 1987 and checked against the inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Photographs. These are prints taken from the surviving excavation negatives in the British Museum reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees (the right photograph is published, the left unpublished).

Transliteration

1. § 1 ...](-)sù-[n]a-la-ba ||
2. § 2a]INFANS-ni-pa-wa/i l[a²]-pa-x[... ||
3. b ...]mi-ia-ti PRAE]LITUUS+na-ti

Translation

...] I SUNALA-ed.
But the child ... [...
by my [...] he/they will overlook(?).

Commentary

§ 1. (-)sù-[n]a-la-ba: apparently verb, *hapax legomenon*, 1 sing. pret.

§ 2a–b. Probably one clause, since there does not appear to be space for many words missing (l. 2, 1–2 columns of signs; l. 3, 2–3 columns lost).

INFANS-ni: acc. or dat. sing.

l[a²]-pa-x[...: perhaps personal name.

PRAE]LITUUS+na-ti: 3 sing./plur. of LITUUS +na-, “see”; see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 135 cit. 15 (i). The phrase may find its closest comparison in Hitt. *para auš-* (for which see Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW²*, s.v. *auš-*), “overlook”, though it is not clear that this sense would be appropriate to the context.

II.52. KARKAMIŠ A16a (plate 71)

Location. Fragments of stone lion, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10898 *a-d* (whole (not part!) of frag. 1, frags. 3, 5 and 9); in Ankara Museum depot in the summers 1987 and 1996 frags. 1, 3 and 5 were inspected, but frag. 9 was not available (in any case it does not appear to belong to the inscription); frags. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 lost? Frags. 4 and 5 survive as uninked squeezes in the British Museum.

Description. "Nine fragments of a small lion bearing on its side an inscription in relief, four lines of text; small well-formed characters" (Woolley, see Publication).

Frag. 1(+2) preserved the left edge of inscription with parts of last 5 lines, running alternately sinistroverse/dextroverse, and giving the continuity ll. 1+2 [lacuna], ll. 3+4 [lacuna], l. 5, end. Frags. 3–6 were joined to make one piece, preserving parts of 3 lines running sinistroverse, dextroverse, sinistroverse, apparently with traces of a 4th line; it seems most likely that these aligned with frag. 1 ll. 1–3. Frags. 7, 8 and 9 are isolated pieces (whether they really belong is questionable).

Dimensions: frag. 1, preserved ht., 0.32 m.; preserved w. (inscribed), 0.13 m.; line ht., 0.05–0.07 m.; frag. 3, preserved ht., 0.09 m.; preserved w., 0.12 m.; line ht., 0.06 m.; frags. 4+5, preserved ht., *c.* 0.25 m.; preserved w., *c.* 0.25 m.; line ht., *c.* 0.06 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (*u*, *ma*, *sà*), cursive *tà*.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: several preserved.

Discovery. Frag. 1 recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 74, thus found in 1911. No other details available.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. viii, pl. A16a* (photographs of inked squeezes only, of which none is still preserved in the British Museum); id., *Carchemish* III (1952), pl. AC (photograph of frag. 1 only, with upper part cut off).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 183, pp. 125–127, Tav. XX (redrawn and rearranged, aligning frags. 3–6 ll. 1–3 against frags. 1–2 ll. 1–3, frag. 8 against frags. 3–6, and frag. 7 on bottom line against frags. 1–2 l. 5).

Excerpt.

§ 7 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 138 cit. 13.

Content. Only introductory and curse formulae intelligible.

Date. Suhis-Katuwas, i.e. 10th or early 9th century B.C.?

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings made from the stone in Ankara Museum (frags. 1, 3, and 5) and from the uninked squeezes in the British Museum (frags. 4 and 5). For the no longer extant frags. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, no new text can be offered.

Photographs. Frag. 1 photographed in Ankara Museum in 1987. Frags. 3 and 5 were photographed in 1996.

Transliteration

(frags. 3–6 + 1–2)

1. § 1 ... *kar-ka-mi-s* | *i-ṣa-sa*(URBS) | REGIO-*ni-ia-si* DOMINUS-x x
- § 2 *a-wa/i* | REL-x x | *na-n*[*a* ...
2. § 3 ...]x REL²-*na-* REL²-*na-* || | DEUS-*ni-i-na* | *i-ṣi-i-ti*
- § 4 | *ṣa*[...
- § 5 ...]NEG₂- DARE | VIA²-*wa/i-ni-i-sa-i(-)* *pa-t*[*i*... ||
3. § 6 ...]*ba-[tā]-ma* | (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-p*[*i* ...
4. § 7 ...]-*wa/i*²-x[...]-*ba* | ("*464") *ba-tū* ||-*ma* | PES₂.PES-*pa-i-tu-u*
- ...
5. § 8-*w*] *a/i*²-*i-tu-u*

Translation

[I (am) ...] Karkamišean Country-Lord.
 ... [...
 ...] whatsoever(?) god he makes
 (celebrates),
 this [...
 ...
 ...] TARPI- the HATAMA [...
 ...] let them TARPI- the
 HATAMA .
 ...] let him/them [...]

Commentary

With a large part of this fragmentary inscription no longer extant, and no photographs available, its many uncertainties are likely to remain. In particular, Meriggi's positioning of frag. 8 to obtain the *bi* of the name *Subis* as author cannot be confirmed.

§ 1. REGIO-*ni-ia-si* DOMINUS-x x: unclear from publication whether x x is really supposed to represent REGIO as Meriggi assumes.

§ 3. REL²-*na-* REL²-*na-*: more probable reading than *zi-na-* *zi-na-* (so Meriggi), but collation of the stone does not decide.

[DEUS-*ni-i-na* | *i-zi-i-ti*: "make (celebrate) a god"; cf. HISARCIK 1, § 2, and Commentary.

§ 5 a-b (survives as pair of uninked squeezes in British Museum, frags. 4 and 5, also actual frag. 5 in Ankara

Museum). It seems possible to identify clause division in middle of line.

VIA²-*wa/i-ni-i-sa-i*: appears to be -*sa-* suffixed form of verb *harwani-*, "send" (denom. of *harwan-*, "road"), for which see ASSUR letter a, § 10, Commentary. Note that the probable VIA² is listed separately by Laroche as HH, no. 76, which should thus be deleted.

§§ 6, 7. ("*464") *ba-ta-ma* (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi-*: see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 11, and Commentary.

PES₂.PES-*pa-i-tu-u*: presumably 3 plur., as against forms ending in -*pi(-i)-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 11, 15; KAYSERİ, § 16; ŞIRZI, § 6; TÜNP 1, § 5). For such alternations of -*i-* and -*ai-*, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, and Commentary; and for forms of *tara/i-pa//pi-*, see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 11, Commentary. For a general study of the verb and the stem *tarpa/i-*, see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., pp. 129–145.

II.53. KARKAMIŠ A17a (plate 72)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 146.

Description. Upper part of 4-sided basalt stele. *Obverse* (B): relief figure facing right, below winged disc. The figure is broken off at the loins and details are unclear, but it is bearded, seems to have a long, curled pigtail falling on its shoulder, and wears a pointed helmet and belted garment; it may hold something (trident thunderbolt?) in its left hand extended before it, but the right hand held at its side seems to be empty. There are three epigraphs on the field behind the figure: (i) high up in front, 4-sign group (sinistaverse); (ii) in front below left arm, 6(?) -sign group (sinistaverse); (iii) high up behind, 4-sign group (dextroverse). *Sides*: both sides are inscribed, the left (A) with traces of l. 1, then ll. 2–4 (dextroverse-sinistaverse-dextroverse) and the right (C) with ll. 1–4 and traces of l. 5 (sinistaverse ll. 1, 3; dextroverse ll. 2, 4) – the lines of signs are not separated by line-dividers but can be distinguished by the orientation of the signs. Meriggi demonstrated the likelihood that the complete inscription originally covered the back (D), now erased, as well as the sides; it would have begun on the top of the side A, i.e. at its own upper right corner, and run sinistaverse across the reverse (D) on to the side C, continuing *boustrophedon*, breaking off at side A l. 4 (except for the traces of l. 5 on C). Besides the lacuna constituted by the reverse (D), both sides A and C have suffered breaks (ll. 1, and 1+2), and in addition A was deliberately damaged by the cutting of a vertical channel down the middle.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.60 m.; w., 0.38 m.; th., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.13 m.

Condition: poor, much damaged.

Script: incised (without line-dividers).

Sign forms: cursive (*mu*, *ma*, *ta* visible).

Peculiarities: rhotacism.

Word-dividers: one visible.

Discovery. "Brought in from SHAMAK" (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. ix, pl. A17a, a* (photographs of sides and front, photographs of inked squeezes (N.B. a*1 and a*2 left, incorrectly aligned) still preserved in the British Museum); Barnett, *Carchemish* III (1952), pl. AC (collations to side A, designated incorrectly A18*(!)a1.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 189, pp. 128–130, Tav. XXII (redrawn, with collations, line divisions noted).

Content. Apparently dedication to Sun- and Storm-Gods (identified by epigraphs).

Date. Uncertain, does not appear particularly early. The sculpture has not been dated. Rhotacism appears to be present, thus 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in Ankara Museum and checked against the inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Photographs. Rephotographed from prints kindly made available by the late Professor I.J. Gelb. These were probably taken in the 1930's when the piece was stored in the Augusteum at Ankara.

Transliteration	Translation
(sides A[+D]+C)	
1. § 1 (A) E[GO ... [D] ... (C) ...]- <i>sá</i>	I (am) [...
2. § 2 <i>wa/i-mu tu-x</i> [... ...] <i>x-u²-sa</i> [(DEUS)]TONITRUS- <i>bu-za-sa</i> <i>x-tara/i²-</i> [...]	Me ... Tarhunzas ...[...]
§ 3 ... [D] ... (A) ...]- <i>sá-ha</i>	[... ...]I was(?).
3. § 4 [<i>w</i>] <i>a/i-[t]a²</i> <i>sa-pi-x</i> x [(DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>bu-za-na</i> [...] (SOLIUM) <i>i-[sá]-nu-</i> [... [D]...	... Tarhunzas [I] seat[ed ...
§ 5 (C) ...]- <i>ia</i> CAPUT ² - <i>ma-sa</i> (DEUS)SOL FLAMMAE(?)- <i>ri+i</i> ...	... the Sun-God with fire(??) ...,
4. § 6 ... - <i>pa-wa/i-ta</i> (“*69”) <i>pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ri+i-sa</i> [...	... Parnawaris (PN?) ...
§ 7 (A) ...] <i>ti-pa</i> [...] <i>i-x</i> [...] AUDIRE ² RE[L ² [D]	...
5. ... (C) ...] <i>i</i> [...] <i>ba</i> [...	
(side B)	
i. (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>za-sa</i>	Tarhunzas
ii. x x <i>ba+ra/i-li-s[a²]</i>	(epithet? see Commentary.)
iii. (DEUS)SOL- <i>za-sa</i>	Tiwazas

Commentary

§ 1. E[GO ...: traces plausibly identified by Meriggi.

§ 4. *sa-pi-x* x: connect with *sapisata*-, “health” (KARATEPE, 276), *sapisur*-, ASSUR letters *d*, § 3; *e*, § 2; *f+g*, § 2?

§ 6. (“*69”) *pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ri+i-sa*: appears to coincide almost exactly with personal name *Parnawaris*, for which see ASSUR letters *b*, § 1; *f+g*, § 33.

Epigraphs.

i, iii. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*za-sa*, (DEUS)SOL-*za-sa*: presumably designate the figure as the Storm-God, and the Winged Disc as the Sun-God.

ii. x x *ba+ra/i-li-s[a²]*: Meriggi plausibly takes as epithet of Storm-God, reading x x as MAGNUS.REX (though the traces do not easily agree with this), and identifying *ba+ra/i-li-s[a²]* with *harli*- (KARATEPE, 49–50, “shield” – “army” for Meriggi). “Great King of the Shield” would seem possible sense.

II.54. KARKAMIŠ A17c (plate 73)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10962.

Description. Small limestone stele, obverse flat, reverse curved. *Obverse*: indistinct relief figure facing right, apparently bearded, wearing pointed helmet and short tunic, left arm raised in front holding trident thunderbolt(?), right held at side; in the field below left arm, several signs, arranged in vertical descending order. *Reverse*: 3-line inscription badly worn except for left side, beginning upper right and running sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending lower left. Below the inscription is a substantial uninscribed area.

Dimensions: ht., 0.70 m.; w., 0.35 m.; th., c. 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.11–0.13 m.

Condition: poor, “much of it [inscription] worn away, the stone having been used as a door-sill” (Woolley).

Script, line-dividers: linear incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: apparently frequent.

Discovery. “Found in a house in Upper Jerablus” (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A17c, c*1–2 (photographs of stone, obverse and reverse left side, photographs of inked squeezes of inscription, obverse, reverse – still preserved in the British Museum).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 191, p. 132 f., Tav. XXI (redrawn).

Content, Date. Unclear.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987, and checked against the inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Photographs. Taken in Ankara Museum at the same time as the tracing.

Transliteration	Translation
(reverse)	
1. § 1 a ...] <i>wa/i(-)sa-ta</i> REL- <i>a-ti</i> [...	Not attempted: (see Commentary)
§ 1 b ...]“x”[...]- <i>li²-zi</i> <i>ARHLA</i> (“ ”) <i>u-su-tú</i>	
2. § 2 MONS(-) <i>wa/i</i> - <i>ti-i-sa-wa/i-sa</i> REL- <i>a-ti-i</i> “*162” x x <i>ti</i> [...	
3. § 3 ... x x - <i>ha</i> <i>tara/i</i> ... <i>wa/i</i> ...	
§ 4 ...] <i>pa-x-ha</i>	
§ 5 <i>wa/i-tá-</i> DOMUS- <i>ní</i> *476.*311 NEG ₂ REL+ <i>ra/i</i> INFANS ² ...	
(obverse)- <i>i</i> (CRUX) <i>wa/i-la su-ni-ha</i>	

Commentary

§ 1 a–b. Possibly parts of the same clause, though REL-*a-ti* as a conjunction could hardly combine with a verb in imperative.

REL-*a-ti*: perhaps correlated with the REL-*a-ti* in § 2. For REL(-*a*)-*ti*, “if”, see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 25, and parallel passages; KARABURUN, §§ 7, 9; for REL-*ti*, “when” see HİSARCIK 1, § 3; and REL(-*a*)-*ti*, “so that”, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 6, 8; KARATEPE, 126.

(“ ”)*u-su-tú*: apparently verb, *bapax legomenon*, *usu-*, but the preceding pair of logogram markers without logogram cast doubt.

Sense: “... let him/them USU- away the ...-s”?

§ 2. MONS(-)*wa/i-ti-i-sa*: Meriggi reported this correct reading, based on collation, in *Glossar*, pp. 154, 223, but then curiously abandoned it in favour of the incorrect URBS-*wa/i-ti-i-sa* (*Edition*, p. 132 and Tav. XXI). It increases the evidence supporting the identification of *wati-* as the phonetic writing of MONS, for which see ANCOZ 1, § 4, and Commentary.

Sense: “... he, a mountain”?

§ 5. Sense: “in the house ... not ever(?) for the child(?) did I SUNI- ill”(?); hardly very promising.

II.55. KARKAMIŠ A17d (plate 74)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10947.

Description. Small limestone stele formed from unshaped boulder bearing traces of 5-line inscription, almost entirely illegible (l. 3 dextroverse, l. 4 sinistroverse). Original extent of inscribed area not discernible.

Dimensions: ht., 0.90 m.; w., 0.40 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.13 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities, word-dividers: not visible.

Discovery. Excavated, “Lower Palace area” (Woolley, see Publication). The piece was found among a mass of stones piled in the area in front of the Great Staircase: see Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 174. Registered in Thompson, *Report*, p. 109 no. 83, thus found during 1911 operations.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A17d (photograph), *d** (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in British Museum).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 192, p. 133, Tav. XXI (redrawn with corrections).

Content, Date. Unclear.

Text. No text is offered for this piece, on which no single word is identifiable (except possibly *ARHL* 1, l. 3).

Photographs. The prints of the published photograph and of an unpublished one taken from excavation negatives surviving in the British Museum (nos. CAR 1088, 83698) are reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration, translation. Not attempted.

II.56. KARKAMIŠ A18a (plate 74)

Location. Stele, lost? Survives as inked squeeze (and several uninked duplicates) in the British Museum.

Description. Crudely shaped basalt stele bearing poorly cut 2-line inscription, apparently more or less complete; l. 1 sinistroverse, l. 2 dextroverse.

Dimensions: ht., 0.57 m.; w., 0.45 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: presumably cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. Excavated "from Lower Palace area" (Woolley, see Publication); registered in Thompson, *Report*, p. 109, thus from 1911 operations.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18a (photograph), a* (photograph of inked squeeze).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 193, p. 133 f., Tav. XXII (redrawn).

Content. Tomb-stone?

Date. Uncertain within 9th – 8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph.

Photograph. Print taken from negative surviving in the British Museum of published excavation photograph, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

- l. 1. EGO-mi ¹pi²-sa-mi-ta-sa tara/i-wa/i-ni
l. 2. wa/i-ti- i-zi-ia-sa

Translation

(I (am) Pisamitas the Ruler.
...

Commentary

l. 2. *i-zi-ia-sa*: verb, apparently complete, though order could be different, *i-zi-sa-ia*. The reflexive pronoun *-ti* at the beginning points to a verb in 3 sing. (or conceivably 2 sing.). If the verb is *izi(ya)*-, "do, make", it is not clear what the form could be (2 sing. imp. of ex-

tended form in *-sa*, otherwise unattested?) or what it could mean. The verb *izista*-, "honour", might be expected, but would require restoration *i-zi-sa<-ta>-ia*; thus, "he honours himself"?

II.57. KARKAMIŠ A18e (plate 75)

Location. Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10963 (inspected and photographed in summer, 1996). Two inked (one published) and two uninked squeezes are preserved in the British Museum.

Description. Basalt fragment of monument of uncertain form bearing 3 lines of inscription, running dextroverse-sinistroverse-dextroverse. Unclear how much missing from monument at top and on either side: no reason to suppose that first line was original l. 1 (note that it is dextroverse instead of usual sinistroverse); third line apparently last of inscription; context ll. 2–3 suggests not much missing, thus near left edge of inscription. The style of the piece closely resembles that of KARKAMIŠ A13a–c, perhaps attributable to Kamanis.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.41 m.; preserved w., 0.58 m.; line ht., 0.14 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive inclining to monumental (*á*, *ma*, *ta*, *AVIS*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *sa* (late, see Date).

Word-dividers: several preserved.

Discovery. "Brought in from CHARKAROGHLU, where it was found re-used in the modern cemetery."

(Woolley, see Publication); the acquisition of the piece is recorded in Woolley's report on work of April 1912 to the British Museum, preserved in the Museum archives.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18e, e* (photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze still preserved in the British Museum); cf. id., *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 266, 273.

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 11, p. 71 f.; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), p. 245 f.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 197, p. 134 f., Tav. XXIII (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 160 cit. 8.

Excerpts.

§§ 3–4 Bossert, *Or. Ex.* 6, p. 38.

Content. Apparently dedication to goddess Kubaba (author's name not preserved). §§ 1–2, ? [lacuna]; §§ 3–4 [small gap] and 5–6, protective curse.

Date. Late, on epigraphic criteria: incised script with monumental sign forms at Karkamiš is characteristic of inscriptions of Kamanis and later (CEKKE, KARKAMIŠ A13a–c). In particular, the form of *sa* (plain semicircle) is late archaizing (Kamanis and after): see

CEKKE, KARKAMIŠ A4a (§ 13 only) – Kamanis; KARKAMIŠ A13a–c, – Kamanis?; A21, A22c – Saturas's son; cf. also BABYLON 2. For the occurrence of this form on TOPADA and SUVASA (archaizing), and the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, genuinely archaic as on KARAHÖYÜK, see KARAHÖYÜK, Commentary, general observations (Sign forms (3)); TOPADA, The Signary (1).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze in the British Museum checked against the uninked squeezes.

Photograph. Print of unpublished photograph taken from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 083863), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 [... ...]-tu? § 2 [z]a-ti-pa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-[pa]-na[...] 2. § 3 ... (DEUS)ku-AV]IS-[pa]-sa á-ta₅-ma-za₄ REL-sa ARHL4 “MALLEUS”-i § 4 ni-pa-wa/i za á-ma-za (“STATUA”)[ta]-ru-sa [á]-[ma]-za-b[á] 3. § 5 ... za]-zi (SCALPRUM)ku-tá-sa₅ + ra/i-zi LOCUS-ta₄-za₄ (“SA₄”)sa-ni-ti § 6 pa-ti-pa á-mi-sa DOMINUS-ni-sa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-sá ba² + ra/i-t[a]-z[i/a(-) ...	[...] Here Kubaba (acc.) [...] ... (He) who shall erase Kubaba's name, or [shall ...] this my statue and my [...] [or] shall overturn these orthostats from (their) places, against him [may] my sovereign Kubaba ... [...]

Commentary

§ 2. [z]a-ti-pa: for absence of connective -wa/i, cf. below, § 6, pa-ti-pa. Comparable omissions are fairly frequent: za-ti-pa (CEKKE, § 4); á-pa-ti-pa (KÖRKÜN, § 9); za-ti-za-pa (KULULU 5, § 4); also ara/i-zi-pa-mu¹-ta (KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 2); ma-pa-sa (ANKARA, § 8); REL+ra/i-pa-tá (KARAHÖYÜK, § 23); REL-pa-na (PALANGA, § 12).

§ 5. For syntax of this topos, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, Commentary.

(SCALPRUM)ku-tá-sa₅ + ra/i-zi: word attested elsewhere only on inscriptions of Suhis-Katuwas; see KARKAMIŠ A16b, Commentary.

§ 6. Application of title DOMINUS to Kubaba is paralleled on KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3; and it was suggested that this might indicate an attribution of the present fragment to the author of the latter inscription, i.e. Katuwas. The other dating criterion, however, suggests a late date (see Date). For the application of this apparently male title to the female deity Kubaba, we may compare the Empire DEUS SOL SOL+R-4/I mi-sa-¹ DOMINUS-na, “Sun-Goddess of Arinna my ‘lord’”, EMIRGAZI block, ll. A1, B2, A3, B5): see Laroche, *HH* no. 390.1; and now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 33 and nn. 58, 59. The title must be unisex.

II.58. KARKAMIŠ A18j (plate 76)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10911.

Description. “Basalt. Lower part of cone standing on bevelled base, inscribed on face” (Woolley, see Publication). The inscription, dextroverse in itself, is placed vertically in relation to the axis of the monument. The traces of the missing signs at the left end (i.e. top) imply that the monument has been cut off at this point, but it is not possible to estimate how much of the monument and of the inscription has been lost.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.47 m.; diam. (at top), 0.22 m.; inscription, preserved w., 0.33 m.; ht., 0.15 m. Condition: good.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: rare sign, *HH* no. 308.

Word-dividers: two preserved, regularly used?

Discovery. “Found high up in top Roman soil east of the Hilani area, not far from the Water-Gate” (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. xi, pl. A18j (photograph), *j** (photograph of inked squeeze still preserved in the British Museum).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 201, p. 135, Tav. XXIII (redrawn); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 161 cit. 10.

Content. Dedication.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th centuries B.C., but probably late rather than early.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Photograph. Taken in Ankara Museum at the same time as the tracing.

Transliteration

...(DEUS)k]u-AVIS-pa-ia ¹á-ta₅-[FRATER-la-sá |PRAE-na
|CRUS-nú-*308-'

Translation

[This monument(?)] Atatalas(?) set up before Kubaba.

Commentary

CRUS-nú-*308-': sign *308 found elsewhere probably as verb ending on TUNP 2, § 1; also in noun *308-mi-sa- (ASSUR letter e, § 26). Here it may be seen from the context to write the verbal ending, thus = *ba* or *ta*

(1 or 3 sing. pret.), or *wi* or *ti* (1 or 3 sing. pres.); less likely *tu* (as Meriggi proposes, i.e. 3 sing. imp.).

¹á-ta₅-[FRATER-la-sá: for FRATER as an onomastic element, see ALEPPO 2, § 3, Commentary.

II.59. KARKAMIŠ B33 (plate 77)

Location. Epigraphs on sculptured slab, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10079.

Description. Sculptured slab showing two gods standing on a couchant lion (all facing right). Both the gods are bearded, and wear horned helmets, long fringed belted robes, and shoes with upturned toes. The front god has his helmet surmounted by a crescent, identifying him as the Moon; he has a wing on either shoulder, and holds in his right hand an axe; the left hand held out before him is too damaged to see whether it held anything. The rear god has his helmet surmounted by a winged disc identifying him as the Sun, and his hair falls in a long, curled pigtail. He holds in his right hand a mace, and in the left held out before him a double axe. *Epigraphs:* before the Sun, between his face and left hand a 2-sign group; before the Moon, between his face and left wing, a 2-sign group. Both epigraphs serve further to identify the figures.

Dimensions (epigraphs): ht., 0.23 m. (Sun); 0.14 m. (Moon).

Condition: fair (Sun); faint (Moon).

Script: relief.

Other details: Suhis-Katuwas style, like the accompanying sculpture.

Discovery. Partially visible on surface to George Smith on his visit in spring 1876 and sketched by him then; cleared by Henderson in 1879, and left *in situ* (see Hogarth, *Carchemish* 1, p. 6 f.; recleared by Hogarth at

commencement of his excavations, 13 March 1911 (see Woolley, Publication). Removed to Ankara with the rest of the Karkamiš monuments after the First World War (still *in situ* in June 1929 – see von der Osten, Publication).

Publication. Perrot and Chipiez, *HA* IV (1887), p. 549 fig. 276 (drawing from photograph by Gwyther); Hogarth, *LAL* 2 (1909), p. 169 f., pl. XXXV (photograph); Pottier, *AH* (1926), p. 15 Fig. 3 (drawing); Garstang, *HE* (1929), p. 278 fig. 3 (drawing, after Pottier); von der Osten, *OIC* 8 (1930), p. 75 fig. 74 (photograph showing monument still *in situ* in June 1929); Herzfeld, *AMI* 2 (1930), p. 146, Taf. 7 (photograph, *in situ*); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 857 (photograph, from *The Sphere* (1925), p. 132); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), pp. 157, 241 f., 279, 281, pls. A33e*, *f** (photographs of inked squeezes – *e** survives in British Museum, also uninked squeeze of *f**), B33a, *b* (photographs; *b* = Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 44); Vieyra, *HA* (1955), pl. 49 (British Museum photograph); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 116 (photograph, Hirmer); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 285 (photograph, UDF Photothek).

Edition. Cf. Laroche, *HH* nos. 191.2; 193.I(a); Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), p. 103, pl. facing p. 108 (re-stored drawing); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 258 e–f, p. 188, Tav. XXXII (redrawn from Woolley).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Karkemis Bb/1)*, pp. 34, 160 n. 102, 253 f., 257 f., 501, Tav. 23 a (= Woolley, pl. B33b); cf. Genge, *NSR*, p. 78.

Content. Epigraphs identifying divine figures.

Date. Suhis-Katuwas style sculpture, i.e. 10th or early 9th century B.C.

Text. A drawing reconstructing the details of the piece is given. This was traced from a photograph and checked against the stone.

Photograph. This is a print from the excavation negative preserved in the British Museum (no. 031466), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)LUNA (DEUS)SOL: Moon-God, Sun-God

II.60. KARKAMIŠ A15d (plate 78)

Location. Fragment, lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Description. "Fragment of large relief showing front part of human face, nose to neck, in high relief: in front of this, the concluding characters of a linear inscription" (Woolley, see Publication). The outline of the face is visible on the left of the published squeeze.

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.10 m.; w., 0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script: linear incised.

Sign forms: not diagnostic, probably cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. No information available.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish II* (1921), p. viii, pl. A15d* (photograph of inked squeeze only). No photograph appears to survive.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale II/2* (1975), no. 181, p. 124, Tav. XX (redrawn from *Carchemish II*).

Content. Perhaps only epigraph identifying personage portrayed.

Date. Insufficiently preserved to determine, but appearance suggests late.

Text. The text here offered is taken from a tracing of the inked squeeze in the British Museum.

Photograph. None available.

Transliteration

[...]x-ia-sa [BONUS//wa/i]-sa-mi-sá [...]sá

Translation

[...]ias the dear(?) [...].

Commentary

[...]ia-sa: probably personal name.

[...]sa-mi-sá, "dear, beloved": for restoration, see Meriggi, *Edition*.

[...]sá: perhaps "[wife]" or "[child]".

II.61. KARKAMIŠ A16d (plate 78)

Location. Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10897 (right part only; left lost, survives as the inked squeeze in the British Museum).

Description. "Basalt. Two fragments (fitting together) of a slab bearing relief inscription. Characters remark-

ably badly cut, with no internal detail, being little more than shapeless protuberances on the stone" (Woolley, see Publication). Parts of 4 lines seem to be preserved, running sinistroverse (ll. 1, 3) and dextroverse (ll. 2, 4).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.19 m.; preserved w., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.05–0.06 m.

Condition: desperate.

Script: relief but worn; line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: few even identifiable.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. “Found re-used in modern cemetery outside West Gate” (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. ix, pl. A16d, d* (photograph, photograph of inked squeeze); Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 11 fig. 6, 19, Tav. I (copy and photograph of right hand fragment).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 186, p. 127, Tav. XXI (redrawn from new photograph).

Content. Unknown; no single certainly identifiable word.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from the stone in Ankara Museum (right part).

Photograph. This photograph of the surviving right-hand piece was taken in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration, translation. Not attempted.

II.62. KARKAMIŠ A16e (plate 78)

Location. Two fragments, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10896 (frag. 1 only; frag. 2 lost?)

Description. “Fragments of a large bowl; outer surface covered with a decoration of human fingers: outer rim inscribed with incised script” (Woolley, see Publication). For similar monuments, see BABYLON 3 (bowl), BEIRUT bowl fragment. The single-line inscription ran sinistroversely.

Dimensions: frag. 1, line ht., 0.12 m.; preserved w., 0.22 m.; th., 0.08 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, incised.

Sign forms: none diagnostic.

Peculiarities: *sa* (see below, Date).

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. “Lower Palace area, and surface” (Woolley, see Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. ix, pl. A16e, e*1–2 (photograph, photographs of inked

squeezes – the squeeze e*1 is still preserved in the British Museum, e*2 apparently lost).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 187, p. 127 f., Tav. XXI (redrawn).

Content. Little preserved, presumably dedication.

Date. Probably later 8th. century B.C. (peculiar *sa* – see KARKAMIŠ A18e, Date).

Text. Frag. 1: the new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the stone in Ankara Museum. Frag. 2: no new text can be offered.

Photograph. Frag. 1: photographed in Ankara Museum at the same time as the tracing was made; frag. 2 survives solely as the photographs of the stone (negative missing) and of the squeeze in the publication.

Transliteration

frag. 2. ...-m]i²-sa SERVUS-ta₄[...

frag. 1. ...-t]ara/i²-i-pa-wa/i+ra/i² DOMUS-mi*375[...

Translation

See Commentary.

Commentary

frag. 2. Probably end of titulary (so Meriggi); restore [nasam]is SERVUS-ta₄[... , “[belov]ed servant”? (cf. ALEPPO 2, § 1; BEIRUT bowl, § 1; CEKKE, § 1; SIRZI, § 1).

frag. 1. -pa-wa/i+ra/i²: probably indicates second or subsequent clause (so Meriggi).

... -t]ara/i²-i: identification and order not certain; restore [(VAS)ā-t]ara/i-i, “form, figure, image” (acc. sing. MF?)

DOMUS-mi*375[...]: clearly personal name, probably recurring on ASSUR letter d, § 1, as that of the recipient.

II.63. KARKAMIŠ A18b (plate 78)

Location. Fragment, lost, no surviving squeezes; published excavation photograph only.

Description. "Limestone, soft chalky. Fragment showing a decorative border of rosettes and part of a linear inscription in remarkably small characters. Probably parts of a sepulchral stela" (Woolley, see Publication). Part of 1 line, sinistroverser.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.04 m.; preserved w., 0.08 m. (as given in Publication).

Condition: little remains.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. "Found in Yunus graveyard" (Woolley, Publication).

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18b (photograph), b* (photograph of inked squeeze no longer preserved in the British Museum).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 194, p. 134, Tav. XXII.

Content. Apparently part of protective curse preserved.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Print of published photograph taken from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 039217), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

...]x[... DEU]S-ni-zi LIS-la/i/u-i-[zi]-[...]

Translation

... may] the gods litigate [...]

Comment

LIS-la/i/u-i-[zi]-[... : unclear what form of the stem written LIS (for which see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary) occurs here.

II.64. KARKAMIŠ A18c (not illustrated)

Location. Fragment, lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.

Description. "Basalt. Fragment of a circular (or semi-circular) drum, very roughly inscribed with linear script: of this there remain parts of two lines, of which the second shows the end of the text" (Woolley, see Publication). Parts of 2 lines, dextroverser-sinistroverser. If it was indeed the end of the text, the inscription broke off unfinished.

Dimensions: "ht. of register, c. 0.10 m."

Condition: little remains.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive?

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. No information recorded.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II (1921), p. x, pl. A18c* (photograph of inked squeeze only, no longer preserved).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 195, p. 134, Tav. XXIII (redrawn).

Content. No complete word identifiable except possible *mu-pa-wa/i* at "end" of text.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. No new text can be offered.

(**Photograph.** None preserved).

Transliteration, translation. Not attempted.

II.65. KARKAMIŠ A18i (plate 78)

Location. Fragment, lost, survives as an inked squeeze in the British Museum, also an uninked squeeze, and unpublished excavation photograph.

Description. "Basalt. One leg of shallow bowl inscribed on outer face" (Woolley, Publication). Sinistroverse?

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.12 m.; max. w., 0.10 m.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: not diagnostic.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Recorded by Thompson, *Report*, p. 108, so found in 1911.

Publication. Woolley, *Carchemish* II, p. xi, pl. A18i* (photograph of inked squeeze only, still preserved, along with uninked duplicate).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 200, p. 135, Tav. XXIII (redrawn).

Content. Unclear how much of original inscription preserved; presumably dedication of the object.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph.

Photograph. Print of unpublished photograph taken from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. 029199), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

...?|*na/i-na*²-*sa* (DEUS)*ku*...

Translation

See Comment

Comment

Perhaps originally only name of dedicator, [...]*wanas*(?) (gen. sing. of *-wani-* adj.?), and recipient, the goddess Ku[baba].

II.66. KARKAMIŠ B39a (plate 79)

Location. Sculpture fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 103 (not 145 as given by Woolley, *Carchemish* III, p. 267 – mistake for B39b, no. 147).

Description. Upper left corner of sculptured orthostat, bearing head and shoulders of right-facing goddess with curled pigtail, wearing high, straight-sided polos decorated with rosettes, etc. and frontal horn, covered with veil. The neck-line and upper part of the fringed border of the goddess's long robe are preserved, which would doubtless have been almost identical to the robe worn by the goddess on KARKAMIŠ B38a. The goddess holds a pomegranate in her right hand. Inscription: a single sinistroverse line of writing occupied the top of the orthostat above the goddess's head; upper left part destroyed.

Dimensions: max. preserved ht., 0.80 m.; preserved w., 0.65 m.

Condition: signs where preserved clear.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: one preserved.

Discovery. "... found near the stair-foot (but not close to the Long Wall of Sculpture)" (Woolley, see Publication). The excavator suggested that the goddess had originally been the fourth figure in the divine procession at the head of the Long Wall of Sculpture.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 14, pp. 12 (j), 26, pl. XXV.14 (photograph); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 859 (photograph); Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pp. 165, 281 (B39a and b incorrectly reversed), pl. B39a (photograph only), A33g*1–2 (photographs of inked squeezes); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 115 (photograph).

Edition. Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 95, 107 and Fig. 4a no. 4 (reconstructed drawing and copy); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 258g, p. 188, Tav. XXXII

(redrawn); Poetto, *RSO* 52 (1978), p. 1 f., pls. I–II Fig. 1 (copy, photograph).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karkemis* C/3), pp. 33, 45, 274, 276, 361, 501, Taf. 23b.

Content. Epigraph to sculpture (?)

Date. If correctly placed in Long Wall of Sculpture, reign of Suhis II, 10th century B.C.

Text. The new text offered here is taken from a tracing of the stone made in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time as the tracing.

Transliteration

...] |DEUS-*ní-za*²(-)*wa/i-ta*[... ...]*x-ní* [...]*wa/i-sà*[...]*x-ta*

Translation

(insufficiently preserved)

Comment

DEUS-*ní-za*²: doubt over *a*-vocalization of *za*, since the two bars are so faint as to appear erased. Form either -*za* (dat. plur.) or -*zi* (nom./acc. plur.).

(-)*wa/i-ta*: perhaps suffixed to previous word indicating beginning of clause; indeed the two surviving parts of the inscription could both belong to one single clause, the only one on the piece.

x-ní: possibly [CU]M-*ní*; for possible comparable contexts, cf. KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 18 or 27; or KARKAMIŠ A4d, § 1, and A13d, § 10.

...]*wa/i-sà*[...]*x-ta*: possibly parts of same word; end is in any case probably verbal ending, 3 sing./plur. pret.

II.67–72. KARKAMIŠ fragments

II.67–72. KARKAMIŠ fragments grouped according to plate nos. in *Carchemish* III, namely pls. A19, A26b–e, A27, A28, A29, A30. Many of these fragments have been lost since their discovery. The survivors are in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, except for pl. A28 (British Museum). Their publication in *Carchemish* III was as photographs of the stones and/or of inked squeezes. Many of these inked squeezes, as well as uninked duplicates, survive in the British Museum, which is valuable especially when the original fragment is lost. Some of the negatives of the photographs are no longer available for producing modern prints, and some fragments seem never to have been photographed. The texts here presented are based on tracings of the surviving fragments which are accompanied by photographs. For lost fragments, texts have been made from squeezes when these survive, accompanied by prints from the original negatives, when these survive. Where neither the stone itself nor any squeeze survives (i.e. when the piece is only known from photographs of a squeeze and/or the stone in the original *Carchemish* publications), no text or photograph is offered.

In the catalogue entries which follow, the numbered headings represent the following data:

(1) **Museum no.** (or statement of loss); also notice of survival of inked or uninked squeezes in the British Museum; (2) **Description**, including quotation from *Carchemish* publication and any additional information to be drawn from inspection of surviving fragments; (3) **Discovery** (seldom any details recorded); (4) **Publication**, whether by photograph of stone and/or of inked squeeze, or by freehand copy; (5) **Edition** (Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2); (6) **Content**, insofar as identifiable; (7) **Date**, if any available criteria; (8) **Text**, where possible traced from stone in Ankara Museum in 1987 or 1996, or in British Museum, otherwise from inked or uninked squeezes in British Museum if extant; photographs of stone, when extant. Where the original is lost and a photograph of the stone survives in the British Museum, these are reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees; (9) **Transliteration**, if any identifiable signs (+ **translation**, if any identifiable words); (10) **Comment**, if any appropriate.

II.67. KARKAMIŠ A19 (plates 80–81)

Incised fragments with largely cursive signs. The published copies of *a*, *c*, *e*, *g*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, are not photographs of inked squeezes, but apparently free-

hand copies (by Barnett?) based on squeezes, some of which are no longer extant.

a*

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Fragment, sharply incised letters. Hard white limestone. 0.15 m. × 0.13 m." Parts of 2 lines, (sinistroverse)-dextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) free-hand copy only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 202, p. 135, Tav. XXIII.
- (6) —
- (7) *sa* characteristic of late inscriptions: see KARKAMIŠ A18e, Date.
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]sa [...]x[...
(l. 2) ...]x[...]wá/i-mu DEUS-ni-zi[...
"...
... and (to?) me the gods [...]"

b*

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10914 (also published inked squeeze in the British Museum).
- (2) "Fragment from an inscription showing bottom left-hand corner. Incised letters. Basalt. 0.14 m. × 0.12 m." End of 1 line (and of text?), sinistroverse, uninscribed space below; total preserved ht., 0.21 m.
- (3) "From the Yunus cemetery, on the surface."
- (4) photograph of extant squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 202, p. 136, Tav. XXIII.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; photograph not available.
- (9) ...]-ti i-zi-i-ha
"...]... I made."

c*

- (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked duplicate: no photograph
- (2) "Part of a circular or semicircular drum with linear inscription; characters roughly incised. Basalt. Diameter of drum, c. 0.90 m. Size of fragment, 0.28 m. × 0.14 m." Part of 1 line, sinistroverse, traces of 2nd line.
- (3) —
- (4) free-hand copy only, based on extant inked squeeze.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 202, p. 136, Tav. XXIII.
- (6) part of curse formula protasis.
- (7) ?
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze.
- (9) ... RE]X-ti-sa [N]EG₂-pa-wa/i-sa REGIO.
[DOMI]NUS-[i]a-sa [N]EG₂-[p]a-wa/i-sa[...

"... whether he (be)] a king, or he (be) a country[-lord], or he (be) a [..."
Cf. KARKAMIŠ A27f, and Commentary.

d*

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 10927, 10904, 10898 b, 10929, 10930 (frags. 1 (part), 2, 7, 8 (part), 12 only; frags. 1, 7, 8 and 14, inked squeezes also survive in the British Museum, frag. 2 uninked squeeze); remainder lost. Excavation photographs of the lost frags. 5, 10, 11 and 16 survive in the British Museum (neg. nos. 084180, 084188).
- (2) "Fragments of an incised inscription on a curved surface probably a large drum. Characters rough. (The arrangement of the fragments illustrated is simply for convenience of reproduction). Basalt. Diameter of drum, c. 0.90 m. Length of fragment 1, 0.40 m." The 16 fragments are numbered by Meriggi *boustrophedon* on the original arrangement; this is followed here. Frag. 1, parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.16 m., preserved w., 0.35 m.; frag. 2, part of 1 line, sinistroverse, preserved ht., 0.14 m., preserved w., 0.16 m.; frag. 3, parts of 2 lines, direction indeterminable; frag. 4, part of 1 line, apparently dextroverse; frag. 5, part of 2 lines, direction indeterminable; frag. 6, part of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse; frag. 7, part of 1 line, sinistroverse, preserved ht., 0.07 m., preserved w., 0.15 m.; frag. 8, part of 2 lines, direction indeterminable, preserved ht., 0.13 m., preserved w., 0.11 m.; frag. 9, part of 1 line, direction indeterminable; frag. 10, part of 1 line, dextroverse; frag. 11, part of 1 line, sinistroverse; frag. 12, part of 1 line, dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.09 m., preserved w., 0.09 m.; frag. 13, part of 1 line, direction indeterminable; frag. 14, part of 2 lines, direction indeterminable, preserved ht., 0.10 m., preserved w., 0.13 m.; frag. 15, part of 1 line, direction indeterminable; frag. 16, part of 1 line, direction indeterminable.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone (frag. 2 only), and of inked squeezes (frags. 1, 7, 8, 12 only extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 203, pp. 136-138, Tav. XXIII.
- (6) —
- (7) —
- (8) texts traced from stone (frags. 1, 2, 8, 12 - frags. 1 and 8 supplemented from surviving squeeze), from inked squeezes (frags. 7, 14); others: no new texts can be offered. New photographs (frags. 7, 8); prints from British Museum negatives (frags. 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 16).

- (9) (frag. 1, l. 1) ...*tā*[...] *pā*[...] TONITRUS
[...]*sa*[...]
(l. 2) ...*mi*[...] DOMINUS [...] TONITRUS[...] *wā/i-ni*[...]
(frag. 2) ...*x*[...] URBS (DEUS) TONI-
TRUS-*ti* | 9 *406 *x*[...]
(frag. 3, l. 1) ...*x* ... *sa* ... *x* ... *x*[...]
(l. 2) ... (DEUS) TONITRUS[...] *ba*² *x*[...] xxx[...]
(frag. 4) ... | *x* ... *x* ... *ba*[...]
(frag. 5) (no certainly identifiable sign).
(frag. 6, l. 1) ... *w**a/i-ta* [*z*]*a-z**i* [...] -*z**i*[...]
(l. 2) ... *x* *x* [...]
(frag. 7) ... *w**a/i* [...] -*na*[...] -*na*[...] *x*[...]
(frag. 8, l. 1) ... xx MALLEUS² -*i* *x*[...]
(l. 2) ... *x* [...] *sa*[...]
(frag. 9) (no certainly identifiable sign).
(frag. 10) ... *x* *x-ni-ti*[-*i*]*a*-(-)*w**a/i*[...]
(frag. 11) ... PES² ... *tu*² [...] -*li-ti*
[...]*w**a/i*...
(frag. 12) ... *x* *mu* *x*[...]
(frag. 13) (no certainly identifiable sign)
(frag. 14, l. 1) ... *x* *na*² [...]
(l. 2) ... *x* DEUS² *x* [...]
(frag. 15) (no certainly identifiable sign).
(frag. 16) ... *i* BONUS *x* *x* [...]
- (10) frag. 1, l. 2. "... my lord the H[alab]ean
[Storm-God] ...": Meriggi's
restoration
frag. 2. "... city to the Storm-God ...
[...]: Meriggi again wishes to
restore "[Halabea]n(-city)".
frag. 6. "... and these [...]s [...]"
frag. 12. see frag. 16.
frag. 16. Meriggi tries to combine with
frag. 12.
- e**
- (1) lost, survives as 2 uninked squeezes in the
British Museum; no photograph.
(2) "Corner fragment from lower part of a small
'boundary stele'. Very rough letters. Basalt.
0.15 m. × 0.09 m." Part of 1 line, direction in-
determinable, perhaps sinistroverso.
(3) -
(4) free-hand copy only (based on squeeze?).
(5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 204,
p. 138, Tav. XXIV.
(6-7) -
(8) text traced from uninked squeeze.
(9) ... *x* *ba* *x* LIS [...] (or reversed).
- f**
- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze in
the British Museum; no photograph.
- (2) "Fragment of lower part of a small conical-
shaped stone. Basalt. Diameter at base,
0.14 m. height, 0.12 m." Part of 1 line, direc-
tion indeterminable.
(3) -
(4) photograph of extant inked squeeze.
(5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 204,
p. 138, Tav. XXIV.
(6-7) -
(8) text traced from inked squeeze.
(9) ... *x*[...] *ku*[...] *sa*[...] *x*[...] *x*[...] *sa*[...] -*ba*-
sa [...] *x*[...]
(or reversed).
- g**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
(2) "Fragment of a semi-columnar stone, roughly
incised letters. On the reverse are traces of
an object in relief, perhaps a scorpion's tail.
Original diameter about 0.28 m. Inscribed sur-
face 0.18 × 0.111 m." Part of 1 line, direction
indeterminable.
(3) -
(4) free-hand copy only (based on squeeze?).
(5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 204,
p. 138, Tav. XXIV.
(6-7) -
(8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
(9) ... *x* *x* URBS (DEUS) TONITRUS[...] (or re-
versed).
(10) Meriggi envisages the uncertain presence of
... *w**a/i*[-*ni*](URBS), "... Jean city ..."
- h**
- (1) lost, some inked squeezes survive in the
British Museum; no photographs.
(2) "Fragments of incised inscriptions on curved
surfaces. They do not join; but it is possible
some belong to *c* or *d*. Basalt."
(3) -
(4) photograph of inked squeezes (some extant).
(5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 205,
p. 138 f., Tav. XXIV.
(6-7) -
(8) too fragmentary to permit the presentation of
any text; no photographs.
(9) no certainly identifiable sign preserved.
- i**, *i*
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no.
10905 (also 2 uninked squeezes in the British
Museum).
(2) "Fragment of a circular or semicircular base,
with deeply incised inscription. Basalt. Height
18 cm." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroverso-dextro-
verse, preserved w., 0.35 m.

- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 94, so found in 1911.
- (4) free-hand copy (based on squeeze?), photograph of stone.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 206, p. 140, Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...LITUUS² + *na-mi-ha-wa/i* [(DE)US] TONITRUS-*zi[-?]-na* x x *za* x [...]
(l. 2) ... *á²-ta₅-ma* [...]
- (10) (l. 1) Restoration suggested by Meriggi, following KARKAMIŠ A17b, § 5 ("... and the beheld Storm God (acc.) ..."); supported by collation of uninked squeeze.
(l. 2) "... name(?) (...)"

*j, j**, 1-2

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10907 (frag. 2 only, also 2 uninked squeezes in the British Museum); frag. 1, lost, survives only as inked squeeze and uninked duplicates, photographs from excavation negatives in the British Museum (neg. nos. PS 084166, 032292).
- (2) "Two pieces of inscription perhaps accompanying a relief to left. Deeply incised characters with sloping edges. Fragment 1 is the top left-hand corner of inscription. First character of line 3, very deeply cut, in a hollow as if replacing a previous character. ... Fragment 1 inscribed area, 0.17 m. x 0.13 m.; fragment 2 height 10 cm. Hard smooth-grained black stone recalling slate." Frag. 1, parts of 3 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse-sinistroverse; frag. 2, parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse, preserved ht. actually 0.09 m., preserved w., 0.13 m.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 78, 105 f., so found in 1911.
- (4) photographs of stone, free-hand copies (based on squeezes?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 207, p. 140, Tav. XXIV.
- (6) mention of Kubaba (frag. 1).
- (7) —
- (8) text traced from uninked squeezes (frag. 2 only checked against the stone); prints from British Museum negative.
- (9) (frag. 1, l. 1) ...]xxx-ta[...]tá (DEUS)ku+AVIS-sá||
(l. 2) *129-ri+i-*375 a-tá *za-a-ti* |á-sa₅-za-ta- [...]ta[...]
(l. 3) ...][[...]-IR[HL¹]][...] x [...] *zi/a...* DEUS x [...]x *72
"...ed, [and to me(?)] Kubaba ... spoke thus [...]"

- (frag. 2, l. 1) ...]-sa [DOMIN]US²-[n]i²-sa
wa/i-mu [...] -ti-sa x [...]
(l. 2) ...]x[...]INFANS[...] -na
|pi-ia-[...]
"...] ... and (to?) me ...
[... ...] child ga[ve ...]"

- (10) The two pieces give no special support to Meriggi's juxtaposition, which is not followed here.
frag. 1, l. 1. [...] -ta [*wa/i-mu*] -tá: Meriggi's identification as verb and restoration as connective particles seems likely.
*129-ri+i-*375: remains quite unintelligible.
zati asa₅a-, "speak thus": cf. KARATEPE, 364-365, and Commentary to § LXII.
frag. 2, l. 2. Meriggi's identification as genealogy not self-evidently correct.

*k**

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photographs.
- (2) "From fragment of a relief showing central part of a human figure, moving right [;] to right of figure, remains of incised lettering much weathered. Basalt. 0.20 m. x 0.10 m." Parts of 2 lines.
- (3) —
- (4) free-hand copy only (based on squeeze?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 208, p. 141, Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) no certainly identifiable sign.

*l**

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10933 (also 2 uninked squeezes in the British Museum).
- (2) "Fragment. Basalt. 0.15 m. x 0.13 m." Parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse, preserved ht. actually 0.12 m.
- (3) —
- (4) free-hand copy only (based on squeeze?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 208, p. 141, Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]za-si-i[...]ta[...] -na-wa/i[...]
wa/i+ra/i [...]
(l. 2) ...] x [...] -pa-wa/i [...]
"... his ..., and ...
... and [...]"

*m**

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10928 (l. 1 only survives; otherwise frag-

ment preserved as 2 uninked squeezes, photograph of inked squeeze (neg. no. 083850) in the British Museum).

- (2) "Fragment of inscription with part of two bottom lines. Basalt. 0.165 m. × 0.13 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse; line ht., 0.08 m.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 85, so found in 1911.
- (4) free-hand copy only (based on squeeze?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 208, p. 141, Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone and from uninked squeeze; new photograph of stone.
- (9) (l. 1) ... | INFANS-ni-zi-pa-ua/i [...]
(l. 2) ... | OMNIS-MI-ia BONUS-na-wa/i-i[a...
"..." and the children [...
"..." all good things [..."

n*, 1-8

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 10920, 10902 (frags. 1 and 2 only; frag. 2, also inked squeeze in the British Museum); frags. 3-8 lost (frags. 4 and 5 survive as uninked (both) and inked (4 only) squeezes). No photographs of lost pieces, but a photograph of all the inked squeezes is preserved in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 083850).
- (2) "Eight fragments of an inscription. The fragments do not join. The surface of the stone polished. Basalt. Fragment 1 = 0.155 m. × 0.11 m." Frag. 1, part of 1 line, dextroverse, trace of another below; frag. 2, part of 1 line, sinistroverse, preserved ht., 0.10 m., preserved w., 0.12 m., line ht., 0.08 m. (as also frag. 1); frag. 3, part of 1 line, sinistroverse; frag. 4, part of 1 line, sinistroverse, trace of another below; frag. 5, part of 1 line, dextroverse; frag. 6, parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse(?); frags. 7 and 8, traces only.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone (frag. 2 only); otherwise free-hand copies only (based on squeezes?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 209, p. 141 f., Tav. XXIV.
- (6) frag. 2 has part of titulary.
- (7) archaic.
- (8) text traced from stone (frags. 1 and 2 only), and from extant squeezes (frags. 4 and 5); others — no new texts can be offered. New photographs of stone (frags. 1, 2).
- (9) (frag. 1) ...-ua/i-ha ma-pa-ua/i(-)tā [...
(frag. 2) ...kar-ka-m|i-sā(REGIO) | tara/i-u[a/i-ni-...
(frag. 3) ... | tara/i²-pa CRUS-tā² [...

(frag. 4) (nothing certainly identifiable except PES).

(frag. 5) ...]- DEUS-ni-zi RE[GIO²...

(frag. 6) nothing reliable: possibly ...ri+i-na ... [frags. 7-8] —

- (10) frag. 1. "I [cau]sed to [...], and much [... : seems to begin with ending of verb 1 sing. pret. caus.

ma-pa-wa/i... : does not easily continue as a second or later clause in "whether ... or" sequence; perhaps ma(n), "much", for which see KARATEPE, 320, 322, 324, and Commentary.

frag. 2. Correctly identified by Meriggi as part of Karkamiš titulary; writing -sā(REGIO) aligns it with the archaic inscriptions KARKAMIŠ A4b, A16c; ["...Karkam]is-land('s) ru[ler ...".

frag. 3. tara/i²-pa CRUS-tā²: seems likely, in place of the copy's wa/i+ra/i-pa ...; thus "stood TARPA (against) ..."

frag. 5. "... the gods ... [..."

o, o*

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10901 (also inked squeeze in the British Museum).
- (2) "Fragment showing right-hand edge of inscription; part of three lines. Basalt. 0.07 m. × 0.18 m.; height of register, 0.07 m." Ll. 1-2, sinistroverse-dextroverse (thus continuous), l. 3 sinistroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone; free-hand copy (based on squeeze?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 210, p. 142 f., Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone, missing lower part supplied from squeeze; photograph not available.
- (9) (ll. 1-2) ...]-sa[...x] || -pa-wa/i-mu |x[...
(l. 3) ...] STEL[E...] REL[...]| ...
"..." and (to?) me [...
this] stele (he) who [shall damage ..."

p, p*

- (1) lost, no surviving squeeze; excavation negative survives in the British Museum (neg. no. 039200).
- (2) "Fragment of inscription showing part of four lines. Limestone." Ll. 1, 3, sinistroverse, ll. 2-4 dextroverse; contexts suggest ll. 1-2 and 3-4 nearly continuous, thus inscription preserved to near left edge.

- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone, free-hand copy (based on squeeze?).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 211, p. 143, Tav. XXIV.
- (6) building inscription
- (7) —
- (8) no new text; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) (ll. 1(+)2) ...]-sà²(REGIO)[...]-ti-sa...||...
AEDIFICARE + *MI*(-)-za-tà[...]
(ll. 3+4) ...]REL-sà MALUS-ta₅-[ti]...||...
VERSUS "PES₂"-wa/i[...]
"... [king](?) of [Karkamiš]-land ...
built ...
... (he) who [with] badness ... shall approach [...]"
- (10) ll. 1(+)2 [REX]-ti-sa: so Meriggi.
AEDIFICARE + *MI*(-)-za-tà: verb perhaps without phonetic complement(s) (cf. KÖRKÜN, § 4); but perhaps with -za-tà, giving an otherwise unattested form of AEDIFICARE with -za- suffix.
- q**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeeze or photograph.
- (2) "Fragment of inscription with three signs of top line. Basalt. 0.17 m. × 0.05 m." Direction indeterminable.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only, no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 212, p. 143, Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) ...]DOMUS[...]*pa*[...]*wa/i*[...
- r, r**
- (1) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1913.913.
- (2) "Fragment of an inscription showing part of three lines. Size 0.52 m. × 0.15 m. Basalt." Ll. 1-2 sinistaverse-dextroverse, apparently continuous, thus at left edge of inscription; l. 3, traces only on right edge, rest uninscribed, thus end of inscription? Line ht., 0.14.
- (3) "From Çiftlik, Sajur Valley."
- (4) copy; photograph of stone.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 213, p. 144, Tav. XXV.
- (6) mentions gods.
- (7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; print from the Ashmolean Museum.
- (9) (ll. 1-2) ...(DEUS)*kar-hu*]-ba-na [(DEUS)]*ku*]-AVIS-*pa-pa-a-ha* [...
(l. 3) ...] x x
(ll. 1-2 "... the gods Karhu]has and Kubaba (acc. sing.) ...
(l. 3) ...] ...".
- (10) ll. 1-2. Restoration following Meriggi.
- s*
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10903.
- (2) "Fragment of inscription in two lines." Actually only traces of 1 line, sinistaverse; preserved ht., 0.12 m.; preserved w., 0.10 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph only: for only preserved sign see *Carchemish* III, pl. A33.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 214, p. 144, Tav. XXIV.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) ...] x x *321 *s*[à ...

II.68. KARKAMIŠ A26b-e (plate 90)

Miscellaneous corner fragments, all lost. All may be parts of (Suhis-)Katuwas inscriptions (but see *c**(7)).

*b**

- (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British Museum; no photograph.
- (2) "Fragment from corner of a block inscribed on two sides. Basalt." Parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistaverse; left side, ht., 0.32 m.; w., 0.07 m.; right side, ht., 0.15 m.; w., 0.10 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 224, p. 162 f., Tav. XXVIII.

- (6) —
- (7) Suhis-Katuwas? (see (10)).
- (8) text traced from surviving inked squeeze.
- (9) (l. 1 ...][*273/*274][...]-ta[...]-i? [*wa/i-t*]à-'
[(SCALPRUM)]*ku-ta*-[...]
(l. 2) ...]x (CAELUM)*t*[*i-pa*]-sa-sa[...]
(DEUS)TONITRUS[...](DEUS)[...
(l. 1) "..., and the orthostat [...
(l. 2) ... celestial Tarhunzas, the god [..."
(10) [(SCALPRUM)]*ku-ta*[*sa₅ + ra/i*-...]: word attested almost exclusively in Suhis-Katuwas inscriptions (see KARKAMIŠ A16b, Commentary).

- c*
- (1) lost, survives only as inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked squeeze; no photograph.
 - (2) "Fragment from corner of block similar to last. Characters in rather flat relief. Size: left side, 0.12 × 0.07; right side 0.15 × 0.07 m. Basalt." Parts of 2 lines dextroverse-sinistroverse; actual measurements, left side, ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.09 m.; right side, ht., 0.14 m.; w., 0.08 m.
 - (3) —
 - (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
 - (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 224, p. 163, Tav. XXVIII.
 - (6) l. 2, part of recurrent curse protasis.
 - (7) Katuwas or Yairis-Kamanis? (cursive *sā* not in Katuwas).
 - (8) text traced from surviving inked squeeze
 - (9) (l. 1) ...-*sā*[...] *tū + ra/i*[...] *ā*[...]
(l. 2) ...]"CRUS.CRUS"[...] *ā/i*-[*ta*//
a + ra/i] SCRIBA + *R-i/I*[
(l. 1) "...
(l. 2) ... or if it shall] pass [down to (one),
who] for writing (surface) [shall take
..."]
 - (10) l. 2. Fragment of recurrent topos, for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 21–22, and Commentary.
- d*
- (1) lost, survives only as inked squeeze in the British Museum; no photograph.
 - (2) "Fragment similar to b*. Basalt. Size: left side, 0.13 × 0.10; right side, 0.06 × 0.10 m." Parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse; actual measurement, left side, ht., 0.20 m.; w., 0.10 m.; right side, ht., 0.18 m.; w., 0.06 m.
 - (3) —
- e, e*
- (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British Museum, also 2 uninked; photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039198).
 - (2) "Fragment similar to b*: basalt. Size of inscribed surfaces (i) 0.10 m. × 0.07 m.; (ii) 0.12 m. × 0.10 m. Perhaps from same sculpture as A27a." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse; actual measurements, left side, ht., 0.10 m.; w., 0.08 m.; right side, ht. 0.14 m.; w., 0.13 m.
 - (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 105, so found in 1911.
 - (4) photographs of stone, and of inked squeeze.
 - (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 224, p. 163, Tav. XXVIII.
 - (6) part of Katuwas genealogy.
 - (7) thus early 9th century B.C.
 - (8) text traced from surviving inked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative.
 - (9) (l. 1) ...-*ā*[*a-sā*[...] *ā*²-*sā*[...
(l. 2) ...-*si*[...] REGIO[...]*i*[...] |(INFANS)
[*nī*]-*mu-wa/i*-*ā*[...
(l. 1) "... Karkamiš]ean [Country-Lor]d [...
...] [...] the Country-[Lord's] son [..."]

II.69. KARKAMIŠ A27 (plates 82–83)

Fragments of relief script with largely monumental sign forms

- a*
- (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked squeeze; no photograph.
 - (2) "Fragment of an inscribed block, probably a door-jamb, from the left-hand corner of the inscription where it is shaped to form an internal and external right angle (cf. A10). See also A26e. Basalt." Part of 1 line, sinistroverse. Dimensions: line ht., 0.09 m.; preserved w., 0.17 m.
- (3) —
 - (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
 - (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 226, p. 164, Tav. XXVIII.
 - (6) titular; corresponds to that of Katuwas (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary)
 - (7) Katuwas, thus 10th or early 9th century B.C.
 - (8) text traced from inked squeeze.
 - (9) ... *kar-ka-mi*-*si*-[*ā-sā*](URBS) |REGIO.
DOMINUS[-*sā*²] DEUS-*ni*-[*tī*] (LITUUS)
ā-ā[*a-mi*...
"... Karkamiš]še[an] Country-Lord, lov[ed by]
the gods [..."]

- b*** (10) compared by Meriggi to JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2; KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3. Even closer (because upper left corner) to KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 2b.
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Fragment of inscription. Basalt. Size, 0.13 × 0.9 m." Part of top line of inscription, sinistaverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 226, p. 164, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6) titular; corresponds to that of Katuwas.
- (7) Katuwas, thus 10th or early 9th century B.C.
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) ...-sa(UR[BS]) |REGIO.DOMINUS-ia-sa [... "Karkamišan] Country-Lord [..."
- (c* See 11.39)
- d*** (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Fragments of an inscription from the top line. The upper surface of the slab is smoothly polished. Basalt." Part of 1 line, sinistaverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 226, p. 164, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6) reference to celestial Storm-God.
- (7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) ...zā]-u-ti (CAPLUM.DEUS)T[ONITRUS ... "...] to this celestial Storm-God [..."
- (e* See 11.35)
- f*** (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10846.
- (2) "Fragment of an inscription. Size of inscribed surface, 0.13 m. × 0.09 m." Appears to be upper left corner of inscription; part of 1 line, sinistaverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (3) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 228, p. 165 f., Tav. XXVIII.
- (6) corresponds to Katuwas contexts.
- (7) Katuwas, thus 10th or early 9th century B.C.
- (8) text traced from stone: new photograph.
- (9) ... "MA]NUS"[...] PUGNUS-ri+i-ta[... "...] raised [by?] the hand [..."
- g*** (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Part of left-hand edge of inscription. Basalt. Size 0.24 h. × 0.14 b." Parts of 3 lines of inscription, sinistaverse-dextroverse-sinistaverse (thus ll. 1–2 continuous).
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 228, p. 166, Tav. XXVIII
- (6) l. 3 seems to be clause from curse protasis.
- (7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) (ll. 1–2) ...]x-i-zi || "370"-sa-li-zi[... (l. 3) ...]x-i NEG₂-pa-wa/i-tā |zā||[... "...] ... [... "...]s, or this [..."
- h, b*** (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10956 (also 2 uninked squeezes in the British Museum, published photograph).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.11 m. × 0.14 m." Part of 1 line, dextroverse.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 79, so found in 1911.
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 228, p. 166, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from stone, checked against uninked squeeze; new photograph.
- (9) ...] |RE[L]-i-zi[i] |[... "...] who [..."
- i*** (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.18 m. × 0.11 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistaverse-dextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 228, p. 166, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) (l. 1 ...zā]a[...|URBS x[... (l. 2 ...]CAPUT" x sa [..."

*j, j**

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10879 (also 2 uninked squeezes in the British Museum, published photograph).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.19 m. × 0.27 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse; preserved w., actually 0.22 m.; line ht., c. 0.09 m.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 95, so found in 1911.
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 229, p. 166, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6) —
- (7) Suhis-Katuwas?
- (8) text traced from stone, checked against uninked squeeze; new photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...BON]US-li-ia-nū-[wa/i]-ba [wa/i]-mu-
[...]
(l. 2) ...-i wa/i-mu[-ta²]-[z[a-x] [i]-x[...
"...] I exalted, [and] me [...
...]
(10) l. 1. Repeated Karkamiš topos is: "they (the gods) exalted ..."; Suhis-Katuwas only, see KARKAMIŠ A14a, §§ 6–7; A2+3, §§ 3–5. "I exalted" paralleled only by MARAŞ 4, §§ 11, 15.
l. 2. wa/i-mu[-ta²]-: space demands restoration, probably -ta Ortpartikel.

*k**

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10877 (also published inked squeeze in the British Museum).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.20 m. × 0.13 m." Right edge of inscription with parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse, thus continuous.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 229, p. 166 f., Tav. XXVIII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from stone, with additions no longer preserved from squeeze; new photograph.
- (9) (ll. 1–2) ...x x x[...]-ti [RE]L-[...]-i || ("*427")
ma-li-ti-[x] | "*460" [...] REL-[i²](-)tá | [...
(10) ("*427")ma-li-ti-[x]: attempt to associate with word for "honey" reported by Meriggi; cf. MARAŞ 1, § 1 i, and Commentary. Possible but very uncertain: logogram might suggest a modern squared honey-comb, but there is no reason to suppose that it would correspond to anything in ancient apiary.

"*460": nature of logogram, and possible identification with anything similar, quite uncertain.

*l**

- (1) lost, survives as uninked squeeze in the British Museum; no photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.12 m. × 0.13 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 229, p. 167, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]x- "[X]"-la/i/u-na x x [...
(l. 2) ...]ti[...]
(10) l. 1. Meriggi's restoration "[PORTA]"-la/i/u-na plausible.

*m, m**

- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum, also 2 uninked squeezes; published photograph from excavation negative in British Museum (neg. no. 039197).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.20 m. × 0.08 m." Part of 1 line, trace of second, dextroverse-sinistroverse; line ht., 0.14 m.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 82, so found in 1911.
- (4) photograph of stone, and of extant inked squeeze.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 229, p. 167, Tav. XXVIII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from inked squeeze checked against uninked; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) (l. 1) ... PR]AE²-[n]a² BOS x x [...
(l. 2) word-divider only.
- (10) l. 1. BOS surmounts something large and unrecognizable.

*n**

- (1) lost, survives as uninked squeeze in the British Museum; unpublished photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 084184).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.12 m. × 0.12 m." Part of 1 line, traces of another, sinistroverse-dextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).

- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 229, p. 167, Tav. XXVIII. q*
- (6-7) - (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze, also uninked squeeze, in the British Museum; no photograph.
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative. (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.15 m. × 0.08 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroversedextroverse.
- (9) (l. 1) ...TONIT]RUS.HALPA-pa[...] (URBS) [...] (3) -
- (l. 2) 2 word-dividers only (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
- (l. 1) "...] Halab [...]" (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 230, p. 168, Tav. XXVIII.
- o, o** (6-7) -
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10889 (also published inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked squeeze, published photograph). (8) text traced from inked squeeze.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.18 m. × 0.30 m." Part of 1 line, dextroverse. (9) (l. 1 ...) |"ASCIA" [...]
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 96, so found in 1911. (l. 2) ...] |DO[MUS? ...] i [...]
- (4) photograph of stone, and of extant inked squeeze. (10) l. 1 ASCIA attested elsewhere only in KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 3 (inscription of Suhis).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 230, p. 167, Tav. XXVIII. *r, r**
- (6-7) - (1) partially preserved, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10887 (also inked squeeze, and uninked squeeze, in the British Museum, published photograph (no negative)).
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph. (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.22 m. × 0.15 m.; width of register, 0.11 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroversedextroverse.
- (9) ...] x pi-i-ha-mi-na x-i-ha [...] -wa/i [...] -wa/i [...]
- (10) (FULGUR) *pihami*-, "glorified": see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 14, Commentary. (3) -
- verb: Meriggi proposes [*i-zi*]-*i-ha*, "I made"; possible. (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze.
- p, p** (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 230, p. 168, Tav. XXVIII.
- (1) lost, survives as 2 uninked squeezes and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039197). (6) parallel to Katuwas context.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.16 m. × 0.18 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroversedextroverse; line ht., 0.10 m. (7) Katuwas, thus 10th or early 9th century B.C.?
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 96, so found in 1911. (8) text traced from inked squeeze, checked against surviving stone piece; new photograph.
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze (no longer extant). (9) (l. 1.) ... REG]IO-ia "VACUUS"-na-ta-ha[...]
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 230, p. 167 f., Tav. XXVIII. (l. 2) ...] - VIA[...]
- (6-7) - (l. 1) "... the countries I wasted [...]
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative. (l. 2) ..."
- (9) (l. 1) ... -z]a-i-ha [...]
- (l. 2) ...]-li-na |REL+ra/i-i |w[a/i]-PUG[NUS]... (10) l. 1. parallel to KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 12; also A12, § 6 (both inscriptions of Katuwas); see Commentaries there.
- (10) l. 2. REL+ra/i-i: attested elsewhere only in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 30-31; A13d, § 5 (both inscriptions of Katuwas); see Commentaries there. l. 2. VIA suggests parallel context to KARKAMIŠ A12, § 14.
- s, s** (1) lost, survives as 3 uninked squeezes and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039197).
- (1) lost, survives as 3 uninked squeezes and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039197). (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.22 m. × 0.17 m.; width of register 0.11 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroversedextroverse.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.22 m. × 0.17 m.; width of register 0.11 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroversedextroverse. (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 81, so found in 1911.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 81, so found in 1911.

- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 230, p. 168, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]REX-*sa* NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* [...] DOMI-
NUS[...] *sa*[...]
(l. 2) ...] *z[a]-i[-ia]-z[a]* DEUS[...]
(l. 1) "[whether he be] a king or a [country]-
lord [...]
(l. 2) ...] to these god[s] ..."
- (10) l. 1. Topos paralleled in inscription of Katu-
was but with *man* ... *ma(n)pawa* — see KAR-
KAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 14, 19; cf. also KAR-
KAMIŠ A19c.
- t, t**
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara,
no. 10908 (also 2 uninked squeezes in the
British Museum, published photograph).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.11 m. ×
0.14 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroversedextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze
(no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 230,
p. 168 f., Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from the stone, checked against
squeezes; new photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]-*ri+i-x á-pa-sa-pa-wa/i á-ha+ra/i*[...]
(l. 2) ...]-*x-nú-wa/i*[...] NE[G...
"...] ... and he ... [...
"...] ... [...]"
- (*u** See II.34)
- v, v** (see below, (4), for designation)
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara,
no. 10894.
- (2) parts of 2 lines from bottom left-hand corner,
sinistroversedextroverse, thus continuous; ht.,
0.17 m.; w., 0.14 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone and of inked squeeze (no
longer extant). The piece is designated *u, u**,
but there is already another *u**; mistake for
*v, v**.
- (5) confusion has caused Meriggi to omit it.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) (ll. 1.2) ...]-*wa/i* ("LIGNUM")||*šá-la-ba-zá-
á-pa-sa-pa-wa/i* [...
"...] ... power, and he [...]"
- (10) preserved context sufficient to preclude iden-
tification as usual topos "... gave me my pa-
ternal power".
- aa**
- (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British
Museum; no photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Fragment from top register of a
sculptured and inscribed block. Size of in-
scribed surface, 0.30 m. × 0.07 m." Part of 1
line, sinistroversed.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 232,
p. 170, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text from tracing of inked squeeze.
- (9) ...]-*pa*[...] *z[i/a]*["*286"][...]BONUS
[...] *ia*[...] *wa/i* [...]x[...]
- bb**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
The fragment was repeated as KARKAMIŠ
A29e*.
- (2) "28p*. Size of inscribed surface, 0.16 m. ×
0.8 m." (28p* appears to be meaningless: mis-
print for "Basalt"?). Part of line, sinistroversed.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze (no longer
extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 232,
p. 170, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) ...]-*PES-w[a/i-ha]* *z[a-a]*-[*p*]-*wa/i-mu* [...
"[... I(?)] came, and this (for) me [...]"
- cc*, dd**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.12 m.
× 0.07 m.", [*dd** not given]. Both show traces
of 2 lines, (sinistroversed)-dextroverse, and
dextroverse-sinistroversed.
- (3) —
- (4) photographs of inked squeezes only (no
longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 232,
p. 170, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) no new texts can be offered; no photograph.
(no sign fully preserved).
- (9) —
- ee, ee**
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no.
10885.

- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.14 m. × 0.09 m." Part of 1 line, dextroverse(?), uninscribed area below.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone and of inked squeeze (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 232, p. 170 f., Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) ...]x DOMINUS²-sa |IUDEX²[...] FRONS-
l[a/i/u- ...
- (10) IUDEX²: I have suggested that the Empire Period *LABARNA*-sign (*HH* no. 277, + *la*) might have developed into the Late *tarwani*-logogram (*HH* no. 371). If the present sign is correctly identified, it could represent a transitional form between the two signs. See now Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 111 f. with n. 25, fig. 9(g).
- ff, ff** 1-2
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 10882 (1) and 10881 (2) (also inked squeezes of both in British Museum, and uninked squeeze of (1), published photographs).
- (2) "Basalt. Fragment from left side, and a fragment from an angle of an inscription inscribed on two faces. Size of inscribed surface of 1, 0.15 m. × 0.16 m.; of 2, larger side, 0.09 m. × 0.135 m." Frag. 1, parts of 2 lines, dextroverse(-sinistroverse); frag. 2, part of 1 line dextroverse; preserved w. of frag. 2 actually 0.08 m. + 0.20 m.
- (3) —
- (4) (both) photographs of stone, and of inked squeezes.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 233, p. 171, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stones; new photographs.
- (9) (frag. 1, l. 1) ...|| LIS-la/i/u-sa-tu [ua/i]-tu-ta-
[...]
(l. 2) ...] |MANUS[...]|ta[ra/i]² ...
(l. 1) "...] let him/them prosecute,
and for him ...
(l. 2) ...] hand(?) [...]"
(frag. 2) ...]x[...m]u-[...]IUDEX
[...]-ti-i [...] LOQUI [x]-ta-za
AUDIRE[...]-ti-t[a ...
...] ... hear[d] ... word [...]
- gg**
- (1) lost, survives as inked squeeze in the British Museum; no photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.10 m. × 0.12 m." Parts of 1 line, dextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 234, p. 171, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from surviving squeeze.
- (9) only identifiable: ... a "x"-ti x
- hh, hh**
- (1) lost, survives as 2 uninked squeezes and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039200).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.13 m. × 0.13 m." Parts of 2 lines, (sinistroverse-) dextroverse.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 80, so found in 1911.
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 234, p. 172, Tav. XXIX.
- (6) l. 2: gods Karhuhas and Kubaba.
- (7) Suhis-Katuwas?
- (8) text traced from surviving uninked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) (l. 1) ...] x [...]ta[...]|x[...]
(l. 2) ...](DEUS)ka+ra/i[...](DEUS)ku
[+AVIS]-pa-pa[...]
(l. 1) "...] ... [...]
(l. 2) ...] Karhuhas (and) Kubaba (...)"
- ii**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.10 m. × 0.14 m.; height of register, 0.085 m. From Jerablus village." Parts of 2 lines, (dextroverse-) sinistroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 234, p. 172, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]tu[...]
(l. 2) ...]-PRAE-n[a²
- jj**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.09 m. × 0.16 m." Part of 1 line, sinistroverse?
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 234, p. 172, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —

- (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
 (9) ...]x-pa-[w]a/i² "[x]"-ni x[...

kk*

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
 (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.14 m. × 0.09 m." Single sign.
 (3) —
 (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 234, p. 172, Tav. XXIX.
 (6-7) —
 (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
 (9) sign HH no. 129 only.
 (10) recurs elsewhere only on KARKAMIŠ A19; 1, 1. 2.

ll*

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
 (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.11 m. × 0.05 m." Part of 1 line sinistaverse.
 (3) —
 (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 234, p. 172, Tav. XXIX.
 (6-7) —
 (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
 (9) ...]-sa [... PU]GNUS-ru[...]i[...]x[...

mm, mm*

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10888.
 (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.12 m. × 0.08 m. Perhaps from same inscription as A24." Parts of 2 lines, sinistaverse-dextroverse; actual dimensions: preserved ht., 0.10 m.; preserved w., 0.11 m.; line ht., 0.055 m. (Note: less than A24). The bottom of the fragment appears to be lower edge of inscription.
 (3) —
 (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze (no longer extant).
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 235, p. 172, Tav. XXVII.
 (6) mentions statue of Astiruwas.
 (7) reigns of Yariris or Kamanis?
 (8) text traced from stone, which has lost parts of 2 signs from top since the making of the squeeze and photograph; new photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...]ba[...]-pa-wa/i[...]REL[...]-ti[...]wa/i²[...
 (l. 2) ...]sa₂+ra/i x |za[...]-a-sa-ti-ru-wa/i-sa²"STATUA"-sa NEG₂²-...[...

- (l. 1) "...] ... and ... [...
 (l. 2) ...] ... this statue of Astiruwas not [...]"
 cf. Hawkins, *LX TTK*, p. 262, cit. 4.

(10)

nn*

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
 (2) "Basalt. Fragment from bottom of inscription. Height of register 0.057 m." Parts of 2 lines, (sinistaverse-)dextroverse.
 (3) —
 (4) photograph of inked squeeze only (no longer extant).
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 236, p. 172, Tav. XXIX.
 (6-7) —
 (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...] x x [...
 (l. 2) ...]-za (BONUS)[sa]-na-wa/i[...]||

oo, oo*

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10890, also published inked squeeze in British Museum, published photograph (no negative).
 (2) "Basalt. From bottom right corner of an inscription. Size of inscribed surface, 0.21 m. × 0.10 m." Parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistaverse, but do not appear to be continuous; actual w., 0.15 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.
 (3) —
 (4) photograph of stone and of extant inked squeeze.
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 237, p. 173, Tav. XXIX.
 (6) curse formulae.
 (7) ?
 (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...]PES₂.PES-pi-ti ma-pa-wa/i ||[...
 (l. 2) ...]||-wa/i-ti FEMINA-ti-na mi-na²[...
 (l. 1) "...] shall trample, or whether [...
 (l. 2) ...] for himself my wife [..."
 (10) l. 1. PES₂.PES-pi-ti: see now A. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 129-145 (p. 136 n. 20 for present attestation).
 ll. 1-2: in spite of the fragment's preserved right edge, there is clearly no continuity between the two lines. Thus the text must have continued on lost element to the right.
 l. 2. As noted by Meriggi, appears to be same clause as TELL AHMAR 2, § 16.

(pp*: piece repeated as KARKAMIŠ A29a*4: see there)

qq*

- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked squeeze; no photograph.

- (2) parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse; ht., 0.19 cm.; w., 0.14 cm.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 173, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from inked squeeze.
- (9) (l. 1) ...x-mi-sa(-)za [DEUS?].DOMUS-ta [...x-za[...]
- (l. 2) ...]POST[+R-1/I ...]-wa/i-t[a...
- (10) Meriggi envisages the restoration [DEUS].DOMUS, the only combination of logograms with phonetic complement -ta (for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, and Commentary).
- (rr*: piece repeated as KARKAMIŠ A290*4: see there).
- ss*
- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze, also uninked squeeze, and unpublished photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 084184).
- (2) parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse(?); ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.15 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 173, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from inked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) (l. 1) ... RE]GIO.DOMINUS-[i²]-sa x[... (l. 2) ... p]a [...[pa[...]]TERRA[...]
- (10) Possibly first line titulary.
- tt*
- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked squeeze; no photograph.
- (2) part of 1 line, dextroverse(?); ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.15 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 174, Tav. XXIX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from inked squeeze.
- (9) ...]]² (PANIS)ti+ra/i-x[...x x[... "...] bread [...]
- uu*
- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum, also uninked squeeze; no photograph.
- (2) part of 1 line, direction of reading not determinable; ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.11 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 174, Tav. XXX.
- (6) restoration suggests clause in curse protasis.
- (7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) ...] [ā-][ta₄ s]-ma-ā[a] .AR[HL-1 ... "... who shall] e[r]ase my] name [...]
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 174, Tav. XXX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from inked squeeze.
- (9) ...]sa[...]"FUL[GUR" ... (or reversed).
- vv*
- (1) lost, survives as published inked squeeze in the British Museum; no photograph.
- (2) part of 1 line, sinistroverse; ht., 0.11 m.; w., 0.15 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 174, Tav. XXX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from squeeze.
- (9) ...] SOLIUM-ni-ua/i-ha [wa/i]-ma-na-´ [... "...] I seated and(?) him [...]
- ww*
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10952 (also published inked squeeze in the British Museum, and uninked squeeze).
- (2) parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse; ht., 0.13 m.; w., 0.15 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only (printed upside-down).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 174, Tav. XXX.
- (6-7) verb l. 2 points to ascription to Katuwas.
- (8) text traced from stone; new photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]x[...][ba[...]"[X]" i[...x[... (l. 2) ...]x *261.[PUGNUS]-m[...x[...]
- (10) l. 2. *261.[PUGNUS]-m-: verb attested only in inscriptions of Katuwas (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11; A2+3, § 9; A13d, § 8; cf. A23, § 6).
- xx*
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10958 (also published inked squeeze in the British Museum).
- (2) part of line, dextroverse; ht., 0.11 m.; w., 0.11 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of extant inked squeeze only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 238, p. 174, Tav. XXX.

(1) British Museum, No. 125001 c (date no., 1882-10-15(9)).

- (2) traces only, sinistrovers; ht., 0.12 m.; w., 0.13 m.
 (3) —
 (4) *EH*², pl. XXI.5; *CIH*, Taf. XIV.2; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 239, p. 175.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) only *za* certainly identifiable.

*g, g**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125001 f (date no., 1882-10-15(10)).
 (2) parts of 2 lines, sinistrovers-dextrovers; ht., 0.22 m.; w., 0.16 m.
 (3) —
 (4) *EH*², pl. XIX.6; *CIH*, XIII.2; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 239, p. 175.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...] *za*[...] - *ba*[...]
 (l. 2) ...] *DELERE* *p*[*a*²] + *ra/i-nu-w*[*a/i*...
 (10) The piece is important in writing the usual verb *DELERE* *nu/nu-wa/i*, "destroy", apparently including the preceding syllable, *pa*² + *ra/i*, itself of uncertain reading. Melchert has identified the verb with Hitt. *mernu-/marnu-*, and postulated a value *ma_x + ra/i* for the sign: see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, and Commentary. We should note here that the possibility of identifying the sign rather as *ara/i* cannot be excluded.

*h, h**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125001 g (date no., 1881-10-9(2)).
 (2) part of 1 line, sinistrovers (traces of another above); ht., 0.19 m.; w., 0.15 m.
 (3) —
 (4) Rylands, *TSB* 4 7 (1882), pl. IV.3 = Wright, *EH* (1884)//*EH*² (1886), pl. XII.3; *CIH*, Taf. XII.5; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 175.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) ...] (MONS) *i-su-ma*-[*wa/i*]-*n*[*i* ...
 "... (mount) Isuma-ean ..."
 (10) apparently mountain-name otherwise unknown, ethnicon in *-uani*(*z*).

*i, i**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125001 h (date no., 1882-10-15(11)).
 (2) parts of 2 lines, dextrovers-sinistrovers; ht., 0.21 m.; w., 0.12 m.

- (3) —
 (4) *EH*², pl. XXI.3; *CIH*, Taf. XIV.4; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 176.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...] *x* *x* [...] - *ta* - "CASTRUM" - *sa*(*-*)*ti*[...
 (l. 2) ...] *x* [*LIS* - *z*[*a* ...] *w*[*a/i*] - *i*[*i*...

*j, j**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125001 j (date no., 1882-10-15(13)).
 (2) parts of 2 lines, sinistrovers-dextrovers; ht., 0.19 m.; w., 0.14 m.
 (3) —
 (4) *EH*², pl. XXI.1; *CIH*, Taf. XIII.7; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 176.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...] *pi*[-*ba*²]-*mi-sa*[...
 (l. 2) only PANIS
 (10) l. 1. *pi*[*ba*]*mis*, "glorified"(*?*): see KARKAMIŠ, A11b + c, § 14, and Commentary.

*k, k**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125001 k (date no., 1880-3-17(8+9)).
 (2) parts of 2 lines, sinistrovers-dextrovers; ht., 0.24 m.; w., 0.10 m.
 (3) —
 (4) Rylands, *TSB* 4 7 (1882), pl. IV.4 = Wright, *EH* (1884)//*EH*² (1886), pl. XII.4; *CIH*, Taf. XII.6; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 176.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...] [*i*²] - *x* *x* [...
 (l. 2) ...] *AR*[*HL*1] [*a*]-[...]

*l, l**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125000 a (date no., 1882-10-15(1)).
 (2) part of 1 line, dextrovers, uninscribed space below; ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.09 m.
 (3) —
 (4) *EH*², pl. XXI.9; *CIH*, Taf. XIV.5; Woolley, loc. cit.
 (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 176.
 (6-7) —
 (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
 (9) ...-*t*] *u* [*wa/i*]-*u*-[...
 "...] let him/them [..., and] to him [..."
 (10) restoration following Meriggi.

*m, m**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125000 h (date no., 1882-10-15(4)).
- (2) part of 1 line, sinistrovers; ht., 0.17 m.; w., 0.26 m.
- (3) —
- (4) *EH*², pl. XX.3; *CIH*, Taf. XIII.5; Woolley, loc. cit.
- (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 176.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
- (9) ...-x-mi-sa-pa-wa/i-ti-i- REL-x x[...
“but ...-ed for himself ... [”

*n, n**

- (1) British Museum, no. 125001 i (date no., 1882-10-15(12)).
- (2) traces of 2 lines (l. 2 sinistrovers); ht., 0.11 m.; w., 0.14 m.
- (3) —
- (4) *EH*², pl. XXI.8; *CIH*, Taf. XIV.3; Woolley, loc. cit.
- (5) Meriggi, loc. cit., no. 240, p. 176.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; B.M. photograph.
- (9) (l. 2 only) ... |x[...]-AR[HL4] |l...

II.71. KARKAMIŠ A29 (plates 86-87)

*a*1-4*

- (1) frags. 2 and 4, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 11149, 11168; frags. 1 and 3, lost, surviving as inked squeeze (also uninked), and uninked squeeze in the British Museum. Also unpublished photograph from excavation negative of frag. 3 survives in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 084186).
- (2) “Four fragments of inscriptions, perhaps from the same inscription. Basalt.” Frag. 1, parts of 2 lines, sinistrovers-dextrovers, preserved ht., 0.15 m., preserved w., 0.17 m.; frag. 2, part of 1 line, direction not determinable, preserved ht., 0.08 m., preserved w., 0.10 m.; frag. 3, part of 1st line of inscription, sinistrovers, preserved ht., 0.10 m., preserved w., 0.14 m.; frag. 4, part of 1 line, sinistrovers, preserved ht., 0.09 m., preserved w., 0.12 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photographs of inked squeezes only (frags. 1 and 4, inked squeezes extant; frag. 3, uninked squeeze extant). Frag. 4 also appears as KARKAMIŠ A27pp*.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 241, p. 177, Tav. XXX.
- (6) frag. 3 looks like part of Katuwas genealogy (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary).
- (7) all Katuwas, thus 10th or early 9th century B.C.? (but note cursive *mm*, frag. 1, l. 2).
- (8) text traced from stone (frags. 2 and 4), and from surviving uninked squeezes (frags. 1 and 3); new photographs of stone (frags. 2, 4), and from British Museum negative (frag. 3).
- (9) frag. 1, l. 1 ...]LEPUS+R-4/I[-?]-sa[...]-na/i
[...
l. 2 ...] na/i-mu[...]-mi-[i]-z[i] |x[...
(l. 1) “... authority ... [...
(l. 2) and me, my [...”

- frag. 2. ... POR]TA-la/i/u[...]-pa-na/i
[...
“... gates, and [...” (or reversed).
- frag. 3. ...REGIO].DOMINUS[-ia]-i[-sa]
|(INFANS)mi-[mm]-u[a/i]-z[i]a-sa ...
“... son [of Suhis(?) the Country]-Lord[...”
- frag. 4. ...]-ia [m]u-pa[-na/i]-z[i]i[...
“...but I/me ... [...”

*b**

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 11163.
- (2) “Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.10 m. × 0.12 m.” Part of 1 line, dextrovers, preserved ht., 0.10 m., preserved w., 0.10 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only, no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 242, p. 177, Tav. XXX.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone (part of *tā* visible on lower edge of published squeeze now lost); new photograph.
- (9) ...]x [-AR[HL4] |(PES₂)i-t[ā] ASINUS.ANIMAL[...
“... he/they went away; donkey [...”

*c**

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) “Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.12 m. × 0.16 m.” Parts of 2 lines, (dextrovers)-sinistrovers.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only, no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 242, p. 177, Tav. XXX.

- (6-7) -
 (8) no new text can be offered; no photograph.
 (9) (l. 1) ...] *ba*[...] *wa/i*[...] *x*[...
 (l. 2) ...] |CAPUT[...] SERVUS-*ta₄-i-sá*
i-zi-i-s[a-...
 (l. 1) "...
 (l. 2) ...] person(s) servant honour [...]"
 (10) l. 2 For writing SERVUS-*ta₄*, see ALEPPO 2,
 § 1, Commentary.

d, d + i, i**

- (1) frag. *d*, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10874; frag. *i*, lost, survives as 2 uninked squeezes and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 039203).
 (2) frag. *d*, "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.26 m. × 0.10 m. Bottom line of text." Part of 1 line, dextroverse; preserved w. actually 0.23 m.; frag. *i*, "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.37 m. × 0.105 m." Parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse; preserved ht. actually 0.12 m., preserved w., 0.30 m. The join between frags. *d* and *i* was made by Meriggi on the basis of the context.
 (3) *i* recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 92, so found in 1911.
 (4) both: photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze no longer extant.
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 243, p. 177 f., Tav. XXX.
 (6) part of curse formula, protasis.
 (7) -
 (8) text traced from stone (*d*), and from uninked squeeze (*i*); new photograph (*d*), and from British Museum negative (*i*).
 (9) (l. 1) ...] *x*[...] *sa*[...] *a*[...] *sa*[...] *x*[...
 (l. 2) ... DEUS-*n*|*i-zi-i* REL-*sa* LOCUS-*ta₄-za-*
 (*SA₄*) [*sa*]-*ni-ti* NEG [*2*]-*a-pa-u* [*a/i*]
 | [...] |DE[US]*?* [...] *pa*[...
 (l. 1) "...
 (l. 2) ... these god[s] (he) who shall overturn in (their) places, or [...] the goddess [Ku]ba[ba[?] ...]"

(*e**: see KARKAMIŠ A27bb*)

*f, f*1-2*

- (1) frag. 1 lost, survives as published inked squeeze and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 084163); frag. 2, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10884 (also published inked squeezes in the British Museum).
 (2) "Inscribed drum and irregularly shaped stone, inscribed on two faces; perhaps parts of

mushroom-shaped altar like that from Eski Kışla [EMIRGAZI] ... Basalt. Height of register, 0.105 m. Size of fragment 1, 0.24 m. × 0.17 m. Size of fragment 2 face (*a*) 0.08 m. × 0.15 m.; (*b*) 0.09 m. × 0.26 m." Frag. 1, parts of 3 lines, ll. 1 and 3 sinistroverse, l. 2 dextroverse; frag. 2, each face has part of 1 line, dextroverse-sinistroverse. (The lower face has lost 0.02 m. with part of a sign from its right side.)

- (3) -
 (4) both: photographs of stone, and of extant inked squeezes.
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 244, p. 178, Tav. XXXI.
 (6) frag. 1, l. 1, part of dedication; l. 2, part of curse formula, protasis; frag. 2, l. 1, ?; l. 2, diverse offerings.
 (7) sign forms characteristic of Yairis-Kamanis (*á*, PONERE, also cursive *u*, *ta*), thus early 8th century B.C.
 (8) text traced from extant squeeze (frag. 1) and from stone (frag. 2); new photographs (frag. 2), and photograph from British Museum negative (frag. 1).
 (9) frag. 1, l. 1 [*á*]-*mu-ha-wa/i-t[á[?]]*- *za-ti-i-*
 |DEUS-*ni* |P[RAE]-*na* [...
 l. 2 ...]- *a-wa/i* |*za-ia-* |*pa[?] + ra/i-*
ta- REL[-*i[?]*]-*sá* [...] *x* *x* [...
 l. 3 (2 word-dividers, TERRA, 2 word dividers)
 (l. 1) "... I myself before this god [...
 (l. 2) and (he) who these *words* [shall erase]"
 frag. 2, l. 1 ... *z*[*a[?]-ia-wa/i-tá-*] [LOCUS]-*ta₄-ti-i* "PONERE"-*w[a/i]-t[u]-u*
 l. 2 ... LOCUS]-*ta₄-ti-i* "PONERE"[...] *za*[...] *wa/i-tu-u-ta*
 |ANNUS-*li-i-sa* |"PANIS"-*pi-zi*
 |"PONERE"-*ha* 1 BOS (ANIMAL)-*sa* 2 OVIS (ANIMAL)
 |(DEUS)-*sa₅ + ra/i-ku*
 (l. 1) "... these(?) in place let him/ them put!
 (l. 2) ...] put in place [...] ... to him I offered breads ... annual ..., (and) one ox (and) two sheep to the god Sarku."
 (10) frag. 2, l. 1. [*z*]*a[?]-ia-wa/i-tá-*: as read, identify -*ta Ortspartikel*; but different division and analysis possible (e.g. perhaps split off *a-tá*, "in", from end).
 l. 2. [...] *za*[...] *wa/i-tu-u-tá*: uncertain readings and attachment; perhaps *za*[-*ti*]-*wa/i-tu-u-ta*, "here to him ...".

ANNUS-*li-i-sa*: -*sa* difficult to understand in context, where comparable passages have either *usalizā-turpi*, "annual bread" (KARKAMIŠ A11*b+c*, § 18; A4*d*, § 1; A13*d*, § 10 – all Katuwas), or *usali(ya)*, "annually" (SULTANHAN, § 29; MARAŞ 3, § 6). Only possibility is perhaps to identify as gen. sing., "of the annual (festival?)"?

(DEUS)*sa₅ + ra/i-ku*: See KARKAMIŠ A11*b+c*, § 18, and Commentary.

*g**

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes; partial, unpublished photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 084185).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed area, 0.40 m. × 0.16 m. From left-hand edge of text. 'The slab was more or less flat but with rounded corners and inscribed on at least two faces.' (Excavation record)." Parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse.
- (3) –
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only, no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 245, p. 179, Tav. XXX.
- (6–7) –
- (8) no new text can be offered; partial photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) (l. 1) ... *AR* | *FL* | [(PES₂)] *vara/i-za-nu-[u]a/i-ta*
[*wa/i*]-*mu-tā* [...
(l. 2) ...] *ha* [...]*wa/i-t* | *a* | *a-sa₅ + ra/i-i-tā*
wa/i-sa [...
(l. 1) "... they caused to TARZA- [aw]ay, and me [...
(l. 2) ... and he ASARI-ed, and he [...
(10) l. 1. (PES₂) *tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-ta*: cf. KARKAMIŠ A11*a*, § 6, and Commentary.
l. 2. *a-sa₅ + ra/i-i-tā*: verb, *hapax legomenon*.

*b, b*1–7*

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 11175 (frag. 4), 11181 (frag. 6), 11164 (frag. 7). Frags. 1, 2, 3 and 5 lost, surviving as uninked squeezes (frags. 1, 2, 5) inked squeeze (frag. 3), published photographs (frags. 1, 2), and unpublished (frag. 5) from excavation negatives in the British Museum (neg. nos. PS 033866, 033871, 084184). (Uninked squeezes of frags. 4 and 6 are also preserved).
- (2) "Seven fragments from an inscription or more than one similar inscription. Basalt." Frag. 1, parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.23 m., preserved w., 0.22 m.; frag. 2, part of 1 line with traces of one above,

dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.12 m., preserved w., 0.15 m.; frag. 3, parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse, (l. 2, right half uninked), preserved ht., 0.23 m., preserved w., 0.27 m.; frag. 4, part of 1 line, sinistroverse, preserved ht., 0.12 m., preserved w., 0.09 m.; frag. 5, part of 1 line, traces of one above, sinistroverse, preserved ht., 0.13 m., preserved w., 0.15 m.; frag. 6, part of 1 line, dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.09 m., preserved w., 0.13 m.; frag. 7, part of 1 line, dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.11 m., preserved w., 0.15 m.

- (3) –
- (4) photographs of stone (frags. 1 and 2), of inked squeeze, extant (frag. 3), and no longer extant (frags. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 246, p. 179 f, Tav. XXXI.
- (6–7) –
- (8) text traced from stone (frags. 4, 6, 7), from inked squeeze (frag. 3), and from uninked squeeze (frags. 1, 2, 5); new photographs from stone (frags. 4, 6, 7), photographs from British Museum negatives (frags. 1, 2, 5).
- (9) (frag. 1, l. 1) ...] *x-ha* [...] *x-ni-ia* [...] *mu*
[...]*tā*
(l. 2) ...] *x* | *URBS-na* [...] *URBS-za* [*i/a*
...]*za* [...] *a-x* | *x x* [...
(frag. 2) ...] *NEG* [*2*]-*pa-wa/i-t* | *a* | *a-ma-za* *a*...
"..." or my [name shall erase ..."
(frag. 3, l. 1) ...] *a-sa-ha + ra/i-[m]* | *sā-za*
[(DEUS)] *TONITRUS-ti* "[X]"
-za-ni-sa x [...
(l. 2) ...] *ha-x-sa-mi-sa* | *x* [...
(l. 1) "... a blood-offering for the Storm-God ...
(l. 2) ..."
(frag. 4) ...] (DEUS) *TONITRUS* [...] | (LITUUS) *A[VIS?* ...] *x* [...
"..." Storm-God ... days ..."
(frag. 5) ...] *x(-)wa/i-tū* [...] *TONITRUS-HALPA* [*pa*] (*URBS*) *x* [...
"..." the city Halab ..."
(frag. 6) ...] *wa/i* | *mu-t* | *a* | *za* | *x* [...] | *a* | *x* [...] | *a* | *x* [...
"..." and me this(?) [...
(frag. 7) ...] *wa/i* [...] | *x* [...] | *sā* | *i-zi* [...] | *i-zi* [...] | *i-zi* [...
"..."

(*i, i**: see above, *d*)

*j, j*1–3*

- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes; published photograph only, no negative (frag. 1), no photographs (frags. 2, 3).
- (2) "Three fragments from an inscription in bad preservation. Basalt. Size of inscribed surfaces,

- fragment 1, 0.17 m. × 0.09 m.; fragment 2, 0.12 m. × 0.11 m.; fragment 3, 0.25 m. × 0.13 m." Frag. 1, part of 1 line dextroverse; frag. 2, part of 1 line, dextroverse; frag. 3, part of 1 line, direction uncertain.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone (frag. 1 only), and of inked squeezes no longer extant (frags. 1–3).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 247, p. 180, Tav. XXXI.
- (6–7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered; no photographs.
- (9) (frag. 1) ...]i-x-ζ[i/a][(-)wa/i-x PRA[E? ...
(frag. 2) ...]x-sa²-li²-na |ba-x[...
(frag. 3) ...]URBS+MI²-ζ[i/a] DEUS.
DOMUS ... [...
- m**
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes or photograph.
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.14 m. × 0.07 m." Parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of inked squeeze only, no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* (II/2 (1975), no. 247, p. 181, Tav. XXXI.
- (6–7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered, no photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]x [...]ta₄-ζ[a² ...
(l. 2) (word-divider-only).
- k, k**
- (1) lost, survives as 2 uninked squeezes and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039197).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.19 m. × 0.15 m." Part of 1 line, dextroverse, with traces of another above; preserved ht. actually 0.14 m., w. 0.18 m.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 81, 83, so found in 1911.
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 247, p. 181, Tav. XXXI
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) ...]x-hu-ha[...](DEUS)ku+ A[VIS]-pa-pa-[x]
BONUS[-2]-sa₅+ra/i[...
"... Kar]huhas, Kubaba [with] goodness [..."
- n, n*1–4*
- (1) lost, survive as uninked squeezes and published photographs from excavation negative (frags. 1, 2, 3 only) in the British Museum (neg. no. 039197).
- (2) "four fragments of an inscription. Basalt. Size of inscribed areas; fragment 1, 0.13 m. × 0.07 m.; fragment 2, 0.22 m. × 0.14 m.; fragment 3, 0.16 m. × 0.16 m.; fragment 4, 0.17 m. × 0.08 m." Frag. 1, part of 1 line, dextroverse; frag. 2, part of 1 line, dextroverse; frag. 3, parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse; frag. 4, part of 1 line (direction uncertain), below, uninscribed space and on right side trace of further inscription. Meriggi tentatively proposes to join frag. 4 to bottom of frag. 1.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 80, 91, 94, so found in 1911.
- (4) photographs of stone (frags. 1–3 only), and of inked squeezes no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 248, p. 181, Tav. XXXI.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from uninked squeezes (frags. 1–3), photographs from British Museum negative; frag. 4, no new text can be offered, no photograph.
- (9) (frags. 1+4?) ...](DEUS)TONITRUS-sa
(DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sa
[(DEUS)ku+ AVI]S²-s[a...
"... the gods Tarhunzas,
Karhuhas, [Kubaba? ..."
(frag. 2) ...]-sa²-za pi-ia-ha za-[...]-wa/i-
[x] URBS-m[...
"...] ... I gave, and this city
[...]
(frag. 3, l. 1) ...]ti [...]u[...]na "[...] ...
(l. 2) ...] x[...]a[...]x[...
- l, l**
- (1) lost, survives as uninked squeeze and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. PS 033871).
- (2) "Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.10 m. × 0.09 m." Part of 1 line, dextroverse.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone, and of inked squeeze no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 247, p. 181, Tav. XXXI.
- (6) part of curse formula protasis.
- (7) —
- (8) text traced from uninked squeeze; photograph from British Museum negative.
- (9) ...] REL-sa |a-ma-za [...
"...] (he) who my name [shall erase ..."

o*1-4

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 11176 (frag. 4 only; also survives as published inked squeeze, and uninked squeeze in the British Museum, as does frag. 1); frags. 2 and 3, lost, no surviving squeezes or photographs.
- (2) "Four fragments of an inscription on a convex surface. Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, fragment 4, 0.13 m. × 0.09 m." Frag. 1, parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse; frags. 2, 3, 4, parts of 1 line each, sinistroverse. (Frag. 4 is repeated as KARKAMIŠ A27rr*).
- (3) —
- (4) photographs of inked squeezes only, no longer extant except frag. 4.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 249, p. 181 f., Tav. XXXI.
- (6) frag. 2 seems to contain name and title of Katuwas.
- (7) Katuwas, thus 10th or early 9th century B.C.?
- (8) text traced from stone (frag. 4) and uninked squeeze (frag. 1); new photograph (frag. 4); frags. 2 and 3, no new text can be offered; no photographs.
- (9) (frag. 1, l. 1) ...x-mi URBS² [...]na[...]
(l. 2) ...]a [...] RE[GIO]² ...
(frag. 2) ... k]a-ti-w[a/i-sa²] [REGIO.
[DOMINUS]-i[...]
"...] Katuwas, Country-[Lord
...]
(frag. 3) ...]x x x a[...]-tu²-wa/i- x[...]
(Meriggi tentatively sees the
name Astuwataman²as here.)
(frag. 4) ...]-wa/i+ra/i-i-ta [...]

p, p*1-3

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10945 (frag. 1 only); frags. 2 and 3 lost, survive as 2 uninked squeezes each, also photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039201).
- (2) "Three fragments of an inscription. Size of fragment 2, 0.14 m. × 0.20 m.; fragment 3, 0.20 m. × 0.15 m. Basalt." Frag. 1, part of line, dextroverse, preserved ht., 0.20 m., pre-

served w., 0.15 m.; frag. 2, part of line, dextroverse; frag. 3, parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse; actual measurements, ht., 0.15 m.; w., 0.15 m.

- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 83, 90, 93, so found in 1911.
- (4) photographs of stone (frags. 1 and 2), and of inked squeezes no longer extant (frag. 3 printed upside-down). The photograph of frag. 3 was printed on plate A30g, lower right corner.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 250, p. 182, Tav. XXXI.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from the stone (frag. 1) and from the uninked squeezes (frags. 2 and 3); photographs from British Museum negative (frags. 1, 2 and 3).
- (9) (frag. 1) ... á-t]a₅-ma-²z[a²] ...
(frag. 2) ... (MAN)US² u-pa-sa₅-[...] -si- [...]
(frag. 3, l. 1) ...]tā²-ma-ha x x [...]
(l. 2) ...]x | x[...]

q, q*1-2

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10937 (frag. 1 only); frag. 2 lost, survives as uninked squeeze and published photograph from excavation negative in the British Museum (neg. no. 039201).
- (2) "Two fragments of an inscription. Basalt. Size of fragment 1, 0.12 m. × 0.32 m.; size of fragment 2, 0.13 m. × 0.26 m." Both parts of 1 line, sinistroverse.
- (3) recorded in Thompson, *Report*, pp. 89, 92, so found in 1911.
- (4) photographs of stone, and of inked squeezes no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 251, p. 182, Tav. XXXI.
- (6-7) —
- (8) text traced from stone (frag. 1) and from the uninked squeeze (frag. 2); photographs from British Museum negative (frags. 1, 2).
- (9) (frag. 1) ... (DEUS)]TONITRUS[-bu²]-²za-sa
[...]bi[...]
(frag. 2) ...]na[...]-ta[...]-wa/i[...]-na[...]

II.72. KARKAMIŠ A30 (plates 88-89)

a, a*1-6

- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara nos. 10950, 10880 (frags. 1, 2); frags. 3, 4, 5, 6 lost; frags. 3, 5 and 6 survive as uninked squeezes in the British Museum, frag. 3 as published photograph.

- (2) "Six fragments from inscription on flank of a very large lion. Basalt." Frag. 1, part of 1 line, dextroverse, ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.07 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.; frag. 2, part of 1 line, dextroverse, ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.25 m.; frag. 3, parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse, ht., 0.18 m., w. 0.17 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.; frag. 4, part of 1 line,

- sinistroverse; frag. 5, part of 1 line, dextroverse, ht., 0.14 m.; w., 0.14 m.; frag. 6, part of 1 line, dextroverse, ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.11 m.
- (3) "Lower Palace area." Frag. 3 only recorded in Thompson, *Report*, p. 81, so found in 1911.
- (4) photographs of stone (frags. 1–3 only), and of inked squeezes no longer extant.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 252, p. 183, Tav. XXXII.
- (6) —
- (7) sign-forms associate with KARKAMIŠ A21 (*ma*, *la*, *pa*, *mu*, *á*, also OCULUS); thus late 8th century B.C.
- (8) text traced from stone (frag. 2), from uninked squeezes (frags. 1, 3, 5 and 6), and from enlarged copy (frag. 4); new photograph of frag. 2, published ones of frags. 1 and 3 from British Museum negatives (nos. 0338⁷1, 039203).
- (9) (frag. 1) ...] LONGUS [...
 (frag. 2) ...]á wa/i-ma-na REL-tá [...
 "...] and as for me, him when [...]
 (frag. 3, l. 1) ...]pá² + ra/i-la + ra/i-tá u{a/i² - ...
 (frag. 4) ...]pa-wa/i-mu REL-tá [...
 "...] and (for?) me when [...]
 (frag. 5) ...]CER[VUS₂...]-ia-na[...
 (frag. 6) ...](OCULUS)á-[...
 (10) frag. 3. pá² + ra/i-la + ra/i-tá: verb, *hapax legomenon*
 frag. 6. (OCULUS)á-[...]: cf. KARKAMIŠ A20b12, and Commentary.
- (*b*, *b**1–3: see KARKAMIŠ A31, to which this is joined)
- c*, *c**
- (1) British Museum, London, no. 125013.
- (2) "Fragment from an inscription on a semi-circular or circular surface. Basalt. From the excavation of 1879–80. Size: 0.24 × 0.28 m." Trace of 2 lines, uninscribed area to the right.
- (3) (see 2).
- (4) Wright, *EH*² (1886), pl. XXI.7 (drawing by Rylands); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 11, Taf. XIV.1 (redrawn from Wright); Woolley, loc. cit. (photograph of stone and of copy).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 253, p. 183, Tav. XXXII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; photograph of same.
- (9) (l. 1) ...]x-
 (l. 2) *476²[...
- d* 1–2
- (1) lost, survives as uninked squeeze in the British Museum (frag. 2 only), published photographs.
- (2) frag. 1, part of sinistroverse line; frag. 2, part of sinistroverse line.
- (3) —
- (4) photographs of stone only (*d* 2 apparently printed vertically instead of horizontally).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 253, p. 183 f., Tav. XXXII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) no new text can be offered, no photographs.
- (9) (frag. 1) ...]x x x-za-tá x[...
 (frag. 2) ...]x a x x x[...
- e*
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 6941 (2 uninked squeezes preserved in the British Museum).
- (2) part of last line of inscription, sinistroverse, ht., 0.10 m.; w., 0.11 m. There was an uninscribed area below the line, which has disappeared since the published photograph was taken.
- (3) —
- (4) photograph of stone only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 253, p. 184, Tav. XXXII.
- (6–7) —
- (8) text traced from stone; photograph of same.
- (9) ...]x-ba[...]u[...b]a/[p]a-wa/i[...
- f* 1–10
- (1) Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara no. 11197 (frag. 7 only); frags. 1–6 and 8–10, lost (frags. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10 survive as uninked squeezes in the British Museum and published photographs, as also frag. 7). Note that frag. 2 = KARKAMIŠ A12 frag. 3. Numbering follows that of Meriggi.
- (2) frag. 1, dextroverse, ht. 0.09 m., w. 0.09 m.; (frag. 2, see KARKAMIŠ A12 frag. 3); frag. 3, sinistroverse, ht., 0.07 m., w. 0.08 m.; frag. 4, dextroverse, ht., 0.15 m., w. 0.13 m.; frag. 5, direction indeterminate, dimensions lost; frag. 6, sinistroverse, ht., 0.14 m., w. 0.06 m.; frag. 7, direction indeterminate, ht., 0.10 m., w., 0.14 m.; frag. 8, dextroverse, ht., 0.09 m., w. 0.09 m.; frag. 9, sinistroverse, ht., 0.10 m., w. 0.14 m.; frag. 10, dextroverse, ht., 0.10 m., w. 0.11 m.
- (3) —
- (4) photographs of stone only.
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 254, p. 184, Tav. XXXII.
- (6–7) —

- (8) text traced from stone (frag. 7), and from surviving uninked squeezes (frags. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10); frag. 5, no new text can be offered; new photograph of frag. 7 only; others from published photograph from British Museum negative (no. 033871), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.
- (9) frag. 1: |INFRA only preserved.
 frag. 3: [z]i+a only preserved.
 frag. 4: ...]*123(-)za-tá |LITUUS[...
 frag. 5: (no identifiable sign).
 frag. 6: ... DE]US[...x | RE[L...
 frag. 7: ...b]a [...]-pa-ba [...]s[a...
 frag. 8: ...]NEG ... i [...]
- frag. 9: t{á?} only preserved.
 frag. 10: ...]á ... sa ... x[...]
- g
- (1) lost, no surviving squeezes; published photograph only (lower right corner is A29p3).
 (2) several fragments, parts of 2 lines(?), dextroverse, sinistroverse(?)
 (3) —
 (4) photograph only.
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 255, p. 185, Tav. XXXII.
 (6-7) —
 (8) no new text can be offered.
 (9) almost no signs certainly identifiable.

II.73. KARKAMIŠ sherd (plate 90)

Location. Clay fragment, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 6975.

Description. "... part of a terra-cotta cone or cylinder inscribed in Hittite hieroglyphics" (Woolley, Publication). "... hellroten, auf der Scheibe gedrehten Scherbe" (Bossert, Publication, who further states that the inscription "... zeigt jedoch, dass es auch grössere späthethitische Gefässinschriften gegeben hat. Zu welcher Art von Gefässen das Bruchstück gehörte, lässt sich nicht feststellen, doch wird die Inschrift auf dem Gefässbauch angebracht gewesen sein"). It is not clear, whether as Bossert asserts, the inscription was scratched before firing, or whether the whole piece can be regarded as an ostrakon.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Dimensions: l., 8.2 cm; th., 1.4 cm.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Found by the excavators at Karkamiš in the "Lower Palace Area" between the Temple of the Storm-God with the Great Staircase and the Herald's Wall with the *Hilani* (see Woolley, Publication).

Publication. Bossert, *JKF* II/1 (1951), p. 109 f. with Taf. XI a (drawing), b (photograph of plasticine impression made to show the curved surface flat); Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 159 with fig. 62 (drawing).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 275, p. 201, Tav. XXXVI (redrawn).

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine: pot inscription (as supposed by Bossert), graffito or ostrakon?

Date. Script looks like 8th century cursive.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Print of unpublished photograph taken from excavation negative surviving in the British Museum (no. PS 084178), reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

Transliteration

za[...?]-wa/i hu²¹-ba[...] á-pa-la-[...] [...]x-wa/i-zi[a/i...]x-sa[...]

Comment

hu²¹-ba[...]: sign *hu* seems incomplete, therefore uncertain; but this could be a personal name beginning *Hu*ba-.

[...]x-wa/i-zi[a/i...]x-sa: conceivable that this might represent writing of *nimwiṣas*, "son".

á-pa-la-[...]: if foregoing correct, this would be a further personal name (patronym).

Sense: possible reconstruction, "This, Huha[...] Apala[...]s son [dedicated]". If so, Bossert's identification as pot inscription would be likely.

II.74. KARKAMIŠ frag. a/b (see Addenda, end of Vol. I/2, p. 590 f.).

III. TELL AHMAR

The Historical Context

Til-Barsip and Bit-Adini: Assyrian sources

Archaeological investigation

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The Inscriptions

1. TELL AHMAR 2 (stele)
2. BOROWSKI 3 (stele)
3. TELL AHMAR 5 (stele)

4. TELL AHMAR 4 (fragment)
5. ALEPPO 2 (stele)
6. TELL AHMAR 1 (stele)
7. TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE) (fragment)
8. TELL AHMAR fragments 1–9
9. TELL AHMAR fragment 10
10. ARSLANTAŞ (lion)

The Historical Context

Til-Barsip and Bit-Adini: Assyrian sources

The site of Tell Ahmar on the east bank of the Euphrates 20 km. downstream from Karkamiš was identified as ancient Til-Barsip in 1908, a suggestion confirmed in 1911 by the reading of the Cuneiform lion inscriptions of Šamsi-ilu from the north-east gate of the city.¹ The known history of this site is that after Assyrian attacks in 858 and 857 B.C., it was seized in 856 by Shalmaneser III from Ahuni of Bit-Adini, and renamed Kar-Shalmaneser.² Under this name it was held by Šamsi-Adad V (823–810 B.C.),³ and later became the seat of the *turtān* Šamsi-ilu (minimum tenure, 796–752 B.C.).⁴ In the Sargonid period it appears as a province under its old name Til-Barsip, although the name Kar-Shalmaneser is also attested.⁵

Ahuni of Bit-Adini was clearly an Aramean tribal leader and is attested from the reign of Aššurnasirpal II, who c. 877 B.C. seized two cities of Bit-Adini, Dummutu and Asmu, in the neighbourhood of the Halebiyah-Zelebiyah defile.⁶ Subsequently in two campaigns, c. 870, Aššurnasirpal captured Ahuni's stronghold Kaprabi and received his submission and tribute.⁷ Shalmaneser III renewed the assault on Ahuni. In 858 B.C. he attacked Ahuni's city La'la'te, and passed from there to Til-Barsip, described as "fortified city of Ahuni" and named here for the first time.⁸ Thence he passed to Burmar'ina, where he received tribute from the sheikhs of Til-abna, Sarugi, and Immerina,⁹ and crossing the Euphrates into Kummuh he fell upon Ahuni's cities in the land of Paqarruhbuni on the west bank of the Euphrates. This itinerary brought him to the cities of Gurgum, and is detailed enough to give a fair idea of the route from Til-Barsip to Gurgum, and the extent of Ahuni's domains. In 857 B.C., Shalmaneser attacked Til-Barsip directly, then crossed the Euphrates against the strong cities of Ahuni, principally Dabigu, also [...].ga, Tagi[...], Surunu, Paripa and Til-Basere.¹⁰ From Dabigu he passed on to Sazabe, a city of Karkamiš. In 856 B.C., Shalmaneser was able to seize Til-Barsip along with

Aligu, Nappigi, and Ruguliti, also Pitru and Mutkinu on either side of the Euphrates at the confluence of the River Sajur.¹¹ To all these towns he gave Assyrian

1 Original suggestion of Hogarth, confirmed by Campbell Thompson's reading of the lion inscription: see Hogarth *L.L.L.I* 2 (1909), p. 182 f.; Campbell Thompson, *PSB-I* 34 (1912), pp. 66–74.

2 See below, nn. 8–11.

3 Monolith inscription, *I R* 30 (= *RLM-I* 3, A.0.103.1), ii 9 f.

4 Known from his city-gate lion inscription: see Thureau-Dangin, *R-I* 27 (1930), pp. 11–21 = id., *Til-Barsip*, pp. 141–151. Šamsi-ilu was already *turtān* in the reign of Adad-nirari III by 796 B.C. (Antakya stele, see Hama, p. 401 and n. 46) though not at the beginning of the reign, when Nergal-ilaya is registered for 808 B.C. (Eponym Chronicle, C¹, obv. 9, restored from C²; see *RL-I* II, s.v. Eponymen, pp. 420, 428). His latest certainly dated appearance is in the Eponym Canon as *turtān* at the beginning of the reign of Aššur-nirari, 752 B.C. (C¹, obv. 19 restored from C² etc., *RL-I* II, pp. 424, 430).

5 Parpola, *N-AT*, s.v. TIL-BARSIP, KĀR-ŠULMĀNU-ĀŠA(RED).

6 Annals, *AK-I*, p. 358 f. (= *RLM-I* 2, A.0.101.1), iii 41–44.

7 Annals, *AK-I*, pp. 361–365, iii 51–56, 60–64.

8 Kurkh Monolith, III *R* 7 (= *RLM-I* 3, A.0.102.2), i 30–40, supplemented and corrected by a new inscription with a text nearly duplicating that of the first two campaigns (see Amuq, p. 362 and n. 21). Significantly this new text disposes of a long standing error, the identification of a royal city "Ki[t]qa" of Bit-Adini based on the reading of Smith's copy in III *R* 7; cf. *AR-AB* I, § 599; also Lemaire and Durand, *Les Inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré*, pp. 47–51. The new inscription reads here unambiguously *urūtil-bar-si-il* URU *dan-nu-ti-šū šā 'a-bu-ni* (rev. 46; also 49). This makes it clear that the Kurkh Monolith (l. 33) should read *urūtil* (not *ki!*)-*b[ur]* (not *i[t!]*)-*si-i* *b[ur]* (not *qa!*), and collation confirms this.

9 Readings on the new duplicate; correct and supplement the translation, *AR-AB* I, § 599.

10 Kurkh Monolith, III *R* 7, ii 14–20. The summary accounts mention only Dabigu, which was presumably the most important gain: Black Obelisk, *WZO* II/2 (1955), p. 146 (= *RLM-I* 3, A.0.102.14), ll. 32–35; also Cameron Annals, *WZO* 1/6 (1952), p. 458 (= *RLM-I* 3, A.0.102.6), i 49–56; Safar Annals, *WZO* II/1 (1954), p. 28 (= *RLM-I* 3, A.0.102.10), i 30–36.

11 Kurkh Monolith, III *R* 8, ii 31–40. The shorter inscriptions single out the abandonment of Til-Barsip by Ahuni and the seizure of Pitru: Black Obelisk, loc. cit., ll. 35–41; Cameron Annals, loc. cit., i 57–61; Safar Annals, i 36–44.

names, in particular to Til-Barsip called after himself Kar-Shalmaneser. He had thus occupied Bit-Adini and secured the Euphrates crossing, an achievement which endured for as long as the Assyrian Empire.

Shalmaneser's later inscriptions refer to Til-Barsip as Ahuni's "royal city", i.e. capital, rather than "strong city",¹² but it is not clear if this accurately reflects its contemporary status.¹³ It is also unclear how long Ahuni himself or the tribal state of Bit-Adini had held Til-Barsip, or indeed the cities on the west bank of the Euphrates. This Aramean occupation of Til-Barsip must certainly provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Hieroglyphic monuments found at the site.¹⁴ While Bit-Adini is already described by Adad-nirari II in 899 B.C. as being "situated on the bank of the Euphrates",¹⁵ this does not establish that at that date its control extended as far as Til-Barsip. The statement by Shalmaneser III that in the reign of Aššur-rabi (II) (1012–972 B.C.) an Aramean king had seized the cities Pitru and Mutkinu,¹⁶ which are very much in the neighbourhood of Til-Barsip, cannot however provide a further *terminus ante quem* for the TELL AHMAR inscriptions, since this would be manifestly too early on stylistic grounds. The evidence of these monuments seems to establish beyond doubt the existence in Til-Barsip of a four-generation Hittite dynasty, extending over hardly less than a century, in the period before Aššurnasirpal and the Aramean occupation of Til-Barsip, whether by Ahuni or a predecessor.

Archaeological investigation

The French excavations at Tell Ahmar, 1929–1931, uncovered an Assyrian provincial palace,¹⁷ and below that, remains of two monumental buildings constructed in a style, both of layout and method, differing from that of the Assyrians, but comparable with that of Karkamiš.¹⁸ These showed evidence of destruction by fire, identified as marking Shalmaneser's capture of the city by the excavators, who further attributed the buildings to the period of Aramean occupation. If however, as has been shown to be likely, Aramean occupation of Til-Barsip was of short duration, perhaps confined to the reign of Ahuni himself, it may well be that these buildings go back to the period of the Hittite dynasty.

The excavators also recovered from various parts of the site fragments of sculpture showing close links with the Suhis-Katuwas style of Karkamiš,¹⁹ and of Hieroglyphic inscriptions.²⁰ None of these were found in any original context, and none apparently from the so-called "Aramean" buildings themselves. Of the sculptures, some are stele fragments, but others indicate the use at Til-Barsip, as at Karkamiš, of orthostat slabs²¹ to face the wall footings, a long Hittite tradition. The site of Tell Ahmar is now threatened with inundation by the construction of a new dam project, and rescue

excavations have been resumed there.²² [These have now (1994) produced the new inscription TELL AHMAR 5, here III.3].

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The two great inscribed stelae, TELL AHMAR 1 and 2, were found about the site in no significant archaeological contexts. TELL AHMAR 1, inscribed by Ariyahinas's son (own name lost), contains an interesting dynastic narrative²³ tracing the political power from his great-grandfather Hapatilas to the succession of his father Ariyahinas as a minor, and his displacement by a kinsman(?), who was succeeded by his own son Hamiyatas. The latter restored Ariyahinas's son to a position of power, but Hamiyatas's son on his own accession reversed this friendly policy. The text breaks off with the seizure of power by Ariyahinas's son himself, who thus restored the kingship to his own branch of the

12 URU *dannuti*: essentially Kurkh Monolith, together with the new inscription duplicating the first and second campaigns. URU *šarriti*, Cameron and Safar Annals, and Black Obelisk, all dating after 16th *palū*. A recently discovered rock inscription from the Kenk gorge, of uncertain date, possibly early, agrees with them: see Taşyürek, *Iraq* 41 (1979), pp. 47–53, = *RIM* 1 3 (A.0.102.20).

13 Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 (1979), pp. 75–87, esp. 78 f.

14 D. Ussishkin, Was Bit-Adini a Neo-Hittite or Aramean State? (*Or. NS* 40 (1971), pp. 431–437). This contribution assesses much the same evidence as presented here, but reaches somewhat divergent conclusions. Ussishkin was not in a position to use the information of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions to the full, since it had not at that date been adequately and reliably interpreted (see especially below, nn. 23–24). The existence of the Hittite dynasty in Til-Barsip as attested on the stele must surely show that the city cannot have been included in Bit-Adini in the period covered by the dynasty.

15 *šebultu ša KUR DUMU adini abi ša* ¹⁴*puratte GAR-nu*: Schroeder, *KAI* II 84, ed. Seidman, *MLIOG* 9/3, p. 20 (= *RIM* 1 2, A.0.99.2), obv. 48.

16 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8, ii 36–38.

17 E. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), ch. II. A, Le palais assyrien.

18 *Ibid.*, ch. IV. A, L'installation araméenne. Note especially p. 94 f., Age des bâtiments.

19 *Ibid.*, ch. VI. A, Sculptures et inscriptions hittites; Ussishkin, loc. cit.; Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 46–48, 534–536. In his handling of the historical evidence, pp. 182–184, Orthmann, like Ussishkin, was led somewhat astray by the unreliable editions of the inscriptions then available.

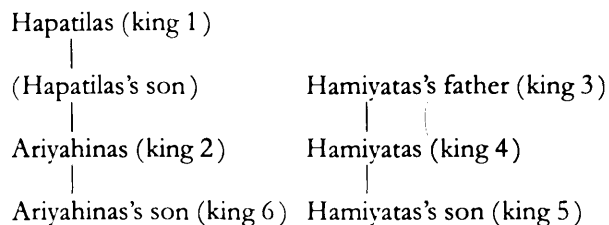
20 Besides the stelae A and B with inscriptions TELL AHMAR 2 and 1, fragments published *Til-Barsib*, p. 140 nos. 18–26 and pl. VIII nos. 1–9. Treated here as TELL AHMAR fragments 1–9.

21 Orthmann, *Til-Barsib* B/3–B/6 (p. 535 f.), stelae; Orthmann, *Til-Barsib* A/1–A/8 (p. 534 f.), orthostats.

22 G. Bunnens, *Tell Ahmar 1988 Season* (Publications of the Melbourne University Expedition to Tell Ahmar, vol. 1; Leuven, 1990). [I am very grateful to Dr. Bunnens for making available his newly excavated TELL AHMAR 5 for inclusion in the present volume].

23 As interpreted by Hawkins, *J. n. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 139–156.

family. The narrative thus describes the alternation of power between two apparently related families:



The six kings extend over four generations, and two, Ariyahinas and Hamiyatas's son, seem to have reigned only briefly.

TELL AHMAR 2 is the work of king Hamiyatas, doubtless identical with king 4, thus a predecessor but contemporary of Ariyahinas's son, perhaps a generation older than him.²⁴ Hamiyatas's mutilated inscription seems to have been mainly concerned with his relations with the gods and the protection afforded to the monument by a long curse.

A new stele of Hamiyatas, BOROWSKI 3,²⁵ confirms the recognition, based on the evidence of a fragment in the Louvre, TELL AHMAR 3, bearing the name of a city Masuwari, that the word *Masuwariyas*, found in Hamiyatas's fragmentary titulary on TELL AHMAR 2, is not the name of his father but an ethnonym, "Masuwarean", qualifying his title "king".²⁶ This was taken to show, beyond reasonable doubt, that *Masuwari* must be the indigenous designation of the city Til-Barsip itself. The BOROWSKI 3 stele records Hamiyatas's building of the city Haruha as a dedication to the Storm-God; its unknown provenance is thus presumably the unlocated site of this otherwise unattested city, rather than Tell Ahmar itself. [The new TELL AHMAR 5 brings further attestations of Hamiyatas and Masuwari; see also ARSLANTAŞ].

The fragment TELL AHMAR 3, with its mention of the city Masuwari, preserves a clause which appears closely similar to one on TELL AHMAR 1, and may thus have formed part of another monument of Ariyahinas's son. Curiously another recently discovered fragment, of unknown provenance, bears once more the name of Hamiyatas and may thus be grouped with these inscriptions under the designation TELL AHMAR 4.²⁷

The stele ALEPPO 2, also of unknown provenance but presumably from Syrian territory,²⁸ bears an inscription describing the relationship between the author Arpas and his "lord and brother", Hamiyatas.²⁹ The likelihood is that we have here again the same Hamiyatas, king of Masuwari, and that Arpas's openly expressed royal ambitions must have had their place in the tangled story outlined by Ariyahinas's son on TELL AHMAR 1.

The excavated TELL AHMAR fragments offer nothing beyond some isolated words, not even any complete clauses.

The recognition of the indigenous name of the city as Masuwari has suggested its identification with the

Late Bronze Age city Mazuwati, listed in the Suppiluliumas-Sattiwaza treaty in a group of cities, apparently those of the land of Karkamiš,³⁰ which were ceded to Piyassilis (alias Šarri-Kušuh) on his installation as king of Karkamiš. It is not unlikely that Karkamiš at this date held land east of the Euphrates, but it presumably lost these holdings as a result of the conquest of Hani-galbat by Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I.³¹ Similarly in the Iron Age, the TELL AHMAR inscriptions formed an isolated group, the only Hieroglyphic inscriptions from the east of the Euphrates, until a recent discovery further east. The site of Arslantaş, lying some 35 km. north-east of Tell Ahmar, and 9 km. south-east of the station village Arap-Pınar (Ain el Arab) on the railway marking the Turkish-Syrian frontier, was so named from a pair of portal lions, one standing (on the right to one facing the door) and one fallen (the left-hand). These were seen and reported by a number of travellers in the later 19th century. Photographs were published by Unger³² and by the French excavators of the site³³ from the campaign in 1928. The latter identified the emplacement as the East Gate of the *enceinte* and left the lions as found, though the fallen one seems to have lost its head since Unger's photograph taken in 1883.

Recently the lions have been removed to Raqqa and set up in a public park, when it was observed that the fallen one had three separate inscriptions on its reverse. Cuneiform, Aramaic, and Hieroglyphic (ARSLANTAŞ, see below). Recently Dr. Hannes Galter has recognized duplicates of these inscriptions on other Arslantaş lion fragments. He is preparing these for publication.³⁴

24 This priority of Hamiyatas over Ariyahinas's son, thus of TELL AHMAR 2 over TELL AHMAR 1, was only established in Hawkins' treatment, loc. cit., preceding note.

25 The stele is now in the Borowski Collection (whence its designation) in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, and has no recorded provenance, though its own internal evidence shows that it is a foundation document of an unknown city. It is published in *Tel Aviv* 15-16 (1988-89), pp. 184-192, by Dr. Itamar Singer, to whose courtesy I owe the information on this interesting piece.

26 Hawkins, *Ann. St.* 33 (1983), pp. 131-136.

27 Published by Dr. Hatice Gonnet, to whose courtesy I owe advance information: see *Hethitica* 7 (1987), pp. 89-92.

28 It was seized by the Syrian police during an attempt to remove it from the country: see ALEPPO 2, Discovery.

29 Name Hamiyatas read and associated with Hamiyatas of TELL AHMAR 2 and 1 by Hawkins, loc. cit., n. 23.

30 So proposed by Hawkins, loc. cit., n. 26.

31 See Karkamiš, p. 73 and nn. 8-9.

32 E. Unger, *Die Reliefs Tiglatpileasers III aus Arslan Tasch* (Publications des Musées d'Antiquités de Stamboul VII; Istanbul 1925), p. 9 and pls. I-II. Unger gives details of former visitors to the site.

33 F. Thureau Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tasch* (Paris, 1931), Texte pp. 70-74 with fig. 22, Atlas, pl. VI. 1-2. The excavators further recorded fragments of lions from the West Gate, some of which bore Cuneiform and Aramaic inscriptions: *ibid.*, pp. 74-76, 85-89, pl. XIV. 2.

34 I am much indebted to Dr. Galter for information and photographs of these inscriptions, and for discussions of the contents.

The Inscriptions

III.1. TELL AHMAR 2 (plates 91–92)

Location. Stele, Louvre Museum, Paris, no. AO 11505.

Description. Large 4-sided stele, bottom missing, reverse more than half cut away for reuse as threshold slab, with post holes, remainder worn. *Obverse:* figure of Storm God facing right, surmounted by winged disc, broken off at level of shins, wearing the usual beard and pigtail, horned helmet, short belted fringed tunic with sword at waist, carrying in left hand before him the trident thunderbolt, in the right raised behind him the axe. Estimate of amount lost from front would depend on whether the figure stood on a base line or a guilloche band; it would seem unlikely that he could have stood on a bull. *Reverse and sides:* inscribed but partly obliterated by damage to reverse. The inscription began on the left side (A), upper right, running sinistroversely across left side, reverse (B), right side (C), continuing *boustrophedon* down the stele for 10 preserved lines breaking off at partially preserved (A) l. 10, lower right. To estimate the loss from the inscription by comparison with the front, the lost l. 11 could well have been the last of the stele, though the inscription could have continued on a base.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 2.06 m.; w., 0.83 m.; th., 0.36 m.; line ht., 0.16–0.22 m.

Condition: sides good; reverse partially obliterated, rest worn.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: generally monumental (*ma* more often cursive).

Peculiarities: alternation between elaborate and plain *na* (*i* always plain); irregular placing of signs as on TELL AHMAR 1.

Word-dividers: frequent, occasionally mid-line.

Discovery. Found by villagers, and seen by Thureau Danguin shortly thereafter (22/4/1928), on plateau west of ancient site, near cemetery north of village at depth of 1 m. reused in ancient wall: see Thureau Danguin, *Syria* 10 (1929), pp. 186 f., 198; id., *Til-Barsib* (1936), Texte, p. 134 f., Album, plan A.

Publication. Thureau Danguin, loc. cit. (1929), pls. XXXII–XXXIII = id., loc. cit. (1936), Album pls. I–II (photographs of obverse, left side, reverse, right side); Poetto, *Ori* 17 (1978), pp. 279–285, Tav. XX–XXIV (detailed collations and photographs).

Editions. Meriggi, *RH* 111/18 (1935), pp. 45–51, pls. 3 (photograph, Thureau Danguin (1929)), 4 (copy

from photographs collated from squeeze); Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pp. 480–488 (printed text only, based on squeeze and collations in Louvre); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 281, pp. 212–217, Tav. XXXVIII (redrawn from earlier drawing).

Excerpts.

§ 1	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 33, p. 132.
§§ 2–3	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 31, p. 166 cit. 21 b.
§ 3	Meriggi, <i>WZKM</i> 41, p. 18.
§ 10	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 30, p. 147.
§§ 12–13	Bossert, <i>Le Muséeon</i> 70, p. 165 f., Abb. 15; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, <i>Studi Pugliese Carratelli</i> , p. 174 cit. 7.
§§ 12–18	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 25, p. 147 cit. 56a.
§§ 13–15	Mittelberger, <i>Sprache</i> 9, p. 106.
§ 16	Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 29, p. 43; Hawkins, <i>Kadmos</i> 19, p. 138 cit. 17.
§ 19	Meriggi, <i>WZKM</i> 41, p. 38.
§ 23	Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 29, p. 45; Hawkins, <i>KZ</i> 92, p. 115.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Til-Barsib B/1)*, pp. 46 f., 184, 236, 239, 535, Taf. 53 c (from Thureau Danguin, *Til-Barsib*, pl. 1); Genge, *NSR*, pp. 52–55, Abb. 17.

Content. Dedication of stele by Hamiyatas, [king] of Masuwari (= Til Barsip). § 1, name, title, [genealogy?], epithets; §§ 2–3, divine preferment; § 4 ... [lacuna]; §§ 5–7, description of stele(?); § 8 ... [lacuna] ... § 9; § 10, settlement of the land Ana(ita); [lacuna] ... § 11; §§ 12–19 [with lacuna], protective curses; § 20 ... [lacuna] ... § 21; § 22, for Storm God ... [lacuna] ... § 23, protective curse; § 24 ... [lacuna to end].

Date. From the narrative on TELL AHMAR 1, the reign of Hamiyatas, to which this stele belongs, was the second reign before that of Ariyahinas's son, the author of TELL AHMAR 1. The reign of Hamiyatas's son and successor, who was apparently displaced by Ariyahinas's son, may well have been short. Thus late 10th–early 9th centuries B.C., and before TELL AHMAR 1 (see there, Date).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the stone in the Louvre.

Photographs. The reverse of the stele used to be impossible to photograph, since the piece was placed in a niche too close to the wall. The published photographs of reverse, also sides, are thus reproduced. For the sides I give in addition new photographs kindly supplied by the Louvre.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 EGO-wa/i-mi-i¹ ha-mi-ia-ta-sa ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za-sa [...
...]x-sa REX-ti-i-sa [(DEUS)]TONIT[RUS-hu]-tā-[sa/si ...] ||
2. SERVUS-ta₄-sa
- § 2 wa/i-mu-(-)ia |ā-t[ā₅²]-i-na [... (DEUS)TONITRUS...-s]a
(DEUS)i-ia-sa |REX-ti-i-sa (DEUS)BONUS-sā |(DEUS)
HORDEUM-la/i/u-i-sa |ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa(URBS) ||
3. (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa |ā-ta-na |(PES₂)tara/i-za-mi-i-sa
|x[...]DEUS² x-sa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa |x[...]
4. § 3 wa/i-mu- |ā-ma-za |tā-ti-ia-za || |(LIGNUM)sā-la-ha-za pi-ia-ta
- § 4 wa/i-tā[...]
- § 5 [...] ... |(SOLIUM)i-sā-ni-wa/i-ha
5. § 6 |(<“>FLAMMAE(?).SOL”)wa/i-tū-la-si-pa-wa/i || (DEUS)SOL-
wa/i-ti-i-na |CUM²¹-na |CRUS-ni-wa/i-ha
- § 7 DEUS-na-za-pa-wa/i-tā |CU[M²¹-ni] |x x-zi-i-sā PONERE-wa/i-ha
- § 8 wa/i-ti-i- |CAPUT...ni ...sa ... REL [...]
- § 9 [...] ...-nu-wa/i-tu
6. § 10 |wa/i-mu- DEUS.AVIS-ta-[ni]-zi || |ā-na-i-tā(REGIO)-wa/i-na-
|(SOLIUM)i-sā-n[ū]-wa/i-b[a]
- § 11 [...] |x x -i
- § 12 |ā-[ma-za]-pa-[wa/i]-tā² |ā-ta₅-ma-za |REL-sa |.ARHL.1|“MALLEUS”
(-)*71-la-i ||
7. § 13 |NEG₂-a-pa-wa/i mi-i- |VAS-ni-i |REL-i-sa |MALUS-wa/i-za-
|CUM²¹-ni || |(<“>VAS”(?) |za+ra/i-ti-ti-i
- § 14 |NEG₂-a-pa-wa/i mi-i |INFANS-ni-
§ 15 ...
- § 16 |NEG₂-a-pa-wa/i-ti mi-i-na- FEMINA-ti-i-na |LITUUS-P.1-la-
ni-ia||-i |(FEMINA.FEMINA)ā-ma-na-sa₅+ra/i-i-na
8. § 17 |NEG₂-a-pa-wa/i |x[...]
- § 18 ... |na |ā-ma-wa/i-sā |FRATER-la-sa |NEG₂-a-pa
|FRATER-la-sa |INFANS-ni-sā
9. § 19 wa/i-ta- || |“CAELUM”-ti .ARHL.1 (DEUS)TONITRUS-za-sa
|(LOQUI)tā-tara/i-ia-tū
- § 20 |wa/i-tā- CAPUT-ti ā-ta₅-na |*161-ma-zi za-ti-i |SUPER+ra/i-
|EGO | ...
- § 21 ... ||PES-wa/i-i-ti
10. § 22 |za-a-ti-wa/i CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS[... || ...
- § 23 [...]DOMUS²-[...] |DOMINUS-na[...] |POST-ni
|(<“>*69”(-)i!-[...] pa-si- |“CAPUT”(-)b[a ...] FEMINA-ti-i-
[na] INFANS-ni[-na] LOCUS-ta₄-z[a]
- § 24 |NEG[_{2/3}]-...

I am Hamiyatas, Masuwarean [king,
son of ... (?), ...] king, Tarhun-
zas's servant.

Me as a ...[child(?) celestial Tarhun-
zas], Ea the King, the Good God,
Matilis(?), the Moon-God of Har-
ran, the very(?) honoured(?) [Sun-
God(?)], the god [...], Kubaba [...],
to me they gave my paternal power,
and [...]

[...]I seated,
and with (him) I set also the Sun
God of the Radiance(?),
and among the gods ... I placed.

...
...
During (my) days(?) I established
the Anaitean (things)(?).

...
But (he) who shall erase my name,

or shall desire evil against my
person,
or my son,

...
or shall regard my wife (as) his
concubine(?),

or [...],
[...] ... brother or the bro-
ther's son,
from the sky may Tarhunzas curse
(them)!

...
[...] they shall come.

For this celestial Tarhunzas [...],
[... let him] destroy the lord of the
house(?), his head, wife, child
(and) place!

...

Commentary

§ 1. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for identification of *ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za-sa* not as patronym but as ethnic adj. in *-i-za-* from *ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-*(URBS) (TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE), § 1), presumably therefore qualifying a missing REX, thus “Masuwarean [king]”; the reading of the following sign on this stele as UR[BS] is after collation probable – see photograph, Poetto, loc. cit., Tav. XXa. The identification has been confirmed by the appearance of BOROWSKI 3 (see there, § 1, and Commentary). [Also now TELL AHMAR 5 and ARS-LANTAS].

¹*ha-mi-ia-ta-sa*: name recurs frequently, quite probably referring to the same individual in all cases; the newly discovered BOROWSKI 3 (author); TELL AHMAR 1, § 13; TELL AHMAR 4 frag.; ALEPPO 2, § 9. [And now TELL AHMAR 5, author].

§ 2. Apparently same beginning, implying same problems, as TELL AHMAR 1, § 2; see there.

List of gods: similar to that in comparable TELL AHMAR 1, § 2; see Commentary there for (DEUS.BONUS)ku-za²+ra/i-ma-, (DEUS.“HORDEUM”)ma-ti-la/i/u-.

á-ta-na |(PES₂)*tara/i-za-mi-i-sa*: apparently epithet of following god (see Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), p. 146), participle of verb (PES₂)*tarzi-*, for which see TELL AHMAR 1, § 6, and commentary.

|x (= |(DEUS²)SOL²): so read by Poetto; cf. Hrozný's rendering, *IHH* III, p. 482. Certainly this god would be expected here. For forms of SOL, see below, § 6.

§ 3. ("LIGNUM")*sà-la-ba-za*: see discussion, TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary.

§ 6. (<"FLAMMAE(?)SOL")*wa/i-tù-la-si-pa-wa/i* (DEUS)SOL-*wa/i-ti-i-na*: most probable order of reading (last word quoted Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [40] n. 141), which gives "sun", acc. sing., qualified by probable *-asi-* gen. adj.

(<"FLAMMAE(?)SOL")*wa/i-tù-la-si-*: the pair of logograms determining the word suggest the recognition here of the Hitt. stem *wantai-*, "shine" (cf. *wantemma-*, "(sun's) radiance"; Luw. *wandani-*, "radiant (heaven)"; thus analyse *want-* + *ul(i)-* (<*wal(i)-*) + *-asi-*, gen. adj., and interpret "(that) of the *wantul-* (radiance)".

CUM²¹-*na*: Meriggi read *pi-na* which is possible, but in § 13 below the CUM-*ni*, well attested in the context, is written as a "hand" without the usual LITUUS, so it could be that the sign here may also be taken as CUM; for CUM-*na* (as against the usual CUM-*ni/ni*), see KARATEPE, 79 (Hu. only). Sense would be "with".

Sense, §§ 5–6: "[...] I seated, and I made stand the Sun-God of the Radiance with him/it"; this could perhaps refer to the winged disc on the front of the stele (cf. ALEPPO 2, § 8, for suggested parallel statement).

Alternative reading should be considered: (DEUS) SOL-*wa/i-ti-i* SUB-*na-na*, "below (*anan*) the Sun (dat. sing.)". The sense would then be "I made stand that-of-the Radiance (still acc. sing. MF) below the Sun"; here perhaps "that-of-the-Radiance" could be the wings and tail considered separately from the Sun-Disc itself, and the context could describe placing this "under the Sun(-Disc)".

§ 7. DEUS-*na-za* ... CU[M²¹-*ni*], "[with?] the gods": for this phrase cf. KARKAMIS A11b+c, § 18 // A4d, § 1.

x x-*zi²-i-sà*: incomprehensible traces, but they recall traces visible on ALEPPO 2, § 12, object of verb "gave (to me)".

§ 10. Clause considered by myself, loc. cit., in context of *á-na*(REGIO), TELL AHMAR 1, § 10.

DEUS.AVIS-*ta-[ni]-zi*: apparently acc. plur. MF instead of the usual dat. plur., but temporal phrases may take acc. as well as dat.; see CENTUM-*ni usin*, "for 100 years" (SHEIZAR, § 2); also *usin usin*, "every year" (KULULU 1, § 6); *arin arin*, "always" (HAMA 4, § 13); and for the noun DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni/ni-*, "day" or the like, phonetic form uncertain, see KARKAMIS A11a, § 10, Commentary.

|*á-na-i-ta*(REGIO)-*wa-na*: identified as acc. plur. N, ethnic adj. in *-wani-*, formed on country name *ana(ita)-*, i.e. the name *Ana* and an extended form in *-it-*, perhaps a Hitt.-Luw. suffix (so Starke), but perhaps reflecting the Semitic *-t* in *Ana(t)* (cf. *imatuwani-*, "Hamathite", <*ima(t)+wani-*). The "Anaitean (things)" (acc. plur. N) settled may be understood as "districts".

§§ 12–18. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the disjunctives NEG₂-*a-pa* (= *napa*).

§ 12. "MALLEUS"(-)*71-*la-i*: *71 unknown, presumably phonetic sign, found in this word only here and possibly in BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 9; MARAŞ 8, § 12.

§ 13. VAS-*ni-i*: word closely parallel, apparently synonymous with (VAS)*atri-*, "form, figure, image; person, self"; see KULULU 4, §§ 4, 9, Commentary, where it is suggested that the writings VAS-(*ta*)*ni/na-* render an alternative form of the stem, **atni-*.

MALUS-*wa/i-za-*: cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 19, Commentary, for note on morphology of word.

|CUM²¹-*ni* [(("VAS"(?)))] *za+ra/i-ti-ti-i*: so read in parallel with TELL AHMAR 1, § 20 (collation of the present passage fails however to confirm conclusively the presence of "VAS"; Poetto's photograph loc. cit., Tav. XXIIb, is probably the best that can be hoped).

CUM²¹-*ni*: so identified in spite of the lack of the attached LITUUS, because this preverb elsewhere accompanies the verb *zarti-* (besides TELL AHMAR 1, § 20, also KARABURUN, §§ 7, 9).

za+ra/i-ti-: verb now understood as denom. formation from *zart(i)-*, "heart"; see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit., and cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 20, Commentary.

§ 16. See Hawkins, loc. cit., considering verb LITUUS + *PA-la-ni-ia-*, compared with "LITUUS + *PA*". *za-la-ni-* (TELL AHMAR 1, § 17), also OCULUS(-) *za-ni-* (AKSARAY, § 6), verbs possibly to be connected, but in any case denoting perception.

(FEMINA.FEMINA) *á-ma-na-sa₅+ra/i-i-na* (or *-na-ma-*, impossible to decide without other evidence): context, perhaps also logogram, suggests meaning "concubine, harlot," but the word does not lend itself to analysis beyond possible identification of *-sari-*, fem. suffix. Melchert now wishes to connect with *472(-) *ma-sa₅+ra/i-* (ASSUR letters *a*, § 10; *d*, § 7; see KZ 101 (1988), p. 224 f., n. 18).

§ 18. Meriggi's translation, "(be) he a brother or a nephew", is tempting, but hard to justify from the text; if in the word *á(-na)-ma-wa/i-sa* the connective + pronoun *-wa+as*, "and he", are to be identified, a plausible explanation for |*á(-na)-ma-* must be found, or alternatively |*á-na* must be taken with the preceding clause (which looks very difficult) to leave *ma-wa/i-sa*, *man+wa+as*, "whether he (be)", cf. KARKAMIS A2+3, §§ 17, 19; BABYLON, § 5.

§ 19. *wa/i-ta-*: probably analyse *wa+ata*, "(and) them"; elsewhere *tatariya-*, "curse" takes dir. obj. and no *-ta* *Ortspartikel* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 21; ALEPPO 2, § 14).

§ 20. Poetto, loc. cit. (and photograph, Tav. XXIIIc-XXIVa, b) and I are agreed on the signs present, but little sense can be recovered from passage.

CAPUT-*ti á-ta₅-na*: this order at least gives known words if no easy interpretation.

*161-*ma-zi*: presumably noun, acc. plur. MF; sign *161 recurs in unclear contexts on TUNP 1, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A24a frags. 13, 17.

za-ti-i |SUPER+*ra/i-*: "above this": sufficiently clear.

|EGO: for this sign in position other than beginning of inscription, see HAMA 8, § 2.

§ 23. Signs before POST-*ni* uncertain: Hrozný and Meriggi read ...*pa-si*[...] DOMUS-*na*[...], supported by Poetto's collation except for *-si*. My ...DOMUS²-[...] |DOMINUS-*na*[...] equally possible.

Remainder of clause: see Hawkins, loc. cit.; and for verb *69(-)*i-ti-*, "destroy", see KARATEPE, § LXXIII, Commentary (in present context I read <*>*69*(-)*il*-[...], *pace* remarks of Poetto about *i*).

["CAPUT"](-)*b[a...]*: possibly, if space permitted, *b[armahin]*, but uncertain.

§ 24. NEG_{2/3}...: must be beginning of new clause indicating inscription continued for at least a further line; in context perhaps prohib. NEG₃ more likely than factual negative NEG₂.

III.2. BOROWSKI 3 (plate 93)

Location. Stele, Borowski Collection, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

Description. Stele bearing obverse, figure of Storm-God; reverse, 5-line inscription. *Obverse*: below winged disc, the figure of the Storm-God, facing right, bearded and with long curled pigtail, wearing a horned helmet, a short, short-sleeved, fringed tunic with sword at waist, holding in right hand raised behind him an axe, in left hand raised before him the trident thunderbolt. The figure is broken off below the knees. *Reverse*: beginning on upper right side (A) an inscription runs dextroverse on to the back (B) and left side (C), continues *boustrophedon* for 4 lines, and ends with 5th line on side (A) only.

Dimensions: preserved ht. of stele, 1.30 m.; w, 0.52 m.; th. 0.30 m.; line ht., irregular, average 0.16 m.

Condition: fair, except for poorly preserved left side.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: largely monumental (*á*, *ta*, *pi*) but cursive *ma*.

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: fairly consistently used but not before *wa-* connective.

Discovery. No information available. Photographs of the stele were shown to me by an antiquities dealer in 1984. Internal evidence suggests provenance from site of the city Haruha, thus not Tell Ahmar itself.

Publication, Edition. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 15–16 (1988–89), pp. 184–192, with figs. 1 and 2 (obverse, drawing, and reverse with sides, copy), and pls. 17 and 18 (photographs, obverse and reverse with sides). Cf. preliminary publication, Singer, in R. Merhav (ed.), *Treasures of the Bible Lands: the Elie Borowski Collection* (Tel Aviv Museum, 1987), p. 124.

Content. Foundation stele for city Haruha, by Hamiyatas, king of Masuwari. § 1, name, title, [genealogy?] of Hamiyatas; §§ 2–3, preferment by Storm-God; § 4, ? (= TELL AHMAR 1, § 6); §§ 5–6, foundation and dedication of city; §§ [7–8], 9, 10, curse formulae protases; § 11, curse formula (apodosis).

Date. Reign of Hamiyatas (see TELL AHMAR 2).

Text. Traced from the stone in May, 1995.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Itamar Singer.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* ¹*ba-mi-ia-ta-sa* IUDEX-*wa/i-ni-i-sa* |REX-*ti-sa*
|*ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za-sa*(URBS) ... [...] -*x-sa* ... x ||
2. § 2 |*wa/i-mu-* ²*za-a-sa* CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* [OMNIS²]-
[...] -*ba* |DEUS-*ni-zi* |(LITUUS) ³*á-za-tá*
- § 3 *wa/i-mu-* ⁴*á-ma-za* |*tá-ti-ia-za* |LIGNUM-*la-ha* <-*za*> *pi-ia-tá*
- § 4 *wa i-ta-* |CAPUT-*hi* X-*sa* |1-*ti-i* |(PES₂) *tara/i-zi-ha-* ||

Translation

I (am) Hamiyatas the Ruler, the King, Masuwarean ...
Me this celestial Tarhunzas and [all?] the gods loved.
and to me they gave my paternal power,
and it/them ... I TARZI-ed.

- ## Commentary

ing *boustrophedon* until breaking off at the end of l. 5 side D. Three joining frags. (*a*) can be identified as the beginning of the inscription and thus represent side B l. 1; this appears to belong close to the main body of the stele without direct join (see Commentary, § 1). It shows the turn of the corner from side B to side C, thus confirming that side B corresponds in width to side D, as would be expected, but the full width of side C is still not exactly determinable. Another frag. (*b*) joins the main stele directly at the beginning of l. 5. The damage to side B leaves gaps in the text between ll. 2–3 and 4–5, which may be partially filled by another three joining frags. (*c*) and a single one (*d*), preserving parts of the right side of the inscription, thus belonging

to side B; where these can be placed in relation to ll. 2–5 is discussed at the end of the Commentary. The other frags. (*e–k*) are small and do not show more than the odd sign.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.70 m.; max. preserved w. (side C + frag. *b*), 0.50 m.; max. th. (side D, presumably also side B), 0.10 m.

Condition: as preserved, very good.

Script, line dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word dividers: very frequent.

Discovery. Found during excavations by the Melbourne University expedition to Tell Ahmar in July of the 1994 season. The piece was excavated reused as a threshold slab in the doorway between rooms XIII and XV in the building C1, apparently an Assyrian provincial building, in area C. Taken to Aleppo Museum in July 1994.

The fragments: these were found underneath the main slab, used to level it in position as the threshold stone.

Publication, Edition. Hawkins, *Abr-Nahrain* 34 (1996), pp. 108–117.

Content. Dedication of granaries to Storm-God of Aleppo by author's father, and support of the god for author Hamiyatas at his succession. § 1, name and title of Hamiyatas; §§ 2–4, father's dedication of granaries to Storm-God of Aleppo; §§ 5–[?], protective curse for granaries; §§ 8–9, death of father; §§ 10–12, favour of "this god" and his spokesman(?); §§ [13?–15, ...]; §§ 16–17, protective curse for granaries and Hamiyatas (protasis); § 18 ...

Date. Reign of Hamiyatas (see TELL AHMAR 2).

Text. The text here offered is based on tracings on acetate kindly made by Dr. Stephanie Dalley in Aleppo Museum in September 1994.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Guy Bunnens.

	Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1	[E:GO]- <i>wa/i-m[i]</i> ¹ <i>ba-m[i]</i> - <i>ia-t[a]</i> -[<i>sa</i> ...?] <i>ma</i> -[<i>su</i>]- <i>wa/i</i> + <i>ra/i</i> - <i>za-sa</i> (URBS) <i>REX-ti-i-sa</i>	I (am) Hamiyatas [...?], Masu- warean king.
§ 2	<i>a-wa/i</i> <i>za-a-zi</i> (*256) <i>ka-la/i/u-na-zi</i> <i>mi-i-sa</i> ¹ <i>ta-ti-i-sa</i> MANUS.HORDEUM <i>su-wa/i-ta</i>	These granaries my father filled (with) ... barley,
2. § 3	SUPER[+ <i>ra/i</i>]- <i>a-ta-p[a]</i> <i>wa/i-ta</i> <i>za-a-na</i> TONITRUS. <i>HLALPA-pa-wa/i-ni-na</i> (URBS)(DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>na</i> ("SOLIUM") <i>i-sa-nu-wa/i-ta</i>	and over (them) he set this Halab- ean Tarhunzas,
§ 4	<i>a-wa/i</i> <i>za-a-ti-i</i> POST- <i>ni</i> <i>HWI-nu-wa/i-ta</i>	and he "made (them) run" after this (one) (?).
§ 5	<i>za-a-zi-wa/i</i> (*256) <i>ka-la/i/u-na-zi</i> REL- <i>sa</i> x x [...	These granaries (he) who [...
3. §§ 6–7	(frag. c ll. 1–2 here ?)	...
§ 8	<i>a</i> ¹ <i>mi-sa-pa-wa/i</i> ¹ <i>ta-ti-i-sa</i> REL- <i>i</i> <i>ARFL-MORI-ta</i>	But when my father died,
§ 9	<i>za-a-pa-wa/i-ta</i> DEUS- <i>ni-na</i> <i>wa/i</i> + <i>ra/i</i> - <i>li-zi</i> FLUMEN- <i>pi-i</i> INFRA- <i>ta</i> + <i>ra/i</i> (LONGUS) <i>ia</i> + <i>ra/i-ta</i>	the WARALI's extended this god to the lower river (??).
4. § 10	<i>mu-pa-wa/i</i> ¹ <i>zi-la</i> <i>za-a-sa</i> DEUS- <i>ni-sa</i> POST- <i>ni</i> <i>a-ta</i> BONUS- <i>li-ia-ta</i>	But thereafter this god exalted me,
§ 11	<i>wa/i-mu</i> ¹ <i>pa-si-i</i> CORNU+CAPUT- <i>mi-i-sa</i> <i>a-sa-za-ta</i>	and to me his spokesman said:
§ 12	SUPER+ <i>ra/i-a-wa/i-ta</i> SA ₄ (-) <i>li-li-ia-wa/i-na</i> ¹ VAS- <i>tara/i-i-na</i> BONUS- <i>li-ia-nu-wa/i</i> ... <i>wa/i</i> ... [...	"[...] cause to exalt high the ... person [..."
5. §§ 13–14	(frag. c l. 3 frag. d l. 1 here?)	...
§ 15	... x x- <i>na</i> ¹ VAS- <i>tara/i-na</i> BONUS- <i>li-ia-nu-wa/i-ba</i>	...]... person I caused to exalt.
§ 16	<i>za-a-zi-pa-wa/i</i> (*256) <i>ka-la/i/u-na-zi</i> REL- <i>i-sa</i> (SA ₄) <i>sa-n[i]</i> - <i>ti-i</i>	(He) who shall overturn these granaries,
§ 17	NEG ₂ - <i>a-pa</i> -[<i>wa/i</i>] ¹ <i>ba-mi-ia-ta</i> [...] REL-[...] MALUS- <i>t</i> [<i>a</i>]- <i>bi-x</i> [...] CUM- <i>ni</i> PES ₂ (-) <i>wa/i-si-ti</i>	or who shall come for Hamiyatas [with (?)] badness,
6. § 18	[...]	[...]

Commentary

§ 1. Frag. *a*, made up of three joining pieces, supplies the introduction with the author's name, revealing yet another Hamiyatas stele. The fragment does not di-

rectly join the main stele, though Stephanie Dalley suggests after examining the pieces that the gap might be only 2–3 cm. It is possible that another title intervened

between “Hamiyatas” and “Masuwarean king”: cf. the introduction to BOROWSKI 3.

masuwarizās (URBS): since my identification in 1983 of *Masuvari* as the Hittite name of Til-Barsip on the basis of the fragment TELL AHMAR 3, no fewer than three inscriptions have turned up to confirm this, BOROWSKI 3, ARSLANTAŞ, and now the present piece.

§ 2. (*256) *ka-la/i/u-na-zi*: this clause and §§ 5 and 16 below provide further examples of the spelling *kaluna-* against the earlier recognized *karuna-*, known from KARATEPE, 40 (see Commentary there).

MANUS.HORDEUM: again it is gratifying to find in this rather clear context the sign *HH* no. 179, for which I had proposed the interpretation “barley” (HORDEUM) in contexts of statements of ideal price (see AKSARAY, § 4, and Commentary), and in the economic text, KULULU lead strip 1 (see Element 3). The function of MANUS in the group is not immediately obvious. In the present context HORDEUM is probably to be understood in the abl., “with barley”: cf. the comparable context on KARKAMIŞ A30b, § 3, where *wa/i-ni-ti* is interpreted as “with wine”. The present attestation increases the likelihood that the rough oval in the latter context does indeed represent HORDEUM.

§ 3. SUPER[+ra/i]-a-ta, = **saranta*? Form found in KARATEPE: (43, 47, 51, 302), as against the usual SUPER+ra/i- (= *sara*, Cun. Luw. *šarra*, *šarri*).

-pa-wa/i-ta: identify -ta *Ortspartikel*.

§ 4. *IIWI-nu-wa/i-*, “cause to run”: first Hitt. attestation of caus., matching Cun. Luw./Hitt. *huinu-*.

zati: apparently “that (one)” (dat. sing.), the god.

Sense: “caused the granaries to run after the god”, presumably idiomatic, “put at disposal of”?

§ 5. Presumably protective curse formula (protasis) for the granaries, though another such recurs below, § 14, and one wonders how different this one could have been.

[§ 6–7. Minimum of two clauses, including apodosis of curse formula, lost here, depending on amount of space missing. For estimates and suggestion of possible words in the gap, see below, reconstruction and discussion of fragments. It is probable that frag. c ll. 1–2 should be placed here, which looks as if it could contain the beginning of a § 7].

§ 8. Cf. TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 10, 18.

§ 9. *wa/i+ra/i-li-zi*: apparently the word *warali-*, argued in other contexts to mean “own, proper, appropriate” – see KARATEPE, 366, Commentary. It appears to be nom. plur. MF, thus the subject. How it could be meaningful in the present context is considered below.

INFRA-ta+ra/i: probably to be identified as the adjective formed on the basis of *anan* (INFRA-na-na), “under”, which is attested in the form *a-na-tara/i-*

[*ana(n)tari-*], KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.15(1), see Commentary.

(LONGUS)*ia+ra/i-ta*: interpreted from other contexts as “stretch out, extend” – see KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 3, and Commentary.

Sense. From interpretations offered elsewhere, we find ourselves committed to some such translation as “the own (people?) extended this god to the lower river”. It must be admitted that this is not obviously meaningful, yet one can see that slight semantic shifts of the main words could produce some idiomatic sense. Til-Barsip lay on the Euphrates opposite the confluence of the river Sajur, and Aleppo some 100 km. distant across the river. The clause may convey some meaning in this setting.

§ 10. *zi-la*, “thereafter”: cf. KARKAMIŞ A6, §§ 15, 17, and Commentary.

POST-ni a-ta BONUS-li-ia-ta: well enough known in simple and caus. stem (as below, §§ 11, 13) – see KARKAMIŞ A2+3, §§ 3–5; A14b, §§ 6, 7; MARAŞ 4, §§ 11, 15.

§ 11. CORNU+CAPUT-mi-i: unique and extraordinary feature of the inscription, shown by context to be acting as the god’s spokesman, thus some kind of priest or prophet, possibly similar to the Hitt. LÚ DINGIR-LIM. The horns on the head presumably represent what was worn by such a person.

a-sa5-za-, “speak, pronounce”: see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (A).

§ 12. SA₄(-)*li-li-ia-wa/i-na-*: possible to reverse order of last three signs to *-wa/i-na-ia*, but as read, it may give an adj., acc. sing. MF, qualifying *atrin*. In any case the word is quite unknown.

VAS-tara/i-i-na [*atrin*], also § 13, “form, figure, image”: now well attested, see TOPADA, § 38, and Commentary.

BONUS-li-ia-nu-wa/i...: unfortunately unclear what the verb ending is. It may be complete as it stands, or the following *wa/i* may belong with it: either way it could be 1 sing. pres. (for form cf. *ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i*, “I shall make stand”, and *ba+ra/i-nu-wa/i*, “I(?) shall make speak”, KARKAMIŞ A6, §§ 19, 21); or possibly like the last cited form, 2 sing. imp.

§§ 13–14. Minimally two clauses lost in break: for possible word(s) in gap, see below, discussion of frags. c and d. A possible *wa/i-na-l*, “and him”, is visible following BONUS-li-ia-nu-wa/i...].

§ 15. x x-na-: possibly *mi-* or *mi-i*, “my”.

§ 16. (SA₄)*sa-n[i]-ti-i*: for *sani-*, “overturn”, in context of damage to monuments, see KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 4, Commentary.

§ 17. Loss of word endings renders exact sense slightly uncertain, though the close parallel KARKAMIŞ A31, § 10, points to restorations.

¹*ha-mi-ia-ta-[ia]*: indirect object governed by CUM-*ni*, "for".

REL-[(*i*-)sa]: subject "(he) who", as in parallel.

MALUS-*f[a₄]-bi-x[...]*': parallel has MALUS-*ta₄-ti*, the usual abl. of the stem MALUS-*ta₄/ta₅*- (see also KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 19, 20; SULTANHAN, § 21; ALEPPO 2, § 24). CEKKE in a further comparable clause (§ 20) has MALUS-*bi-tà-ti+i*, abl. of the *-abi(t)*-abstract form, which is clearly what we have here, and suggests as the most likely restoration MALUS-*f[a₄]-bi-f[à-ti]*'. For phonetic reading and stem forms of MALUS-*ta₄/ta₅*-, see Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 150, 156 add. 3; Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 109.

PES₂(-)*wa/i-si-ti*: some of the parallels quoted above have as verb PES-*wa/i-* [*awi-*], "come" (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 19, 20; ALEPPO 2, § 24), while CEKKE, § 20, has (PES₂)*i-*, "go". Only KARKAMIŠ A31, § 10, has PES₂-*si-ti*, hitherto a *hapax legomenon*, which by identification with the present writing is extended by one syllable to (-)*wasi-*. The present attestation also permits the addition of PES₂(-)*wa/i-sà-i-ta* to the paradigm as 3 plur. pret., a further good example of an *-i-* stem verb with plur. in *-ai-* (see KARKAMIŠ A12, § 3, and Commentary). From these contexts it would seem that the present verb is one of motion, as is also implied by the use of the determinative PIS₂, but we still cannot be sure that we have a full phonetic writing, thus cannot certainly identify the verb.

Reconstruction of right side of stele

Frag. *a*. The three constituent pieces join neatly, as observed by Dr. Dalley. The combined fragment shows the turn of the corner from side B to side C, confirming as noted above that side B corresponds in width to side D. The most exact estimate of the width of the trench missing from the right of side C will be made on the basis of how closely frag. *a* is to be placed in relation to the main part of the stele; it seems likely to be about 10 cm.

Frag. *b*. When joined to the main body of the stele, this projects beyond the broken right edge for about 6.0 cm., thus would have belonged entirely to side C and should show no trace of the turn of the corner to side B. [Bunnens confirms].

Frag. *c* and *d*. These as noted by Dr. Dalley both preserve parts of the right edge of the stele, but do not directly join it on their left sides. Frag. *c* contains parts of 3 lines (dextroverse – sinistroverse – dextroverse) and frag. *d* parts of 2 lines (sinistroverse – dextroverse). If frag. *d* were placed above frag. *c*, its two lines would align with stele ll. 3–4 (sinistroverse – dextroverse). Then frag. *c* l. 1 (dextroverse) could not align with anything before stele l. 6, and its second and third lines would represent the lost ll. 7 and 8 of the stele. This does not seem likely, so probably frag. *d* should be placed below frag. *c*, the two together totalling a minimum of 5 lines (odd nos. – dextroverse, even – sinistroverse), which could match up with stele ll. 2–6 with the same orientations.

Frag. *a* l. 2 (+) frag. *c* ll. 1–2 read:

...]|x[...]|x-*wa/i*(-)[...]-*mi-||i-ta'* DEUS-*ni-zi*[...

In the general context, following § 5, of an apparent apodosis to a curse formula, it is not easy to suggest how these signs might be meaningfully interpreted. We might recognize *wa*-connective + [...] + *mi* reflexive + *ta Orts-partikel*, but only for a clause with verb 1 sing., which hardly seems likely. Yet an alternative explanation for [...] *-mi-i-ta'* is also difficult.

Frag. *c* l. 3 + *d* l. 1 would read:

...-*pa*-[...]|CAPUT-[...]|DEUS-*ni-sa*[...

The *-pa-* could be part of connective particles, and the appearance of "the god" between §§ 12 and 15 would be quite natural. Such a placement would suggest the presence of two missing clauses, thus [§§ 13–14] allowed.

III.4. TELL AHMAR 4 (plate 94)

Location. Fragment in private (Lebanese) hands, whereabouts unknown.

Description. Fragment of block preserving parts of 3 lines of inscription, ll. 1 and 3 sinistroverse, 2 dextroverse. From the photograph it appears that the upper surface of the block is preserved, thus that l. 1 was indeed the first line of the inscription. It is also possible, though uncertain, that the right edge of the block is preserved, so that, if the inscription did not continue around the corner, or an adjacent lost element (no information available on these questions), l. 2 would continue directly from l. 1 – but the sense gained from such a reading is not obvious.

Dimensions: not recorded.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: 2 preserved (4 word beginnings only, of which one is personal name).

Discovery. Unknown. The internal evidence of the personal name *Hamiyatas* indicates association with the TELL AHMAR group, and possible provenance from Tell Ahmar itself (but cf. BOROWSKI 3, Discovery).

Publication, Edition. Gonet, *Hethitica* 7 (1987), pp. 89–92 (Fig. 1, copy and photograph).

Content. 1st person singular narrative of Hamiyatas?

Translation

Date. Late 10th – early 9th centuries B.C. from mention of Hamiyatas: see TELL AHMAR 1, Date.

See Commentary.

Text. The text here offered is traced from a copy of the published photograph.

Commentary

Photograph. Kindly supplied by Dr. H. Gonnet.

Transliteration

1. 1. ...] -¹ *ha-mi-ia-ta-sa* [NEG₂²] [*ṣa*³](⁴)||
1. 2. -*si-na* |*i-ṣi-i-ba* FEMINA-*ti* [...
1. 3. ...] ||*a*²-*mi*[...]

Main question, unanswerable without examination of the monument, is whether l. 2 continues directly from l. 1, thus whether Hamiyatas is the subject of the verb, 1 sing. pret.

[*ṣa*³](⁴)||-*si-na*: with continuity, this would give acc. sing. MF of gen. adj. *ṣasi*- of demonstrative *ṣa*-, “the one of this one”.

Sense: “[...] I Hamiyatas did not make this one’s [...]”; possible, but not obviously meaningful.

III.5. ALEPPO 2 (plates 97–98)

Location. Stele, National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, no. 2460.

Description. Small stele, obverse flat, reverse curved, tenon at bottom for fixing in base (no longer visible, set in concrete). *Obverse*: severely defaced figure of Storm-God facing right, below winged disc; only parts of helmet, left arm holding trident thunderbolt in front, right arm holding axe behind, part of kilt, and possibly a foot can be discerned. Of the 6-line inscription on the reverse ll. 2–6 overlap right edge of inscription on to left side of obverse, where they occupy all the background to the figure; similarly ll. 3–6 overlap the left edge of the inscription on to the right side of the obverse. *Reverse*: 6-line inscription begins upper right, running sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon* down stele, overlapping to obverse as noted, apparently concluding at l. 6 overlapped on to obverse lower left behind foot of god; but since the end is damaged, the text cannot clearly be seen to have ended there and may have continued on further element (lost base?).

Dimensions: ht., 0.90 m.; w., 0.63 m.; th., c. 0.22 m.; line ht., 0.13 m.

Condition: fair to poor; middle of reverse particularly worn.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently monumental (except one cursive *ara/i*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: quite frequent.

Discovery. Provenance not reliably recorded; entered in Aleppo Museum register as having been seized by the police during an attempt to smuggle it from the country. A letter to Breasted in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, from a Beirut antiquities dealer, dated 11/10/

1937, announced the stele to be in the writer’s possession (“... la provenance Turquie, déposé au Zone Franche de Beyrouth”), and enclosed photographs of 3 angles of reverse. Internal evidence, the mention of Hamiyatas apparently as king, point to an identification with Hamiyatas of TELL AHMAR 2 etc., and the provenance as Tell Ahmar itself.

Publication. Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), pls. XXIII–XXIV (museum photographs, sides of reverse and obverse only, reverse itself inaccessible, too close to wall; photograph of inked squeeze), pp. 137, and 138–139 (transcription of text into linear arrangement); Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pl. VII and p. 145 fig. 2 (photographs of reverse, copy traced from squeeze and collated).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 307, pp. 241–245, Tav. XLIV (redrawn from Barnett’s inked squeeze with collations from his photographs); Hawkins, loc. cit., Publication, pp. 151–154.

Excerpts.

§ 4	Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , Anm. 85.
§§ 5–6	Melchert, <i>KZ</i> 101, p. 234 f. cit. 14.
§ 6	Kalaç, <i>KZ</i> 92, p. 124.
§§ 9–11	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 25, pp. 134 fig. 1, cit. 22, 140 cit. 41.
§ 12	Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , § 223.
§§ 15–16	Hawkins, <i>RFLA</i> 29, pp. 115 f./128 cit. xvi.
§ 16	Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 29, p. 70 f.
§ 23	Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 29, pp. 46, 48; Poetto, <i>Studia Meriggi</i> , pp. 502 n. 9, 507 (detail photographs).
§ 24	Hawkins, <i>RFLA</i> 29, pp. 115/128 cit. xiv.
§§ 24–25	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 25, p. 146 cit. 55a, fig. 4.
§ 25	Morpurgo Davies, <i>Fs Risch</i> , p. 134 cit. 3; ead., <i>Studies Congill</i> , p. 216 cit. 11.

Content. Dedicatory inscription by Arpas to his "lord and brother" Hamiyatas. § 1, name and epithet; § 2, [favour] of Storm and Moon Gods; § 3, "lord and brother" ...; §§ 4–6, favour of gods – kingship and wild beasts; § 7, ...[lacuna]; §§ 8–11, self, gods and brother; §§ 12–16, gifts from brother, guaranteed by protective curses; §§ 17–23, own gifts to brother guaranteed by protective curse; §§ 24–26, god and Arpas covered by protective curse.

Date. If, as seems likely, the named Hamiyatas is the same as Hamiyatas king in Til-Barsip and author of

TELL AHMAR 2 (also TELL AHMAR 4, BOROWSKI 3), then late 10th–early 9th centuries B.C.; see TELL AHMAR 1, Date.

Text. The text here offered is that of my 1980 edition, traced from a latex squeeze and collated against the stone on more than one occasion.

Photographs. These are prints taken from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-mi-i¹ ara/i-pa-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-si |BONUS-mi-i-sa
SERVUS-ta₄-i-sa
- § 2 wa/i-mu- CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa ha + ra/i-na-wa/i-
2. ni-sa(URBS) (DEUS)LUNA + MI-sa |x x ||[...] x-x-ta
- § 3 wa/i-mu- mi-i-sa- DOMINUS-na-ni-sa |FRATER-la-i-sa-ba
|X + R-1/I-ti REL²-ta
- § 4 |za-a-zi-pa-wa/i-mu DEUS-ni-zi |REX-[ta²]-bi-ta CUM-ni
|PES₂, PES₂(-)-ta-ti-i
- § 5 {wa/i}-mu- |x-x-ia |(BESTIA)IWI-sa + ra/i-sa
- § 6 wa/i-ta |PRAE-na ARH-1 |(PUGNUS + PUGNUS)hu-hu + ra/i-pa-
ti-i
3. § 7 mu-pa-wa/i- |URBS-ni-zi- NEG₂- [...] ...]
- § 8 wa/i-mi- (DEUS)SOL-ni-za ("LIGNUM")ta-mu-sa |i-zi-i-ba(-)si
- § 9 a-wa/i mi-na- |FRATER-la-na ha-mi-i[a]-ta-NEG₂ NEG₂-
|[...]-ba
- § 10 a-wa/i pa-sa- a-ta₅-ma-za (DEUS)TONITRUS CUM-ni
|PONERI-wa/i-[ba]
- § 11 |"VAS"-tara/i-pa-wa/i-na NEG₂- |REL-i-ba a-ta |CRUS + R-1/I-
nu-wa/i-ba
4. § 12 mu-pa-wa/i |x-x-sa zi-i-x-x || |BONUS-sa₅ + ra/i-ti |DARE-ta
- § 13 |ARH-1-pa-wa/i-ta |REL-sa ta-i
- § 14 pa-pa-wa/i- CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS ha + ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa
(URBS)-ba (DEUS)LUNA + MI-sa |(LOQUI)ta-tara/i-ia-tu
- § 15 wa/i-tu- |CAELUM[...] [...] |ni-i INFRA-ta |PES-wa/i-ti-i
- § 16 |("TERRA")ta-sa-REL + ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta |("471")(m)u²-ru-
wa/i-ta-za |ni-i |SUPER + ra/i- |PES-wa/i-ti
5. § 17 mi-i-pa-wa/i- |FRATER(-)x||[...]x |REL-a-za |BONUS-sa₅ + ra/i-
ti-i |pi-pa-sa-wa/i-i
- § 18 |ARH-1-pa-wa/i-tu-wa/i-ta-ta |REL-sa ta-i
- § 19 |ma-wa/i-tu-wa/i-sa |ta-ti-sa
- § 20 |ma-pa-wa/i-sa |*274[...]
- § 21 pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta- |za-a-zi DEUS-ni-zi |LIS-la/i-u-sa-tu
- § 22 wa/i-tu- a-ta₅-ma-za |ARH-1 |"DELERE"-tu
6. § 23 |ha + ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-pa-wa/i- [...] |ia-ti FEMINA-ti-ia-ti |X-zi
a-pa-si-zi |ARH-1 |(FLAMMAE(?))ki-[u]u-sa-tu

Translation

I (am) Arpas, Tarhunzas's beloved servant.
Celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean Moon-God [...] march]ed [before] me.
Where(?) my lord and brother shall ... (for) me,
these gods shall walk with me for kingship,
for me the ...s (shall be) the wild beasts,
they shall PARAN ARHA HU-HURPA- (them?).
And me the cities ... not [...] .
I myself made an image of the Sun-God.
I did not [...] my brother Hamiyatas,
I established his name with Tarhunzas,
but I did not set him up (as) any figure,
and he gave ... to me with goodness.
But whoever takes (it/them) away, him may celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean Moon-God curse!
For him let not [...] come down from the sky,
and let not (M)URUWATA(N)ZA come up from the earth!
(That) which I shall present to my brother in goodness,
whoever shall take it away from him,
whether he (be) a father to him, or whether he (be) *274[...],
against him may these gods litigate, may they destroy his name!
For the Haranean [Moon-God ...] for [ma]le (and) female let his/their ...s burn(?) up [...] !

- § 24 |*za-ti-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-i* |REL-*sa* |MALUS-*ta₄-a-ti* |VERSUS-
|*ia-na* |PES-*wa/i-ti-i*
- § 25 NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* ¹*ara/i-pa-ia* |REL-*sa* |("CORNU")*tara/i-pa* |CRUS-*i*
or who(ever) approaches this god
with malice,
or who(ever) stands for TARPI-
against Arpas,
him [may] Kubaba and Ea [...]
- § 26 *pa-pa-wa/i*- (DEUS)*ku*+A[VIS ...] (DEUS)[*i*]-*ia*-[...]

Commentary

Some amplifications may be offered since my *Edition* (1980).

§ 1. SERVUS-*ta₄-i-sa*: for form with *-i-*, as against the usual SERVUS-*ta₄/ta₅-*, see also KARKAMIŠ A17b, § 1; ÇİFTLİK, § 5; KARKAMIŠ A29c, l. 2; cf. also dat. sing. SERVUS-*ta₅-i*, SULTANHAN, § 13. These forms were noted as anomalies produced by accepting an *a*-vocalization for *ta₄/ta₅*: see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JR-AS* 1975/2, p. 131 f. Yet sufficient other such anomalies may be observed even following syllabograms of which the *a*-vocalization is not in doubt: cf. the word "brother" with *-la(-i)-* (below, § 3, and Commentary); also (REGIO)DOMINUS-*ia(-i)-* (forms with *-i-* more common: KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 1; A2+3, § 1; A11a, § 1; A11b, § 1; but forms without *-i-* alternate freely: KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 1 (note!), also §§ 16, 19; A14b, § 1 – all inscriptions of House of Suhis).

§ 3. X+R-1/I-*ti* REL-²-*ta*: probably a subordinate clause governed by REL-*ta*, verb 3 sing. pres., though in view of the uncertainties of the first and third signs other interpretations would be possible.

REL-*ta*: perhaps the same as REL-*i-ta(-na)*, "wherever"; see KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 2, Commentary.

X+R-1/I-*ti*: form of first sign fairly clear, see photographs, but remains unidentified.

FRATER-*la-i-sa*: the word identified as "brother" shows a puzzling alternation in the phon. complement between *-la-* and *-lai-*; forms in *-la-* include *-la-na* (acc. sing., § 9 below), *-la-sa/sa₈* (gen. sing., TELL AHMAR 2, § 18; KULULU 4, § 15), *-la-sa-na* (gen. adj., dat. sing. KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 2); *-la-zi-i* (nom./acc. plur., KARKAMIŠ A6, § 13; A7a, § 2; A15b, § 15), *-la-za* (dat. plur. TELL AHMAR 1, § 16; MARAŞ 6, § 1; KIRÇOĞLU, § 4; cf. KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 16?), *-la-[ni²]* (uncertain, KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 3); the less common forms in *-lai-* include, beside the present nom. sing., *-la-i* (dat. sing., KULULU lead strip 1, § 7, entries 38, 44 (6a)), *-la-i-zi* (nom. plur., JISR EL HADID frag. 1, l. 2). As an onomastic element, "brother" has nom. sing. in *-la-sa* (CEKKE, § 17 c, m; KARKAMIŠ A18j), dat. in *-la-ia* (KULULU lead strip 1, § 4, entry 17(4); TUNP 1, § 1), *-la-sa-na* (gen. adj., dat. sing., KULULU lead strip 1, § 3, entry 13(6a)); EĞRİKÖY, § 3, has a probable onomastic element, nom. sing., in *-[la-i]-sa*. The forms in *-lai-* do not admit of an easy explanation. The word SERVUS-*ta₄/ta₅-*, "servant", shows a similar alternation in *-tai(-i)-*: see above, § 1, Commentary.

§ 4. REX-*[ta²]-hi-ta*: dat. sing. in *-a* rejected by Starke, loc. cit., who prefers to take the form as acc. plur. N, thus the object of the verb which then has to be understood as transitive, not a verb of motion; sense, "Diese Götter werden mir das Königtum bringen". Plural use of REX-*tahi(t)-*, "kingdom", does not seem likely, any more than a transitive interpretation of the verb.

PES₂.PES₂(-)*tā*:- for paradigm of attestations, see KARATEPE, 187, Commentary.

§ 5. (BESTIA)HWT-*sā+ra/i-sa* (for the reading HWT, formerly REL₂, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, Commentary): the other occurrences of this word, identified with Hitt.(-Luw.) *huitar*, "wild beasts", lack the *-sa* particle of nom./acc. sing. N; thus HWT-*sa₅+ra/i(-)*, BOHÇA, § 5; BULGARMADEN, § 7; HWT-*tara/i*, MARAŞ 1, § 11, which are presumably acc. plur. N. Starke examines the attestations of Hitt.-Luw. *huitar* (*Stamm-bildung*, § 327), and then the Hier. formations (§ 328). He observes the difficulty of explaining the alternation of *s* and *t* in *hwisar(a)/huitar(a)*, but opts for an inadmissible circumvention of the problem, the interpretation of HWT-*sā/sa₅+ra/i* as **huitnasar-*, a form which cannot be extracted from the writing (HWT is a syllabogram, not a logogram). For the Hier. denom. verb *hwisna-*, see ASSUR letter *a*, § 10, and Commentary. The contexts elsewhere always refer to gifts of the beasts by the god Runtiyas, normally as an accompaniment to the gift of power by other gods. The context here is likely to be similar.

x-x-*ia*: most likely noun or adj., nom. plur. N, apposition to "beasts"; conceivably verb, 3 sing. pres. Either way the clause should express the usual "giving of the wild beasts". Melchert now suggests a reading REL-*ta₄-ia* (loc. cit.) – very doubtful.

§ 6. (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*hu-hu+ra/i-pa*:- subject could be "they" (the gods), object "them" (*-ata*, the beasts); or perhaps subject "the beasts", with *-ta Orts-partikel*. For the stem *huburpa-*, see Kalaç, loc. cit., who identifies also the (LIGNUM) *huburpali-* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 10, see Commentary). If this understanding of the context is correct, it defines the possible range of *arba huburpa-* fairly narrowly: an action performed by the gods on the wild beasts, or by the wild beasts themselves, for my benefit. The logogram PUGNUS+PUGNUS should also have some ideographic significance, being used elsewhere principally

with *hishi*-, “bind”. Melchert, loc. cit., now offers a speculative but plausible interpretation based on an identification of the stem *hu(r)p*-.

§ 8. (DEUS)SOL-*ni-za*: perhaps to be read more confidently and accepted as a noun *tiwatani*-, the basis for the denom. verb Cun. Luw. verb *tiwataniya*-, here an adj., acc. sing. N, qualifying following word? The reference here as in the following sections, may be to the sculpture on the obverse of the stele, so this could refer to the winged disc; cf. TELL AHMAR 2, § 6, for possible similar reference.

(“LIGNUM”) *ta-ru-sa*: Hier. *taru(t)*-, “statue”, is normally determined by STATUA (i.e. CAPUT+VAS, an unexplained logogram). The close etymological link between this word and the inherited word for “wood”, Hitt. *taru*, Cun. Luw. *taru* (cf. Hier. LIGNUM-*wiya*-, “wood(en) object”, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 18, and Commentary), is probable, and indeed appears to be reflected in the present attestation, determined by LIGNUM, “wood” (see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary).

i-zi-i-ha(-)si: last sign still unexplained, cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8//A12, § 2, (PES₂)HWT-HWT-*sā-tā(-)si*, equally unexplained.

§ 9. FRATER-*la-na*: cf. above, § 3; it is difficult to reconcile FRATER-*la-i-sa* (nom. sing. MF) there with this acc. sing. MF.

¹*ha-mi-i[a]-ta*-NEG₂: see Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the use of NEG₂ as acc. sing. MF ending.

§ 11. See besides *Edition*, Hawkins, loc. cit., for an examination of the negative NEG₂-.

VAS-*tara/i*-, “form, figure, image”: see TOPADA, § 38, and Commentary.

CRUS+R.1/I-*nu-wa/i-ha*: contrary to the comparison with Hitt. *tittanu*-, it seems more likely that we have here the caus. of the verb CRUS+R.1/I, a curious invariable form, for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5, and Commentary, with other attestations. It seems that this is a different verb from *ta*-, “stand”, yet it appears to have approximately the same meaning, which brings to mind a comparison with Hitt. *ar*- (med.), “stand”; this would imply a comparison of the present form with Hitt. *arnu*-, but the relationship of Hitt. *arnu*- to Hitt. *ar*-, “come”, and *ar*- (med.), “stand”, is too complex and controversial to provide much assistance in understanding Hier. CRUS+R.1/I(-*nu*)-. Another verb, (“PES₂”) *a+ra/i*- must also be taken into account in such comparisons; see ASSUR letter *a*, § 6; *f+g*, § 24, and Commentary.

Sense: while this clause is not difficult to analyse and “translate”, a proper understanding of it remains elusive.

§ 12. x-x-*sa zi-i-x-x*: *Edition* notes that first word might be expected to be [*ā-pa*]-*sa*, though this is not quite consistent with traces; second word should be object.

§§ 15–16. For the general topos, usually in the affirmative rather than prohibitive (i.e. in context of a blessing rather than a curse), see SULTANHAN, §§ 14–15; AKSARAY, §§ 2–3.

§ 16. (“*471”)(*m*)*u²-ru-wa/i-tā-za*: contextually likely to refer to some form of vegetal growth. The determining *471 is found elsewhere only with the verb *azai* (BABYLON 1, § 10, see Commentary), and is of uncertain function. For (*m*)*u²-ru-wa/i-tā-za*, the *m*-addition to *u* seems to be present but is not definite; if we may read *u¹*-, Starke’s proposal to recognize *uruwat*-, cognate with Hitt.-Luw. *warwatn*-, “seed”, would be very tempting (see *Stammbildung*, § 282 and Anm. 1766).

§§ 19–20. Considered in *Edition*; contrast between “father” and “*274[...]”, perhaps “*upatit*-man” (*274 is only attested determining noun *upati(t)*-, a land holding, and verb *hatali*-, “club”) – not at all clear.

§ 21. LIS, “litigate, sue”, reinterpretation of logogram, formerly IRA, “be angry”; see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary.

§ 22. “DELERE”-*tū*: for Melchert’s elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary. The present writing is unique in the Late Period inscriptions in not indicating the verb as caus. with the phonetic complements -*nu/nū(-wa/i)*-, but in the Empire Period EMIRGAZI writes DELERE-*i(a)* (3 sing. pres.; EMIRGAZI altars, § 28), to be compared with DELERE-*nū-wa/i-ha* (EMIRGAZI block, l. 3): see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 100.

§ 23. Possible restoration of sense considered in *Edition*; also by Poetto, loc. cit., who takes as subject [...] *ia-ti-zi* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti-zi* and as object X-*zi* *ā-pa-si-zi*. His reading of -*zi* and restoration of <*zi*> are hardly justified, and I prefer to keep to [...] *ia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti*, dat. sing., “for [ma]lle (and) female” (cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 26–29 for forms).

X-*zi ā-pa-si-zi*: still unclear whether subject or, more likely, object. Poetto and I are agreed on the form of the logogram.

(FLAMMAE(?)) *ki-[n]ū-sā-tū*: iter. of simple verb (FLAMMAE(?)) *ki-nu(-wa/i)*-, attested in the parallel contexts CEKKE, § 4; MARAŞ 3, § 4; MARAŞ 5, § 1, which point to the meaning “burn (offerings)”. The identification of the determining logogram as “flames” (FLAMMAE(?)) is supported by this meaning, and by the other verb(s) so determined, *la/i/u-sā-la/i/u-sā* (HAMA 4, § 11, and Commentary); *la_x-hā-nū-wa/i* (TOPADA, § 14, and Commentary).

§§ 24–25. Besides *Edition*, see Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating NEG₂-*pa*-, “or”; and for (“CORNU”) *tarpa* CRUS-*i*, Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

III.6. TELL AHMAR 1 (plates 99–100)

Location. Stele, National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, no. 2.

Description. Large 4-sided stele found broken into 6 or 7 pieces, now restored (some small pieces lost since discovery). *Obverse* (D): figure of Storm-God, facing right, surmounted by winged disc, standing on bull, below which is a guilloche band; all now substantially restored. The god wears the usual beard and pigtail, horned helmet, short belted fringed tunic with sword at waist, and shoes with upturned toes, and carries the trident thunderbolt in his left hand before him, and the axe in his right raised behind him. *Reverse and sides:* inscribed, with substantial lacunae. The 8-line inscription began on left side (A), upper right, running sinistaverse round left side, reverse (B) and right side (C), continuing *boustrophedon* down stele until side (A), lower right (because of damage it is not clear that this was the end).

Dimensions: ht., 3.03 m.; w., 0.98 m.; th., 0.90 m.; line ht., 0.18–0.20 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair; poor in parts.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: largely monumental (one cursive *ma*).

Peculiarities: use of CRUS as syllabic *ta*, (§§ 5, 9, 12, 17, 26?); alternation between elaborate and plain *i*, *na*; some rather irregular placing of signs.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Seen at Tell Ahmar recently broken in 1908 by Hogarth (Hogarth, *L.A.L.* 2 (1909), p. 179; id., *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life* (London, 1910), p. 174). Photographed and squeezed by Gertrude Bell in 1909 (these are presumably the paper squeezes preserved in the British Museum). An unsuccessful attempt to remove the pieces was made by the British Karkamiš expedition in 1911 (Campbell Thompson, *Report*, pp. 5, 219–221). The French Tell Ahmar expedition found the pieces in 1927 where Hogarth had seen them (200 m. north-west of enceinte of site), and sent them to Aleppo where they were photographed roughly assembled in 1928. The restoration of the stele was completed in the Aleppo Museum before 1936. See Thureau Dangin, *Syria* 10 (1929), pp. 186, 198; id., *Til-Barsib* (1936), p. 135 f.

Publication. Hogarth, loc. cit. (1909), pls. XXXVIII (copy made by tracing photographs of casts from Gertrude Bell's squeezes collated against photographs); XXXIX (photographs of obverse, 3 frags.), XL. 1 (photograph by G. Bell of right side frag. with ll. 3–6); id., loc. cit. (1910), pl. facing p. 174 (photograph of pieces as found); Thureau Dangin, loc. cit. (1929), pls. XXVIII–XXXI = id., loc. cit. (1936), pls. III–VI

(photographs of obverse, left side, reverse, right side of stele roughly assembled).

Editions. Meriggi, *RHA* III/18 (1935), pp. 51–57, pl. 2 (from Thureau Dangin, loc. cit. (1929)); Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pp. 465–480, pl. CII (collated drawing from autopsy; cf. *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), p. 209); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 280, pp. 204–212, Tav. XXXVII (drawing), Tavole fuori testo V–VI (detail photographs – rev. ll. 1–2; left side ll. 2–3; rev. ll. 5–8; left side ll. 6–8); Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 140–151, pl. VI (photographs of left side, reverse, right side and intervening corners) with fig. 1 (tracing from collated photographs).

Excerpts.

§§ 2–4	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 31, p. 165 f. cit. 21 a.
§ 5	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 33, pp. 132, 134; Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , § 103.
§§ 7–8	Morpurgo Davies, <i>An. St.</i> 30, p. 124 cit. 2.
§§ 7–9	Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , § 113.
§§ 7–13	Hawkins, <i>KZ</i> 94, p. 111 f. cit. 2.
§ 9	Bossert, <i>JKF</i> 2, p. 185 f.
§ 11	Hawkins, <i>Kadmos</i> 19, p. 131 f. cit. 9.
§§ 12–13	Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , § 245, cf. § 197.
§§ 14–16	Bossert, <i>Or.</i> NS 29, p. 436.
§ 16	Bossert, <i>AfO</i> 9, p. 114; Laroche, <i>HHH</i> nos. 45.III; 363.I(d).
§ 17	Hawkins, <i>Kadmos</i> 19, p. 139 cit. 19; Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , § 74.
§§ 18–19	Hawkins, <i>KZ</i> 94, p. 111 f. cit. 2.
§§ 18–20	Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, <i>Studi Pugliese Carratelli</i> , p. 173 cit. 6.
§§ 19–20	Bossert, <i>Le Muséon</i> 70, p. 166 and Abb. 15.
§ 21	Morpurgo Davies, <i>An. St.</i> 30, p. 126 cit. 9.
§§ 23–29	Hawkins, <i>KZ</i> 92, pp. 114–116.
§ 24	Starke, <i>Stamm-bildung</i> , § 116.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Til Barsib B/2)*, pp. 46, 184, 236, 239, 535, Taf. 53 d (from Thureau Dangin, *Til-Barsib*, pl. III); Genge, *NSR*, pp. 52–55.

Content. Dynastic narrative of Ariyahinas's son (own name lost). § 1, [name, titles], genealogy; §§ 2–4, favour of gods [with lacuna]; §§ 5–6, own actions; §§ 7–10, reign and death of [great-]grandfather(?); §§ 11–12, usurper displaced father; §§ 13–18, reign, benevolence and death of usurper's son Hamiyatas; §§ 19–20, malignance of Hamiyatas's son; §§ 21–22, prayer to Tarhunzas [lacuna]; §§ 23–24, end of prayer, vow; §§ 25–29, fulfilment of prayer and vow; [lacuna to end].

Date. Stylistically by clear links with the Karkamiš style of Suhis-Katuwas (see KARKAMIŠ A1a, A11a,

Dates); historically by the necessity to place the 4-generation dynasty mentioned before the occupation of Til-Barsip by the Aramean Ahuni (c. 870–856 B.C.). A combination of these factors points to late 10th–early 9th centuries B.C. for TELL AHMAR 1, also TELL AHMAR 2, BOROWSKI 3, TELL AHMAR 4, TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE), and also probably ALEPPO 2. See Ussishkin *Or. NS* 40 (1971), pp. 431–

437; Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 154–156; cf. TELL AHMAR, The Historical Context.

Text. This is that of my 1980 Edition. Hatching marks parts formerly preserved, now lost.

Photographs. Taken in Aleppo Museum in the summer 1971.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [EGO ...PN, titles, ...-s] *á-ia-mi-i-sá* REGIO | REX-*ti-i-sa*
¹*ba-pa-ti-la-si-i-sa* | (INFANS.NEPO[S]) *ba-ma-su-k* | *a-[l]a-[sa]*
¹*ara/i-ia-bi-na-si-i-sa* | (“IUDEX”) *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa*
| (INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*
- § 2 *wa/i-mu-(-)ia* | *á-ta₅-na* | INFANS(-) *ni-wa/i-ra + a-*282*
2. | “CAELUM”-*si-i-sa* || (DEUS) TONITRUS-*bu-sa* (DEUS)
i-ia-sa | REX-*ti-i-sá* (DEUS.BONUS) *ku-pá² + ra/i-ma-sa₅*
| (DEUS) “HORDEUM”(-) *ma-ti-la/i-u-sa* (DEUS) FORTIS-*su-*
pa-sa | *ba + ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa-ba* (URBS) (DEUS) LUNA + *MI-sa*
[...] (DEUS) *k[u + AV]IS-pa-[pa]-sa-ba x-x-si* | *á-[...]-ba²*
[...]-*mu-ti-sa* [...]-*sa* [...]
- § 3 [...] x x x (LITUUS) *á-za-ta*
3. § 4 *wa/i-mu-(-)á-ma-za* | *tá-ti-ia-za* | (“LIGNUM”^{“”}) || *s[á-la-b]a-za* | *pi-ia-t[a]*
§ 5 a *a-[wa/i]* (FINES) *i + ra/i-[ba]-z[a/i...]* | *pa-[...]-x*
b [...] *ma-s[u-wa/i + ra/i-...C]* | RUS(|URBS|) | (CAELUM) *ti-[pa-si-i]*
| SUP | *IR + ra/i pa + ra/i* [...]-*[i]-ba* | (“CAPUT”) *ba + ra/i-ma-*
bi-na
- § 6 [“X”]-*tu-sa-pa-wa/i-tá* | *1-ti-i* | (PES₂) *tara/i-zi-ba*
- § 7 *a-wa/i* | *ku-ma-na* | (á-) *mi-(i)s[a-’]* | (AVUS) | *bu-ba-[...]-sa* | REX-
ti-i-sá | *sa-tá* | -
- § 8 *[wa/i-sa]-’ pa-[sa]-na-’* | (*274) *u-pa-ti-ti* | DOMINUS-*na-ni-i-sa sa-tá-’*
4. § 9 *a-wa/i* | (“OCCIDENS”) *i-pa-||ma-ti-i* (DEUS.ORIENS.MI) *ki-sá-ta-*
ma-ti-ba | LIGNUM.CRUS(-) LEPUS + *ra/i-ta*
- § 10 *á-na* (REGIO) *pa-wa/i-sa* | REL-*i* | *IRH.1* (“MORI”) *wa/i-la-tá*
- § 11 *mi-pa-wa/i-’ tá-ti-na-’* | REL(?) | -*za pa-si-’* | *20-tá-ti-i-sa* | INFANS-
ni-i-na | SUB-*na-na* | LITUUS + *na-tá-’*
- § 12 *pa-s[a]-wa/i-’* (“LIGNUM”) *sá-la-ba-za* | (“*314”) *ba-CRUS-sá-*
tara/i-ti | SUPER + *ra/i-’* | *tá-ta*
- § 13 *wa/i-tá-’* | *zi-la pa-si-’* | (INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* ¹*ba-mi-ia-ta-sa*
| PUGNUS-*[ri+i]-ta*
- § 14 *wa/i-mu-’ mi-i-’* (AVUS) *bu-ba-ti* | LIGNUM-*la-ba-ti* | SUPER
+ *ra/i-’ x-x-ta* ||
5. § 15 [...] *x[...]* *tá pa[...]* *pa-s[á²]-’* | “DOMUS”-[...] | “DOMINUS”-
na[-ni²]-i-na | *i-zi-i-tá*
- § 16 *pa-sa-za-[pa²]-wa/i-mu-’* | FRATER-*la-za* | MAGNUS + *ra/i-za-na*
| *i-zi-i-tá*
- § 17 *wa/i-mu-’* | CRUS-*ni-[mi]-i-sa* | (“FRONS”) *ba-ta-za* | SUB-*na-na*
| “LITUUS + P.1”-*za-la-ni-ta*
- § 18 *[IRH.1]* | *pa-wa/i-sá* | REL-*i* (“MORI”) *wa/i-la-tá*
- § 19 *wa/i-mu-’ pa-si-i-’* | (INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa* | MALUS-*wa/i-zi[a]-’*
| CUM-*ni* | (“LIGNUM”) LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-ta*
6. § 20 *mi-i-ba-wa/i-’* | (*274) *u-pa-ti-ti-i* | (“MALUS₂”) *ba-ba-ni-wa/i-||z[a]-’*
| CU[M-ni] | (“VAS”^{“”}) *z[a]* | *ra/i-ti-i-ta*

Translation

[I am PN, titles, ...]...-ed Country-King, Hapatilas’s great-grandson, the ruler Ariyahinas’s son.

Me (as) a ... *child* celestial Tarhuns, Ea the king, the good god Kupar-mas, Matilis(?), Tesupas, and the Haranean Moon God, and Kuba-ba ... [...]

[...] they loved, they gave me my paternal *power*.

The frontiers [...]

[and ...] the city [Mas]uwari, up to the sky I [rais]ed forth (its) head,

and 1 TARZI-ed ...

When [my great-]grandfather(?) [was king(?)],

he was lord to/for his *demesne*, he governed in the west and the east.

But when he *died* in the country Ana,

my father (as) a child, because his 20-TATIS *despised* (him), he took over his *power* by *violence*(?).

Thereafter his son Hamiyatas *arose*(?),

he [...]ed me up to my great-grandfather’s *power*,

[... me] he made lord of his (own) house,

and me he made great(er) than his (own) brothers, everyone *regarded* my face (i.e. obeyed me).

But when he *died*,

his son decreed evil for me,

and he desired wickedness for my *demesne*.

- § 21 *m*[*n*]-*pa-na/i*- | *za*-[*a*]-*ti-i*- "[CAELUM]"-*sa-na* [(DEUS)]TONI-
TRUS-*bu-ti* | ([MANUS])*i-s*[*a-tara/i*]-*x* | SUPER[+*ra/i*]- | [...
§ 22 *wa/i-tu*- | *ā*-[...] *pā*+*ra/i*[-...
(text completely destroyed for rest of line 6 and half of line 7
except for two insignificant patches)
7. § 23 [...](-)*mi-zi* | INFANS-*nī-zi-i* | *x* *x*...
§ 24 [*ā-mi-pa-wa/i*]-*mi-i-tu*- | ("*314") *ka-pi-la-li-na* (FILIA)*tī-wa/i*-
tara/i-na (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)*ta-ni-ti-na* | *i-zi-i-wa/i-i*
§ 25 *wa/i-mu*- | "AUDIRE+*MI*"-*ti-i-tā* | *za-a-sa* | "CAELUM-*si*"-*i-sa*||
8. (DEUS)TONITRUS[...]
§ 26 *wa/i-mu*[-] | DARE.CR[US] *mi-i-n*[*a*]- | ("*314") *ka*[*a*]-*pi-la-li-i-na*
§ 27 *wa/i-tā*- | ARHL | CAPUT *69(-)*i-ti*-[*x*]
§ 28 *pa-si-pa*-[*wa/i*]- | INFANS[...
§ 29 *pa-si-pa-wa/i*- (FILIA)*tī-wa/i-ta*[*ra/i-na*] FE[MINA ...

But I [raised] up (my) han[d(s)] to
this celestial Tarhunzas,
to him those(?) words(?) [I
spoke(?): "...
(prayer largely missing)

[...]... sons ...[...]
[and] I myself shall make [my]
enemy's) daughter a hierodule for
him".

This celestial Tarhunzas heard me,

to me [he] ga[ve(?)] my enemy;
(his) head [I] destroy[ed],
and his son[s ...],
and his daughter a hierodule I
made ...

Commentary

Since my *Edition* (1980), a number of difficult points have been clarified, and the appearance of a new fragment TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE) and the new stele BOROWSKI 3 has thrown useful light on passages in this stele.

§ 2. *wa/i-mu-a-ia* | *ā-ta-na* or *wa/i-mu*- | *ā-ia-ta-na*: *Edition* could not decide the placement of *ia*, whether as an unknown suffix to the particle chain, or as an additional syllable in the word *ā-ta-na* (epigraphically less easy). The identical problem recurs in TELL AHMAR 2, § 2.

INFANS(-)*ni-wa/i-ra*+*a**282: *Edition* tentatively compared with (INFANS)*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ni*, "helpless; child" (MARAS 4, § 14, see Commentary), but the problem of a syllabic value for *282 remains.

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-sa*: for writing and implications, cf. TOPADA, § 30, Commentary.

(DEUS.BONUS)*ku-pā*+*ra/i-ma*: for the identification of this grain-god as a late form of the Hurrian Kumarbi, see Hawkins, loc. cit.

(DEUS) "HORDEUM"(-)*ma-ti-la/i/u(-i)*- (also TELL AHMAR 2, § 2): the logogram *179, now established here by collation in place of the *454 given in *Edition*, is interpreted as "barley", thus HORDEUM (see AKSARAY, § 4, Commentary); thus *Matili* (if this is the full phonetic writing) would be a barley deity, perhaps the consort of the Grain-God, a position comparable to that of Hitt. *Maliya* earlier in relation to Telipinu (see Lebrun, *Studia Naster* II, pp. 123–130).

§§ 3–5 a. Note good photograph of this worn passage in Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2, Tavole fuori testo V fig. 10.

§ 4. ("LIGNUM")*s*[*ā-la-b*]*a-za*: for comparable statements, see KARKAMIŠ A14a, § 3 (Suhis); A11a, § 3, A2+3, § 2 (both Katuwas); TELL AHMAR 2, § 3, BOROWSKI 3, § 3 (both Hamiyatas); and for different

contexts, below §§ 12, 14. Understanding of this word has advanced since the note in *Edition*, p. 148 f. as was foreseen on p. 156, Addendum 3. The logogram LIGNUM, "wood" (HH no. 382) has been recognized (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 18; ALEPPO 2, § 8; and Commentaries), and may be seen to determine perhaps objects made of wood (KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 16–17; A11b+c, § 10; A12, § 6?), but especially words denoting authority as here: (1) *sā-la-ba-za*; (2) (*ta*)*tapariya*-, "govern, decree" (below, §§ 9, 19); (3) *baṣani*-, "mayor" (CEKKE, § 14); (4) *sukala*-, "vizier" (EGRIKÖY, § 3); (5) [...]*pama(n)za*, "decree(?)" (CEKKE, § 2); (6) *baṣinir*-, "rite, ordinance" (ŞIRZI, § 2). For the word *sā-la-ba-za* itself, the proposed identification with (Hitt.-)Luw. *šalbitti-/šalbīyanti-/šalbanti*- (cf. CHD 3/2, s.v. *mannitti*- for forms), "greatness, growth", and the isolated Cun. Luw. *šalbati* may be accepted. Hitt. has a close semantic parallel in *šallanni* (dat. sing. <**šallatar*, cf. *šalli pedan*), "for succession": see Gurney, *An. St.* 33 (1983), p. 101. As to the morphology of the word *sā-la-ba-za*, see below, § 14, Commentary.

§ 5. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for the use of the TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE) fragment to restore this clause, confirming *Edition*, restoration (p. 146) of [(CAELUM)*tī*]-*pa-si-i* | SUPER+*ra/i*, and indicating a restoration of the city-name as [*ma*]-*su-wa/i+ra/i*[...]. The verb is coincidentally broken in the same way in each passage, leaving [...] *i-ba*; context suggests the sense "I [rais]ed", for which the likely verb PUGNUS-*ri+i*- (see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, Commentary) would fit the traces well.

The question considered whether to split § 5 into two separate clauses depends very much on how CRUS (= syllable *ta*, as elsewhere in the inscription) may be

explained, whether as a part of the city name in extended form, or as an *Ortspartikel* -*ta* after missing connective particles. Starke, loc. cit., now accepts the form as *Masuwarit*, parallel to Hitt. *Nerikkīt*.

§ 6. Clause now finds close parallel on BOROWSKI 3, § 4, see Commentary there.

|1-*ti-i*: *Edition*, following Meriggi, took as "one"; dat. sing. ? cf. |1-*ti-na*, acc. sing. MF (ASSUR letter *b*, § 4). The ending -*ti*- is elsewhere identified as the ordinal suffix: HĪSARCIK 1, § 3, Commentary.

(PES₂)*tara/i-zi-ha*: *Edition* noted parallels (PES₂) *tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-tā* (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 6); (PES₂) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* (TELL AHMAR 2, § 2); and *tara/i-zi-ha* (BULGARMADEN, § 5, apparently similar context to present).

§ 7. Restoration as in *Edition*, somewhat conjectural.

[(AVUS)]*bu-ha-[ti]-sa*, "[great-]grandfather", is preferred to "grandfather", since the great-grandfather Hapatilas is named in the genealogy.

§ 8. *pa-[sa]-na-*, "his" (dat. sing.): see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

(*274)*u-pa-ti-ti*: see Starke, loc. cit., for formation.

§ 9. LIGNUM.CRUS(-)LEPUS+*ra/i-ta*: cf. ("LIGNUM")LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-ta*, below, § 19 (in the latter form, read *tapariyata*, "he decreed"). The logogram LIGNUM (FHH no. 382), "wood; ruler's staff", acts as determinative for words denoting "authority" (cf. above, § 4, Commentary on ("LIGNUM")*sā-la-ha-za*, "power, succession"), as in the present case; CRUS, used elsewhere syllabically as *ta₆* (see § 17), seems to indicate a reduplicated form *tatapariya-*, for which cf. *ta-LEPUS+ra/i-ia-ti*, BOROWSKI 3, § 5, and the remarks of Singer, ad loc.

§ 10, also § 18. *arha* ("MORI")*wa/i-la-*, "die": see besides *Edition*, Hawkins, loc. cit., where this interpretation is put forward; ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 21, and Commentary. [For a striking new parallel, see TELL AHMAR 5, § 8].

ā-na(REGIO): probably to be identified with 'Ana on the middle Euphrates, for which see Ismail, Roaf and Black, 'Ana in the Cuneiform Sources (*Sumer* 39 (1983), pp. 191–194). It would not seem surprising c. 900 B.C. or before, to find a king of Til-Barsip dying in 'Ana, perhaps in battle. Cf. the involvement of Hamiyatas here (TELL AHMAR 2, § 10).

§ 11. See besides *Edition*, Hawkins, loc. cit., where the verb LITUUS+*na-*, "see", is elucidated (here SUB-*na-na* LITUUS+*na-*, "look down on"). For the attitude "despised as a child", cf. Goetze, *AM*, p. 46, ll. 12–13: "You kept on calling me a child and belittling me."

20-*tā-ti-i-sa*: compared in *Edition* with KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5; as sense in both contexts some kind of kinsman (uncle, cousin, etc.) would seem appropriate.

§ 12. ("*314")*ba-CRUS-sā-tara/i-*: with the apparent syllabic value CRUS = *ta₆* (see below, § 17), this word yields a plausible *ba-ta₆-sā-tara/i-* for comparison with Cun. Luw. *hattaštarri*, = Hitt. *hatugatar*, "frightfulness" (see now Starke, loc. cit. (§ 245)). For the usage of the logogram *314 determining words of violence, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 30, Commentary.

§ 13. PUGNUS-[*ri+i*]-*ta*: for interpretation "raise (trans.)"; "rise (intrans.)", see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, Commentary. *Edition* offered, "his son Hamiyatas arose" (pp. 149, 156 Addendum 4), understood as "succeeded to the throne, came to power" etc. (cf. Hitt. *sara išpart-*, and MARAŞ 4, § 16, and Commentary, for parallel). Starke suggests a transitive interpretation: "Thereafter his son Hamiyatas maintained it" (-*ata*, i.e. the *salhaža*), loc. cit. (§ 197).

§ 14. *mi-i-* (AVUS)*bu-ha-ti* | LIGNUM-*la-ha-ti*: in *Edition* the attempt to avoid a dat. sing. *salhati* led to the interpretation as abl. sing., which strained the sense. It is much easier to accept the form as dat. sing., and translate "to my great-grandfather's power". This then postulates a *t-stem salhat-* or *salhant-* lying behind the nom./acc. N form *sā-la-ha-za*, thus *salha(n)t+sa*, which fits well with the Hitt.-Luw. evidence for the stem (see above § 4, Commentary), and may be compared within Hier. with LOCUS-*ta₄-za*, "place" (= **pita(n)t+sa*, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary), *wa/i-ni-za*, "stone, stele" (= *wanit+sa*, see TILSEVET, Note, following Commentary).

§ 15. "DOMINUS"-*na-i-na*: word elsewhere is always complemented -(*na*)-*ni/nī(-i)-*, except KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 16, DOMINUS-*na-i-ni-i-na*. Here it is perhaps preferable to restore -*na[-ni]-i-na*. For the office "house-lord", Cun. EN É, see KULULU 4, § 8.

§ 17. CRUS-*ni-[mī]-i-sa*, i.e. *ta₆-ni-[mī]-i-sa*, "everyone", clearest example of CRUS with syllabic value *ta₆*; see also §§ 5, 9, 12, 26.

|SUB-*na-na* | "LITUUS+PA"-*za-la-ni-ta*: besides *Edition*, see Hawkins, loc. cit., examining the verb in the context of LITUUS determining verbs of perception; "regard", lit. "look up to", (the face), i.e. "obey".

("FRONS")*ba-ta-za*, "face": probably dat. plur., *hant-*, plur. tantum; nom./acc. sing. N of *hant-* would probably not yield this writing (for Hitt.-Luw. forms see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 73; KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 6, Commentary).

§ 18. See above, § 10.

§ 19. MALUS-*wa/i-za[a]-*, "evil": *Edition*, pp. 150, 156 Addendum 3, considers implications of this phonetic writing, interpreted by Starke as **atuwa(n)za* = Cun. Luw. *adduwanza* (*Stammbildung*, § 109).

For the Hier. phrase MALUS-*wa/i-za-* ("LIGNUM")LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-*, "decree evil (for)", cf. Hitt. HUL-*lu tapariya-*, KUB XXVI, 25 ii 8–9, cf. 11.

§ 20. ([¹VAS¹])*za[a]+ra/i-ti-i-*, also TELL AHMAR 2, § 13: verbs associated in *Edition* with (VAS)*za+ra/i-ti-*

ia-sá (ALEPPO 3, § 1), itself to be associated with *za+ra/i-ti* (KARABURUN, § 12); (X) *za+ra/i-ta-si* (KÖRKÜN, § 10). The verb *za+ra/i-ti* (without logogram) occurs also KARABURUN, §§ 7, 9; SULTANHAN, § 46. The nominal forms may now be linked with *za+ra/i-za* (acc. sing. N, *zart+sa*, KULULU 5, § 11), thus *zartiyas* (gen. sing.), *zarti* (dat. sing.), *zartasi* (gen. adj.), which is probably to be recognized as the Luw. word for “heart”; see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, pp. 169–182 (present attestation, cit. 6). The verb *zarti* is interpreted as a denom. formation from it with sense “desire, wish”.

(“MALUS₂”) *ba-ba-ni-wa/i-za* [a]’: association with (“MALUS₂”) *ba-ni-ia-ta*, “evil” (KARATEPE, 60, 380), and with Hitt. *hanhaniya-* (verb of negative sense) proposed in *Edition*. Cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 243 and Anm. 1402.

§ 21. ([MANUS]) *i-s[a-tara/i]-x*: restoration *istrin* or *istri(n)zi* envisaged in *Edition*; yet it should be noted that *i-sa-tara/i*, “hand” is always written elsewhere with *sá* not *sa* in 2nd syllable (but cf. KARKAMIŠ A20b2, and Commentary). Further collation desirable.

§ 22. *á-[...] pá²+ra/i-[...]*: *Edition* envisaged a possible restoration *á-[pa-ia] pá²+ra/i-[ta]*, “those words”.

§ 23–29. See besides *Edition*, Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the words *kapilali-*, = Hitt.-Luw. *kappilalli-* etc., “enemy”; (FILIA) *tuwatri-*, “daughter”; *taniti-*, “hierodule”; AUDIRE+*MI-ti-i-*, = *tuma(n)ti-*, “hear”.

§ 24. (FILIA) *tú-wa/i-tara/i-*: word recurs also on KELEKLİ, § 2. For a detailed study of the morphology, see Starke, *KZ* 100 (1987), pp. 243–269.

(FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA) *taniti-*: identified as the full phonetic writing and sense confirmed by Starke’s comparison with Hitt. ^{SAL} *daniti-* on Bo. 2469, ii 16, 26 f. (first passage now published by Beckman, *StBoT* 29, pp. 256–258, with other attestations). See now Starke, loc. cit., for analysis and derivation of the word.

§ 26. DARE.CR[US²]: read *piya-ta₆*, “he gave”, as proposed in *Edition*.

§ 27. MANUS/*69(-) *i-ti-*, “destroy”: see KARATEPE, § LXXIII, for logogram, which here seems mid-way between MANUS and the cursive form *69.

l. 8, end: last word of stele apparently verb PES₂.PES₂(-) *tâ-[...]*, for which see KARATEPE, 187, and Commentary.

III.7. TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE) (plate 94)

Location. Fragment, Louvre Museum, Paris, no. AO 26.533.

Description. Corner fragment, of stele(?), bearing parts of 2 lines of inscription on two adjacent sides (A, B), l. 1 sinistroverse, l. 2 dextroverse.

Dimensions: max. preserved ht., 0.30 m.; preserved w., (A) 0.27 m., (B) 0.17 m.; line ht., 0.13 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (*ma*, *pa*, *tá*, LIS).

Peculiarities: –

Word dividers: apparently regularly used (4 preserved).

Discovery. Bought on antiquities market in 1983; no details available. The city name *Masuwari* read on l. 1 seems to be the Hier. designation of Til-Barsip itself (see Commentary), so a provenance from Tell Ahmar or its environs seems certain.

Publication. Hawkins, *An. St.* 33 (1983), p. 133 fig. 2 (photographs of both inscribed sides, copy traced from stone).

Edition. Hawkins, *ibid.*, pp. 131–136.

Content. L. 1, promotion of city Masuwari; l. 2 (see Commentary).

Date. Likely to be contemporary with TELL AHMAR 2 or 1, i.e. late 10th–early 9th centuries B.C.

Text. The text here offered is that of my *Edition*, taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in the Louvre in the summer 1983.

Photographs. These are those of my *Edition*, kindly supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

Transliteration

1. § 1 ...] *ma-su-wa/i+[ra/i]-na*(URBS) | (“CAELUM”) *ti-pa-si-i*
¹SUPER+*ra/i-*[...] *-i-ba*
2. [...] | ...]
- § 2 ...] *mi*[...] *i*[...] *-* | *tá-t[i]-zi*[*i/a*] | LIS-*la/i/u-i-zi*[*a*...

Translation

- ...]the city Masuwari up to the sky
 I [rais]ed.
 ...
 ...] my(?) fathers (*nom., acc. or dat. plur.?*) ... litigate [...]

1. 2 ...x-*pa-wa/i* |SA₄(-)*ki-pi*[...] |*á-ma*[...] |*pá*²[+*ra/i*]-x-/ti[...]
- Frag. 5 1. 1 ... x- |ARHLA |“MANUS+*218”(-)*li*(-x²)-*ti* x[...]
1. 2 ... |N[EG₂] |LITUUS+*na-ti-i*
|“*476”-*wa/i-pa-wa/i-ta* “x”-*ma*²-[...]
1. 3 ...x-*i-tú* |*za-a-ti-ia-za*[...]
1. 4 ...*i*[...] |(PES₂)*i-tú-u*[...]
- Frag. 6 ... x x x “*300+MINUS”-*i-ha ia*² FLUMEN(-)*311²-*pi-na*
...x *pa* x[...]
- Frag. 7 ...*i*[...] |...|...|...|
- Frag. 8 ... x x |ARHLA |MANUS²(-)*i-ti*²-x[...]
- Frag. 9 1. 1 ... x x [...] *a*[...] *tá*² [...] *na* x x [...]
1. 2 ... x [...] *sa*[...] DEUS-*ni*[...] *u*[...] |x[...]| x[...]

Commentary

Frag. 2. “But him Tarhunzas of the city ...”: the place name has been supposed to give a Hier. writing of Til Barsip, which in turn was offered as evidence for the value *pá*; see Meriggi, *Edition*, correcting Laroche, *HH* no. 462. But this would require a restoration *pá*²+*ra/i*-*s*[*á*²-*pa-wa/i-n*]-*i-sa*, which looks to be too long for the likely space. Also the observation that the Hier. designation of the city was “Masuwari” further weakens this theory.

Frag. 3. “[...]’s son [...]”.

Frag. 4. No recognizable word preserved; apparent connective *-pa-wa/i*.

Frag. 5, l. 1. |ARHLA |“MANUS+*218”(-)*li*(-x²)-*ti*: cf. ARHLA MANUS+*218(-)*la/i/u-ha-i* (3 sing. pres., CEKKE, § 21).

1. 2. “[...] do(es) not see.”

“*476”-*wa/i(-pa-wa/i-ta)*: cf. ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 7.

1. 3. “[...] may [...] to these [...]”.

1. 4. “[...] let him go”; for verb (PES₂)*i*-, “go”, see KARATEPE, 181, Commentary.

Frag. 6. Order of reading signs quite uncertain; only possible recognizable word FLUMEN(-)*311²(-)*pi-na*, perhaps a writing of *hapi*-, “river”, though the uncertain *311 is obscure.

Frag. 8. |ARHLA |MANUS²(-)*i-ti*²-x[...]: possibly verb *arha* MANUS/*69(-)*i-ti*-, “destroy”, for which see KARATEPE, § LXXIII, Commentary.

Frag. 9. No identifiable word except “god” (case-ending lost).

III.9. TELL AHMAR fragment 10 (plate 94)

Location. Fragment now deposited in Aleppo Museum, museum no. not yet known.

Description. Fragment of black basalt inscription, apparently from first line near beginning of text, sinistaverse as might be expected.

Dimensions: max. preserved ht., 0.13 m.; max. preserved w., 0.15 m.; line ht., 0.10 m.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Script, line divider(s): relief.

Sign forms: probably monumental (*mu*).

Peculiarities: —

Word dividers: none preserved.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time, by kind permission of Dr. Guy Bunnens.

Content. End of introductory self-presentation, beginning of narrative.

Date. 9th century B.C.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Supplied by courtesy of Dr. Bunnens.

Transliteration

1. §. 1 [...] (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ni* SERVUS-*ta₃-i-sa*
§. 2 *wa/i-mu*[...]

Translation

- (§. 1) [...], Tarhunzas’s servant.
(§. 2) Me [...]

III.10. ARSLANTAŞ (plates 103–105)

Location. Portal lion from the East Gate of Arslantaş (anc. Hadatu), now erected in the gate of the central park in Raqqa.

Description. Orthostat carved with portal lion from left side of gate entrance. The reverse of the slab, which would have been hidden against the wall, bears 3 inscriptions: above, a 9-line Aramaic inscription (A); below, left, a 9-line Assyrian Cuneiform inscription (B); below right, a 4-line Hieroglyphic inscription (C). The latter begins exactly on the right edge of the slab, indeed the right end of l. 1 extends over on to the shoulder of the lion protome, from which point it runs sinistroversely, up to the edge of the Cuneiform inscription, where it descends to l. 2, continuing *boustrophedon* to the right end of l. 4. The Hier. inscription is demarcated above, left and below by an incised line, and on the right, ll. 2–4 by the dressed edge of the slab.

Dimensions (Hier. inscription): ht., 0.55 m.; w. (ll. 2–4), 0.49 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised (signs faintly).

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: word-dividers (see below).

Word-dividers: apparently placed mid-line; see § 4, Commentary.

Discovery. The lion and its pair were always visible on the surface. The site with its lions was visited and described by Chesney in 1836, and by the Wolfe Expedition in 1884 (see Unger, op. cit., Publication). Hamdi Bey had sculptures brought from the site to Istanbul Museum in 1886 and 1899. Unger had Nöldeke survey and sketch the site in 1917, and published an account of its monuments in 1925 (See Publication). Thureau Danguin conducted archaeological investigations at the site in 1928, and produced a site plan including the East Gate with the lions, also a sketch plan of the gate (see Publication). The lion on the north side was standing, and that on the south had fallen sculpture uppermost but had lost its head since the time of Nöldeke. The lions remained like this until about 1980, when the north lion was taken to Aleppo Museum and the south to Raqqa. It was then that the inscriptions were seen

on the Raqqa lion. Dr. Hannes Galter kindly informs me that in the summer 1990 while working in the Aleppo Museum, he established the existence of three similar inscriptions, Aramaic, Assyrian and Hieroglyphic, on the reverse of the Aleppo (north) lion slab (the Assyrian is a duplicate of the Raqqa lion Cuneiform inscription).

Publication (lion). Unger, *Die Reliefs Tiglatpileasers III aus Arslan Tasch* (Publications des Musées d'Antiquités de Stamboul VII; Istanbul, 1925), pp. 8 (sketch map), 9 (description of lion pair), pls. I–II (photographs of lion gate, standing lion); Thureau Danguin *et al.*, *Arslantaş* (Paris, 1931), pp. 70–73 with fig. 22 (plan: the East Gate and its lions), pl. VI (photographs: 1, East Gate; 2, standing lion). For a photograph of the two lions as erected in the park in Raqqa, see now H. Klengel *et al.*, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Vorderasien* (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1989, p. 429 Abb. 188 – the lion's faces are modern restorations).

(Inscription). Here for the first time. I am much indebted to Dr. Ali Abou Assaf for his permission and assistance.

Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. Building inscription for city Hatata. Unfortunately only §§ 1–2 are clear and correspond to the beginning of the Assyrian text, and even here the name of the author in the Hier. text is unclear. §§ 3–6 are very unclear, but do not correspond to the other texts.

Date. Presumably 8th century B.C., contemporary with the lion.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a squeeze, kindly supplied by Professor Wolfgang Röllig (unfortunately the squeeze's l. 1 did not extend rightwards on to the lion's shoulder, where the author's name should be). Photographs supplied by Dr. Hannes Galter have also much assisted the readings.

Photographs. Supplied by the courtesy of Professor Wolfgang Röllig, and by Prof. David and Dr. Joan Oates.

Transliteration

1. § 1 ... x ...-tā-sā ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za-sa(URBS) REGIO-ni(-)
DOMINUS-ta-sā
2. § 2 a-wa/i ba-ta-ta-na(URBS)|| URBS-MI-ni-na "1"-ti-i ("ANNUS")
u-si-i ("AEDIFICIUM")u-pa-ba-
3. § 3 |a-wa/i mu-u DEUS-ni-(s)i²-zi-i||...(?) ("CONTRACTUS")
wa/i-za-ti-i
- § 4 za-sa-pa-na/i NEG₂ ...

Translation

... -tas, Masuwarean Country-Lord.
The city Hatata in one year I
founded,
and for me the gods ...(?) he/they
will buy.
But he ...

4. § 5 ... || (-) *za-ha* ... I [...].ed.
 § 6 *wa/i-'* ... (?) *a-wá/i* "4" *-wa/i-zi* ("BOS") *wa/i-wa/i-ti-i-ha* ... also with ox(en) ...
"x"(-)sa-mi-zi *286-na

Commentary

§ 1. Beginning: still unclear. We would expect "I (am)", but traces do not favour this. On the other hand, there is more than just the personal name. This could be a title, thus: "So-and-so, the Something, Masuwarean Country Lord". If so the *-tá-sa* would be the end of the title, not the personal name.

ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za-sa(URBS): since I first identified *Masuware* as the Hittite name of Til-Barsip (*-An. St.* 33 (1983), pp. 131–136), new evidence has brought welcome confirmation: see Singer, *Tel. Aviv* 15–16 (1988–89), pp. 184–192. Now on this inscription *Masuware-za-sa*(URBS) REGIO-*ni*(-)-DOMINUS-*ias* seems to correspond to the EN.NAM ^{uru}*Kar-Šulmān-ašarēd* on the adjoining Assyrian Cuneiform text, although it is still not clear that the two inscriptions are by the same author.

§ 2. This clause appears to give a reasonable correspondence to the second clause of the Assyrian Cuneiform, which reads (according to Dr. Galter):

BĀD ^{uru}*ba-da-te* TA *uš-še-šú a-di gab-dib-bi-šú ina MU[AN.NA]-šú ir-šip ú-šak-lil*

"the wall of Hadate from its foundation to its parapet in the year he founded (and) completed"

("AEDIFICIUM") *u-pa-*: elsewhere in Hier. we find the verb(s) *u-pa-*, ("PES") *u-pa-*, and ("CAPERE") *u-pa-*; see İSKENDERUN, § 3; also KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 13; BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4; SULTANHAN, § 4, with Commentaries. Uncertainty was registered there whether all attestations could be interpreted as one verb "bring". Starke now distinguishes two Cun. Luw. verbs, (1) *uppa-*, "convey"; (2) *upa-* (i.e. *uba-*, Lyc. *ube-*), "found": see *StBoT* 31, Anm. 1921. However the other Hier. attestations are to be distributed between these two verbs, the present occurrence strongly supports Starke's identification in Hier. of *uba-*, "found", especially when compared with the Assyrian version.

§ 3. It is not certain that the sense runs directly on from the end of l. 2 to the beginning of l. 3 without anything missing, and the difficulty of understanding the clause as visible compounds the uncertainty.

|a-wa/i: word-divider, the only one visible in the normal position in the whole inscription, is written reversed.

A further reversed word-divider is apparently written not at the top of the line but half-way down before *mu-u*. Apparent recurrences of this are in this clause, not reversed, before ("CONTRACTUS") *wa/i-za-ti-i*, and in § 6, also reversed, before *wa i-*. Whether all

these three are correctly identified, and if so, whether they indeed mark word-division, is not certain.

DEUS-*ni*(-)*i-zi-i*: prolonged examination of the squeeze does not permit me definitely to decide whether the third sign is *si* or *i*. A reading DEUS-*ni-i-zi-i*, "the gods" (nom./acc. plur. MF) would be the more expected, but does not give immediately apparent sense in the clause. On the other hand DEUS-*ni-si-zi-i*, "divine [things]" (also nom./acc. plur. MF) would imply that something qualified by the adjective is missing.

("CONTRACTUS") *wa/i-za-ti-i*: Anna Morpurgo Davies and I have identified the logogram as two "profiles", joined by a line across the bottom, facing each other across a "seal", ideographically symbolizing "agreement", hence CONTRACTUS: see *Fs. Neumann*, p. 91 ff. We showed that it determined the verbs *iyasa-*, "buy", and *piya-*, "(give), sell". The present occurrence determining a verb *wa-za-* looks very significant, in view of the Hitt. word *waš-*, "buy", and IE cognates: see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *ibid.*, pp. 100, 105 Addendum. It is hard not to suppose that our verb *wa-za-* is connected, yet no obvious sense would emerge from an interpretation based on this assumption. The uncertainty about the subject (if not "the gods", who?) and object (*mu-u* dir. or indir. object?) does not help. We should note the existence of a Hier. verb PI:S₂(-) *wa/i-za-*, "carry off(?)": see KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3, § 6, Commentary.

§ 4. *za-sá*: if correctly read, gives *zas*, "this (one), he", subject, which will require 3 sing. verb. There is however space above both *za* and *sa*, which could have accommodated other sign(s) (e.g. word-divider), although prolonged examination of the squeeze suggested nothing positive.

§ 5. (-) *za-ha-*: could stand as the beginning of the following clause to give *za-ha-wa/i-*, "and this ...". There is however the odd, apparent word-divider of the type noted above, § 3, before the *wa/i-*, and this requires some explanation (even if not as word-divider). The transliteration therefore assumes that (-) *za-ha* is the end of a verb, 1 sing. pret., of the previous clause, § 5, of which it would be the only legible trace.

§ 6. *wa/i-*: an order of introductory particles now seen in several examples; see SHEIZAR, § 2, Commentary.

... (?) *a-wá/i*: space and possible traces suggest that one sign may have preceded this. Could this group represent the clause's verb, not otherwise apparent? If so,

it would have to be 1 sing. pres. (*-wá/i* standing for *-wi*). Cf. *á-wa/i-*; “I shall make”, HİSARCIK 1, § 5 (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), p. 277 f.). Although this does not look promising, no alternative is available.

“4”-*wa/i-zi*: seems to be the numeral “four”, Luw. *mawa-*, with nom./acc. plur. MF ending *-(n)zi*; cf. ASSUR letters *a*, § 10; *c*, § 9 (both written 4-*zi*). But it is hard to see what it could qualify. If, as one might have expected, it qualified the following “oxen”, it should like this show an abl. ending. Could it qualify the following word “x”(-)*sa-mi-zi*, and if so, how could the intervention of (“BOS”)... be understood?

(“BOS”) *wa/i-wa/i-ti-i-ha*, “also with ox(en)”: clear enough in itself, but by no means in relation to its surrounding context. One would suppose that it belonged to a context of “offering”.

“x”(-)*sa-mi-zi*: unidentifiable logogram and phonetic writing, presumably nom./acc. plur. MF.

*286-*na*: the sign *HH* no. 286, facing in either direction, appears as part of complicated compound logograms (CAELUM.*286.x, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17 *a*; (*286+*317) *warama*, ASSUR letters *a*, § 10; *b*, § 5; *c*, § 9; *f+g*, § 37); on TOPADA it is apparently used with a syllabic value *wa/i-* (§§ 4, 20). Here it could be a logogram standing for a noun with the case ending *-na*, acc. sing. MF.

Sense: the whole clause if complete is extremely difficult, though if the dubious ...(?)*a-wá/i* can be identified as the verb, the clause would look less desperate. Could (“BOS”) *wawati-ha*, “also with ox(en)”, be understood as parenthetic to “4”-*wa/i-zi* “x”(-)*sa-mi-zi*, “four (-)SAMI’s”, which would then be the dir. object (acc. plur. MF)? *286-*na* might stand in apposition to this object.

IV. MARAŞ

The Historical Context

- The state and its name in the Iron Age
- Gurgum-Marqas in the Assyrian sources
- The Hieroglyphic monuments
 - Rulers' inscriptions
 - Non-royal inscriptions

The Inscriptions

*House of Laramas (Palalam)**Laramas I*

1. MARAŞ 8 (stele)

Halparuntiyas II

2. MARAŞ 4 (statue fragment)

Laramas II (?)

3. İSKENDERUN (mill-stone)

Halparuntiyas III

4. MARAŞ 1 (lion)

Non-royal and miscellaneous inscriptions

5. MARAŞ 14 (statue)
6. MARAŞ 3 (statue)
7. MARAŞ 5 (stele)
8. MARAŞ 11 (stele)
9. KÜRTÜL (stele)
10. MARAŞ 2 (funerary stele)
11. MARAŞ 9 (funerary stele)
12. MARAŞ 12 (funerary stele)
13. KARABURÇLU (funerary stele)
14. MARAŞ 13 (statue)
15. HACİBEBEKLİ (stele)
16. MARAŞ 6 (LENINGRAD) (fragment)
17. MARAŞ 7 (fragment)
18. MARAŞ 10 (fragment)
19. MARAŞ 15 (fragment)
20. MARAŞ 16 (bull, unpublished)

The Historical Context

The state and its name in the Iron Age

The city and area of Maraş have never been systematically excavated or surveyed, and the numerous sculptured and inscribed monuments which have been appearing from the site for more than a century have all been found by irregular digging and have no accurately recorded provenance. The ancient *höyük* in the centre of the old city, with its medieval *kale* on top, is one source of these antiquities, but to judge from their preponderantly funerary character, another source must be one or more of the ancient cemeteries.

The ancient state¹ is referred to in Assyrian sources as Gurgum,² normally determined as "land" (KUR), but occasionally as "city" (*uru*). In the reign of Sargon II, the name Marqas appears for the capital city,³ and typically this gave its name to the Assyrian province after its annexation. The identity of the land Gurgum and the city Marqas is established by the closely associated contexts in which they occur in Sargon's inscriptions,⁴ and in particular by the alternating use of "the Gurgumean" and "the Marqasean" to describe Sargon's contemporary, the king Tarhulara.⁵ The identity of Gurgum-Marqas with modern Maraş (Mar'as), and thus the derivation of the latter from the former city-name, are guaranteed by the use of the term *kurkumawani*-(URBS), "the Gurgumean", in the titles of the kings on the indigenous inscriptions MARAŞ 4 and 1, who are themselves identified in the Assyrian inscriptions as kings of Gurgum.⁶ In one passage Sargon II uses the term "land of Bit-Pa'alla" as an apparent synonym of Gurgum.⁷

The territory of Gurgum would seem to have comprised principally the well-watered plain of Maraş itself. To the south a boundary with Sam'al (Zincirli) is attested,⁸ and to the east one with Kummuh.⁹ Beyond the mountains north of Maraş lay the plain of Elbistan, apparently under Malatyan control during this period.¹⁰ The western mountains are penetrated by the river Ceyhan, and one would expect that in this direction Gurgum would have come in contact with Que (Cilicia).

Gurgum-Marqas in Assyrian sources

No places or events of the IInd millennium B.C. have as yet been definitely located in the area of Maraş. The outline history of the state, from the time of Aššur-

1 For general surveys of the sources see Röhlig, *RLA* III 9 (1971), s.v. Gurgum; Hawkins, *RLA* VII/5-6 (1989), s.v. Maras, Marqas.

2 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. GURGUM.

3 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. MARQASI. All references are Sargonid except one letter possibly attributable to Tiglath-pileser III (Nimrud letter 50; see *Iraq* 21 (1959), p. 159 pl. XLIII). The toponym is normally determined *uru*; twice with ^{lu} (*ABL* 190, obv. 24, rev. 2); three times only with KUR, *ARL* 189, l. 24 (read ^{lu}GAR KUR M.?), Nimrud letter 50 (see above), and *ABL* 966, l. 7. The toponym also occurs in the spelling *Marhas*.

4 See below, sources cited in nn. 23-24.

5 See below, n. 24 (Nimrud cylinder).

6 See below, p. 251 and n. 29.

7 For a consideration of this term, see below, n. 32.

8 See below, p. 250 and n. 22.

9 See below, p. 250 and n. 17.

10 See Malatya, p. 283 f.

naşirpal II (883–859 B.C.) until its incorporation into the Assyrian empire as the province of Marqas, is provided by Assyrian historical records supplemented by Aramaic references, and four of the kings named can be identified in the MARAŞ inscriptions, Mutalli and his son Qalparunda (II), and Palalam and his son Qalparunda (III).

Gurgum was not named as being in contact with Aššurnaširpal on his western campaign c. 870 B.C., but its envoys were among those from the West entertained at the inauguration of his new palace at Kalhu.¹¹ In 858 B.C. Shalmaneser III received the submission and tribute of the king Mutalli without recorded hostilities,¹² though Gurgum does not appear in the list of those submitting the following year,¹³ and in 856 B.C. the submitting kings are not named individually.¹⁴ In 853 B.C. a new king Qalparunda submitted.¹⁵ For the rest of Shalmaneser's reign, while he was attacking the south Syrian coalition, north Syria remained submissive, though individual states are not normally named. Kula-muwa of Sam'al (c. 840–830 B.C.) felt himself threatened by surrounding powerful kings, among whom was probably included his nearest neighbour the king of Gurgum, although he only named the king of the Danuna (i.e. Que), against whom he enlisted the help of the Assyrian king (Shalmaneser).¹⁶

In 805 B.C. Adad-nirari III fought a battle against Ataršumki of Arpad at the head of an alliance of eight kings, and afterwards he established the boundary between Ušpilulume of Kummuh and Qalparunda son of Palalam of Gurgum, in favour of the former.¹⁷ Qalparunda was doubtless a member of the defeated alliance. Later the same Arpad-led alliance was incited by the king of Damascus to besiege Zakur of Hamath in Hatarikka, and a king of Gurgum (*grg[m]*), is recorded as a member of the alliance.¹⁸ The date was probably 796 B.C. or shortly before, and Qalparunda was probably still king.

Gurgum under its king Tarhulara was also a member of the Urartian-Arpadite alliance, which faced Tiglath-pileser III in 743 B.C.¹⁹ After its defeat, Gurgum became the first target of Assyrian attack, whereupon Tarhulara submitted and was pardoned,²⁰ being listed as tributary along with the other western kings in 738 and 732 B.C.²¹ Nevertheless Tiglath-pileser forced Gurgum to cede towns to the loyal Panammu II of Sam'al.²² At an unspecified date, but perhaps in or shortly before 711 B.C., Muttallu, the son of Tarhulara, killed him and seized the throne. Sargon II moved to avenge Tarhulara and in 711 B.C. deported Muttallu and annexed Gurgum to form the Assyrian province named after its capital city Marqas.²³ Other inscriptions of Sargon give an irreconcilably contradictory account of the annexation, in which it is Tarhulara who is accused of intriguing with Mita and said to have been removed.²⁴ Marqas seems to have remained an Assyrian province until the end of the Empire; governors are attested in 682 B.C.,²⁵ and post-canonical.²⁶

The Hieroglyphic monuments

Rulers' inscriptions. The date of the annexation, 711 B.C., is likely to be an absolute *terminus ante quem* for indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions. In fact none yet found can be certainly dated to the 8th century B.C., and they seem all to belong to the 9th century or earlier. No monuments can be attributed to Tarhulara or Muttallu. Earlier, the native rulers' inscriptions fit in well with Assyrian references. The author of the lion inscription, MARAŞ 1, Halparuntiyas (III), gives his

11 See Karkamiš, p. 75, and n. 31.

12 Kurkh Monolith, III R 7 (= *RIM* 1 3, A.O.101.2), i 40–41; also new, almost duplicate inscription – see Mahmud and Black, *Sumér* 44 (1985–86), pp. 135–155, text 1, rev. 7–9.

13 Kurkh Monolith, III R 7–8, ii 21–30.

14 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8, ii 39 f. They are collectively described as MAN^{mes}-ni ša a-ḥat tam-di u MAN^{mes}-ni ša a-ḥat id A.RAT, "kings of the shore of the sea and kings of the bank of the Euphrates".

15 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8, ii 84.

16 See Cilicia, p. 41 and n. 46.

17 Pazarcık stele, see Commagene, p. 331 f. and nn. 26–27.

18 Zakur stele, see Hama, p. 401 and n. 47.

19 The summary sources name only Sarduri of Urartu and Mati'ilu of Arpad as the enemy leaders: Nimrud slab I, *JCC* pl. 18, ll. 20–22 = *AR-AB* I, § 785; slab II, Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, pls. XXX–XXXI, ll. 28–33 = *AR-AB* I, § 813. Others, less well preserved, include the participation of Sulumal of Melid, Tarhulara of Gurgum, also Kuštašpi of Kummuh: Iran stele, obv. frag. B, Levine and Tadmor in Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III*, ll. 24–25 (without Kummuh); Nimrud tablet, Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, pl. XXXVI, obv. 45 f. = *AR-AB* I, § 797; Annals, Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 12 f. and pl. XIX, ll. 59–62 = *AR-AB* I, § 769; cf. Tadmor, *Introductory Remarks* (1967), p. 177 and figs. 2–3. For the geography of the campaign, see Astour, *Assur* 2/3 (1979), pp. 1–23 [69–91].

20 Detailed account only on Iran stele, obv. frag. B, ll. 38–42 (Levine and Tadmor, loc. cit.). The stele dates to 737 B.C., the Median campaign, and is thus the earliest account of the campaign of 743 B.C.

21 For sources, see Cilicia, p. 42 and nn. 49–50.

22 Panammu II statue inscription, Donner and Röllig, *KAI*² no. 215 = Gibson, *TSS* 2, no. 14, l. 15.

23 This account is found in Sargon's main historical inscriptions: Display inscription is best preserved, Winckler, *Sargon*, pp. 112 ff. and pl. 33, 69–70, ll. 83–89 = *AR-AB* II, § 61; Annals text is fragmentary, Lie, *Sargon*, p. 38, ll. 234 ... 249 = *AR-AB* II, § 29. The date is given as the 11th *palū* in the Annals, and confirmed by the Eponym Chronicle which has "against the city Marqasa" for 711 B.C. See Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 92 f., 96.

24 Principally the Nimrud cylinder, Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 183 and pls. XLVII f., ll. 41–75, where Tarhulara, called "the Marqasean" (l. 42) and "the Gurgumean" (l. 60), is coupled with Tarhunazi of Melid as evil Hittites conspiring with Midas. The summary inscriptions follow this account: Pavement slab IV, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 148 and pl. 38, ll. 28–30 = *AR-AB* II, § 99; Display inscription of room XIV, Weissbach *ZDMG* 72 (1918), p. 178 f., l. 10 f. = *AR-AB* II, § 79; Bull inscription, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 14, ll. 26–27 = *AR-AB* II, § 92 (where Tarhulara is coupled with Gunzinanu of Melid).

25 Nabu-šarra-ušur: see *RA* VII, s.v. Marqas, § 4(a) for attestations.

26 Aššur-šarra-ušur: see Postgate, *FNALD*, no. 8 l. 25 f.

genealogy for six ascending generations: Laramas(II)-Halparuntiyas(II)-Muwatalis-Halparuntiyas(I)-Muwizis-Laramas(I).²⁷ The author of the colossal statue fragment MARAŞ 4 names himself Halparuntiyas son of Muwatalis, great-grandson of Muwizis,²⁸ and is thus clearly Halparuntiyas II. He and his father Muwatalis are satisfactorily identified as the Qalparunda and Mutalli who submitted to Shalmaneser III in 853 and 858 B.C. respectively.²⁹ As he can be seen to have succeeded his father c. 855 B.C., the reign of his great-great-grandfather Laramas I four generations back must date well back into the first half of the 10th century B.C. This ancestor is very likely to be identical with the Laramas, grandson of Astuwaramanzas, son of Muwatalis, the author of the archaic inscribed stele MARAŞ 8,³⁰ the apparent founder of the dynasty, whose monument is thus the earliest datable with reasonable certainty. At the other end of the genealogy on the lion, Halparuntiyas III, son of Laramas II, son of Halparuntiyas II, must be the Qalparunda son of Palalam, named by Adad-nirari III in 805 B.C.³¹ The identity of the names written (Assyrian) Palalam, (Hieroglyphic) Laramas seems certain but is difficult to explain.³² The inscribed mill-stone İSKENDERUN is the work of a Laramas, most probably Laramas II.

These four rulers' inscriptions provide a framework of fairly established chronological points of reference independent of a stylistic analysis of the sculpture.³³ In content, they give some information about Gurgum, though they mainly relate to building and public works. In the early 10th century B.C., Laramas I describes on his stele MARAŞ 8 his reestablishment of the city's agriculture after a period of devastation. In the mid-9th century, Halparuntiyas II had erected a colossal statue of himself inscribed with his *res gestae*, in the manner of the statue of Tudhaliyas IV described by Suppiluliumas II,³⁴ and that of Panammu II by his son Bar-Rakib.³⁵ The text as preserved describes mainly his conquest of two places, the city (also land) of Hirika and the city Iluwasi, and his accession to the throne, at which point it breaks off. Hirika could be identified with the city Hiliki mentioned on a MALATYA inscription from Elbistan,³⁶ and the place might be sought as a border territory between Gurgum and the plain of Elbistan, although a connection with the distant Hilakku (Rough Cilicia) has been suggested.³⁷ The inscribed mill-stone İSKENDERUN was dedicated by a Laramas at the building of a granary, presumably to a god. If this is indeed Laramas II, the piece dates to the late 9th century B.C. The Maraş lion with inscription MARAŞ 1 of Halparuntiyas III dating to the very end of the 9th century has little solid information apart from the genealogy. The text mentions his accession, his restoration of devastated areas and his relations with the gods, but then breaks off.

Non-royal inscriptions. The other Maraş inscriptions are not easy to date accurately, not being linked to the

chronological outline of the kingdom. They may be grouped as (1) personal dedications; (2) personal memorials; (3) uncertain, illegible texts and fragments. Among the first are MARAŞ 14, a small inscribed statue, apparently modelled on the colossal MARAŞ 4, bearing an inscription of Astiwasus, servant of a Gurgum ruler (name lost), describing his good works, date uncertain; MARAŞ 3, a small inscribed statue in the style of the Malatya colossus, describing the dedication of and offerings to a Storm-God statue, date uncertain; MARAŞ 5, a Storm-God stele with inscription describing offerings, date uncertain; MARAŞ 11, a Storm-God stele with inscription largely unread, but describing offerings; KÜRTÜL, a Storm-God stele with a difficult inscription. Both the last two are dated stylistically by Orthmann to *Spätheth.* III a, i.e. early 8th century B.C.³⁸

Almost all of the personal memorials, which are very numerous at Maraş, are uninscribed,³⁹ but a stele with two seated female figures bears the inscription MARAŞ 2, and one with a mother and child has a single epigraph MARAŞ 9. Another with man and wife has broken traces of an epigraph MARAŞ 12. KARABURÇLU found near a village of that name 5 km. north of Zin-

27 § 1. Note new readings of the names Muwizis (*zi* for *i*) and Laramas (see below, n. 32).

28 §§ 1, 10. The MARAŞ 1 and 4 genealogies have been understood since Hrozný (*IHH* II (1934), pp. 276–278, 283 f., 287); cf. Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), p. 52 f. But the omission of the grandfather here in § 10, and uncertainty about the word “great-grandson” (see § 10, Commentary) has led to confusion: see e.g. Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 203–205; and the correction by Hawkins, *Z* 63 (1973), p. 309.

29 Already identified by Bossert, *JNK* (1932), p. 66 f., and generally followed.

30 So, tentatively, Meriggi, loc. cit. (n. 28).

31 Pazarcık stele, see above n. 17.

32 For the reading Laramas, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), p. 104 f. In connection with the Assyrian-attested form Palalam, one must also recall the term “(of) the land of Bit-Pa’alla” (KUR É. ⁽¹⁾*pa-a-al-la*) applied to the family of Mutallu son of Tarhulara of Gurgum in one inscription of Sargon and restorable in another (Display inscription, l. 86, from which restore in *Annals*; see above, n. 23). Since the “land of Bit-Pa’alla” seems to be used as a synonym of Gurgum, it is hard not to associate Pa’alla with the founder of the dynasty Palalam/Laramas, but equally hard to explain.

33 Orthmann's analysis provides less reliable results than the soundly based historical dating, and places each piece too late: *Maraş* B/16 (MARAŞ 8), *Spätheth.* II (i.e. late 10th–early 9th centuries); *Maraş* B/3 (MARAŞ 4), *Spätheth.* II/III a (late 9th–early 8th centuries); *Maraş* B/1 (MARAŞ 1), *Spätheth.* III (late 9th–late 8th centuries). See *USK*, especially pp. 203–205.

34 *KBo* XII, 38 ii 4'–21'; see Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 73–81.

35 See above, n. 22.

36 *IZGIN* 2, § 5; see Malatya, p. 284 and n. 26.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *USK*, pp. 88, 90, 235 f., 239, 519, 524 f.

39 *USK. Maraş* A/1, A/2 (inscribed, MARAŞ 12), B/7 (inscribed, MARAŞ 2), B/8–10, 12–15, 17–21, 24(?), C/1–7, D/1, 3, D/4 (inscribed, MARAŞ 9), D/5–6. See especially pp. 366–380; also Voos, *IOF* 12 (1985), pp. 65–68.

cirli, has a funerary banquet of man and wife which groups it with the Maraş personal memorials, and an almost illegible inscription. These four inscribed stelae are dated stylistically by Orthmann *Spätheth.* II (i.e. beginning of 9th century B.C.), except that with MARAŞ 9, which is *Spätheth.* III b, i.e. late 8th century B.C.⁴⁰ The uninscribed personal memorials are more evenly distributed over the sculptural phases, *Spätheth.* II, III a,

III b, i.e. the entire 9th–8th centuries, though Genge argues for an earlier terminal date for the group.⁴¹

Among the other inscribed pieces of uncertain attribution are MARAŞ 13, an eroded ruler statue with erased inscription; HACIBEBEKLİ, a Stag-God stele with illegible inscription (also *Spätheth.* II according to Orthmann); part of an inscribed lion, MARAŞ 6; and part of an inscribed stele base, MARAŞ 7.

The Inscriptions

IV.1. MARAŞ 8 (plates 106–107)

Location. Stele, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Museum accession no. 90.21 (formerly 1904: Garstang, *LH*, p. 399 = *HE*, p. 341; so also Charles, *HI*, p. 49). It is registered as being the gift of Mrs. Henry Marden, in memory of the Rev. Henry Marden, 1890.

Description. Stele showing ruler figure facing left, bearded with hair falling in a bunch on nape of neck, wearing long, fringed robe, carrying staff in right hand; the feet are damaged but sufficiently preserved to show shoes with upturned toes. The 7-line inscription begins top left, running dextroverse above the head of the ruler, continuing *boustrophedon* down the stele, written across the background and the ruler's robe, avoiding his face and hands.

Dimensions: ht., 1.10 m.; w, 0.58 m.; th., c. 0.07 m.; line ht., c. 0.15 m.

Condition: fair; the stele has been broken into three pieces in modern times and repaired.

Script, line-dividers: linear incised, but faint.

Sign forms: largely cursive, *ma*, *á*, *ta*, *mu*?

Peculiarities: cursive sign forms somewhat idiosyncratic (e.g. *ma*, *na*, *ta*).

Word-dividers: some visible.

Discovery. Seen by Puchstein in 1882 in a Maraş cemetery on the Adana road, and later in 1882 in the possession of the Rev. H. Marsden (*sic*! for the name as Marsden instead of Marden, cf. below, IZGIN, Discovery): Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Textband, pp. 392, 200. Said to have been seen in the Istanbul Museum in 1897 by Peiser (Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 20, with ref. to *OIZ* 1 (1898), p. 8), but Peiser says: "die Stele von Maras, cf. Humann u. Puchstein XIV"; this reference can only mean "Humann-Puchstein XLV", and thus refers to MARAŞ 2. Ward in 1899 stated that it belonged to the Metropolitan Museum (*J/4 NS* 3 (1899), p. 39), and von der

Osten that it was acquired, with 2 other sculptures, by the Museum in 1891 through the agency of Ward (*Met. Mus. Studies* 2 (1929), p. 112), though the Museum register records it as the gift of Mrs. Henry Marden in 1890 (see above, Location).

Publication. Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Atlas, Taf. XLIX, 4–5 (photograph and drawing from squeeze); Messerschmidt, *CIH*, p. 19 f., Taf. XXV (Humann-Puchstein text collated from squeeze in Berlin Museum); Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 49, pl. XXVII (new drawing, collated); von der Osten, *Met. Mus. Studies* 2 (1929), pp. 116–118, figs. 7 (photograph, = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 809) and 9 (new copy); Bossert, *JKI* 2 (1952/53), p. 110 and Taf. XII–XV (Metropolitan Museum photographs, well reproduced).

Editions. Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 10, pp. 58–61, fig. 3 (drawing based on Bossert's photographs); id., *Manuale* 11/2, no. 139, pp. 89–91, Tav. XV (redrawn).

Excerpts.

§ 1 Laroche, *HHH* no. 300(b).1.

§ 3 Hawkins, *apud* Melchert, *An. St.* 38, p. 33 n. 8.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Maraş B/16), pp. 86, 204, 288, 290 f., 526; Genge, *NSR*, p. 23 f.

Content. Deeds of Laramas. § 1, name and genealogy; §§ 2–3, disaster to Gurgum(?); §§ 4–11, reconstruction(?); §§ 12–17, protective curse.

Date. Author of the inscription, Laramas, should be identified with the Laramas who heads the genealogy

⁴⁰ *USK*, pp. 76, 85–87.

⁴¹ See *USK*, pp. 523–529, s.v.; and cf. Genge, *NSR*, Kap. V, where it is plausibly proposed to restrict the dating to the period 900–775 B.C.

on MARAŞ 1, the sixth progenitor of Halparuntiyas III (c. 805 – see MARAŞ 1 and MARAŞ 4, Dates). The six generations (c. 150–180 years) before Halparuntiyas III, place this stele c. 1000–950 B.C., one of the earliest approximately datable pieces of the corpus (but cf. GÜRÜN, Date).

Text. The new text offered here is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in the Metropolitan Museum in May 1983. It has been checked against collated photographs.

Photographs. Supplied by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 EGO-mi-i-¹la+ra/i+a-ma-sa á-sa-tu-wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-si
|INFANS.NEPOS [mu]-wa/i-ta-li-si ||[INF]ANS-[mu]-wa/i-za-sa||
2. § 2 wa/i-tá-²ku-ma-na mi-[ia²-ti²]-i |FLUMEN.REGIO-ia-ti-i|| DOMUS-
na-x[...] ARHLA (FLAMMAE(?))la/i/u-x(-x?)
3. § 3 |ta²-pa-wa/i|| ku+ra/i-ku-ma-na(URBS) |FLUMEN.REGIO-ti-na
("VACUUS")ta-na-ti-i²-na wa/i-mi-LITUUS-ba
§ 4 a-wa/i pi-ba-ia hi²-nu-ba
§ 5 x-pa²-wa/i² x-wa/i ... [...] ARHLA |x(-)tu²+ra/i-pa²-ba
4. § 6 wa/i-tá-²|URBS+MI(-ni²)|| wa/i-tá²-mu²-za|(VITIS)tu-wa/i-ri+i-ta²
|PRAE-i (PONERE)tu-wa/i-ba
§ 7 |(*255)ka-la/i/u-na-wa/i²|(*255)ka-la/i/u-na x-ta|(X)su-wa/i-ba
§ 8 zi-pa-wa/i |FLUMEN-pi |ARHLA PES₂(-)za-na-ba DEUS-[ni²]-zi
§ 9 á-na²-pa-wa/i-ta |sa²-x+ra/i-ba ||
5. § 10 a-wa/i |x² HWI-ru-ba-ta-za |x(-)pu-ti-ba
§ 11 a-wa/i(-)ta(-)ia za |PORTA x x x ia x x [...]a²-wa/i-ta+ra/i-
§ 12 |á-ma-za-wa/i-ta²-²|á-ta²-ma-za |REL-i-sa |ARHLA | MALLEUS-
x+ra/i-i
6. § 13 wa/i-sa-²REX-ti-i-sa || REL+ra/i-i
§ 14 a-wa/i RI-X-bu-ti-na(?) za-si²(?) |INFRA-ta (PONERE)tu-wa/i-tu
§ 15 REL-sa-pa-wa/i-sa-²|REGIO-ni-ia-si-sa |DOMINUS-ia-sa
§ 16 [a]-wa/i |x[...]s|á-la-ba-za INFRA-ta (PONERE)tu-wa/i-tu
7. § 17 |x-pa-wa/i á|p[á²...] |CAPUT-ti-na| x-² |DOMUS |...
FEMINA²-ti-² [...] |INFANS-mu²-[...]za² |...

I (am) Laramas, Astuwaramanzas's grandson, Muwatalis's son.
When from my river-land the house[s?] ... burned down(?), and ... I found(?) Gurgum the river-land waste, I caused to pass(?) PIHA's(?), and I ...-ed ... [...].
For the city I planted out ... vineyards(?), I filled granary on(?) granary, and here(?) I ...-ed forth the gods to the river, and I ...-ed ...
I (-)PUTI-ed the HWIRUHA-TAZA, this gate ...
(He) who shall erase my name, if he (is) a king, let him surrender his(?) kingdom(?), but he who (is) a country-lord, let him surrender [his?] power, and ... his(?) head, house, wife, child [...]

Commentary

§ 1. ¹la+ra/i+a-ma-: for reading of name, see MARAŞ 1, § 1 b, Commentary.

á-sa-tu-wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-: name appears to be the same as that of the ruler of Karkamiš, where it is written á-sa-tu-wa/i-ta₄//ta₅-ma-za-. In spite of some uncertainty, the reading wa/i+ra/i looks inevitable; it is certainly difficult to suggest any alternative for the traces. The problem is that such a reading implies the occurrence of rhotacism already on this early inscription.

[mu]-wa/i-ta-li-: though some doubt exists over the reading of the name, it would be quite appropriate to find it at this point in the genealogy, if Laramas here is correctly identified with Laramas I of the MARAŞ 1 genealogy; for here, where names tend to recur in alternate generations (e.g. Halparuntiyas I–III), the son of Laramas I was Muwizis, and his great-grandson again Muwatalis.

||[INF]ANS-[mu]-wa/i-za-: for this writing of the word, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary, with other examples.

§ 2. mi-[ia²-ti²]-i |FLUMEN.REGIO-ia-ti-i: this looks to be the most likely reading yielding sense, "my river-land" (abl. sing.); for FLUMEN.REGIO, see below, § 3.

DOMUS-na-x[...]: what seems to be required is a case ending, which would be expected to be -za (nom./acc. sing. N) or -a (nom./acc. plur. N); the traces suggest neither of these, though za might be possible. The word should be subject or object.

(FLAMMAE(?))la/i/u-... : should connect with the reduplicated verb (FLAMMAE(?))la/i/u-sà-la/i/u-sà- and the derived form (FLAMMAE(?))la/i/u-za-li-, for which see HAMA 4, § 11, and Commentary, and perhaps FLAMMAE(?)(-)la₄-bá-ni-wa/i-, TOPADA, § 14.

and Commentary. These two contexts both point to a meaning “burn”, as do the other words determined by FLAMMAE(?), *kinu(wa)*- and *marusana*- (see CEKKE, § 4, Commentary). The sense “burn down” for *ARHL*1 (FLAMMAE(?)) *la/i/u*- could easily be accommodated to the present context, in spite of the difficulties of reading which obscure the relationship between DOMUS-na-x[...] and the verb. There is no obvious subject except an indefinite “they” (-*ata* in *wa/i-tá*-?), requiring a verbal ending -*ta*, 3 plur. pret., which is not apparent in the traces. Conceivably DOMUS-na-x[...], might be the subject, requiring a verb in passive form rarely attested in Hier. or Cun. Luwian.

§ 3. *ta*²:- most likely sign to read, presents unknown word to which connective particles -*pauwa* have been attached. Perhaps = Hitt. *tān*, “again, a second time”?

FLUMEN.REGIO-*ti-na* (= *hapatin*), “river-land”: see HAMA 1-3, 6-7, § 3, and Commentary, for other attestations.

(“VACUUS”) *ta-na-ti-i*²:- “empty, waste”: for the recognition of the adj. *tanati*- and its denom. verb *tan-ata*-, “lay waste”, see MARAŞ 1, § 4, Commentary; it is the present passage on which the identification of the adj. as an -*i*- stem depends.

wa/i-mi-I.ITUUS:- for this verb and its attestations, see KARABURUN, § 6, Commentary.

Sense: this clause is closely paralleled by KARA-HÖYÜK, § 3, as elucidated by Melchert, following Nowicki (see Commentary there).

The two passages provide mutual support for reading and interpretation.

§ 4. *hi*²-*nu-ha*: first sign looks slightly more like *sa* than *hi*; but with the reading *hi*, we may compare the verb PES₂//PES(-) *hi-nu*-, “cause to pass”, for which see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 2, and Commentary. An alternative reading here could be *pi-ha-ia-sa-nu-ha*, giving a verb to be associated with *piha(s)*-, “lightning”, for which see KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 14, and Commentary.

§ 5. Beginning of clause uncertainly identified by dubious -*pa-wa/i*.

*ARHL*1 |x(-)*tu*²+*ra/i-pa*²-*ha*: verb very uncertain, first sign (logogram?) unidentified; second sign *tu*² uncertain, not really similar to the form in which *tu* appears in this inscription, thus perhaps CORNU+R-1/I (= *sura/i*? cf. KARKAMIŞ A4b, § 2, CORNU+R-1/I-*ti*(REGIO)).

§ 6. URBS+*MI*(-*ni*²): *ni* conceivable but very small and faint.

*wa/i-tá*²-*mu*²-*za*: uncertain, possibly adj. qualifying following word.

(VITIS) *tu-wa/i-ri+i-ta*²: from the well known usage of VITIS to determine words connected with the vine, we would expect here an attestation of the word “vineyard”, elsewhere written *tu-wa/i+ra/i-sá*-. The present discrepant form, provisionally entered by Meriggi under

tuwars- (Glossar, s.v.), requires consideration. The final sign appears to be *ta*, but it should be noted that *ta* elsewhere in this inscription is always in the cursive form, so conceivably this could be the monumental form of *sá*, a sign not clearly visible elsewhere in this inscription, but probably occurring in § 16, [s]á-*la-ha-za*. If so, the reading -*wa/i-ri+i*- for the usual -*wa/i+ra/i*- should point to an interpretation of the word as *tuwarisa*- not *tuwarsa*-. As an alternative to this graphic explanation, a morphological explanation of a form *tuwarita*, as against the usual *tuwarsa*-, should perhaps be sought.

§ 7. |(*255)*ka-la/i/u-na*-[*wa/i*²] |(*255)*ka-la/i/u-na*...: one at least of this pair of words should be acc. (sing. MF), and in addition some connective particle(s) should be visible. If the reading of -*wa/i* is correct (far from clear), then the first word could represent *kaluna(n)+wa*, and both required elements would be present. The second *ka-la/i/u-na* could be complete as it stands, i.e. dat. sing. The clause is clearly of the type represented by KARATEPE, §§ VIII-X, so one would expect the second *kaluna* to be followed by a postposition parallel to KARATEPE's SUPER+*ra/i-ta*. The x-*ta* visible does not seem to be this, but could be [a]-*ta* (i.e. *anta*), for which cf. POST-*ni a-tá i-zi-i*-, “add (x upon x),” IZGIN 1, §§ 4-5; 2, §§ 4-5, and Commentary. The writing *ka-la/i/u-na*- for the usual *karuna*- is an interesting variant, found also on HAMA 8, § 2 (cf. perhaps KARKAMIŞ A30b, § 1), and gives a rare, clear example of *la/i/u* with a guaranteed value *lu*. [See now also TELL AHMAR 5, §§ 2, 5, 14].

(X) *su-wa/i-ha*: verb clear, but preceding sign (determining logogram?) not; some form of MANUS expected from KARATEPE, 38.

§ 8. *zi*:- presumably = *zi[n]*, “here”, see KARATEPE, § V, 24...27, and Commentary. A reading *za*- is not excluded; if this were established it would presumably represent *zan*, acc. sing. MF, “this”, but would have nothing obvious to qualify apart from a possible FLUMEN-*pi*(-*na*?).

*ARHL*1 PES₂(-) *za-na-ha*: otherwise unattested verb. It might be possible to extract the -*na*- to give FLUMEN-*pi-na* PES₂-*za-ha*, i.e. verb PES₂(-) *wa/i-za*- (for which see KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3, § 6, and Commentary), though this is epigraphically difficult, and in any case the following word creates further problems of syntax.

DEUS-[*ni*²]-*zi*:- *ni*- very uncertain, perhaps read simply DEUS-*i-zi*; but the sense of the clause is sufficiently unclear to render this word uncertain. It is possible, if á-na- were read differently, that DEUS... belongs at the beginning of § 9.

§ 9. á-na-(*pa-wa/i-ta*): if correctly read, could be a phonetic writing of the usual SUB-na-na, i.e. *ana(n)*-; cf. á-na-tara/i-, “lower” (KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.15 (1) etc.)

sa₅²-x + ra/i-ha: unclear. First sign could be IUDEX, as *sa₅* does not usually have two vertical strokes inside (but cf. MARAŞ 5, § 2; JISR EL HADID frag. 1 l. 1 etc.). Second sign, form fairly clear, but not identified.

§ 10. Very unclear, probably because of unknown vocabulary.

HWI-ru-ha-ta-za: probably obj., acc. sing. N.

x(-)pu-ti-ha: verb, first sign (logogram or syllabogram) unidentified.

§ 11. Very unclear.

a-wa/i(-)ta(-)ia: unclear where connective particles end.

PORTA: sign presumably so to be identified, standing midway between monumental forms of Karkamiš (A11a, §§ 13, 16, 20; A11b+c, § 34; A14b, § 2; also KARATEPE 4, § 1) and the reduced cursive forms of KARATEPE, 344, 358, 367, 384. KARKAMIŠ phonetic complements are *-la/i/u-na(-)* and KARATEPE *-la-na(-)* (= **hilana*); nothing corresponding can be confidently recognized here, although it might have been present.

... *-b[a²-wa/i-ta + ra/i-]*: has the appearance of being the verb, but of a form difficult to identify, conceivably medio-passive; cf. KARABURUN, § 1; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 32.

§ 12. *-wa/i-[ta²-]*: *-ta* *Ortspartikel* regularly appears in this common clause.

MALLEUS-x + *ra/i-i*: the + *ra/i* appears to be a variant, representing a phonetic difference, for the usual *-la/i/u-*; the x to which it is attached is perhaps to be identified with the sign *71 found in two other writings of this verb (TELL AHMAR 2, § 12; BOYBEY-PINARI 1, § 9 – see Commentaries).

§§ 13, 15. Types of clauses found elsewhere; KARATEPE, §§ LIX, LX; KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 14, 19; ALEPPO 2, §§ 19–20; ANKARA, §§ 7–8; BABYLON, §§ 11–12; KULULU 2, § 5; KULULU 5, § 7; SULTANHAN, §§ 47–49; TOPADA, § 35, 37.

§ 13. REL + *ra/i-i*: translation “if” dictated by context; cf. REL + *ra/i* (KARATEPE, § LIX, parallel context); REL-*ri+i* (ASSUR letters *a*, § 8; *b*, § 8; *f+g*, § 22). For actual writing REL + *ra/i-i*, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 30–31 (“if” not appropriate), KARKAMIŠ A13d, § 5 (“if” possible), and Commentaries there. Closest parallels have either *man*, “whether” (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 14; ANKARA, § 7); REL-*i* (TOPADA, § 35); or *ni-i* (KULULU 5, § 7).

§ 14. REX-*bu-ti-na(?)* *za-si²(?)*: order of reading uncertain, since no known word for the contextually demanded “kingdom” emerges (i.e. REX-*tahi(sa)*, = **hantawatahi(sa)*, cannot be read). With the order as suggested, we could have *zasi*, “his”, (for the usual (*a*)*pasi*). Alternatively read as one word, REX-*ti-bu-za-si²-na* (or *-bu-za-si²-ti-na*).

§ 15. REL-*sa-pa-wa/i-sa*: closest parallels have *ni-pa-wa/i-sa* (KARATEPE, § LX), *ma-pa(-wa/i)-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 14, 19; ANKARA, § 8); REL-*x-i-pa-wa/i[-sa]* (TOPADA, § 37). Cf. KULULU 1, § 9; 2, § 5.

§ 16. [*s*] *a-la-ha-za*: determinative (LIGNUM) expected.

§ 17. Remains of this clause suggest that it was parallel to TELL AHMAR 2, § 23.

a-p[a² ...]: “(for) him”, (*a*)*pa(n)* or (*a*)*pati*, is expected before or after connective particles; also perhaps “his”, (*a*)*pasi*.

IV.2. MARAŞ 4 (plates 108–109)

Location. Inscribed statue fragment, Istanbul, Ancient Oriental Museum, no. 7772 (formerly no. 1625 – Messerschmidt).

Description. Fragment of colossal ruler-figure of type known from uninscribed examples from Zincirli and Karkamiš (Akurgal, *AH*, pls. 126–127; Woolley, *Carchemish* III, pl. B54a), perhaps like these originally mounted on double-lion podium; 4-sided block, representing long-skirted figure, waist to knees. Preserved details of sculpture include on front side (A) belt-tassel and staff, and on left side (D) the sword and belt.

Inscription of 5 completely preserved lines begins on right side (B) with introductory *amu*-figure, and runs sinistroversely on to back (C) and left side (D), returning *boustrophedon*, and continuing to l. 5, left end where it breaks off. Traces of upper part of l. 6 survive. Number of lines lost may only be guessed: probably

1–2 lines on statue after l. 6, and perhaps continuation of inscription on base.

Dimensions: preserved ht. (inscription), c. 0.66 m.; w. (sides A, C), 0.54 m.; th. (sides B, D), 0.45 m.; line ht., 0.14 m. (l. 1), 0.08–0.10 m. (ll. 2–5).

Condition: fair

Script, line-dividers: relief

Sign forms: monumental (cursive *mu*, *ara/i*)

Peculiarities: rhotacism (§ 15: *apari*)?

Word-dividers: frequent, not consistent.

Discovery. Found in 1906 by Pastor Brunnemann on the *höyük* of Maraş reused as manger, and seen by Messerschmidt in Istanbul Museum the same year.

Publication. Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), pp. 12–15, Taf. LII copy, photograph of side B); Grothe, *BKO* 7 (1909), pp. 113–114, Abb. VIII = id., *Örderasien-*

expedition (1911), pp. CCLXIII–CCLXXIV, Taf. XIII, Abb. 14; Przeworski, *Syria* 17 (1936), pp. 38–40, pl. IX b, c, d (Istanbul Museum photographs, = Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 9 (1937), pls. XXX–XXXII).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 283–290; Meriggi, *JCO* (1953), pp. 53–55 (no. 8); id., *Mannale* II/1 (1967), no. 32, pp. 127–129, Tav. XIV (redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Excerpts.

- §§ 2–3 Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 113.
 §§ 2–4 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 396 cit. 2.
 § 3 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/1–2, p. 125 and Taf. I; Laroche, *HH*, nos. 299.1b; 336.1a.
 § 4 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 37.
 § 6 Morpurgo Davies, *Is Risch*, p. 139 cit. 17.
 § 7 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 134 cit. 24.
 § 8 Hawkins, *An. St.* 22, p. 111 fig. 5; Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 94.
 §§ 8–9 Meriggi, *WZKM* 40, p. 279 f.; id., *RILA* II/11, p. 115.
 §§ 8–10 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 138 f. cit. 36.
 §§ 9–10 Bossert, *Or. NS* 29, p. 428; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 94.
 § 11 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 40 f.
 § 12 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 396 cit. 3.
 §§ 12–14 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 49 f.; Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 278 f.

- §§ 13–14 Hawkins, *An. St.* 30, p. 143.
 § 14 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 89.
 § 15 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 40 f.; Laroche, *HH*, no. 341.2.
 § 16 Hawkins, *RFLA* 29, pp. 116/128 cit. xix.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Maraş B/3), pp. 88, 204 f., 288, 291, 524, Taf. 44 c; Genge, *NSR*, 83 f., Abb. 27.

Content. Funerary(?) statue of Halparuntiyas II, son of Muwatalis, of Gurgum, containing an account of his deeds. § 1, name, titles and genealogy; §§ 2–7, victories over Hirika and Iluwasi; §§ 8–11, exceeding the progenitors; §§ 12–15, subjection of Iluwasi and the glory; §§ 16–17, accession [text breaks off].

Date. Halparuntiyas and his father Muwatalis are identified with the kings of Gurgum *Qalparunda* and *Mutalli* mentioned by Shalmaneser III in 853 and 858 B.C. respectively: see Bossert, *ŠuK* (1932), p. 66 f. This gives a date of mid-9th century B.C. Cf. MARAŞ 1, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Istanbul Museum in the summer of 1969, and repeatedly checked against the stone and collated photographs.

Photographs. These were taken in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1969.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-na/i-mi-i 'TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-CERVUS₂-ti-i-a-sa
 |("IUDEX")tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa |ku+ra/i-ku-ma-wa/i-ni-i-sa
 (URBS) |REN-ti-sa mu-wa/i-ta-la/i/i-si-sa |("IUDEX")
 tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa |(INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa
 § 2 |a-wa/i-bi-ri+i[ka]-na(URBS) |REL-[a]-ti-i |("ANNUS")
 |u-si-i |(*274)|[ba]-ta-li-i-ba
 2. § 3 [...] (*274)u-pa-ti-ta-si-i-na || (DIUS)TONITRUS-bu-za-na
 |pa-ti-i |("ANNUS")u-si |("SOLIUM")i-sa-ni-wa/i-ba
 § 4 |a-wa/i-ta |i-la/i/i-wa/i-si-na(URBS) |INFRA-ta |CAPERE(-)la-ba
 § 5 (MONS.SCALPRUM)a-tu+ra/i-sa-li-ia-za-pa-wa/i |ARHA
 |"CAPUT"(-)AVIS-sa-ba
 § 6 |bi-ri+i-ka-pa-wa/i-ta(REGIO) |("PES₂.PES")tara/i-[pa]-ba
 3. § 7 |a-wa/i |("2")tu-wa/i-zi(-)wa, i-za |TERRA[...] || NEG₂-
 |X(-)ba-la-ba
 § 8 |mi-pa-wa/i-ta |ta-ti-i AVUS-ba-ba |LEPUS-pa+ra/i-bi |sa-ta
 § 9 |wa/i-ti-ia-ta |NEG₂-a-ba |ta-ti-i-sa |NEG₂-a-ba AVUS-ba-sa |sa-ta
 § 10 |wa/i-mi-ia-ta |EGO 'TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-CERVUS₂-ti-ia-sa
 4. |sa-a-ba || mu-wa/i-ta-li-si |INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa
 |mu-wa/i-zi-si |("INFANS.NEPOS")REL-la-si
 § 11 |a-wa/i |*187-TERRA-mi |ta-ti-na AVUS-ba-na AVUS-ba-ti-na
 AVUS-ba-tu-[li]-ba |(BONUS)wa/i-li-ia-ni-wa i-ba

Translation

- I (am) Halparuntiyas the Ruler,
 Gurgumean king, the ruler
 Muwatalis's son.
 In the year in which I smote the
 city Hirika,
 in that year I seated UPATITASIS
 Tarhunzas.
 I captured the city Iluwasi,
 and I ...ed away Mount(?)
 Atursaliyanza,
 and I TARPA-ed the land Hirika,
 and for us I did not (-)HALA the
 two countries.
 To my father and grandfather there
 was authority,
 but neither (my) father nor (my)
 grandfather "allowed it to them-
 selves",
 but I Halparuntiyas "allowed it to
 myself", Mutawalis's son,
 Muwizis's great-grandson.
 I exalted (my) father, grand-father,
 great-grandfather and forefather(?)
 ...

5. § 12 |*wa/i-ta* |*i-la/i/ta*||[-*wa/i-si-na*(URBS) REL(?)...]| [INFRA-*ta*]
|CAPERE(-)*la-ba*
§ 13 |*wa/i-ta* VIR-*ti-i-zi-i* ("PES")*pa-ti-zi-i* |*ARHL* 1 ("MANUS +
CULTER")REL + *ra/i-ba*·
§ 14 |(INFANS)*ni-wa/i + ra/i-ni-zi-pa-wa/i-za* | ("*474")*u-si-na-si-zi-i*
|*i-zi-i-ba*·
§ 15 |*wa/i-mi-i* |*a-mi-na* ("VAS")*a-tara/i-i-na* |*a-pa-ara/i* |BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wa/i-ba*
§ 16 |*ARHL* 4-*pa-wa/i* |PES-*wa/i-ba*]
§ 17 |*wa/i-mi-ta* |*mi-i* |("THRONUS")*i-sa-tara/i-ti-i* || [...
6. (line 6: some signs, but no complete word, preserved; for conjectural restoration, see Commentary)
- [When(?)] I captured the city
Iluwasi,
(of) the men I cut off the feet,
but the *children* I made eunuchs to
us,
and thereby I exalted my image for
myself.
But I came forth,
(and) myself on my throne [I
seated ...
...

Commentary

§ 2. *bi-ri + i-[ka]*-(URBS/REGIO (§ 6)): identified with Hilakku/Cilicia by Neumann, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 431 f. The military events of 858 B.C. when Shalmaneser III, after accepting tribute from Mutalli of Gurgum, fought a coalition of north Syrian kings including the kings of Que and Hilakku (Hiluku), show the Cilician kings to have been active east of the Amanus range. Halparuntiyas's claim in §§ 2 and 6 could even refer to this campaign if he had fought on the Assyrian side as crown prince. Cf. *bi-li-ki*-(URBS) (IZGIN 2, § 5, and Commentary.)

[(*274)]|*ba*|-*ta-li-i-ba*: secure restoration based on KARATEPE, 129 and 144, recorded by Laroche (HH, no. 274 a), and by Meriggi (*Glossar*, s.v. *batali*), but then apparently discarded, *Manuale* II/1, p. 128).

§ 3. (*274) *u-pa-ti-ta-si-i-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-za-na*: for *upatit*-, "demesne", and its formation see Starke, loc. cit. It is strange that the logogram *274 should determine two entirely dissimilar words, *upatit*-, "demesne", and *batali*-, "smite", which occur in such close proximity.

§ 4. *i-la/i/u-wa/i-si*-(URBS): if Hirika = Hilakku, it might be expected that this place too would be recognizable in the historical record, but no plausible identification suggests itself.

CAPERF(-)*la-ba*: for the identification of the verb as *la*- or *lala*-, "take", see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; cf. MARAŞ 1, § 10, Commentary.

§ 5. (MONS.SCALPRUM)*a-tu + ra/i-sa-li-ia-za* (*tu + ra/i* and *sa* could be read in reversed order): apparently place-name, shows (nom.) acc. sing. N. ending -*a(n) + za*. The components of the logogram signifying "mountain stone", might suggest "quarry", as found archaeologically at Yeşemek.

|*ARHL* 1 |"CAPUT"(-)AVIS-*sa-ba*: quite obscure. AVIS as a syllabogram is used elsewhere only in KARATEPE, where it alternates with *zi*, thus *zi*4 (KARATEPE, Ho. 139, 293).

§ 6. ("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pa-ba*: restoration more likely than [*pi*] on grounds of spacing, *contra* Laroche (HH, no. 96.1). Meriggi recognized the verb (*Glossar*, s.v. *tarpa/i*) but later abandoned it (*Manuale* II/1, p. 128). For verb(s) *tarpa-/tarpi*-, see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; and KARKAMIŞ A6, § 11, and Commentary.

§ 7. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the negative.

("2")*tu-wa/i-zi(-)wa/i-za*: first part identified since Hrozný, *IHH* I (1933), p. 83 f., as logogram + phonetic writing of "two". We may analyse *tuwa/i*-, "two", +(*n*)*zi*, nom./acc. plur. MF (cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 4).

(-)*wa/i-za* remains problematic. Meriggi's comparison with the same in § 14 below is difficult since the latter is simply connective + pronoun, while the present clause has its connective in *awa*. Nevertheless it seems easiest to assume that here we have redundant connectives, as in KARATEPE, 171–172; cf. also MARAŞ 1, § 11 (Commentary).

TERRA[...]: seems to be qualified by *tuwa/inzi*, "two countries", i.e. Hirika and Iluwasi; the word is thus acc. plur. MF, therefore not (LOCUS)**pita*-, "place", but *tasREL + ra/i*-, "earth, land".

X(-)*ba-la-ba*: X (logogram?) not recognized by Laroche; Meriggi, no. 356, identified with 356a(-)*ba-la-i-ta* (MARAŞ 1, § 7), and following Hrozný suggested the identity of the verbs. My own collations confirms Hrozný's rendering of the signs X, but the identity of the verbs is by no means certain from the contexts. The action here is *not* performed to two enemy cities, there it is performed to "me because of (my) justice". A sense "preserve, save, spare", would bridge the gap.

§§ 8–10. See Hawkins, loc. cit., establishing the reading of §8, elucidating the negatives NEG₂-*a-ba* ... NEG₂-*a-ba*, "neither... nor", and proposing the curious phrase -*ti/mi + ata* (*a*)*sa*-, "be 'it'".

§§ 9–10. *sa-ta//sa-a-ba*: in combination with the reflexive pronouns -*ti//mi* and -*ata*, "it", (i.e. "authority"),

this verb is perhaps not to be identified as “be”, as previously proposed. It would be much better understood as a transitive verb, and a possible candidate has now emerged with the identification by Melchert of Cun. Luw. *ša-*, *šaša-*, Hier. (*69) *sa-*, (*69) *sasa-*, “allow, let (go)”, parallel to Hitt. *tarna-*, *lai-* (KZ 102 (1989, pp. 32–41 cit. 2)). The sense “allow it (authority) to oneself” is not in these contexts entirely clear, but is perhaps preferable to “be it”. For this verb, cf. perhaps also BABYLON 2, § 2, and Commentary.

§ 10. ¹*mu-wa/i-zi*[-*si*]: for reading *zi*, see same name in MARAŞ 1, § 1 f.

“(“)INFANS.NEPOS”-REL-*la-sá*: the relationship of Halparuntiyas II to Muwizis is clearly indicated on MARAŞ 1, § 1 c–f, namely great-grandson, normally written (INFANS.NEPOS) *hamsukala-* (cf. MARAŞ 1, § 1 d). The slightly unusual (damaged?) form of REL here led Laroche to list it separately (HH, no. 168), but the clear occurrence of INFANS.NEPOS-REL-*la* in sequence after “son” and “grandson” (KARKAMIŞ A4u+A18d2, following Meriggi’s join; also recently recurring on MARAŞ 14, § 5) confirms that it is indeed the sign REL as seen by Meriggi; cf. the sign REL in § 13 below. How INFANS.NEPOS-REL-*la-* may be linked with *hamsukala-* is quite unclear; see KARKAMIŞ A4u, § 12, and Commentary.

§ 11. *187-TI:RRA-*mi*: quite obscure, dat. sing.?

tatin huban hubatin AVUS-*ba-tu*[-*li*]-*ba*: reading of last word fairly assured; to be analysed as *hubat*+*wali*? In the list, the last two must be ascendants of the third and fourth generations, and all may indeed be named as individuals from MARAŞ 1, § 1 d–g, Muwatilis, Halparuntiyas I, Muwizis and the founder of the line, Laramas I.

§ 12. Restoration of [RE:L-*i*], “when”, improves the sense, but the available space may be insufficient.

§§ 13–14. See Hawkins, loc. cit., establishing the reading of § 14 (note: *-za* omitted – see below), especially (INFANS) *ninwarani*(*n*) *zi*, “helpless, children”, and (*474) *usinasi-* (*wasinasi-*), “he of the body, attendant”, now interpreted “eunuch” (see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 30, Commentary – in support of this interpretation the present attestation is suggestive).

-wa/i-za: analyse *wa*+*a*(*n*) *za*, “to us”; cf. KARATEPE, 320.

§ 15. (“VAS”) *á-tara/i-i-na*: for *atri-*, “form, figure, image”, see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary. The present form is important in giving full phonetic writing with logogram in context nearly identical to KARKAMIŞ A2+3, §§ 3, 5, also A14u, § 6.

á-pa-ara/i: rhotacized *apati*, “thus”; cf. KARATEPE, Hu./Ho. 156, *á-pa-ti-i*//*á-pa-ri+i*.

§§ 16–17. Clauses appear to describe accession of our hero. Cf. Hitt. KBo VI 28 obv. 16–17: *mabhan-ma-kan* AR:1 ABY:1 ¹*šupululiuma* LUGAL.G]AL.

UR.SAG *šara išparzašta* [nu]-*za-kan* ANA GIŠŠÚ.A LUGAL-UTTI *ša*[*i*]...

“When my grandfather S., [Great King], Hero, ‘emerged’, and seated himself on the royal throne ...”

arha awi-, “come forth”, parallels Hitt. *šara išpart-*; cf. also KARKAMIŞ A1a, §§ 17, 21 and 24; and for a comparable phrase perhaps TELL AHMAR 1, § 13, and Commentary.

§ 17. *wa/i-mi-ta*: *-mi-* 1 sing. pronoun reflexive, only introduces clauses with verbs in 1 sing. (Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9 (1963), p. 94 § 36; Hawkins, *An. St.* 19 (1969), p. 105 f; Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 41 f.). Note *wa*+*mi*+*ta* (Ortspartikel) parallel to Hitt. *nu*+*za*+*kan* in compared passage.

The lost verb should have been the simple (non-caus.) form of the root “sit” (*asa-/isa-*); cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), pp. 108–111, especially IZGIN 1, § 2, nearly identical context, verb logographically written (SOLIUM-*ba*).

Line 6. Conjectural restorations

[...] [*pá*²+*ra/i* [...] *ti* [...] | *mi*[-*i*]-*i*[-*a-ti*] (“VAS”)

zi[*a*+*ra/i*]-*ta*[-*a?*]-*ti*[-*i*] (“VAS”) [*za*+*ra/i*]-*ti*-*i*[-*ba*]

CUM- [*ni*]-*pa-wa/i*[-*mu*] | *mi*[-*zi-i*] | (BONUS) *wa/i-sa* [*mi*]-*zi*[*i*] x[...]

“... [I] desir[ed] with my hea[rt]...,”

and for [me] my dear”

These restorations follow the identification of the stem *zart*(*iya*)-, “heart”, and its derivatives by A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins, in *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, pp. 169–182.

(“VAS”) [*za*+*ra/i*]-*ti-i*[-*ba*]: preserved signs almost certainly a verb, for which the restoration offered is the obvious fit (cf. Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit., n. 12).

(“VAS”) *zi*[*a*+*ra/i*]-*ta*[-*a?*]-*ti*[-*i*]: preserved signs likely to be all one word (i.e. it is hard to see where a break could have occurred). Known nouns determined by VAS include (1) *atri-* and the closely parallel VAS-*ni-* (for which see KULULU 4, §§ 4, 9); (2) *atnasama-*, “wisdom” (KARATEPE, 92); (3) *alunama-*, “envy” (KARATEPE, 374); (4) *tawi-*, “eye” (KÜRTÜL, § 4 b, see Commentary); (5) *nahuti-*, “?” (ASSUR letter e, § 10); (6) *nabi-* and (7) *larhiriya-* (ASSUR letter f+g, § 4); (8) *zart*(*iya*)-, “heart” (ALEPPO 3, § 1, see Commentary). Of these, (2) *atnasama-* might seem appropriate, and is so entered by Laroche (HH, no. 341.1), yet it would definitely seem to be too long for the available space: a restoration (“VAS”) [*á*]-*ta*[-*na-sa-ma*]-*ti*[-*i*] would require a column of 4 signs *-ta*[-*na-sa-ma*]-, which looks impossible for the diminished height of the lines after l. 1. (1) *atri-*, which is always written with *-tara/i* may be excluded, though the parallel forms in *-ni-* or *-la-* might be possible: restore [*á*]-*ta*[-*la/na*]-*ti*[-*i*]? But especially before the verb *zarti-*, a form of (8) *zart*(*iya*)-, “heart”, seems very appropriate, and, as suggested, the abl. sing. would fit both space and sense, thus “[I] desir[ed] with my hea[rt]...].”

IV.3. İSKENDERUN (plates 110–111)

Location. Fragment, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7691.

Description. Fragment of monument of unusual form, a tongue-shaped stone, flat on one side (B), curved on the other (A), broken off at its upper, wide end tapering to a preserved point at the bottom, on which it could not have stood upright. The clue to its character is given by Messerschmidt who described it as having “etwa die Form eines halben Mahlsteines”. This seems to be exactly what it is, a stone in the form of a grinder on a saddle quern ceremonially inscribed, presumably for dedication, not use. The inscription itself may be argued to support this explanation. The monument begins with the remains of one line of inscription, then 4 further complete lines, running *boustrophedon* round both sides of the stone with the right edge of side B (left edge of side A) forming the “frame” of the inscription. Lines 1 and 3 are dextroverse and ll. 2 and 4 sinistroverse; the last line, 5, cramped into the tapering tip of the monument, is sinistroverse like the line above, 4.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.35 m.; max. w. (side B), 0.22 m.; line ht., c. 0.08 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: notable full phonetic writings with logograms; note also use of *i* for *a* as word-ender//space-filler (§§ 3–4), cf. MARAŞ 1, §§ 6, 10, 11.

Word-dividers: intermittent.

Discovery. Sent to Istanbul by the *kaymakam* of İskenderun without note of provenance: see Ménant, loc. cit., below.

Publication. Ménant, *CRAIBL* 18 (1890), pp. 239–245 (with sketch from cast sent by Perrot); Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 3/5 (1898), pp. 223–226 (with drawing based on squeeze and sketch sent by Peiser); id., *CIH* (1900), p. 8 f., Taf. VIII (improved drawing based on squeeze in Berlin Museum); Hrozný, *Acta Jutlandica* 9 (1937), pp. 500–504 (with photographs from Istanbul Museum); id., *Vestník drevnei istorii* 1(2) (1938), pp. 23–29 (with same photographs); id., *Ar. Or.* 11 (1939), pp. 1–6, pls. I–II (same photographs, 3 of side A, 1 of side B).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), pp. 31–33; Hrozný, loc. cit. (1939); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 288, p. 221 f., Tav. XXXIX (redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Excerpts.

§ 2 Hawkins, *RHLA* 29, pp. 115/127 cit. *i* and fig. 1.

Content. Dedication of granary by Laramas. [Lacuna]; § 1, dedication of mill-stone; §§ 2–3, dedication of granary; § 4, filling of granary; §§ 5–7, protective curse.

Date. Name of Laramas (§ 6) likely to be that of a ruler of Gurgum; see genealogy, MARAŞ 1, § 1. The script would be consistent with an identification of the author as Laramas II, father of author of MARAŞ 1, thus late 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Istanbul Museum in the summer of 1969, and has been repeatedly collated.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1971.

Transliteration**Translation**

1. ... || ...]
 2. § 1 (B) |*wa/i-na* *179.SCALPRUM-*na* (“*69”) *tara/i-wa/i-i-ha*
 § 2 (A) | (“POST”) *ā-pa-pa-wa/i-mu-ta* |² REL-*za* | (“PES”) *ā-wa/i-tā*
 3. § 3 |*a-wa/i* |*za*||-*na*’ (“*255”) *ka-ru-na-na* (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-ha*’
 § 4 *wa/i-tu-u*-(B) *ta*’ 4×MILLE 4×CENTUM *a-ta* (“CAPERE”)||
 4. *u-pa-ha* |*zi-i-na* (“*256”) *zi-pa-ta-na-ti*
 § 5 (A) “MANUS”-*ru-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* |REL-*sa*
 5. § 6 *za-pa-wa/i* ¹*la+ra/i+a-ma* || (B) |*ā-ta-za-ma-za* |*ni-sa* |*wa/i-na*-(A) *ha*
 |*la-si*
 § 7 |*wa/i-tu-ta* DEUS’-*ni-zi* LIS-*zi*’?

...
 I *provided*(?) it (as) a *millstone*(?),
 and because it/they became avail-
 able to me,
 I brought this granary,
 and into it I brought four thousand
 four hundred, here by the
zipatani-measure(?).
 (He) who shall ... (it/them),
 “do not take ... this name (of)
 Laramas,
 (or) the gods will prosecute you!”

Commentary

§ 1. *179, found *passim* on KULULU lead strip 1, is argued to be the logogram representing “barley” (see AKSARAY, § 4, Commentary). SCALPRUM is generally used to determine objects of stone, as Cun. NA₄: *kutasari*-, “orthostat”; *katina*-, “(stone) bowls”; *sasa*-, “seal”; *mana*-, “mina(-weight)”; also the words for stone itself, *wanit*-, “stone” (for logogram STELE = LAPIS+SCALPRUM see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 b, l. 1, Commentary; for word see TİLSEVET, note following Commentary); *asu*-, “stone” (see TÛNP 1, § 2, and KARKAMIŞ A6, § 27, Commentaries). The combined sense of the logograms “barley + stone”, taken in conjunction with the observed form of the monument as a (ceremonial) mill-stone (see above, Description), suggests that this word here may be identified as the internal reference to the monument itself, and the clause to refer to its dedication. The word appears to be acc. sing. MF; cf. Hitt., “mill-stone”, NA₄ARÀ = *hararazi* (nom./acc. sing. N), but also NA₄ARÀ-*as* (nom. sing. MF) – Hoffner, *Al. Heth.*, p. 134.

(“*69”) *tara/i-wa/i-i-ha*: logogram *69 seems to be cursive, stylized form of “hand” (see KULULU 3, § 7, and KARATEPE, § LXXIII, 387, Commentaries). Seeking a connection for the present Hier. verb, we find some confusion in the Hitt.-Luw. stem(s) *tarrawai* // *tarawiya*-, in particular whether to associate or distinguish the following:

1. Hitt. *tarrawai*-, *KBo* II, 7 rev. 22, 27 (Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), p. 60 f.; Carter, *Cult Inventories*, p. 196).

2. Hitt. *tarawiya*-, *KBo* XI, I obv. 15, 28, 44 (Goetze, *ibid.*, 60 f.).

3. Luw. *tarawi*-, *KUB* XXXV, 54 ii 36; 45 ii 25 f. // 48 ii 21 (Laroche, *DLL*, s.v.; see Starke, *StBoT* 30, pp. 67, 153, 155 f.).

4. Hitt. *tarrawa*-, *KUB* VI, 15 ii 8.

Oettinger accepts their identity (*Stammbildung*, p. 379); cf. also Weitenberg, *HUS*, § 324. It is however semantically difficult to draw them all together: (1) means “provide” goods to temples; (2) is defined by Goetze as a noun denoting a favourable condition, perhaps “endowment”; (3) is used of the punishment of a malefactor, for Laroche, “abattre, terracer” by association with *tarru*–; (4) is unclear but might serve to draw all together. The present Hier. verb could only gain a meaningful sense by comparison with Hitt. “provide”, which is provisionally here accepted, though the Luw. stem (different?) may give difficulties.

§ 2. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating verb *awi*-, “come”, from this its only full phonetic writing determined by PES. The phrase *apan awi*-, lit. “come after”, is argued contextually to connote “become available” used of building materials: see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 15, Commentary.

[² REL-*za*: unclear whether relative, “(that) which” or conjunction, “because” etc. Either way the subject of the clause is uncertain.

§ 3. (“*255”) *ka-ru-na-na*: cf. KARATEPE, 40, with other attestations. The logogram elsewhere is always a square block with small hole incised or excised in the middle, i.e. always *HH* no. 255, not no. 256 (first form) [but cf. TELL AHMAR 5, § 2]; here however no surface markings of the sign are apparent. The present attestation is the only clear one where the word is not the object of *suwa*-, “fill”. The sense “granary” is drawn less from the uncertain Phoen. correspondence in KARATEPE (*qrt*) than from the contexts, especially those of “filling”. It seems also appropriate here, with the apparent dedication of a ceremonial mill-stone.

(“CAPERE”) *u-pa*- (also § 4): presumably the same as (“CAPERE₂”) *upa*-, KARKAMIŞ A1a, §§ 7, 10 // A11b+c, § 13 (object, (SCALPRUM.CAPERE₂) *upan-inzi*); KARKAMIŞ A2+3, § 7 (with *urha*, object “grain and wine (gods)”; also (“PES”) *upa*-, see BOYBEY-PINARI 1, § 4, Commentary, with other attestations. It seems best to combine all forms, with and without determinatives, into the sense “bring”, Hitt. *uppa*-, Cun. Luw. *uppa*-. A further problem arises with Cun. Luw. *upa*-, which Starke separates from *uppa*- and combines with Lyc. *ube*-, translating “stiften” (*Stammbildung*, § 303 and Anm. 1921, cf. Anm. 821). It is difficult to distribute the attestations of Hier. *upa*-, whether determined CAPERE₁, CAPERE₂, PES or –, between these two meanings. Thus here especially one might wish to translate “establish”, while in § 4, “bring” seems more appropriate. Conceivably two originally distinct verbs have fallen together.

§ 4. MILLE(?), CENTUM: the value of “hundred” for the sign transliterated CENTUM is substantially corroborated by the KULULU lead strips: units (vertical strokes) up to 9 attested (cf. also HİSARCIK 1, Commentary); tens (horizontal strokes) up to 90 attested; the CENTUM sign is clearly the next denomination, thus presumably “hundred”. The properly written KULULU lead strips show a maximum of four CENTUM signs as here, and CEKKE, § 7, shows six; but the semi-erased traces on the palimpsest KULULU lead strip 3 show six CENTUM (Özgüç, *Kultepe*, pl. LII, 1a; Erdem, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 149), and possibly three + five (= eight?) CENTUM (Özgüç, *Kultepe*, pl. XLVII; Erdem, *ibid.*). The latter place is the only one in the lead strips where the MILLE(?) sign occurs (three MILLE(?)), apparently in the context of the next denomination. The occurrences of six and perhaps eight CENTUM are sufficient to establish that the MILLE(?) sign is not “500” and the probability of its being “thousand”. The context of SULTANHAN, §§ 25–26, 28, suggest that the relation of CENTUM

to MILLE(?) is that of a "tithe" (*tinata(n)za*; see Commentary), which provides additional support for the identification of MILLE.

4×MILLE 4×CENTUM: should probably be understood as enumerating measures (see *zipatanati*) of a commodity unexpressed; for omissions of measure and/or commodity, cf. KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 8 (//KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 10); SULTANHAN, §§ 11, 25–26. The commodity in this context may well be supposed to be some kind of grain.

(*256) *zi-pa-ta-na-ti*: to be identified with ("LAP-IS") *zi-pa-ta-ni-i*[...] (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 b, l. 1, where see Commentary for the relationship between the logograms LAPIS, STELE and *256); the present inscription supports the order of reading *-pa-ta-* against TELL TAYINAT where *-ta-pa-* would appear more natural. The form of the word suggests comparison with Hitt. *zipattani-* (reading *-pát-* for *-pít-*), apparently a measuring jar for liquids (= DUG, *karpatu*, Goetze, *Kleinasien* 2, p. 121 n. 9). The logogram here points to "stone".

§ 5. "MANUS"-*ru-ti*: no comparisons for this verb suggest themselves; sense perhaps generally "use"?

-wa/i-ta: impossible to determine whether +*ata*, "it/them" or *-ta*, *Ortspartikel*, but an object is expected and must probably be understood if not present.

§ 6. *la+ra/i+a-ma*: for reading of name, see MARAŞ 1, § 1 b, Commentary, where the present individual may also be identified (cf. also above, Date). A genitive end-

ing *-s* or *-si* would be expected, but has probably been omitted because of the lack of space, which has led to the cramping of the end of the inscription on to the tip of the stone.

ni-sa | *wa/i-na-ha* | *la-si*. Instead of the expected "(or) who shall take ..." (cf. HAMA 4, § 8), we find an unusual alternative:

ni-sa: prohib., phonetic writing of NEG₃-*sa* (for which see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 142–144 cit. 46–50); a further phonetic writing is probably to be identified on MARAŞ 14, § 8, see Commentary.

la-si: 2 sing. pres. prohib., *la-*, "take" (cf. MARAŞ 1, § 10, Commentary). Thus the alternative phrasing has a prohibition made in direct speech: "do not take..."

wa/i-na-ha: whole clause, but especially this word, would be very uncertain without the HAMA 4 parallel. Even so, this word although twice attested, is of uncertain interpretation. In the context, *ARHL* might be expected.

§ 7. *wa/i-tu*: *-tu* as enclitic pronoun of 2 sing. as well as 3 sing. is well established in the ASSUR letters; see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 89 with n. 9. In the former use it is very rare in the stone inscriptions; besides here, cf. HİSARCIK 1, § 4, Commentary.

DEUS²-*ni-zi*: sign DEUS demanded by sense, but sign looks like *sa*; possibly result of damage?

LIS-*za*... : space definitively run out, preventing writing of usual phon. compl. *-(la/i/u)-za-tu*, also "seal" between the two "profiles" (for LIS instead of earlier IRA, see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary).

IV.4. MARAŞ 1 (plates 112–113)

Location. Lion portal orthostat, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7698 (formerly no. 840?).

Description. Portal orthostat carved in form of a lion, head in round, body in high relief, which would have formed left-hand jamb on entrance and was perhaps paired with similar right-hand jamb. A flat platform on its back suggests that it served as a plinth for another sculptural element, perhaps a relief figure of the ruler, as seen repeated by the *amu*-figure. The lion bears a 6-line inscription across its body, introduced by an *amu*-figure standing on a lion, damaged but visible, in a recessed panel on the shoulder. The inscription runs dextroverse, along lion's back to the tail, and continues *boustrophedon* over the body, ll. 2–3, and legs, ll. 4–6, ending at the beginning of a seventh line between the fore-paws, where the text breaks off and must have continued on a lost element, the base or a matching right jamb. The continuity of the text is broken only between ll. 5–6 with the loss of the lower left corner of the piece (right hind-paw).

Dimensions: ht., 0.41 m.; lg., 0.73 m.; th., 0.25 m.

Condition: good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign-forms: mixed, *sà, mu, ta*, LEPUS, INFANS; cursive only, *ma, á, u, pi*, CAPERE.

Peculiarities: rhotacism (§§ 1 i, 7); *-i* as word-ender/space-filler (see below, § 6, Commentary).

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. First reported paired with uninscribed lion, standing above Maraş citadel gate, by Humann and Puchstein, 1883 (*Reisen* (1890), Textband, p. 200 f.); Wright, *EH* (1884), p. 147, pl. (III), = Perrot and Chipiez, *H-I* IV (1887), p. 548 fig. 275. The lion was taken to Istanbul in 1884 (Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*, Textband, p. 391).

Published. Wright, *EH*² (1886), p. 162, pls. XXVI–XXVII (engravings from photographs of side, front, top); Rylands, *PSB-I* 9 (1887), pp. 374–376, pls. I–II (drawings from cast presented to Soc. for Bibl. Arch.

by Mocatta in 1885, now in Royal Asiatic Society); Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Atlas, Taf. XLVIII.1 (photograph), 1a (drawing of inscription), and cf. Textband, p. 390 f.; Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 17 f., Taf. XXI (photograph, drawing taken from cast by Humann-Puchstein in Berlin Museum, with help from Ryland's drawing); id., *CIH*¹ (1902), p. 15 f., Taf. XXI (redrawn from squeeze by Delitzsch in Berlin Museum).

Photographs. Garstang, *LH* (1910), pl. XLII = *HE* (1929), pl. XLIII (Istanbul Museum photograph, reproduced elsewhere, e.g. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Abb. 803); Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pls. XII–XIV (photographs of Istanbul Museum cast (side, front, rear)); Vieyra, *HA* (1955), pl. 71 (side view); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 314 (diagonal view); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or.* NS 49 (1980), Tav. XVI–XVIII, nr. 11–14 (4 photographs of details, rear half, between legs and paws).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 276–283; Meriggi, *SCO* 2 (1953), no. 9, pp. 55–58; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 33, pp. 129–131 and Tav. XV (redrawn from Messerschmidt with collations).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 39 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 17 (a).
 § 1a–g Laroche, *HH* no. 45.11.
 § 1h Hawkins, *An. St.* 38, p. 100 n. 5.
 § 1h–i Hawkins, *An. St.* 30, p. 142; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 111.
 § 2. Laroche, *HH* nos. 20.11; 360.2.
 §§ 2–3 Meriggi, *WZKM* 40, p. 278 f.; Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 105 f.; id., *Gs Kretschmer*, p. 48 f.; id., *Fs Friedrich*, p. 64.

- § 3 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 75; Laroche, *HH* no. 298; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 255.
 § 4 Laroche, *RHA* IX/52, p. 51; id., *HH* no. 245.1; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanissuwar*, p. 74 f.
 §§ 10–12 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Studia Meriggi*, pp. 397, 400.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Maraş B/1), pp. 89, 139, 205, 288, 290 f., 524, and Taf. 44.

Content. Commemorative inscription of Halparuntiyas III, king of Gurgum, posthumous? (The appearance of a ruler figure standing on lion(s) seems to imply (posthumous) deification). § 1a–i, name, titles, 6-generation genealogy, epithets; §§ 2–3, divine preferment; §§ 4–5, restoration work; §§ 6–7, favour of gods [Sun(?) and Runtiyas; §§ 8–10, damaged and unclear; § 11, presentation of wild beasts by Runtiyas; § 12, ... [text breaks off].

Date. Grandfather and great-grandfather Halparuntiyas II and Muwatalis identified as contemporaries of Shalmaneser III (see MARAŞ 4, Date). Halparuntiyas III identified with ¹qa-al-pa-ru-da A ¹pa-la-lam MAN ^{ur}gür-gu-ma-a-a, “Qalparu(n)da, son of Palalam, Gurgumean king” mentioned on Pazarcık Stele of Adad-nirari III in year 805 B.C.; thus end of 9th century B.C. See above, The Historical Context, p. 251 and nn. 28–32.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of collated photographs, and has been frequently checked against the stone in Istanbul Museum.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1974.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1a	EGO-wa/i-mi-i ¹ TONITRUS.H-ALP-A-pa-ru-ti-i-ia-sa (“IUDEX”) tara/i-wa/i-ni-sà ¹ ku+ra/i-ku-ma-wa/i-ni-i-sà (URBS) REX-ti-i-sa	I (am) Halparuntiyas the Ruler, Gurgumean king,
b	¹ la+ra/i+a-ma-si-i-sa LEPUS+ra/i-ia-li-i-sa INFANS-mu-wa/i-za-sà	the governor Laramas’s son,
2. c	¹ TONITRUS.H-ALP-A-pa-ru-ti-ia-si-sà HEROS-li-sa (INFANS.NEPOS) ha-ma-si-sà-	the hero Halparuntiyas’s grandson,
d	mu-wa/i-ta-li-si-sà (“SCALPRUM+R-1/I.L-1/I/U”) wa/i+ra/i-pa-li-sa (INFANS.NEPOS) ha-ma-su-ka-la-sà	the brave Muwatalis’s great-grandson,
e	¹ TONITRUS.H-ALP-A-pa-CERVUS ₂ -ti-ia-si-sà	the ruler Halparuntiyas’s great-great-grandson,
3. f	(“IUDEX”) tara/i-wa/i-ni-sà (INFANS) na-wa/i-sa	the hero Muwizis’s great-great-grandson,
g	¹ mu-wa/i-zi-si HEROS-li-sà (INFANS) na-wa/i-na-wa/i-sà	the governor Laramas’s descendant,
	¹ la+ra/i+a-ma-si-sa LEPUS+ra/i-ia-li-sa (INFANS) ha+ra/i-tu-sà	

- h DEUS-na-ti (LITUUS) á-za-mi-sà CAPUT-ta-ti [(LITUUS)]
 4. u-ni-mi-sa | FINES-ha-ti || AUDIRE-mi-sà REX-ti-sà
 i (LITUUS) á-za-mi-sa | (BONUS) u-li-ia-mi-sà | (“PANIS.SCUT-
 ELLA”) mu-sa²-nu-wa/i-ti-sà | (“PANIS”) ma-li-[ri+i]-mi-i-sà
 REX-ti-sà
 § 2 | wa/i-mu | á-mi-i-zi | tá-ti-zi DEUS-ni-zi-i | (LITUUS) á-za-ta
 § 3 | wa/i-mu-ta | á-mi | tá-ti-i | (THRONUS) i-sà-tara/i-ti-i (SOLIUM)
 i-sà-nu-wa/i-ta
 5. § 4 | a-wa/i | (“VACUUS”) ta-na-ta-’ (“SOLIUM”) i-sa-|| nu-wa/i-ha
 § 5 | “SOLIUM”(-) x-ma-ma-pa-wa/i BONUS(-) u-su-tara/i-ha
 (DEUS) TONITRUS-hu-ta-sà-ti-i (DEUS) i-ia-sa-ti-ha
 LEPUS+ra/i-ia-ti
 § 6 | wa/i-mu-ta | LIS+la/i/u-si-sà (DEUS) [...] -ti-i²-sà | i-pá²-si-ha-’
 (DEUS) ru-ti-ia-sà-’ | (“IUDEx”) tara/i-wa/i-na-za-ta-’
 § 7 | wa/i-mu¹ | (“IUSTITIA”) tara/i-wa/i-na+ra/i | ha-pa(-) x(-) ha-la-i-ta
 § 8 | wa/i-mu | za *273-pa-x-x[...] ||
 6. § 9 [...] -ia-ha-’ | “PES₂”(-) ti-ri+i-[ha] | REL-ta
 § 10 | wa/i-mu x x x | x-tara/i-za¹ | PRAE¹ | (“CAPERE”) la-la-ta
 § 11 | i-pá²-si-pa-wa/i-mu¹ (DEUS) CERVUS₂-ti-ia-sà | REL-za
 «-wa/i?» | (BESTIA) HW¹-tara/i | pi-pa-sa-ta
 7. § 12 | wa/i-ta || á-mi-zi | tá-ti-zi [...]

the king loved by the gods, known
 by the people, famed abroad,
 the loved, exalted, satisfying(?),
 honey-sweet king.

Me my fathers the gods loved,
 and me they seated on my father's
 throne.

I settled the devastated (places),
 and I benefited(?) the settlements(?) by
 Tarhunzas's and Ea's authority.

Me the gods [...]tis of the Law-Suit
 and Runtiyas of the IPA made
 ruler,

and me by (my) justice they ...ed
 and for me this ... [...

[...] ... where I ...ed,
 before me they brought ...

But Runtiyas of the IPA what wild
 beasts he gave to me,
 my fathers (nom. or acc.?) [...

Commentary

§ 1 b. ¹la+ra/i+a-ma-: the identification of Halparuntiyas III with Assyrian Qalparunda (see above, Date) entails the identification of his father's name written thus in Hier. with Assyrian ¹pa-la-lam, not the most straightforward of identifications (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), p. 104 f.). Our evaluation of the sign *la+ra/i+a* seems likely, and the resulting Hier. writing *larama-* corresponds reasonably with Cun. (*pa-*)*la-lam*, though the extra first syllable of the latter remains unexplained.

§ 1 c. HEROS-li-sa: adequately established by collation.

§ 1 d. (“SCALPRUM+R-4/I.L-4/I/U”) wa/i+ra/i-pa-li-sa: in the logogram, *la/i/u* seems to be a phonetic indicator as found in e.g. AURIS+TU+MI, = *tumanti-*, “hear” (see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 1, Commentary). While this implies that SCALPRUM+R-4/I stands for *warpa-*, it does not permit the attribution to the former of a phonetic value (*contra* Bossert, *Oriens* 2 (1949), p. 100). The phonetically written *warpali-* formally coincides with Hitt. *warpalli-*, equated in a trilingual hymn with Akk. *gašru*, “mighty” (*KUB* IV, 4 i 13; see *CTH*, no. 314; Laroche, *R-4* 58 (1964), p. 73). For the stem *warpi-* and its attestations, see KARKAMIS A15b, § 14, Commentary.

§ 1 f. ¹mu-wa/i-zi-si: collation of the stone confirms the reading -zi- against -za-, and this further confirms the same reading of the other attestation of the name referring to the same individual (MARAŞ 4, § 10). The same name has now appeared on a bronze bowl from a tomb

excavated at Tragana in Locris, and the question arises whether it can refer to the same ruler of Gurgum: see TRAGANA, and Commentary. The interpretation of the name as *Muvizi-* rather than *Muwanzi-*, though either is possible from the writings, is preferred by comparison with the common noun *nimuviza-*, “child” (lit. “not-muviza-”, for which reading, see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 1, Commentary); cf. Starke, *Bi. Or.* 46 (1989), p. 669, but note that his emendation of *zi* (misprinted as *zi*) to *za*¹ is not justified in the face of these three attestations.

§ 1 h–i. See Hawkins, loc. cit., also *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 151 f., with collated readings FINES-ha-ti AUDIRE-mi-sà, elucidated as *irhati tumantimis*, “heard of abroad”; (BONUS) u-li-ia-mi-sà (so also Hrozný, *IHH* II, p. 279) elucidated as participle of (BONUS) *uvaliya-*, “exalt”; (“PANIS”) ma-li-[ri+i]-mi-i-sà (for *malitimis*, so Hrozný, also Laroche, whose translation “doux” already suggested a derivation from Luw. *malli(t)-*, “honey”). The following additional observations may be offered:

§ 1 h. [(LITUUS)] u-ni-mi-sà, “known, recognized”: repeated examination of this word suggested to me the possibility of this reading, distorted by the sculpture. The appearance of the seal of Kuzi-Tešub with the reading DEUS-ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa, “recognized by the god(s)”, not only provides a corroboratory parallel, but also establishes that *uni-* is the full phonetic writing of the verb always determined in the Late Period by the logogram LITUUS: see Hawkins, loc. cit., and cf. PALANGA, § 7.

(“PANIS.SCUTELLA”) *mu-sa²-nu-wa/i-ti-sá*: the compound logogram may now be identified with that found in (“PANIS.SCUTELLA”) *tunikara-* (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 45; = (SCUTELLA) *tunikala-*, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17c), thought to be a maker of *tunik*-bread. See now Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), pp. 226–229 cit. 8. For the word *mu-sa²-nu-wa/i-ti-sa*, I had noted, after collation, “probably *hi* not *sa*”, but Melchert has proposed a plausible analysis and etymology of the form *musanuwant*- along with an interpretation of the logogram. His recognition of a participle in *-anti-* of a verb *musanu-*, “cause to be satisfied, satiate,” is very satisfactory and is here adopted.

(“PANIS”) *ma-li-[ri+i]-mi-i-sá*: *ri+i* for *ti*, probable from collation, does not obstruct Laroche’s recognition of the Luw. root *mali(t)-*, “honey”, but simply produces a rhotacized form (rhotacism also found in § 7, (“IUSTITIA”) *tara/i-wa/i-na+ra/i* (< *tarwanati*)); see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), pp. 250 f. and n. 18, 254 f. and n. 26; also Starke, loc. cit., for examination of the form.

§ 2. *-mu ami(n)zi tati(n)zi* DEUS-*ni(n)zi*: writing does not permit positive identification of subject, direct (and indirect?) object(s). “For me my fathers loved the gods”, “for me the gods loved my fathers” seem less probable than “my fathers the gods loved me”, or perhaps “my paternal gods loved me” (so Meriggi, Laroche). Cf. *FIW²*, s.v. *atta-* III.2 and 5.

§ 4. Laroche, loc. cit., originally compared this clause with *Hatt.* ii 66:

nu-za ke-e KUR.KUR^{MES} *dan-na-at-ta ...* EGIR-*pa a-še-ša-nu-nu-un*

and translated “J’ai restauré les ... dévastés”. Nevertheless he subsequently discarded the identification Hier. (*245) *tanata* with Hitt.-Luw. *dan-na-at-ta*, “empty, waste”, and preferred “édifice” because of the logogram (so also Meriggi, “Mauer”). For the revival of the identification (*245) *tanati-*, “empty” (adj.), (*245) *tanata-*, “waste” (verb, fact.), see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; and for the elucidation of the logogram *245 as AEDIFICIUM+MINUS, Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 32–34 (note that in place of Melchert’s transcription VASTUS, we prefer VACUUS). For other attestations of the adj., see KARKAMIŠ A31, § 6; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 3; MARAŞ 8, § 3; and the verb, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 12 (//A27r); KARKAMIŠ A12, § 6; BOROWSKI 1, § 3.

§ 5. “SOLIUM”(-) *x-ma-ma*: *x = i+ra/i?* Whatever the reading, the word may well be identified as *-mi-* participle, acc. plur. N of verb (-) *x-ma-*. The logogram SOLIUM suggests the sense “settled”, which contextually as the opposite of *tanata*, “devastated”, seems likely.

BONUS(-) *u-su-tara/i-ha*: the logogram and a likely derivation from *wasu-*, “good”, both point to a general sense “benefit”.

§ 6. LIS-*la/i/u-si-sá*: logogram now argued to represent not generally “anger” (IRA) but specifically “law-suit” (LIS); see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary, where the basic formation, LIS(-) *za-sa-li-*, “prosecutor”, is attested. The present form is best taken simply as the gen. adj. of this.

(DEUS)[...]-*ti-i²-sá*: god’s name restored by Meriggi as [*ru*]-*ti-*, thus giving two different forms of the god Runtiyas named in this clause. However, the epithet “of the prosecutor, law-suit”, applied to this god, suggests that the Sun-God in his usual character of divine judge should appear here (cf. ^DUTU *hannešnaš išhaš*, “Sun-God, lord of the law-suit”, *CTH* 372, i 1). The Sun-God’s name in nom. sing. is attested as (DEUS)SOL (-*wa/i*)-*za-sa/sá* (i.e. *Tiwažas*; KARKAMIŠ A6, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A17a, B iii.; KARATEPE, 391; cf. Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [40] n. 141; also Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 84). However, a restoration (DEUS)[SOL]-*ti-i-sá* should be possible, though the space might seem a little short for SOL; cf. now the attestation (DEUS)SOL-*ti-i-sa* (MALPINAR, § 11); also acc. sing. (DEUS)SOL-*wa/i-ti-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 2, § 6, and Commentary).

i-pá²-si: for this epithet of the Stag-God see BULGARMADEN, § 7, Commentary.

-ha²: this inscription seems to use the sign *i* instead of *a* as a word-ender//space filler; cf. following word, *-sá²*, also §§ 10 (-*za²*), 11 (-*mu²*). This feature is observed also on MARAŞ 14, §§ 2, 3, 4, 12; İSKENDERUN (also from Maraş), §§ 3–4; KULULU 2, § 3; and particularly in the ASSUR letters, *passim*.

§ 7. *wa/i-mu¹*: the *mu* appears to lack its 4 internal strokes.

x(-)ha-la-i-ta: possibly same verb as on MARAŞ 4, § 7, where the context suggests the meaning “save, spare”.

ha-pa: seemingly isolated *hapax legomenon* hardly to be associated with Hitt.-Luw. *hapa-/hapi-*, “river”.

§ 8. *273-*pa-x-x*: logogram determines principally *warpi-* (noun), *tupi-* (verb); former stem more probable here.

§ 10. Second and third words still unclear: Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; cf. Meriggi and Poetto, *Or.* NS 49 (1980), p. 256.

(“CAPERE”) *la-la-*, = Cun. Luw. *lala-*, “take”, Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. It is noteworthy that in the MARAŞ inscriptions the verb “take” is only written (“CAPERE”) *la-la-*; see besides here, MARAŞ 3, § 8; MARAŞ 4, §§ 4, 12; MARAŞ 13, l. 3; İSKENDERUN, § 6 (without logogram); comparable writings elsewhere only on KÖRKÜN, § 11 (cf. § 8); BOHÇA, §§ 3, 9, 13.

§ 11. Closely similar statement to BOHÇA, § 5.

REL-*za«-nu/i?»*: apparently redundant repetition of *-na* connective, cf. MARAŞ 4, § 7. REL-*za* probably

not acc. sing. N of relative, antecedent (BESTIA) *HWT-tara/i*, since this is best identified as plural (see below); thus presumably conjunction, normally “because”, here better “as”.

(BESTIA) *HWT-tara/i*: identified by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., with (BESTIA) *HWT-sa₅ + ra/i* (BOHÇA, § 5; BULGARMADEN, § 7); (BESTIA) *HWT-sa + ra/i-sa* (ALEPPO 2, § 5, see Commentary), the Hier. equivalent of Hitt.-Luw. *huitar*, “wild beasts”. The forms without *-sa* are presumably plural. Cf. also derivatives *HWT-ta-ni-ia-za*, ŞIRZI, § 4; and

(BESTIA) *HWT-sa-na-ma-ia*, ASSUR letter *a*, § 10 (see Commentaries there). The “wild life” in these attestations is always the concern of the gods, usually the gift of the god Runzas to the authors.

Note. This reading and identification supersedes the interpretation of this word as “lion(-statue)”, as applied to the MARAŞ lion itself, and its identification with Hitt. UR.MAH-*tar* (*KBo* VIII, 61, 3; see Laroche, *OLZ* 52 (1957), p. 136), which has unfortunately passed into the text-books and will be difficult to dislodge (e.g., Kammenhuber, *Hb. Or.* (1969), p. 297).

IV.5. MARAŞ 14 (in collaboration with M. Kalaç)* (plates 114–115)

Location. Statue fragment, Maraş Museum, inventar no. 1/1/85.

Description. Lower part of small statue of the type represented by the Maraş colossus, MARAŞ 4, and like it inscribed. Preserved is the skirt of a long garment with fringed hem; down the middle front hangs a belt-tassel, on the left hip is a sword-scabbard suspended by a strap from the belt, and down the right edge of the front a largely destroyed ridge marks the remains of the staff, which would as usual have been held in the right hand. The inscription began on the right side (A), running sinistroversely (though this line (1) is lost) returning *boustrophedon* along side A l. 2, across the front (B), on to the left side (C), and continuing thus. The “frame” of the inscription is thus the left edge of the right side (A), and the scabbard on the right of the left side (C). The inscription covers the full height of the skirt in 4 lines (ll. 2–5), and l. 5, running immediately above the fringe of the skirt, breaks off in mid-sentence at its left end, and was thus clearly continued on some lower element, presumably the base. The placing of the inscription across right side, front and left side is in contrast to MARAŞ 4, placed across the right side, back and left side, leaving the front uninscribed. Like MARAŞ 4 the text was introduced by a full length *amū*-figure, which would here have occupied 2 lines’ height, though with the loss of l. 1, only the lower skirt and feet are preserved at the beginning of l. 2.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.44 m.; w. (B), 0.23 m.; th. (A, C), 0.25 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.09 m.

Condition: good, except parts of l. 5.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: *-i* as word ender/space filler as on MARAŞ 1 and İSKENDERUN.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Reportedly found during building excavation at the foot of Maraş citadel. Is the *inventar* no. the date of entry to the Museum?

Publication, Edition. Kalaç [*CRR-II* XXXIV (published Ankara 1998), pp. 281–284, pls. 65–69].

Content. Building inscription with dedication of statue by a ruler’s chief eunuch. § 1, [Name – Astiwasus] and title; § 2, grant of precinct; § 3, building of *warpasali*-houses; § 4, erection of stele (statue); §§ 5–6, ...?; § 7, prescription of ritual for statue; § 8, prohibition of erasure; §§ 9–10, offerings (? – unclear); §§ 11–14, protective curse (protasis); [text breaks off].

Date. Ruler’s name unfortunately lost: would it have been one of the known rulers named on MARAŞ 1, § 1? Script is similar to MARAŞ 1, but more consistently cursive, lacking any monumental forms (MARAŞ 1: *sā, mu, ta*). Possibly work of servant of MARAŞ 1 author, Halparuntiyas III, c. 800 B.C.; possibly later.

Text. Kalaç’s text, redrawn and collated.

Photographs. Taken in Maraş Museum in the summer 1986 (sides B and C), and supplied by the courtesy of Professor Mustafa Kalaç (sides A and B in two parts).

* Though the appearance of *CRR-II* XXXIV was long delayed, Professor Kalaç graciously agreed that this interesting inscription should appear in the present Corpus.

Transliteration

A1. § 1 [E]GO[...]
2. -*si-i-sa* | *IUDEN-ni-sa* | *HEROS-sa* (“*474”) *it-[si]-na-SU*
MAGNUS + *R-1* *I-sa*

Translation

I (am) [Astiwasus ...], Chief
Eunuch of [So-and so] the Ruler,
the Hero.

- B § 2 *wa/i-mu⁻ⁱ | za-na | LOCUS-ta₄-ta-li-i-na | á-mi-sa DOMINUS-na-ni-sa | pi-ta-ta* To me my lord gave this precinct,
3. § 3 *wa/i-mu⁻ⁱ (C) | za-ia | (*273) wa/i+ra/i-pa-sa-li-ia⁻ⁱ || DOMUS-na AEDIFICARE + MI-ha* and I myself built these *craft*-houses,
- § 4 *wa/i-mu⁻ⁱ (B) | á-ma-[z]a ("STELE") wa/i-ni-za "CRUS"-nu-wa/i-ha* and I set up my stele.
- § 5 *a-wa/i | mi-i-sa | INFANS-ni-i-sa | REL-sa (A) | i-zi-i-ia+ra/i NEG₂-pa | ("INFANS.NEPOS") ha-ma-si-sa NEG₂-pa-wa/i-sa || | "INFANS.NEPOS"-REL-la-sá* (He) who shall become ("be made") my son, or grandson, or great-grandson,
4. § 6 *a+wa/i PRAE "UNUS"(-) sa-tá-ha⁻ⁱ ("CAELUM") ti-pa-si (B) | ("TERRA") ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ha* I ...ed forth in heaven and earth(?).
- § 7 *a-wa/i | [z]a-a-ti-i¹ á-sa-ti-wa/i-su-sá-na | ("STATUA") ta-ru-ti (C) | za⁻ⁱ | i-zi-i-ia-tara/i-za⁻ⁱ | sa-tu ||* To this statue of Astiwasus let there be this performance
5. § 8 *| "MALLEUS"-wa/i-t[á] ni-i-sá* (and let not (one) erase it!):
- § 9 *"3"-zi[...?] | ("PANIS") t[μ²+ra/i-pi²-zi²] | "VAS"....-ti(-) na-i-ha SUPER-i VIA².PUGNUS²-pu-si* three breads ...
- § 10 *ARHLA-ha-tá MANUS.[*311²]-s[a]-la-i "SCALPRUM"...* ...
- § 11 *...t[á]-sá-na pa | á-sa²-za-i | REL-sa* ... who shall speak thus:
- § 12 *| za-wa/i-ta⁻ⁱ ("STELE") wa/i-ni(A)-za⁻ⁱ | z[i-i]-na LOCUS-ta₄-ta-la-ti-i | ("SA₄") sa-ni-wa/i-i* "This stele here I shall overturn out of the precinct",
- § 13 *| wa/i-ta | ("*261") bi²-nu²-wa/i | "X"... PRAE-i | (PES₂) pa-[za]-ti* and shall go forth ... ,
- § 14 *| ni-pa-wa/i-tá² || [...* or [text breaks off].

Commentary

§ 1. Loss: to judge from l. 2 about 5 columns of signs. The name of the author Astiwasus may be restored from § 7. Between this and the ruler's name [...]| *si-i-sa* there could have been space for a patronym or title.

(**474*) *u-[si]-na-SU¹*: *wasinasi-/usinasi¹*, "(he) of the body, attendant", now well attested; see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 30, Commentary. -SU for the expected ending -*sis* is very curious. The literal interpretation of the word, "(he) of the body", i.e. "body-servant, attendant", is strongly reminiscent of Akk. *ša rēši*, "he of the head", i.e. "attendant > eunuch". It seems legitimate to infer that in *wasinasi* we have the Luw. word for "eunuch". Cf. (**474*) *sa-ri+i-ia-si-* (ANCOZ 4, § 1, and Commentary), which actually appears to be a loan of Akk. *ša rēši*. Thus Astiwasus the author of this inscription is a "great eunuch" (cf. Akk. *rab ša rēši*, the *rab saris* of the O.T.). This would give special point to the wording of § 5: "(he) who *is made* my son etc. ...", i.e. not "*is* my son," but "*becomes* my son (through adoption)". The other attestations lend support to this: on the Royal Buttress, the attendants so described in KARKAMIŞ A6, § 30, are all beardless; and in the context of MARAŞ 4, §§ 12–14, the castration of the children seems all too likely. Thus *wasinasi* is not a synonym for SERVUS-*ta*-, "servant", but in rather a special kind of servant.

MAGNUS+*R-1/I-sa*: unclear whether the form is *ura²za-* (see KULULU 2, § 5, Commentary) or *uriya-* (CEKKE, § 14, Commentary).

§ 2. *wa/i-mu⁻ⁱ*: this inscription uses -*i* as word-ender/space-filler (see also §§ 3, 4, 12); other MARAŞ inscrip-

tions share this feature, especially MARAŞ 1 (see § 6, Commentary), and İSKENDERUN.

LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-li-i-na* (cf. also below, § 12): clearly -(a)li- derivative of LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-* (= **pita(n)t-*, see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 23, Commentary); form may be further found in "DOMUS.LOCUS"-*tá-ta-la-si-*, divine epithet, KAYSERİ, § 2, see Commentary. The basic form LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-t(a)-* has the clear sense "place; precinct" (for the latter, see KARKAMIŞ A31, § 7, and Commentary). The present derived form in -(a)li- does not seem to extend this sense significantly. Cf. also the form *warpasaliya*, § 3.

§ 3. (**273*) *wa/i+ra/i-pa-sa-li-ia⁻ⁱ | DOMUS-na*: obviously the same as *warpasi* DOMUS-na (KÖRKÜN, § 4); here the basic *warpi-*+*asi-*, gen. adj., has been further extended with the -(a)li- suffix, as seen in LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-li-*. For the sense of *warpi-*, "virtue; skill; courage", see the references collected in KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 14, Commentary.

§ 5. *i-zi-i-ia+ra/i*: i.e. *iziyari*, 3 sing. pres. med.-pass., rarely attested in Hieroglyphic, but cf. probably *i-zi-ia+ra/i* (TÜNP 1, § 7, and Commentary); paralleled by *iziyar(r)u*, 3 sing. imp. med.-pass. (KARATEPE, 280, 306, 315; KARKAMIŞ A2+3, § 24).

NEPOS: of the logogram's usual constituent signs *300+*488 the latter is here replaced with a sign which somewhat resembles it turned upside-down. This is unexplained, but in any case the function of the usual sign (which has the occasional phonetic value *n*) in the

logogram is unknown. For this variant form cf. the form VAS², below, § 9.

“INFANS.NEPOS”-REL-*la*:- this writing of “great-grandson”, elsewhere often spelt out *hamsukala*- (e.g. MARAŞ 1, § 1 d), is found also on MARAŞ 4, § 10, and KARKAMIŞ A4a, § 12 (see Commentary).

§ 6. “UNUS²”(-)*sa-tá-ha*:- very uncertain, presumably verb, but neither 1 sing. pret. *-ha*-, nor 3 sing./plur. pret. *-tá* (+ *ha*-, copula?) point to any obvious sense in the context. The logogram “one” appears in incised inscriptions as a vertical incised stroke (ASSUR letter *b*, § 4; possibly BOHÇA, § 13), and in ones with relief signs as a short vertical bar, which should not be confused with LIGNUM, “wood” (HH no. 382), or MORI, “die” (HH no. 386 + MINUS). Here, since the sign appears too small for LIGNUM, it is probable that we should identify the numeral “one”, but until the phonetic complement(s), ending and sense can be plausibly explained, it must remain uncertain.

§ 7. *i-zi-i-ia-tara/i-za*: apparently unique example of abstract *-(a)tar* + *sa/za* nom./acc. sing. N particle, thus *iziyatarza*, “performance, ritual”, to be offered to a statue. Cf. the phrase *iziyani(u)zi izi*, “perform rituals” (IZGIN 2, § 9, see Commentary); cf. also MALPINAR, §§ 10, 14, and Commentary.

§ 8. “MALLEUS”-*wa/i-t[á]*: presumably logogram + connective particles. Logogram MALLEUS elsewhere only in context of verb, “erase” (phonetic complements (-)*71-*la/i/u//la*-), always with *ARIL* 1, and usually *-ta Ortspartikel* (exceptions: ADIYAMAN 1, § 3; IZGIN 2, § 10); present context, though lacking *ARIL* 1, presumably the same.

-*wa/i-t[á]*: *wa* + either *-ata*, “it”, or *-ta Ortspartikel*.

ni-i-sá: in the context this should be an example of full phonetic writing of prohibitive *nir* (= Cun. Luw. *nir*); for further example, see İSKENDERUN, § 6, and Commentary; otherwise written NEG₃-*sa* (see *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 142–144 citations 46–50).

§ 9. “3”-*zi*[...?]: probably space for connective *-wa/i*, but perhaps this is not demanded; cf. the comparable passage KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 18a.

“VAS²”: unusual sign form, somewhat resembling the second part of the sign NEPOS above, § 5 (twice), but sufficiently resembling a “pot” to suggest in this context a form of libation; phonetic complement(s) [...]*ti(-)na-i-ha* obscure (*-ha* perhaps copula?).

VIA².PUGNUS²-*pu-si*: first two signs uncertain, whole form obscure.

§ 10. *ARHA-ha-tà*: *-ha-tà* possibly but not obviously connective particles introducing new clause.

MANUS.[*311?]-*s[a]-la-i*: apparently verb, same as on CEKKE, § 18?

§ 11. Position of beginning of clause unclear – no particles visible.

pa |á-sa₅-za-i: awkward order of reading, suggested by comparison with KARATEPE, §§ LXII and LXVIII, and the obvious fact that § 12 is direct speech.

§ 12. (“SA₄”) *sa-ni-wa/i-i*: unusually, 1 sing. pres. showing direct speech; in other comparable clauses *sani*- is found with *-ta Ortspartikel*, direct object in acc., and LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za* presumably dat. plur. by comparison with following word; see also KARKAMIŞ A11a, §§ 23–24, Commentary.

LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-la-ti-i*: clearly abl. sing., this form indicates the identification of LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za* in the parallel contexts as dat. plur.

IV.6. MARAŞ 3 (plates 116–117)

Location. Statue, Vordasiatisches Museum, Berlin, no. VA 973.

Description. Small inscribed statue, lacking head and right shoulder, wearing long robe, arms bent, hands held on chest, feet represented in outline on either side of statue at bottom; end of shawl crossing chest diagonally is held in left hand with tassel appearing below. It bears a 4-line inscription encircling the entire body, with dividing line marking right/left edges of inscription running below wrist down right side apparently representing the side hem of the garment. The inscription seems to have begun on the chest between the hands (2 signs only partly preserved) and to have run sinistrowise on to right shoulder (missing), round back on to left shoulder and arm; descending to l. 2 beginning below right hand, running dextrorse completely

round body; returning *boustrophedon* along l. 3; descending to l. 4 in front of right foot, running dextrorse along low l. 4 (height of single signs only), interrupted by left foot and ending behind right foot. Since the text breaks off here, it must have continued on another element (the base?). The statue does not appear to be broken off at the bottom but to preserve the original underside.

Dimensions: ht. (shoulder–base), 0.20 m.; w, 0.15 m.; th., 0.10 m.; line ht., c. 0.08 m. (l. 1) gradually decreasing.

Condition: fair; bad patch of stone, lower left front, ll. 3 and 4, makes text illegible here.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive (*ta*, *á*, *mu*, *u*, OVIS, BOS, EDERE(?))

Peculiarities: forms of *mu*, *u* (open-ended).

Word-dividers: occasional visible.

Discovery. Acquired by Puchstein in Maraş in 1883; see Human and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Textband, pp. 200 (for Tafel XLVIII.4 read 3!), 391.

Publication. Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Atlas, Taf. XLVIII.3 (drawing of statue, front), 3a (drawing of text); Messerschmidt, *CIH*, p. 19, Taf. XXIII.A (text, new drawing from original), B (drawing of statue, front, after Humann-Puchstein).

Editions. Meriggi, *MIeG* 39/1 (1934), p. 48 + *WZKM* 41 (1934), p. 36; Bossert, *Or. Ex.* 6 (1959), p. 36 f., Abb. 3 (copy made in Berlin in 1932); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1975), no. 134, pp. 84–86, Tav. XV (redrawn from Messerschmidt – Bossert ignored).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Maraş B/22), p. 527.

Content. Dedication of statue of Storm-God and provision of offerings. § 1 a–b [largely lost including name

of dedicator]; §§ 2–3, Tarhunzas heard, made as statue; §§ 4–6, offerings of sheep and oxen; §§ 7–8, protective curse; § 9, text breaks off, [lacuna]. The present statuette seems to be dressed and posed as a worshipper, not the god, and is thus probably not the statue of the Storm-God mentioned in § 3. The close links, both in content and wording, between MARAŞ 3 and the Storm-God stele MARAŞ 5 suggest that the latter might actually be the “statue” referred to in § 3. The statuette with MARAŞ 3 would then have been made to stand in prayer before the stele with MARAŞ 5.

Date. Probably 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made directly from the stone in Berlin Museum in September 1985.

Photographs. These were taken at the same time.

Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1 a [... <i>šir</i> (-) <i>ta</i> ... (b)... <i>i-zi-ia</i> - <i>ba</i>]	[(a) I (am)(?) PN ₁ (title(s)?) etc.](b) I made [...].
§ 2 [(DEUS)]TONITRUS- <i>bu</i> - <i>z</i> <i>a-sá</i> - <i>p</i> <i>a-wa/i-mu</i> AUDIRE+ <i>MI</i> - <i>ta</i> ²]	Tarhunzas heard me,
2. § 3 <i>á-mu</i> - <i>p</i> <i>a-wa/i-na</i> (“[STA]TUA”) <i>ta-ru-sá</i> <i>i-zi-ia-ba</i>	and I made him (as) a statue,
§ 4 <i>wa/i-tu-u</i> 2 OVIS(ANIMAL) EDERE(?) <i>-ta-s-ti-wa/i-li-na</i> (“FLAMMAE(?)”) <i>ki-nu-wa/i-ba</i>	and to him two <i>fat</i> sheep I burnt(?),
§ 5 1 (BOS.ANIMAL.) <i>wa/i-wa/i-pa-wa/i-tu</i> ¹ <i>sa-s</i> + <i>ra</i> <i>i-li-ba</i>	and one ox to him I offered,
3. § 6 [(“ANNUS”)] <i>u-sa-li-ia-pa-wa/i-tu-u</i> 1 OVIS(ANIMAL.) [...]- <i>ti</i> ² - <i>ba</i>	and to him (as) annual (sacrifices) one sheep I [...]ed.
§ 7 [... <i>pa-wa/i</i> DOMUS- <i>n</i> <i>a</i> - <i>za</i> ...]	But the house [...]
4. § 8 [... “REL”- <i>sa</i> <i>ARIL</i> “CAPRIE”(-) <i>la</i> <i>na</i> POST+ <i>ra/i-ta</i> [...]- <i>ti</i> ² - <i>ba</i>]	[...] (he) who shall [desire?] to take away in future [...]
§ 9 <i>á-mu-pa-wa/i</i> DEUS ...	I the god[...]

Commentary

§ 1 a–b. Loss: comparatively small inscribed area, simply right shoulder. (a) must have contained name, and perhaps other details, of dedicator; (b), which could have been part of the first clause, or a second clause, must have had an object for the verb [*i-zi-ia*]-*ba*, i.e. in the context as suggested under Content, perhaps “[I, So-and-so,] made [this my statue (for Tarhunzas?).]”

§ 2. AUDIRE+*MI*-|*ta*²: for the verb, = *tumanti*, “hear”, see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 1, Commentary, with other attestations. Verbal ending *-ta* required but not clearly recognizable.

§ 3. (“[STA]TUA”) *ta-ru-sá*: identified by Bossert. Edition, as “statue” (Cun. Luw. *da-a-ru-uš-ša* = ALAM-*ša*); cf. KIRCOĞLU, § 2.

§ 4. EDERE(?)*-ta-s-ti-wa/i-li-na*: cf. *ara/i-ti-wa/i-li-i-na* (MARAŞ 5, § 1) in closely similar context, direct object of verb (“FLAMMAE(?)”) *ki-nu-wa/i-ti-i*. Latter attestation appears to be full phonetic writing, rhotacized, implying that the present form represents *ada(n)tiwalin*, from the context an epithet of sacrificial sheep. One might propose to recognize in *ada(n)ti* the stem *ata*-, “eat”, + suffix *-wali*-; also the logogram, otherwise unidentified, as a cursive form of EDERE. Such considerations lie behind the tentative translation, “fat(?)”.

(“FLAMMAE(?)”) *ki-nu-wa/i-ba*: for probable meaning “burn”, see similar context CEKKE, § 4, Commentary, with other attestations.

§ 5. *-pa-wa/i-tu*¹: last sign is actually *-la*, clearly in error. *sa-s*+*ra/i-li-ba*: for verbal forms *sarli*- as against reduplicated *sasari*-, see CEKKE, § 5, Commentary.

§ 6. Cf. closely similar context, SULTANHAN, § 29, which shows that the present clause could be complete as a nominal sentence, though the unclear signs following could represent a verb.

(“ANNUS”) *u-sa-li-ia*: shows that the parallel *u-sa-li* should be identified as contracted nom./acc. plur. N, in apposition to OVIS, i.e. “(as) annual (sacrifices)...”.

§ 7. Beginning: my collation was unable to establish Bossert’s REL-*i-sa-* as first word. It is possible that the clause instead of beginning the curse formula actually ends the donation with a “house” (temple) to the god.

§ 8. “CAPERE”(-)*la-na* (reading clearly established by collation): for writings (“CAPERE”) *la(la)-*, = Cun. Luw. *la(la)-*, “take”, which are largely confined to MARAŞ inscriptions, see MARAŞ 1, § 10, Commentary. The context renders an interpretation as infinitive

almost certain, a form identified elsewhere as “CAPERE”(-)*la/i/u-na* (BOHÇA, §§ 3, 9). If so, it would be the only clear case of an infinitive with an ending other than *-una*; but cf. AEDIFICARE-*MI-na*, “to build” (KARATEPE, 216; KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 23).

[...] *x-ti-ti*: clearly verb; attested verbs with stem ending in *-ti* are *tumanti-*, “hear”, and *zarti-*, “wish, desire” (see TELL AHMAR 1, § 20, Commentary, with other attestations). Traces of *x* are consistent with reading [*ʒa*]+*ra/i*, and a restoration of *zarti-* would fit well with the infinitive, “desires to take away”. For the verb, see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, p. 173 f. cit. 5–8 (and n. 12 for the present word).

§ 8. Statue itself and l. 4 are complete; the text must have continued and terminated on another element (see Description).

IV.7. MARAŞ 5 (plates 118–119)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7781.

Description. Lower part of stele with figure of Storm-God, facing right, preserved only from waist downwards with part of right arm upraised behind and the curled end of the pigtail showing below. The god wore the usual short, belted tunic leaving the legs bare, and the shoes with upturned toes, but lacks the usual sword. At the bottom of the stele the tenon for fitting it into a base is visible. The reverse is stated to be unworked and irregular. The inscription is scattered irregularly over the background to the figure, behind, below and in front of it; it is not arranged in lines but zig-zags down the left-hand background, with the signs oriented in different directions, then runs dextroverse across the bottom, and is then read ascending the right-hand background in a similar manner to KÖRKÜN (the sense emerges sufficiently clearly to guarantee the order).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.42 m.; w., 0.31 m.; th. 0.14 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: seem to be cursive (*ara i.* BOS).

Peculiarities: characteristic *pa*; rhotacism?

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. “Trouvé à Marash devant la porte N.-O. du Konak. Entré le 16 juin 1908 aux Musées” (Przeworski, loc. cit. below).

Publication. Przeworski, *Syria* 17 (1936), pp. 33–35, pl. VIII.1 (photograph); Poetto, *Vicino Oriente* 6 (1986), Tav. I (2 photographs and copy).

Editions. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 10–12, fig. 4 (provisional drawing from own photograph); id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 136, p. 86 f., Tav. XV (revised drawing); Poetto, loc. cit., pp. 157–162.

Content. Preserves two clauses closely similar to CEKKE, §§ 4–5, i.e. simple notice of offerings to the god represented; cf. also MARAŞ 3, §§ 4–5. There would not seem to have been space on the missing upper part for much more: perhaps one introductory clause (or beginning of first clause) identifying god and dedicator, and one final clause of which the beginning is preserved. As suggested in MARAŞ 3, Content, that statuette and this stele could be closely linked as the statuette of the worshipper executed to stand before the stele of the god.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Maraş B/4)*, pp. 88, 204, 236, 524, Tav. 44 d (from Przeworski).

Date. Style suggests 9th century B.C., perhaps late, rather than 8th century, possibly as suggested, contemporary with MARAŞ 3. Rhotacism seems to occur (*ara/i-ti-na/i-li-i-na*), suggesting a later date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made directly from the stone in Istanbul Museum depot in the summer 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

	Transliteration	Translation
§ 1	[... ...]"[OVIS.ANIMAL]" <i>ara/i-ti-wa/i-li-i-na</i> ("FLAMMAE(?)") <i>ki-nu-wa/i-ti-i</i>	 <i>fat</i> [sh]eep they shall burn(?),
§ 2	POST + <i>ra/i-tā-pa-wa/i</i> "9" BOS(ANIMAL)- <i>ṣa-</i> (LIBARE) <i>sá-sa₅ + ra/i-la-ti</i>	and in future they shall offer nine oxen,
§ 3	<i>x-ha-mi</i> [...]	and ... [...]

Commentary

This short inscription shows several points of interest: the curious order of reading comparable to KÖRKÜN, and the parallels with CEKKE and MARAŞ 3.

§ 1. ["OVIS.ANIMAL"] *ara/i-ti-wa/i-li-i-na*: reading/restoration likely by comparison with 2 OVIS.ANIMAL EDERE(?) *-ta₅-ti-wa/i-li-na* (MARAŞ 3, § 4, see Commentary), and supported by collation. The present word appears to be a full phonetic writing showing rhotacism, < *ada(n)tiwāli-*.

("FLAMMAE(?)") *ki-nu-wa/i-ti-i*: as in CEKKE, § 4 (see Commentary) the verb is probably 3 plur. pres., by comparison with following verb. For consideration of meaning "burn", see also CEKKE passage.

§ 2. "9" BOS(ANIMAL)-*ṣa-*: Poetto reads here ("9") *nu-u-[ṣa]* (our transliteration), which he identifies as a phonetic reading of "nine". My reading, made from photographs before Poetto's observation, is supported by my collation. For BOS(ANIMAL)-*ṣa-*; cf. ASINUS(ANIMAL)-*i-ṣa* (CEKKE, § 7); (EQUUS) *á-su-wa/i-ṣa* (ANDAVAL, § 4); these forms seem to be singular collectives.

(LIBARE) *sá-sa₅ + ra/i-la-ti*: 3 plur. pres. as against 3 sing. pres. *sa₅-sa₅ + ra/i-la-i* (BULGARMADEN, § 11); for forms *sarli-* (simple) and *sasarla-* (redupl.), see CEKKE, § 5, Commentary. The form of LIBARE, normally an arm with a bowl, appears here to include the head and to be oriented dextroverse.

§ 3. *x-ha-mi* [...]: unclear.

IV.8. MARAŞ 11 (plates 120–121)

Location. Stele, Adana Museum, no. 1721.

Description. Round-topped stele, flat obverse, curved reverse, broken in half. *Obverse*: typical Storm-God figure, facing right, bearded and pigtailed, wearing the usual helmet, short, belted tunic, and shoes with upturned toes, with sword at waist, holding double axe in right hand raised behind him, and trident thunderbolt in left hand raised in front. He is surmounted by a winged disc. *Reverse*: badly worn 4-line inscription, which occupies upper part of stele only, beginning upper right running sinistroversely along l. 1, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending at l. 4, right end.

Dimensions: ht., 1.05 m.; w., 0.56 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.
Condition: poor, signs very difficult to make out; only partially legible.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: some visible.

Discovery. Found by von der Osten in 1929 in the city of Maraş; no further details given. See von der Osten, loc. cit. below; Publication, p. 83. Museum inventory en-

try (c. 1935–36): "Maraş – said to come from the Karamaraş quarter".

Publication. *Obverse* only: von der Osten, *OIC* 8 (1930), pp. 83, 175 (no. 24), fig. 87 (p. 87); Bossert, *Or. NS* 27 (1958), p. 405, Tav. LVIII Abb. 2 (photograph).

Reverse: Meriggi and Poetto, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), p. 265 f. with fig. (partial copy), Tav. XXVI–XXIX, nr. 31–35 (5 photographs of different parts). Cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 142, p. 91 f. (no copy).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Maraş B/5), pp. 88, 236, 239, 524 f., Taf. 44 e (photograph).

Content. Unclear.

Date. Unclear.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from a latex squeeze collated against photographs and the stone.

Photographs. Taken in Adana Museum in the summer 1987, and prints from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb.

	Transliteration	Translation
[l. 1.	]	
1. 2.	§ 1. ...]ṣa[...	...
	§ 2. ... NEG ₂ ?]- <i>pa-wa/i</i> (INF[ANS...]) <i>ha-ma-si-REL-la</i>	...] or(?) great-grandson,
	§ 3. <i>pa-ti-i</i> [<i>pa/ha</i>]- <i>wa/i</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>bu</i> -[...]	for him Tarhunzas [...
1. 3.	...	...
	§ 4. <i>ṣa-a-wa/i-ta</i> ("STELE") <i>wa/i-ni-ṣa REL-sa</i> ...	This stele (he) who [...
	§ 5. ...] <i>ti-pa-ti</i> [...] <i>sa₅ + ra/i</i> [...] (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>bu-ṣa-sa</i> ...	... Tarhunzas [...
	...	...
	§ 6. ...]- <i>na-sa</i> [...] <i>ṣi</i> [...] <i>na</i> -[...]	...
1. 4.	§ 7. ...] (DEUS)LUNA + <i>MI-sa</i> TONITRUS. <i>HALPA-pa-wa/i-su</i> [...	...the Moon-God Halpawasus [...
	...	...
	§ 8. ...]- <i>pa</i> -... (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>bu-ti-i</i> 3 "ANNUS"- <i>si-si-na</i> OVIS(ANIMAL)- <i>wa/i-na</i> LIBARE-[x]	...] offer 3 yearling sheep to Tarhunzas,
	§ 9. <i>ṣa-ṣi</i> [<i>pa/ha</i>]- <i>wa/i</i> DEUS- <i>ni</i> -[...]	these to the god [...

Commentary

§ 2. [NEG₂?]-*pa-wa/i*, "or": possibly [*ni*]-*pa-wa/i*. |(INF[ANS...])*ha-ma-si-REL-la*: determinative normally (INFANS.NEPOS). For writing of *hamsukala*-, "great-grandson" with -REL-la-, see KARKAMIŞ A4a, § 12, Commentary. The present writing, which is relatively assured, is curious in showing -*si* where -*su*- would be expected; represents *hamsi'kwala*?

§ 7. TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-wa/i-su*[...]: clearly personal name, case uncertain, although probably not nominative, since (DEUS) LUNA + *MI-sa* appears to represent the subject. Halpawasus is likely to be the author of the inscription.

§ 8. 3 "ANNUS"-*si-si-na*: unusual and interesting formation, representing *usi(ya)sin*, -*asi* gen. adj. of *usi*-, "year", acc. sing. MF. As alternative to translation offered, "a 3-year old sheep" would probably also be possible, though not likely as a suitable offering. "3 sheep" (in singular) is a regular form of expression.

LIBARE-[x]: ending unclear, obscuring person, number, tense of verb. Context is very close to end of inscription; 3 sing./plur. imp. is perhaps most likely form.

§ 9. probably last clause of inscription.

ṣa-ṣi, "these", the sheep?

IV.9. KÜRTÜL (plates 122–123)

Location. Stele, Maraş Museum, no. 228 (as given by Kalaç, see below) or 197 (as now marked).

Description. Upper part of basalt stele. *Obverse*: Storm-God figure facing right, bearded, with long curled pigtail, wearing short, short-sleeved, belted tunic and horned helmet, with sword at waist, holding in his left hand extended before him a trident thunderbolt, in his right raised behind an axe. Above him is a winged disc. The figure is broken off at the loins. *Reverse*: 4 lines of inscription, with perhaps traces of a 5th, beginning upper left, running dextroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, breaking off at lower left (l. 4).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.64 m.; w., 0.64 m.; th., 0.23 m.; line ht., (l. 1), 0.14 m., (ll. 2–4), 0.11 m.

Condition (inscription): poor, signs unclear.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently cursive (*ta*, *ma*, *á*, (*m*)*u*).

Peculiarities: apparent rhotacism

Word-dividers: few visible.

Discovery. Found by peasants digging for building stone in a field 2 km. south-east of the village İsmaili lying 7 km. south of Kürtül on the road running north-west from Maraş to Göksun. In 1963 it was taken to Maraş Museum by the director Nihat Eray. See Kalaç, loc. cit. below, Publication, p. 280.

Publication. Kalaç, *JEOL* 18 (1964), pp. 280–282, pls. VIIA (photograph, obverse), VIIIA (photograph reverse), VIIIB (photograph of inked latex squeeze).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 145, pp. 92–94, Tav. XVI (redrawn from Kalaç).

Excerpt.

§ 4(a–b) Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 135 cit. 15(iv).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Kürtül* 1), pp. 90, 235, 239, 519, Taf. 38 e (dates to *Maraş* III group, i.e. *Sph.* III a).

Content. Dedication to Storm-God by private citizen. § 1, Self-identification; §§ 2–3, favour of Storm-God; § 4 (a) unclear; (b) vision (of Storm-God(?)); §§ 5–7, (unclear); § 8, offering; § 9 ... [text breaks off].

Date. Sign forms (cursive) agree with sculptural analysis in suggesting late (8th century) date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Maraş Museum in August 1987 and checked against photographs.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1 EGO- <i>mi la-sá(-)la+ra/i+a-sa</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-ti-sá</i> SERVUS- <i>ta₅-ti-sá²</i>	I (am) Las (son) of Laras(?), Tarhunzas's servant.
2. § 2 <i>wa/i-ta</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu</i> ¹ - <i>za-sa</i> "CAELUM"- <i>ti</i> x x INFRA- <i>ta</i> x x x- <i>ti</i>	Tarhunzas will ... down from the sky,
§ 3 <i>wa/i-ma-sa</i> DOMUS ² - <i>ni²-i za-ri²+i á-wa/i²-ti</i>	and for me he will come to this house.
§ 4a <i>a-wa/i</i> TONITRUS- <i>HALP-á²-tá</i> ("ORIENS") <i>ki-sá</i>	...
3. b (-) <i>wa/i</i> -NEG ₂ <i>á-mi-ti</i> (VAS) <i>ta-wa/i+ra/i</i> LITUUS+ <i>na-ha</i>	... I saw with my (own) eyes.
§ 5 <i>wa/i-mu-ta</i> x x ... x-x- <i>ha</i>	And I ...ed [...],
§ 6 <i>u-wa/i-na-ha-wa/i</i> (DEUS) <i>ti-i-wa/i-ti-x</i> x x x x x	and ... the Sun-God(?) ...
4. § 7 <i>wa/i-mu</i> x x x x (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-za-na</i> ...	And I ... Tarhunzas ...
§ 8 ... 80 HORDEUM ² POST+ <i>ra/i-t[a]</i> <i>sa₅+ra/i-li</i> -[x]	... 80 (measures of) barley(?) in future [I will (?)] offer,
5. § 9 x- <i>zi</i> [...	... [...

Commentary

§ 1. *la-sá(-)*: name of author is probably *Las*, a name thrice attested on KULULU lead strip 1 (§ 4, 18 (4) and 21 (4); § 9, 59 (4)); also CEKKE, § 17 h.

(-)*la+ra/i+a-sa*: probably best taken as patronym, thus "Las (son) of Laras" (the name naturally recalls the name *Laramas*, recurring at Gurgum, to the extent of implying a restoration <-*ma*->). Alternatively it could be that *la-sá-la+ra/i+a-sa* is to be taken as a single name, *Laslaras*.

SERVUS-*ta₅-ti-sá²*: appears to be a form of the usual SERVUS-*ta*-, "servant", extended by -(a)*ti*-, not otherwise attested in titularies, but found on KARKAMIŞ A6, § 7.

§ 2. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu*|| |¹-*za-sa*: it seems certain that a reversed word-divider occurs inappropriately in the middle of the name at the beginning of l. 2.

Sense: either "will send goodness down from the sky", or "will come ... down from the sky". If the following clause is correctly read and interpreted, the latter would seem to fit better. Further collation may identify the unread words.

§ 3. Readings uncertain but give good sense: it would describe the Storm-God either as entering the author's own house, or entering his own temple dedicated by the author.

§ 4(a+b). Examined by Hawkins, loc. cit., in context of the elucidation of the verb LITUUS+*na*-, "see". Be-

cause of the obscurity of the 2nd and 3rd words, it remains unclear whether we have one or two clauses: i.e. either TONITRUS-*HALP-á²-tá* ("ORIENS")*ki-sá-wa/i*-NEG₂, acc. plur. N(?), object of clause; or *wa/i*-NEG₂, = *wa+an*, "and him", introducing new clause, which would leave a very truncated § 4a with very opaque syntax.

(VAS)*ta-wa/i+ra/i*: careful examination seems to establish presence of +*ra/i* as required by the sense and suggested by my earlier comment. The word *tawī*-, "eye", is determined by VAS here, and perhaps ASSUR letter *e*, § 10; otherwise by LITUUS, KAYSERİ, § 3; or by nothing, KARABURUN, §§ 8, 10.

§§ 5–6. Division very uncertain in the absence of any very obvious sense. A perceptible clause structure may be reached by identifying x-x-*ha* as verb ending § 5 (1 sing. pret.), and -*ha-wa/i* as connective particles of § 6.

u-wa/i-na:- unidentified word, thus uncertain reading.

(DEUS)*ti-i-wa/i-ti-x*: possibly full phonetic writing of name of Sun-God (for which cf. MALPINAR, § 11, and Commentary) – nom. sing. in -[*sa*]?

§ 8. 80 HORDEUM²: logogram somewhat uncertain, also possibly presence of logogram markers, but sense would be good; cf. SULTANHAN, § 11, and for the identification of HORDEUM, "barley", AKSARAY, § 4.

|*sa₅+ra/i-li*-[x]: most likely restoration -[*wa/i*] (1 sing. pres.).

IV.10. MARAŞ 2 (plate 124)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7694 (formerly 836 – Messerschmidt).

Description. Stele carved with scene and 2-line inscription on the dressed face of a large basalt boulder. The scene shows two female figures each sitting on a high-backed chair with foot-stool, facing each other across a table, on which lie three flattish objects (loaves of bread?) and a goblet. Each figure wears a high *polos* from which a fringed veil falls to the ankles, and under the veil a long-sleeved, belted, ankle-length robe and shoes with upturned toes. The left-hand figure holds her left hand with a cup towards the other, who reciprocates with her right and holding a mirror; both figures hold spindles in their free hands, which protrude from under the veil. The inscription occupies the space between the women's heads, starting at the upper right edge of the stele and running sinistroversely along l. 1 to the left edge, returning *boustrophedon* and ending in front of the face of the right-hand figure. No raised division has been left between the two lines.

Dimensions: ht., 1.23 m.; w., 0.87 m.; th., 0.38 m.

Condition: worn, signs faint.

Script: relief (but not high).

Sign forms: entirely cursive as far as visible (*á, ta, mu*).

Peculiarities: rhotacism apparent (§ 3, *á-ra + a*).

Word-dividers: 4 visible in l. 1.

Discovery. Stated by Turaev (1901) to have been seen in 1880 by General Lundqvist. Reported by Puchstein to have been seen in 1882 in the house of Hekim Gework Efendi, in whose vineyard it had been found; and seen again the following year in the street while being moved to the *konak* (Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Textband, pp. 200, 386 f., with sketch 57). Seen in Ottoman Museum, Istanbul, by Peiser in 1897 (*OIZ* 1 (1898), p. 8, where ref. to Humann-Puchstein should read XLV not XIV – see MARAŞ 8, Discovery).

Publication. Perrot and Chipiez, *H:1 IV* (1887), p. 556 fig. 280 (drawn from photograph and squeeze sent by Dr. Gwyther); Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*

(1890), Atlas, Taf. XLV.2 (photograph of cast = Meyer, *RKC* (1914), fig. 28), XLVIII.5 (drawing of inscription); cf. Peiser, *HI* (1892), p. 97 f. (M III); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 18 f., Taf. XXII (drawing from cast and squeezes in Berlin Museum); *CIH*² (1906), p. 2, Taf. XXII (inscription drawn from autopsy in Istanbul); cf. Garstang, *HE* (1929), p. 224 f., fig. 18 (sketch); Moortgat, *BK* (1932), Taf. LIX (photograph of Berlin cast); Pritchard, *ANEP* (1954), no. 631 (photograph); Hawkins, see Edition (1980), pl. VII (photographs, copy); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), pp. 256–258 (copy, with collations), Tav. XVIII–XIX, nr. 15–17 (photographs).

Editions. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 7–9, fig. 2 (drawing from autopsy); id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 133, p. 84, Tav. XI (earlier drawing reprinted); Hawkins, *Mesopotamia* 8 (1980), pp. 216–218.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Maraş B/7)*, pp. 85 f., 138, 204, 367, 373, 376, 525, Taf. 45 a; Genge, *NSR*, p. 98 f., Abb. 122.

Content. Funerary stele of Tarhuntiwastis, wife of Azinis, set up for her by her husband. Since no indication is given as to who the second woman might be, it is possible that both figures represent Tarhuntiwastis, perhaps alive (right) and dead (left).

Date. Stylistically archaic, associated with Karkamis Suhis-Katuwas style by Orthmann and Genge (i.e. beginning of 9th century B.C.) The inscription shows traits which should be later, principally cursive sign forms and rhotacism; for these a date to the end of the 9th century would seem more likely, cf. MARAŞ 1.

Text. The text here offered is that of my Edition, traced from a photograph and repeatedly collated in Istanbul Museum.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in the summers 1971 and 1974.

Transliteration

Translation

- § 1 (EGO)[-n]a/i-mi TONITRUS-bu-ti-wa/i-sa-ti-sá¹ á-zi-ni-si² ,
FEMINA-ti-i-sá³
§ 2 [a]-wa/i [[á]-mi-na [[FEMINA]-ti-na [VAS-tara/i-na [NEG₃-wa/i
REL-sa²¹ a-ta [x]-pa-ba²²
§ 3 á-zi-ni-sa-[pa]-wa/i-mu-ta x-x-pa-ba á-mi-na BONUS-sa-la-ti
CUM²³-ni á-ra + a

I (am) Tarhuntiwastis Azinis's
wife,
who did not [ded]icate my
[wom]anly(?) image,
but for me Azinis made also my ...
with goodness.

Commentary.

This difficult text, published by Messerschmidt and revised by Meriggi, was the subject of two new revisions published in 1980, that of Meriggi and Poetto, and of Hawkins. Comparison with the similar text of EĞREK is useful in the elucidation of both inscriptions: cf. Hawkins, *Studies Tabsin Özgüç*, p. 192 f.

§ 1. [... -w]a/i-mi: I am more confident about the presence of these signs than Meriggi-Poetto; they do of course imply the presence of an *amu*, "I (am)", and since there is no apparent space for this, it is possible to "read" the right-hand figure as this word (cf. BOR, § 1, etc.).

¹á-zi-ni-si: I am confident that all these signs are present (-si has inexplicably disappeared from the drawing of Meriggi-Poetto).

§ 2. [a]-wa/i [[á]-mi-na: I am confident about the *wa/i*; less so about the *a-* and *á-*, but they are what would be expected.

[FEMINA]-ti-na: an outline seems to support this reading; for sense cf. TILSEVET, § 2, "my woman's times".

[NEG₃-wa/i REL-sa²¹ (still my preferred reading in spite of difficulties): this would introduce a negative relative clause (for the possibly redundant connective -wa, cf. MARAŞ 1, § 11, Commentary). NEG₃ for NEG₂ is unexpected, but this inscription has none of the "barred" forms *ia* or *za* either. The -sa after REL is of uncertain form: -sa₄ (so Meriggi-Poetto) does not seem likely, as it seems to be a late usage.

a-ta [...]-pa-ha²¹: preverb seems sufficiently clear; other signs which may not be correctly assembled should constitute the verb, since the beginning of § 3 is adequately assured.

Sense. The present § 2 and EĞREK, § 2, seem to be parallel, in that as funerary monuments they both appear to assert that the deceased did not do something. "My woman(s) image": for the proposal to recognize

("VAS")*atri-* as the equivalent of Hitt. *eš(ša)ri*, "form, figure, image," see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary. The attestation of the word in KULULU 4, § 4, cf. § 9, throws clearer light on the semantic range, since there a meaning "soul" is strongly suggested, perhaps as noted because the soul was conceived as a replica or image of the body. Here too the *atri-* could have this sense and perhaps actually refer to the left-hand figure, so that the stele would present Tarhuntiwastis and her *atri-* (cf. above, Content).

Verb: a restoration *a-ta* [u]-pa-ha, "I brought in", might be considered; for *upa-* with *atri-* as obj., see IZGIN 2, § 8; and as a verb expressing action towards monuments see SULTANHAN, §§ 2–4, Commentary.

§ 3. ¹á-zi-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-mu-ta: all signs may be confidently read (for the name see also KÖRKÜN, § 1) though the exact form of -pa- is uncertain.

x-x-pa-ha á-mi-na: also assured, only first two signs uncertain, thus obscuring the object, acc. sing. MF, x-x-pa(n)+ha, copula, here probably emphatic, "(my *atri-*), also my ..."; presumably some word for tomb, memorial or the like.

BONUS-sa-la-ti, for usual (BONUS)*wasarati*, "with goodness". Examples of the alternation *l/r* in Hier. are now very frequent; e.g. *tunikala-//tunikara-*, ASSUR letter f+g, § 45; *wala-//wara-*, "die", KULULU 2, § 3; *walilita-//walirita-*, "field", ANDAVAL, § 3; *karuna-//kaluna-*, "granary", HAMA 8, § 2; etc.

CUM²¹-ni á-ra+a: clear except for the CUM which may lack its usual LITUUS. For the verb CUM-ni á-//CUM-ni izi-, "do (something) for (somebody)", see SULTANHAN, § 13, Commentary. The verb á(-ia)-, "do, make" = Cun. Luw. *a(ia)-*, is now well established: see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 276–279.

Sense. The deceased did not do something for herself, but her husband did it, also more, for her. A similar sense can be reconstructed for EĞREK, § 3.

IV.11. MARAŞ 9 (plate 125)

Location. Stele, Louvre Museum, Paris, no. AO 19222.

Description. Stele with epigraph, showing woman holding boy. The woman is wearing a long, fringed veil covering her head, a long, short-sleeved, belted robe, and shoes, and she sits facing left on a stool. Her arms are round a boy standing in her lap facing right, who wears a long, short-sleeved, belted robe with embroidered collar and fringes at the bottom, and elaborate shoes with upturned toes. A band confines his long curly hair and he has earrings, necklace and bracelets at

the wrist and upper right arm. He holds in his right hand a stylus and in his left the leash of a perched bird (dove?). Below the bird there is a rectangular, hinged writing-board fastened with a cord. Above the boy's head simply his name is written (sinistroverse). It appears that it may have been added later; the cutting is perceptibly deeper.

Dimensions: ht., 0.80 m.; w., 0.28 m.; th., c. 0.16 m.

Condition: good.

Script: relief.

Discovery. Unknown, acquired by the Louvre on the antiquities market.

Published. Contenau, *Revue des arts asiatiques* 12 (1938), p. 37 f., pl. XXIVb (photograph); id., *MAO IV* (1947), p. 2215 fig. 1244; Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1951/52), p. 207 f., Taf. XXXII Abb. 10 (photograph), = Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 75; Vieyra, *HLA* (1955), pl. 72; Akurgal, *BGA* (1968), p. 128 pl. 29.

"Edition". Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 140, p. 91, Tav. XVI (copy of inscription only).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Maraş D/4)*, pp. 87 etc., 528, Taf. 48 d; Genge, *NSR*, p. 118 f., Abb. 50.

Content. Epigraph (personal name) on funerary(?) stele.

Date. By stylistic criteria only; Orthmann, "*Maraş IV*", i.e. second half of 8th century B.C.; Genge, 790–770 B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph.

Photograph. This was supplied by the courtesy of the Louvre Museum.

Transliteration, Translation

¹TONITRUS-*bu-pi-ia-sa*: "(Of?) Tarhupiyas".

Comment

The name could be gen. sing., expressing ownership, or nom. sing.

IV.12. MARAŞ 12 (plate 126)

Location. Stele, Maraş Museum, no. 229.

Description. Basalt stele, upper right portion lost, showing obverse, two figures seated on chairs with footstools, facing each other across a cross-legged table with food. The left-hand figure is a man, bearded with hair bunched on neck, wearing a long, short-sleeved, fringed garment, belt with frontal tassel, and shoes with upturned toes, holding in his left hand before him a cup. The right-hand figure is a woman (head broken away), wearing a long fringed garment and probably a veil falling to cover the left arm, and shoes with upturned toes, holding in her left hand a spindle and in her right extended before her an object broken away perhaps a mirror. Below this banquet scene is a mule facing right. *Inscription*: in the field in front of the man's face are traces of 3 signs, largely broken away.

Dimensions: ht., 0.90 m.

Condition (inscription): almost entirely lost.

Script: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: not preserved.

Discovery. Dug up in the garden of one Musa Karahan in the quarter of Maraş known as Yorukselim; brought into the Museum in 1963.

Publication. Kalaç, *JEOL* 18 (1964), p. 282, pl. IXA (photograph), IXB (photograph of inked latex squeeze).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 143, p. 92, Tav. XVI (redrawn from Kalaç).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Maraş A/2)*, pp. 84–86, 138, 367, 373 f., 524, Taf. 43 i (dates *Sph.* II, i.e. early 9th century B.C.).

Content. Epigraph to sculpture.

Date. Stylistic criteria only (see Sculpture).

Text. Traced from the photograph.

Photograph. The stele now stands in the outdoor colonnade of Maraş Museum and is difficult to photograph in the flat light. The present attempt was made in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

x-x-sa.

Comment

Presumably personal name identifying male figure, ending -s, nom. sing. MF. or gen. sing.

IV.13. KARABURÇLU (plate 127)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7729 (formerly 872).

Description. Square stele of black basalt with tenon for fixing in base. *Obverse*: two figures seated on backed chairs facing each other across cross-legged table with food. Both wear long, belted, fringed garments and shoes with upturned toes; they hold staffs in right hand (left figure) or left hand (right figure), and raise cups towards each other in left hand (left figure) or right hand (right figure). The left figure is beardless with hair in a small bun on the nape; the right figure's head is largely destroyed, probably also beardless with hair in large bunch on shoulder. *Sides* (left (A), top (C), right (B)): traces of almost entirely effaced inscription. (A) full height originally recovered with traces of 5 lines (a flake with bottom of l. 2 and top of l. 3 seems to have been subsequently lost); (B) probably had the same number of lines, but l. 1 and top of l. 2 have disappeared with the loss of the corner; (C) seems to have borne a single line of inscription. No signs are identifiable on (A) or (C). On (B), ll. 4–5 ran dextroverse-sinistroverse. It is uncertain whether the inscription ran across the back thus connecting (A) and (B), or whether (A) and (B) bore independent inscriptions.

Dimensions: ht., 1.08 m. (+ tenon 0.10 m.); w., 0.90 m.; th., 0.45 m.

Condition (inscription): very poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive?

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: several visible.

Discovery. Found in 1888 lying on surface in wood above village of Karaburçlu 5 km. north of Zincirli by

von Luschan; sent to Istanbul Museum. See von Luschan, *AIÖ IV* (1911), p. 328 f.

Publication. Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 20 f., Taf. XXVI (1, sketch of obverse by Winter; 2, sketch of inscription of right side, made from photograph and squeezes supplied by von Luschan); von Luschan, loc. cit. (1911), Abb. 237 (photograph, obverse), 238 (photograph, right side); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 811 (obverse only, Istanbul Museum photograph); Akurgal, *SBK* (1949), Taf. XXa (obverse only, photograph); von Luschan's photograph of obverse reproduced by Moortgat, *BK* (1932), Taf. LXI; Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 14 d; Meriggi and Poetto, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), p. 258 f., Tav. XX nr. 18, 19 (photographs of right side).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 146, p. 94, Tav. XVI (redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Karaburçlu* 1), pp. 76, 200, 367, 373, 376, 388, 487.

Content. Unclear.

Date. Stylistically early 9th century B.C. (see Orthmann).

Text (side B only). The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a photograph checked against other photographs and the stone.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul, from their photographic archive (2 photographs of side B and one of A showing lost flake), and taken by myself in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1986. The photograph of the front was kindly supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

Transliteration

- l. 1 ... *ṣa(-)sa* ...
 l. 2 (no certainly identifiable sign)
 l. 3 ... *-ti* [CUM²]-*ni* (SOLIUM)*i-ṣa-mi-na/i-ba*||
 l. 4 ... *|ni-i|* INFRA²-*ta²* |PES-*na/i-t*[*i²* ...]

Translation

- ...
 ... I seated with ...
 ... let him/them not come down(?).

IV.14. MARAŞ 13 (plate 128)

Location. Statue, Maraş Museum, no. 2215.

Description. Basalt statue, headless, wearing long garment from which the feet project. The arms are held

parallel to the ground across the front of the body, and there are traces of the staff held centrally down front with both hands. A sword in scabbard with tassel hangs at the left hip. *Inspection*: lower right side bears traces

of a 3-line inscription, which appears to have continued round on the back, though here no traces are visible. Top line begins on right edge with full length introductory *amu*-figure and would have run sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, breaking off on l. 3, left end.

Dimensions (inscribed area): ht., 1.34 m.; w., 0.32 m.

Condition (inscription): almost entirely effaced.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities: unclear.

Word-dividers: two visible, reversed.

Discovery. No details available.

Publication. Poetto, *Studia Meriggi* (1979), pp. 505 (photograph), 506 (copy).

Edition. Poetto, loc. cit., pp. 501–504.

Content. Details unclear.

Date. 9th century B.C. (Orthmann, *apud* Poetto).

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photographs. Taken in Maraş Museum in the summer 1986 and 1987.

Transliteration

Translation

l. 1 EGO [
ll. 2–3 ...p]a² SUPER² x-wa/i² || ta |.ARHLA (-x) la-ha | za-pa-wa/i ...

I (am) [...
...] ... I took away, and this [...

Commentary

Identification of surviving signs discussed by Poetto.

.ARHLA la-ha, “I took away”: only intelligible phrase. For use of *la-*, “take”, in inscriptions associated with Maraş, see MARAŞ 1, § 10, Commentary.

IV.15. HACIBEBEKLİ (plate 129)

Location. Stele, Adana Museum, no. 1297.

Description. Round-topped stele, flat obverse, curved reverse, lower right side and bottom lost. *Obverse*: figure of tutelary god facing right, bearded with hair falling in bunch on nape of neck, wearing horned helmet, long, belted, fringed garment with sword at waist and shoes with upturned toes, holding in right hand a bow over the shoulder and in left a hare (? , head lost) hanging down by legs. The figure is surmounted by winged disc, and stands on the back of a stag (? , back, short-tailed rump and ear/antler only preserved). *Reverse*: illegible incised inscription (see Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), p. 122 n. 2 (3)); line dividers demarcating 4 or 5 lines are visible.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.19 m.; w., 0.65 m.; th., 0.34 m.

No details of inscription are visible.

Discovery. Found in a mill at “Hadji Bey Bekli Keui”, between Sakça Gözü and Maraş, by Garstang and Wilkin in 1911(?) (see Publication). Provenance suggested to have been Coban Hüyük, 1 km. north-

east. Seen in 1929 by von der Osten abandoned *en route* for Maraş (von der Osten, *OIC* 8 (1930), pp. 84–86, 88 fig. 88 (photograph)). Museum inventory has accession entry dated 19/5/1932.

Publication. Garstang, *LAAA* 4 (1912), p. 126 f., pl. XXIII (photograph); id., *HE* (1929), p. 307 f. fig. 45 (sketch of obverse); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 817; Orthmann, *USK*, Taf. 14 a (photograph).

Edition. Not possible. Listed by Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 144, p. 92.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Haci Bebekli* 1), pp. 90, 258–261, 360, 484.

Date. Stylistic only: Orthmann, *Sph.* II? (i.e. early 9th century B.C.).

Text. No text can be offered.

Photographs. Taken in Adana Museum in the summer 1987.

IV.16. MARAŞ 6 (LENINGRAD) (plate 129)

Location. Fragment, State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), no. 18589.

Description. Fragment of sculpture preserving parts of 2 lines of inscription on different planes. The form to which the fragment belonged cannot be determined, but the piece is compared to the lion sculptures from Karkamiş (Dunajevskaja). First line (sinistroverse) seems to preserve almost a complete clause; it is broken at the beginning and ends at a relief shape (part of sculpture). Second line (dextroverse) is immediately below but probably does not run on without break; bottom part of line lost, no word completely preserved.

Dimensions: not recorded.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: cursive (*ta*, LIS)?

Peculiarities: characteristic *pa*.

Word-dividers: only before INFANS.

Discovery. Seen by Hogarth in summer 1891 in the Catholic Armenian Seminary at Maraş, where he was prevented from drawing it; a copy only was made by Munro (see Publication). The fragment passed into the collection of N. P. Likhatchev, who apparently bought it at the beginning of the century in Istanbul. It was taken into the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, in 1938. See Dunajevskaja, loc. cit. below, Publication. Hogarth compared the piece palaeographically with the British

Museum KARKAMIŞ inscriptions (A21, A23, A26f, A31 etc.), and Gelb, who saw the piece in 1960, agreed. Dunajevskaja actually supposed that it came from Karkamiş rather than Maraş. Meriggi justifiably doubted this.

Publication. (Ramsay and) Hogarth, *Recueil* 15 (1893), p. 97, pl. II B (sketch by Munro); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 19, Taf. XXIIIC (Munro's sketch redrawn); Sayce, *PSBA* 25 (1903), p. 284 n. 1 and facing pl. (photograph (reversed) of squeeze from Rev. G. Brook Robinson); I. M. Dunajevskaja, *Peredne Aziatskij Sbornik* 2 (1966), pp. 97–102 (Russian), 168 f. (English summary), Tabl. I, 1a (photographs and copies of both faces).

Editions. Meriggi, *Fs Friedrich* (1959), p. 334 f., Abb. 3a (copy from Sayce's reversed photograph made by W. Merlingen); Bossert, *Or.* NS 29 (1960), pp. 434 f., Abb. 7 (redrawn from combination of Messerschmidt and Meriggi), 440; Dunajevskaja, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 137, p. 87 f., Tav. XV (redrawn from Dunajevskaja).

Content and Date. Too little preserved to determine.

Text. Traced from photographs.

Photographs. These are reproduced from the publication.

Transliteration

- l. 1 ...[*á-p[a-sa²]-za-*]FRATER-*la-za* (FEMINA) *na-na-sa₅ + ra/i-za-ha*
 LIS-*za[a]-sa LOQUI(-)la + ra/i + a-ta*
 l. 2 ...[*za*]...[DEUS-*ni-x*]... SOL [...]*ha-pa* [...] CAPUT-*ti-s[a]*...
 SOL [...] NEG_[2/3] [...] *ha*[...] x [...]

Translation

- ...] for his (?) brothers and sisters
 ...
 (untranslatable).

Commentary

l. 1. *á-p[a-sa²]-za-*, “his/their”: most likely restoration if there is space for *-sa-*; otherwise *á-p[a]-za-*, “those”, would be possible.

[FRATER-*la-za* (FEMINA) *na-na-sa₅ + ra/i-za-ha*: the importance of the fragment resides in the junction of these two words, giving, (1) a Hier. writing of *nanasari-*, “sister”, also attested in Cun. Luw. (*KU¹B XXXV* 39 i 29: see Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 112); (2) the presumption from this pairing that FRATER-*la-* does indeed mean “brother” (so Bossert, loc. cit.), in contrast to Cun. Luw. *nani-*, which is similarly coupled with *nanasari-*

(written syllabically, loc. cit.; also logographically ŠEŠ + NIN in similar contexts, *StBoT* 30, p. 88 l. 22; p. 143 l. 6; p. 150 l. 7; p. 151 l. 2). For a comparable linking, “father and brothers”, see JISR EL HADID frag. 1, l. 2. For the possible Hier. full phonetic writing, *á-ta₅-la-*, see KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 16, and Commentary; and for the alternations of the stem between *-la-* and *-la-i-*, see ALEPPO 2, § 3, Commentary. For the phrase FRATER-*las* INFANS-*ni-*, “(brother's son), nephew”, see KULULU 4, § 15; TELL AHMAR 2, § 18; KARKAMIŞ A4a, § 2.

LIS- $\zeta[a]$ -*sa*: for a consideration of the logogram LIS, “prosecute etc.” and its phonetic complements, see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary; attested are LIS(-) ζ *asali*-, “prosecutor”; LIS-*salisa*/ ζ *a*-, “prosecute” and other derivatives. It is unclear exactly how the present form is to be associated with the stem, and thus what its precise significance should be.

LOQUI(-) *la+ra/i+a-ta*: for other verbs determined by LOQUI, see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (A), under (“LOQUI”) *ba-ri+i-*. In the present uncertainty of the context, a translation of this *hapax legomenon* would be hazardous.

l. 2. Context quite unclear.

IV.17. MARAŞ 7 (plate 130)

Location. Fragment, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Museum accession no. X.196 (formerly 1906?, Garstang, *LH*, p. 399).

Description. Fragment bearing inscription on two adjoining faces at right angles to each other; the corner between the two sides is lost. On side A, a single line running dextroverse turns through a 90° angle, thus representing parts of two sides of a rectangle, and above the inscription the corner of a rectangular blank space is preserved, on the inner side of which a dressed face, at right angles to it and showing signs of following the 90° turn, must represent the remains of a mortice to receive the tenon of a lost element. This implies that the fragment is part of a stele base of which side A is the horizontal face and side B the vertical face. *Side A*: on the left-hand part of the inscription at the right end a small stretch of the base line of the line is preserved indicating a total height for the line of about 0.11 m.; on the right-hand part, no base line survives, but with a maximum preserved height also of about 0.11 m., it seems that the bottom of the line was very close. Below this the maximum available space between the lower edge of the preserved surface and the missing corner would have been about 0.09 m. This does not seem likely to have been sufficient for a second line of inscription and was thus probably blank. *Side B*: this preserves parts of two lines of inscription, the lower part of an upper, (sinistroverse), the line divider, and the upper part of a lower (dextroverse). If the original top of the upper line was the missing corner between sides A–B, the height of the line would have been approximately 0.11 m., thus comparable with the line height on side A; the height of the second line cannot be estimated, but was very likely the same.

Dimensions: preserved ht. (A), 0.29 m., (B) 0.21 m.; max. preserved w., 0.28 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: apparently cursive ($\acute{a}$, μ).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: one preserved.

Discovery. Seen by Puchstein in summer 1883 in possession of Rev. Henry Marden (not Marsden! – see IZGIN, *Discovery*) in Maraş; photographs and squeezes taken. The piece was presumably taken to the U.S.A. and presented to the Metropolitan Museum along with MARAŞ 8 (see there, *Discovery*).

Publication. Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Textband, p. 391 (“Das Bruchstück (h. 0,25; br. 0,19) schien von einem Pfeiler herzurühren, der auf der Vorder- und der linken Nebenseite beschrieben war; vorn bog die erhaltene Zeile im rechten Winkel um”), Atlas, Taf. XLVIII, 6 (copy from squeeze); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 19 and Taf. XXIV A–B (copy from photographs and squeezes in Berlin Museum).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 138, p. 88 f., Tav. XV (copy redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. Late 9th century as other Maraş monuments?

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in the Metropolitan Museum in May, 1983.

Photographs. Supplied by the courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Transliteration

Side A. ...]x x (“OCCIDENS”) $\acute{a}$ -*pa*- ζ *i-i-ti* “LOCUS”-*ta* ς -*ti* •
(PONERE + *MI*) *tu-wa/i-i* [*a*] [...] *w* [*a/i*...

Side B. l. 1 ...]x[...AV]IS[...] *-ba* [...]x-*n* [...]x[...] *u* [...]

l. 2 ...]x[...] *u-wa/i* [...]CRU[S...] *-ni-i* [...] *u-w* [*a/i*] *ku+ra/i-i-ku* [*ma*]-
wa/i-i [*ni*]- ζ [*i/a*] ζ [*i/a*...

Translation

...] he will put in ... place, and [...]

...

...], and the Gurgumean (nom./acc. plur.) ... [...]

Commentary

Side A. (“OCCIDENS”) *á-pa-zi-i-ti*: probably complete. The logogram elsewhere determines *ipami-*, “west” (KARATEPE, 25, etc.); *imani-*, verb of damaging (BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 7, etc.); (*arha*) *la/i/u-si-*, “escape(?)”, absent (oneself)(?)” (ASSUR letter *f+g*, §§ 45, 51), a range which hardly permits any inferences for the present *hapax legomenon*. There is probably nothing missing between this and the following word, so the one may qualify the other, which seems to be dat. sing.

“LOCUS”-*ta₅-ti*: probably complete, should be dat. sing. like other attestations of this form; see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 23, Commentary.

(PONERE+*MI*)*tu-wa/i-i[a]*: it is hard to suppose that this writing represents anything but *tuwai(a)*, “he puts”, which implies a superfluous +*MI* attached to the logogram without visible function, as in the case of (SOLIUM+*MI*)*isanu-*, “cause to sit” (see KARKAMIŞ

A1a, § 16, Commentary). Cf. also ALEPPO 3, § 3, PONERE-*MI-na*, inf. of *tuwa-*?

[...]-*w[a/i]*...: presumably represents connective particles of new clause.

Side B, l. 1. No preserved word. On the strength of the partially preserved [AV]IS, Meriggi suggests the presence of *Kupapa* here, but other interpretations are possible.

l. 2. CR[US...]-*ni-i*[...]: suggests the presence of the verb CRUS.CRUS(-)*ni(-ia)-za/sa-*, “turn, follow”, though it is difficult to see how the second CRUS could have been accommodated.

a-w[a/i]: connective particles.

ku+ra/i-ku[-ma]-wa/i-[ni]-zi/a...: restoration of the ethnicon “Gurgumean”, probably nom./acc. plur. MF or dat. plur., noted by Meriggi.

IV.18. MARAŞ 10 (plate 131)

Location. Fragment, Adana Museum, no. 1724.

Description. Fragment of block bearing on narrow face the remains of a 4-line inscription. The original upper surface of the block showing a mason’s hole is preserved, as may be also the left and right faces of the block (but if so, it would not seem that the 4 short lines could have constituted the entire inscription).

Dimensions: ht., 0.67 m.; w., 0.30 m.; th. 0.52 m.; line ht., 0.12–0.16 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental? (*ta*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: one visible.

Discovery. Museum inventory has the entry for no. 1721 (MARAŞ 11) dittoed: i.e. (c. 1935–36), “Maraş – said to come from the Karamaraş quarter.”

Publication, Edition. Here for first time.

Content, Date. Unclear.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made directly from the stone in Adana Museum, August, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

- l. 1 *za*...(DEUS)*ku*+A[VIS]-*pa-pa*...
 l. 2 ... (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha*...
 l. 3 ... |*wa/i-ta* (“X”)*á*...
 l. 4 ... x *pi-i* x “X”-*pi* REL-*za+ra/i*...

Translation

This ... Kubaba
 ... Karhuhas ...
 ... and ...
 ... ?

Comment

ll. 3, 4. “X”: the repeated sign, marked as logogram, though clear is of uncertain identification.

IV.19. MARAŞ 15 (published in collaboration with M. Kalaç) (plate 132)

Location. Fragment, Maraş Museum, no. 11.2.89 (apparently accession or acquisition date).

Description. Upper part of stele which seems originally to have resembled MARAŞ 2 closely. On dressed face of rough boulder, the head and shoulders of a woman facing right are preserved. She wears a high polos with enveloping veil. No traces of facing figure on the less preserved right are visible. Behind the head on the left side of the stele 2 sinistroverse signs are preserved.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.38 m., w., 0.66 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities: nothing characteristic.

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. No details available; presumably found during massive excavation works for building at the foot of the *kale*.

Publication, Edition. Here for first time.

Content. Probably only epigraph identifying figure.

Date. As for MARAŞ 2.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Maraş Museum in the summer 1987, when the piece had been recently brought to the Museum but not yet purchased.

Transliteration, Translation

za-wa/i[... : This (is) [...

Comment

MARAŞ 2 shows traces of a *za* in exactly the same position, implying perhaps that its inscription was originally begun in the same way. Since there appears never to have been any space to left of the signs, the name and any further inscription must have been written below.

IV.20. MARAŞ 16

Unpublished. Small stone bull in Maraş Museum, bearing on its back a badly worn, 1½-line inscription, apparently the work of one of the rulers of Gurgum.

V. MALATYA

The Historical Context

Archaeological investigation

Background: the Hittite Empire and after

The state, its name and extent in the Iron Age

Melid in Assyrian and Urartian sources

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The house of Kuzi-Tešub

Other genealogies

The Inscriptions

Archaic

1. KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN)

*House of Kuzi-Tešub**Runtiyas*

2. GÜRÜN (rock inscription)
3. KÖTÜKALE (rock inscription)
(MALATYA 15, bulla: see SEALS, XIII.2)

Arnuwantis II

4. İSPEKÇÜR (stele)
5. DARENDE (stele)

PUGNUS-mili (I, II or another)

Lion Gate epigraphs

6. MALATYA 5 (Relief G)

7. MALATYA 6 (Relief I)

8. MALATYA 7 (Relief J)

9. MALATYA 8 (Relief K)

10. MALATYA 9 (Relief B)

11. MALATYA 10 (Relief C)

12. MALATYA 11 (Relief D)

13. MALATYA 12 (Relief E)

- (14. MALATYA 14 (stele fragment))

*Other genealogies**CRUS+RA/I-s*

15. IZGIN 1, also IZGIN 2 ? (stele)

Halpasulupis

16. MALATYA 1 (Lion Hunt block)

17. MALATYA 4 (Lion Gate epigraph, Relief F)

Maritis

18. MALATYA 3 (Stag Hunt block)

Sa(?)tiruntiyas

19. ŞIRZI (rock inscription)

Miscellaneous

20. PALANGA (statue fragment)

21. MALATYA 2 (funerary stele)

22. MALATYA 13 (stele epigraphs)

- (23. ARSLANTAŞ (ELBİSTAN))

The Historical Context

Archaeological investigation

The modern provincial capital Malatya, like Hama, preserves the ancient name almost unchanged.¹ Here however the name has twice in history shifted its location somewhat in the plain of Malatya, moving from Arslantepe, abandoned at the end of the early Iron Age, to a Roman period resettlement, Melite, at Eski ("old") Malatya, which in its turn was transplanted early last century to the present site.² Irregular digging at Arslantepe since c. 1890 produced a series of sculptured blocks with inscriptions (MALATYA 3, 1 and 2, 5, 6, 4, 7, 8), and the French excavations of 1932–40³ uncovered the Lion Gate with further blocks (MALATYA 9–12), and identified the original emplacements of some of the previous discoveries. Chance finds since then have added MALATYA 13 and 14, while the Italian excavations since 1961⁴ have added to the epigraphic corpus only a bulla with impressions of an unusual royal signet (MALATYA 15). Besides the Lion Gate, the French excavations uncovered the remains of an Assyrian palace.⁵ The Italian excavations have expanded the knowledge of the site's stratigraphic levels,

I (Roman-Byzantine), II (later Ist millennium B.C.), III (Neo-Hittite), IV (Hittite Empire), and the long pre-history of the mound stretching back to the Uruk period.⁶

1 For a general survey of the sources, see Hawkins, *RLA* VIII/1–2 (1993), s.v. Melid A. Historisch; and for the archaeology, Frangipane, *ibid.*, Melid B. Archäologisch.

2 See Delaporte, *op. cit.* (following n.), p. 5.

3 Reported by L. Delaporte, *RHA* II/12 (1933), pp. 129–154 and pls. M6–20; *ibid.*, II/16 (1934), pp. 257–285 and pls. M1–32; *ibid.*, V/34 (1939), pp. 43–56 and pls. 1–17; *id.*, *Malatya-Arslantepe I: La porte des lions* (Paris, 1940).

4 See for the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, S. M. Puglisi and P. Meriggi, *Malatya I: Rapporto preliminare delle Campagne 1961 e 1962* (Oriens Antiqui Collectio III, Rome, 1964); P. E. Pecorella, *Malatya III: Rapporto preliminare delle Campagne 1963–1968, Il Livello Etro Imperiale e quello Neoetio* (Oriens Antiqui Collectio XII, Rome, 1975).

5 Only brief preliminary report published by Delaporte, *RHA* V/34 (1939), pp. 52–54.

6 Summaries in Mellink "Archaeology in Asia Minor" (*AJA* 75 (1971) – 97 (1993) continuously except 1977 and 1979), with reference to other reports in *Origini* and *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*. See especially A. Palmieri, Excavations at Arslantepe (Malatya) (*An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 101–119); also *ead.*, summary reports in the volumes *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* II (1980) – IX (1987 (1988)), except IV (1982)).

Parallel to the finds from Arslantepe itself, the discovery of inscribed stelae and rock inscriptions, connected with the Arslantepe material, from areas outside the plain of Malatya, provides evidence for the extension of the ancient kingdom up the valleys of the Tohma Su (KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, GÜRÜN), and the Kuru Çay (ŞIRZI), and into the plain of Elbistan (IZGIN). PALANGA and the illegible ARSLANTAŞ, found between Darende and the plain of Elbistan, also belong with the inscribed sculpture of the period.

Background: the Hittite Empire and after

Historical reference to the ancient city begins in the period of the Hittite Empire, if as seems likely the city Malitiya is correctly so identified. Its earliest appearance is in the Middle Hittite Mitas of Pahhuwa text,⁷ where we find the elders of the land İšuwa, the land Pahhuwa, the city Zuhma, the land [...] and the city Maldiya placed under oath. In the reigns of Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I (1307–1245 B.C.), the city was exposed to the influence of both Hatti and Assyria. A series of KIN-oracle questions naming Adad-nirari envisaged the possibility that the Assyrian king might come to Malitiya,⁸ and a Hittite draft letter to Shalmaneser, probably from Tudhaliyas IV, shows that the city was at a strategic point between the interests of the two kings.⁹ The earlier grouping with İšuwa and Zuhma is later reflected in an itinerary of Tiglath-pileser I (see below), and the position between Hatti and Assyria also points to the location of Malitiya at Malatya.

In the dark age following the fall of the Hittite Empire, there is evidence for political and cultural continuity in this area, as in Karkamiš. Two kings of a Malatyan dynasty claim descent from Kuzi-Tešub, now to be identified as king of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub.¹⁰ Later Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.), following the footsteps of his westward-looking ancestors, went twice to the city Milidia, described as “of the great land Hatti”: the first time in his 4th year, returning from an expedition to the Black Sea(?) by way of the land Dayeni, when he took hostages and imposed an annual tribute of a homer of lead;¹¹ and secondly later in the reign, after his Mediterranean expedition, when he received tribute from the king Allumari, and then proceeded to the conquest of the city Enzata of the land İšuwa and the land Suhme.¹² The identification of Milidia is not in doubt and is corroborated by the geographical indications.

To this period too must belong the great stele KARAHÖYÜK excavated *in situ* at the site of that name in the plain of Elbistan.¹³ This is a dedication to the Storm God of the country POCULUM.PES.*67 (reading unknown), which presumably centred on Kara-

höyük itself, and the occasion of the dedication was the visit to the country of a “Great King”.¹⁴ The date of this monument is surely post-Imperial on both historical and epigraphic grounds. Thus it is hardly possible to identify the “Great King’s” probably Hurrian name as that of any of the Hittite kings of Hattusa (or even of the contemporary kings of Tarhuntassa or Karkamiš, who were beginning to show pretensions to “Great King” status – see below). Epigraphically the KARAHÖYÜK stele is more developed than the late Empire Hier. inscriptions of Tudhaliyas IV (principally EMİRGAZİ altars, also YALBURT) and probably of Suppiluliumas II (NİŞANTAŞ, BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG). Both these factors demand a date later than c. 1200 B.C., but perhaps not much later. Since there is nothing in the wording of the KARAHÖYÜK inscription to indicate that the named Great King ruled in Elbistan itself, we must ask where his seat could have been. Recent evidence has shown that as the Hittite Empire as ruled from Hattusa declined, the importance of Tarhuntassa and Karkamiš increased to the point where, after the disappearance of the Hattusa dynasty, both Tarhuntassa and Karkamiš rulers claimed the vacant title “Great King”.¹⁵ It thus seems most probable that the KARAHÖYÜK Great King belonged to one or other of these lines, and reasons are given below for preferring the ascription of KARAHÖYÜK to the Tarhuntassa rather than the Karkamiš tradition.¹⁶

7 *KUB* XXIII, 72 + 1684/u (for the join see Hoffner, *JCS* 28 (1976), pp. 60–62, with recent bibliography on the text) + *XL* 10, rev. 36–37.

8 *KBo* XXII, 264 rev. iii 11–14.

9 *KBo* XVIII, 24 rev. iv 11–15; Otten, *AJO* 22 (1968/69), p. 112 f. with n. 10; Hagenbuchner, *TdH* 15 (Heidelberg, 1989), pp. 158–168, esp. p. 163 f. Other references to Malitiya are found in fragmentary historical texts: *KBo* XVI, 42, obv. 8 (note İšuwa, l. 4’); *KUB* XXIII, 69, 4’.

10 See below, p. 286 f., GÜRÜN+KÖTÜKALE and İSPEKÇÜR, nn. 62, 65. For the archaeological evidence of peaceful transition, see K. Bittel, *Das Ende des Hethiterreiches aufgrund archäologischer Zeugnisse (Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt)* (1976), pp. 36–56.

11 Assur prisms, v 33–41 (*AKA*, p. 71 f. = *RIM* 1 2, A.0.87.1). Note the erroneous designation of Milidia as “of the land Hani-galbat”, a mistake for “the great land Hatti”, as is shown by the following reference; see Hawkins *RLA* IV, s.v. Hatti, § 3.1; id., *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 78 n. 67 (following Goetze, *MAOG* 4 (1928–29), p. 64 and n. 7).

12 Weidner, *AJO* 18 (1957–58), pp. 347–350, text II (= *RIM* 1 2, A.0.87.4), ll. 31–33. Text II is a composite text, the cited passage being based on Weidner’s exemplars L, N, O, P, Q, but the only exemplars partially preserving the king’s name are N (*KAH* II, 69 l. 8; *al-lu-x*[...]), and L (Weidner, op. cit., Taf. XXVI, l. 31: [...m]a’-ri), so the reading *Allumari* is not entirely certain.

13 See KARAHÖYÜK, Publication (T. and N. Özgüç, Güterbock), Editions (Laroche, Menggi, Masson, Nowicki).

14 See KARAHÖYÜK, § 2, and Commentary.

15 See Hawkins, Kuzi-Tešub and the “Great Kings” of Karkamiš (*Ann. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 99–108).

16 See below, p. 287 and n. 75; also Tabał, p. 429 and n. 60.

The state, its name and extent in the Iron Age

A chronological dynastic outline of Iron Age Malatyā may be drawn from Assyrian and Urartian records of contact, mainly exactions of tribute, for the period c. 850–650 B.C. The native Hieroglyphic inscriptions also provide dynastic and other information, which connects with the Assyrian and Urartian sources hardly at all, apparently because almost all the inscriptions belong in the earlier period, before 850 B.C.

Neo-Assyrian sources refer to the country and city as *Melid*.¹⁷ Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser III normally determine the toponym with KUR (“land”), while Sargon determines it always with ^{uru} (“city”), and refers to the land as Kammanu, otherwise unattested, which seems to include also the city Til-garimmu.¹⁸ Urartian references are always to the city Meliṭeia.¹⁹ The native designation of the place as found in the kings’ titularies is written “calf-head + leg(-*ṣi*) city”, behind which lies a presumed reading *Malizī*,²⁰ which may be compared with the sole attested Aramaic consonantal writing *mlz*.²¹

These designations refer to the site of Arslantepe and its surrounding plain as far as the west bank of the Euphrates. As noted above, it is clear from the distribution of inscriptions that Melidian control extended up the routes to the north-west at least as far as Hekimhan and Gūrūn and into the plain of Elbistan. A number of city names occur in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions, normally written, like the name of Melid itself, at least partly logographically and thus of unknown readings: POCULUM(-*tā*) city²² = Karahöyük-Elbistan?; Taita(?) city,²³ apparently the uncertain site from which the stele IZGIN originated; PITHOS. GRILLUS city,²⁴ also probably in the plain of Elbistan; [...] *286 city,²⁵ Hiliki city,²⁶ perhaps in Elbistan; x-tumani city,²⁷ unknown site of the provenance of DARENDĒ. Three mountains of uncertain reading are named in GÜRÜN (§ 2). Other Melidian toponyms are named in Assyrian and Urartian sources: Mts. [...] jinzini and Timur, the city Uetaš (Shalmaneser III),²⁸ the land Niriba and cities [...] jurma and [...] jada (Argišti I);²⁹ the land Qala’a with Mt. Karniši, the land Mušani and the city Zabsa, the city Sasi, and the castles (Ē.GAL^{meš}) Hazani, Gaurahi, Tumeški, Wasini, Maninui, Aruši, Qulbitarrini, Taše/(Querai)taše, Meluiani (Sarduri II);³⁰ the fortresses Luhsu, Purtir, Anmurru, Ki[...], Anduarsalia (Urartian frontier), Uši, Usian, Uargin (Phrygian frontier) and Ellibir and Sindarara (another frontier) (Sargon II).³¹ None of these places except Tumeški can be located.

Melid in Assyrian and Urartian sources

The first Late Assyrian king to name Melid was Aššurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), who received envoys

from there among the other westerners at the inauguration of Kalhu.³² But not until the following reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) did an Assyrian army again reach Melid. In 853 B.C. he received the submission of Lalli of Melid along with the other north Syrian kings,³³ and in 844,³⁴ 836³⁵ and 835 B.C.,³⁶ he went to Melid on campaign to receive submission from the same king. Thereafter Assyrian pressure was replaced by a growing Urartian presence. Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) reached Hittite territory at Meliṭeia, and took trib-

17 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. MELIDI. The sole use of the determinative ^{uru} by Shalmaneser III is of the ethnicon *Melidaya* on the Kurkh Monolith (III R 8, ii 83). A use of KUR determining *Melidaya* by Sargon listed by Parpola is a mistake: Display Inscription, l. 79, actually uses ^{uru} (Winckler, *Sargon*, I, p. 112; II, Taf. 33 no. 69).

18 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. KAMMANU. All references are from inscriptions of Sargon. For Til-garimmu, see below, n. 45.

19 See König, *HCH*, Wörterbuch, s.v.; also Diakonoff and Kashkai, *RGTC* 9, s.v.

20 *HH* nos. 109+125. For discussion see GÜRÜN, § 1 b, Commentary.

21 See below, p. 285 and n. 38.

22 MALATYA 9, epigraph identifying the Storm-God of this city. Likely to be the same as POCULUM.PIS.*67(REGIO) with its Storm-God, which appears repeatedly on KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan).

23 IZGIN 1, § 6; GÜRÜN, § 2. IZGIN 1 can be understood as a foundation document for this city. For the possible reading, see GÜRÜN, § 2, Commentary.

24 IZGIN 1, § 9; 2, § 7. It is interesting to note that the excavator of Arslantepe found a stone fragment bearing the sign GRILLUS; the piece was interpreted as sculpture but must be part of an inscription. See Delaporte, *RII* V/34 (1939), pl. 7.2.

25 IZGIN 2, § 4.

26 IZGIN 2, § 5. This could be connected with the land and city *Hirika* (MARAS 4, §§ 2, 6), which has been identified by Neumann with Hilakku/Cilicia (*Studia Meriggi*, p. 431 f.). For consideration of the question see IZGIN 2 and MARAS 4, Commentary.

27 DARENDĒ, § 2. The stele is clearly the foundation document of the named place.

28 Years 836 and 835 B.C., see below, nn. 35–36.

29 c. 780 B.C., see below, n. 39; for these places, see Diakonoff and Kashkai, *RGTC* 9, s.v.

30 c. 760 B.C., see below, n. 40; also Diakonoff and Kashkai, *RGTC* 9, s.v.

31 Built by Sargon in 712 B.C. after the conquest of Melid; see below, n. 44.

32 See above Karkamiš, p. 75 and n. 31.

33 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8 (= *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.2), ii 83.

34 Cameron Annals only, 15th *palū*, on return from the source of the Euphrates via Suhmi and Enzi, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 470 (= *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.6), iii. 54–57.

35 Nimrud Statue only, 22nd *palū*, en route for Tabal, frag. E, ll. 19–22 (Laessoe, *Iraq* 21 (1959), p. 153 f., = *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16).

36 Black Obelisk, 23rd *palū*, *WdO* II/2 (1955), p. 154 (= *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.14), ll. 107–110; Nimrud Statue, frag. F, ll. 1–12 (Laessoe, loc. cit., p. 155 f., = *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16); Eponym Chronicle, C⁴, obv. 6 (*RII* II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 433), and *STT* no. 46 obv. 6'. For the discrepancy between the dating of Shalmaneser's inscriptions and that of the Eponym Chronicle, caused by the former's compression of two years' campaigns against Damascus (838 and 837 B.C.) into one *palū* (22nd), see Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 251–255.

ute from an unnamed king.³⁷ At about the same time, 796 B.C., a king of Melid took part in the Arpad-led alliance against Zakur of Hamath.³⁸ Argišti I (c. 786–764 B.C.) attacked in his 4th year “the Hattu-land, the land of Hilaruada”, passing between Meliṭeia and the “land of the sons of Tuate”.³⁹ Hilaruada, identified by Sarduri II (c. 764–735 B.C.) as “son of Šahu, king of the Meliṭeians’ country”, was subjected by him c. 760 B.C., when the Urartians seized the important crossing of the Euphrates at Tumeški, control of which opened the way for their domination of Syria.⁴⁰ Subsequently the country remained under Urartian control until 743 B.C., when the Urartian-Arpad alliance, which included Melid, now under a king Sulumal, was defeated by Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.).⁴¹ Sulumal, like the kings of Gurgum and Kummuh, was forgiven for his part in the alliance and appears as tributary in the years 738 and 732 B.C.⁴² Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) at an uncertain date and for unknown reasons replaced a tributary ruler Gunzinanu⁴³ with Tarhunazi, who also proved unsatisfactory and was removed in 712 B.C., charged with breaking his loyalty oaths and withholding tribute.⁴⁴ The land Kammanu, with the city Til-garimmu, which it seems to have included,⁴⁵ was settled with deportees and placed under a provincial governor, and fortresses were built, but the city Melid itself was handed over to Mutallu of Kummuh, an Assyrian client. It has been suggested that the colossal ruler figure found buried in the Lion Gate may have represented him.⁴⁶ On his disgrace in 708 B.C.,⁴⁷ the city must have returned to Assyrian hands, for Sargon built a provincial palace there, which was identified by fragments of his prism inscriptions found by the French excavators.⁴⁸ Contrary to what has been stated,⁴⁹ it was probably not Melid which became the seat of the *turtān* of the left at this time but Kummuh.⁵⁰

How long the city remained in Assyrian hands is uncertain. The province of Til-garimmu, like those of Tabal and (probably) Que, seems to have been lost at the time of the disastrous death of Sargon in 705 B.C., and Melid may have gone at the same time. Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.) sent an expedition in 695 B.C. against Til-garimmu,⁵¹ which was again under its own king, Gurdi, described as the “king of a subject city”, but

there is no evidence that this resulted in lasting Assyrian occupation. Certainly by 675 B.C. at the latest Melid itself was again under an independent and hostile king, Mugallu. Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) sent an expedition in that year, which was clearly unsuccessful,⁵² and

37 Palu inscription, Melikišvili, *UKN* 39 = König *HChI* 25, ll. 7–17. See Salvini, *La Parola del Passato* 142–144 (1972), pp. 101, 105; the supposed name of the king, Sulehawali, is rejected and otherwise explained; also Astour, *Assur* 2/3 (1979), p. 2 [70].

38 Zakur stele, see Hama, p. 401 and n. 47.

39 Van Annals of Argišti, *UKN* 127 II = *HChI* 80 § 3, ii 5–22; Salvini, loc. cit. p. 101 f.; Diakonoff, *PAP*, p. 86 and nn. 218–222. For the identification of “the land of the sons of Tuate” as Tabal, see Tabal, p. 430 and n. 62.

40 Van Annals of Sarduri, *UKN* 156 B 1 = *HChI* 102, rev. 2–31, restored from İzoglu inscription, *UKN* 158 = *HChI*, 104, cf. Salvini, loc. cit., pp. 103 f., 107–109; van Loon, *Anatolian Studies Güterbock*, pp. 187–194; Astour, *Assur* 2/3 (1979), p. 3 [1]; Diakonoff, *PAP*, p. 87 and nn. 227–229.

41 See Maraš, p. 250 and n. 19.

42 For sources, see Cilicia, p. 42 and n. 49–50.

43 Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, p. 34 l. 205 f. = *ARAB* II, § 26; Pavement slab IV, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 148 and pl. 38, ll. 23–27 = *ARAB* II, § 99; Display Inscription of room XIV, Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72 (1918), p. 178 f. l. 9 f. = *ARAB* II, § 79; Bull inscription, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 14 ll. 26–27 = *ARAB* II, § 92.

44 Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, pp. 34 ff. ll. 204–221 = *ARAB* II, §§ 26–27; Display Inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 112, pl. 33, 69 ll. 79–83 = *ARAB* II, § 60; Nimrud cylinder, Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 182 f. and pls. XLVII–XLVIII, ll. 41–75; cf. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 92–96.

45 The fact that Sargon separated the land Kammanu together with the city Til-garimmu from the city Melid, and constituted the former unit a province while handing the latter to a client, permits the inference that Til-garimmu lay within Kammanu. Til-garimmu is described by Sennacherib as “of the border of Tabal”, and was a place of refuge from Assyrians advancing on Melid. A location of this part of the Melidian kingdom in the plain of Elbistan looks geographically more probable than the widely accepted identification of Til-garimmu (= Hitt. Tegarama) with modern Gürün (= classical Gauraene?), based on the similarity of the name only.

46 See Commagene, p. 332 and nn. 34–35.

47 See Commagene, p. 332 and nn. 36–37.

48 See above, n. 5. The prism fragments, which are not published, are stated to agree with the text of the Annals; see Kalaç, *Sumero-oloji Araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1941), pp. 990, 1011; Landsberger, *Sam'al*, p. 81 and n. 213. For a further Sargon fragment with a text duplicating the Nimrud cylinder, see Castellino, *apud* Pecorella, *Malatya* III, pp. 69–73.

49 Kalac and Landsberger, loc. cit. n. 48, who have been followed by many scholars since.

50 The question hinges on whether the city established as the Assyrian province at the conquest of Kummuh was Melid or Kummuh. Of the two main accounts, Annals and Display Inscription (for which see Commagene, p. 332 n. 36), the latter omits to specify the city name; the former, which is somewhat damaged, also simply refers to “that city”, and since it had mentioned Melid at the beginning and not preserved a reference to Kummuh, it was assumed that Melid was meant. However since later governors of Kummuh are found to hold the *turtanship* of the left, it is more likely that this official was assigned Kummuh from the start (see Commagene, p. 332 and n. 40).

51 A long-known account, King, *CT* 26, p. 15 f. and pl. 17, v 1–22 = *ARAB* II, §§ 290–292, has been corrected and restored by a new prism inscription, Heidel, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 150 f., 182, v 29–52. The reading *Gurdi* for the king's name is confirmed, and he is entitled *šar al urdūti* (l. 32). The campaign was edited out of the final edition of Sennacherib's Annals, but referred to in some summary inscriptions: Bull inscription, Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 77 l. 24 f. = *ARAB* II, § 329; Nebi Yunus inscription, *ibid.*, p. 86 l. 19 = *ARAB* II, § 349. For reference in the reign of Sargon to a vassal Gurdi, probably the same individual as Gurdi of Til-garimmu, see Parpola, *S-L-I* (Helsinki, 1987), p. 70 f. and n. 76; cf. Tabal, *The Historical Context*, n. 50.

52 Babylonian Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 83) iv 10 // Esarhaddon Chronicle (*ABC*, p. 126), obv. 15. The failure of the expedition is implied by the chronicle accounts, and further by the lack of reference in Esarhaddon's historical inscriptions. Cf. Hawkins *RLA* VIII 5–6 (1995), s.v. Mugallu.

his anxiety over the matter is revealed in his questions to the Šamaš oracle.⁵³ In the reign of Aššurbanipal (669–627 B.C.), Mugallu (presumably the same individual) reappears c. 663 B.C. as the king of Tabal, having perhaps added this kingship to that of Melid. Impelled by fear, probably of the Cimmerians, Mugallu is said to have offered submission, paid a tribute of horses and sent his daughter for service at court.⁵⁴ Like other Anatolian princes, Sandasarme of Hilakku and particularly Gyges of Lydia, he presumably expected Assyrian assistance. He was still sending horses in 651 B.C.,⁵⁵ and later in Aššurbanipal's reign his son [...jussi, who had continued his father's tribute, defected to the Cimmerian Dugdamme, for which he was allegedly smitten by the god Aššur.⁵⁶ It would seem that the conflagration identified by the excavators of Arslantepe as having terminated the Neo-Hittite level III,⁵⁷ should be dated to this period of the later 7th century B.C. Arslantepe was not thereafter substantially reoccupied, since the new town of the Roman period grew up at the site of Eski Malatya. Arslantepe levels II and I show only meagre village occupation.⁵⁸

The Hieroglyphic monuments

An absolute *terminus ante quem* for the native Hier. Luwian inscriptions at Malatya is likely to have been as elsewhere the Assyrian conquest, here 712–708 B.C., in spite of the fact that Melid and its territory reverted more or less quickly to the control of native dynasts, Gurdi and Mugallu. In fact, as noted above, it seems that almost none of the native inscriptions can even be assigned to the period of Assyrian-Urartian domination, c. 853–712 B.C., since the dynastic information contained within them can hardly be fitted in with that from Assyrian and Urartian sources. The dating of the sculpture associated with the inscriptions supports this assessment.

Orthmann groups all the sculpture with inscriptions as *Malatya* I–II, linked to *Karkemis* II–III (Suhis-Katuwas), his general style *Spätheth.* II, to be dated late 10th – early 9th centuries B.C. A small group of uninscribed sculpture is classified as *Malatya* III, linked to *Karkemis* IV, style *Spätheth.* IIIa, dated late 9th–early 8th centuries B.C. The uninscribed colossal ruler figure belongs to a late style (*Karkemis* V, *Spätheth.* III b, late 8th century B.C.).⁵⁹

Thus none of the rulers known to the Assyrians and Urartians, Lalli, Hilaruada, Sulumal, Gunzinanu or Tarhunazi, can be identified as authors of inscriptions, in spite of attempts to do so.⁶⁰ The only possible bridge between the two groups of sources is an identification of Šahu, father of Hilaruada, with the father of the author of ŠIRZI.⁶¹

The names on the native Malatya inscriptions, though mostly logographically written and of uncertain

reading like the toponyms, can be arranged in genealogies which permit a hypothetical grouping of the inscriptions.

The House of Kuzi-Tešub. The rock inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE are both the work of Runtiyas, grandson of Kuzi-TONITRUS, entitled “Great King, Hero, (the one) of the city Karkamiš”, son of PUGNUS-mili.⁶² In both he bears the title “Country-Lord of the city Malizi”, which seems to be the general dynastic title of the rulers, recurring on İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, IZGIN, MALATYA 1 and ŞIRZI. The text of GÜRÜN concerns the building of a city, probably in the neighbourhood of the inscription, and the transfer to it of three mountains from the city Taita(?);⁶³ that of KÖTÜKALE, the construction of a road, presumably by cutting through the rock barrier jutting into the Tohma Su at this point.

The bulla bearing impressions of the signet inscribed with MALATYA 15, attests a ruler Runtiyas king of *Ma-country*,⁶⁴ who may well be the same as the author of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE.

The stele İSPEKÇÜR has (front) a male figure standing on a mountain, identified by the inscription as king Arnuwantis, grandson of Kuzi-TONITRUS enti-

53 Knudtzon, *AGS* nos. 54–57; Klauber, *PRT* nos. 27–31; see now Starr, *SLI* IV (Helsinki, 1990), p. LVII f., and nos. 1–12.

54 Primary account, Harran tablets, rev. 22–26 = *ARAB* II, § 911; later versions: cylinder B, Piepkorn, *Ašurbanipal*, p. 45, ii 71–79 = *ARAB* II, § 848; cylinder F, Aynard, *Le prisme du Louvre*, pp. 34–35, i 71–77; cylinder A, V R 2, ii 68–74 = *ARAB* II, § 781. The date of the event should lie between c. 665/4 (Edition E of the Annals, which does not contain it) and c. 663/2 (composition of the Harran tablets, see Cogan and Tadmor, *Or. NS.* 46 (1977), p. 81).

55 *ADD* 698; see Fales, *Assur* 1/3 (1974), p. 14 f. *ABL* 375 rev., recording a receipt of horses from “the Melidian(s)”, should be connected with this tribute; cf. Postgate, *TCLE*, p. 8 f., no. 13 (add *KUR melidaya* under “source”).

56 Ištar temple inscriptions, dated c. 640 B.C., Campbell Thompson, *LAL* 20 (1933), p. 88 and pls. XCV–XCVI, ll. 138–145.

57 See e.g. Pecorella, *Malatya* III, p. 25.

58 Id., *ibid.*, pp. 25–29; E. Schneider Equini, *Malatya* II (Rome, 1970), esp. pp. 7–21.

59 See Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 91–100, 140–142, 205–210; and cf. Genge, *NSR* I, pp. 172–179.

60 Incorrect identifications: Lalli (MALATYA 2) – Bossert, *Felsefe Arkeii* 2 (1947), p. 98 f.; Hilaruada (KÖTÜKALE) – Bossert, *Le Muséon* 68 (1955), p. 84; Sulumal (MALATYA 5, 7–13 etc.) – Hrozný, *IHH* I (1933), p. 53 (cf. below, p. 287 and n. 70); Tarhunazi (DARENDE) – Gelb, *HH* II (1935), p. 19.

61 See below, p. 288 and n. 77.

62 See the Commentary to the respective inscriptions, § 1. The grandfather, whose name was established by collation of İSPEKÇÜR (see n. 65) seems certain, especially on the basis of his titles here, to be identical with Kuzi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub. See below, p. 287 f. for the implications of this; also Karkamiš, p. 73 and n. 13.

63 This seems to have been located in the Plain of Elbistan: see above, n. 23.

64 An otherwise unparalleled writing apparent representing the name of Melid besides the usual partially logographic version, for which see above p. 284 and n. 20.

tled "Hero",⁶⁵ son of PUGNUS-mili; he thus appears as the brother of the author of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, bearing like him the Melidian dynastic title, and thus also ruler of the city. He presumably ruled after his brother, since his own descendant was also ruler. He receives a libation from (right side) a male figure standing on a bull, identified as "Arnuwantis the ki[ng's](?) grandson", who thus is honouring his homonymous deified grandfather. The female figure (left side), standing on a city-wall, is probably identified as the wife of Arnuwantis (the elder), and thus the deified grandmother.

DARENDE, a similar stele, shows (right side) the god Sarruma standing on a lion, and (front) the seated goddess Hebat, both identified by epigraphs and receiving a libation from (left side) a male figure standing on a lion, his name AVIS₂ written in a circle in front of him. This figure serves to introduce the inscription (reverse), which identifies him as grandson of king AVIS₂-*wa/i-tá-*, son of PUGNUS-mili, and gives him the Melidian dynastic title. It is argued⁶⁶ that the reading of AVIS₂(-*wa/i-tá-*) is Arnuwantis, and thus that the author of this stele is the same as the Arnuwantis, grandson of king Arnuwantis, author of İSPEKÇÜR.

Other genealogies. The stele IZGIN 1 was written by the Hero CRUS + *R-1/I-*,⁶⁷ who gives no genealogy but bears the Melidian dynastic title and claims to have sat on his father's throne (§ 2). The text as preserved, like the related inscription IZGIN 2 on the reverse of the stele, gives details of Melidian settlement and city-building in the "river-lands", presumably the well-watered plain of Elbistan. It also names in a broken context an Arnuwantis (§ 12), a name seen on İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE as one which recurs in the dynasty.

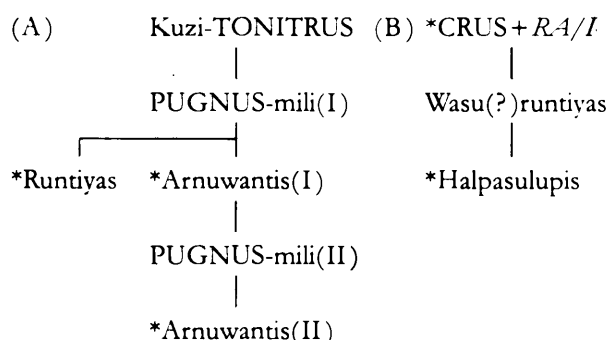
The Lion-Hunt scene with inscription MALATYA 1 is the work of Halpasulupis(?),⁶⁸ grandson of the Hero CRUS + *R-1/I-* bearing the Melidian dynastic title, son of Wasu(?)runtiyas. The grandfather is presumably the same individual as the author of IZGIN. Halpasulupis may give his own title as "king" (see Commentary). The epigraph MALATYA 4 on the portal lion from the Lion Gate names Halpasulupis, "potent(?) king",⁶⁹ who may well be the same individual.

The Stag-Hunt scene with inscription MALATYA 3 can hardly be separated from the Lion-Hunt, though the author, Maritis, son of Suwarimis, apparently also a ruler of Malatya (see Commentary), cannot be linked with any other Malatya rulers.

The epigraphs on the Lion Gate sculpture, apart from Halpasulupis, name PUGNUS-mili, entitled "potent(?) king" (MALATYA 5, 7–12, also the stray MALATYA 14). It has been emphasized that the generally accepted identification of this individual with Sulmal, contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, is out of the question on grounds of date,⁷⁰ and that there is no supporting evidence for the reading of the first syllable as *sulu*

or the like.⁷¹ The only other epigraph from the Lion Gate is MALATYA 6, naming the female figure as "Tu-watis king(s)-child",⁷² thus probably the daughter of PUGNUS-mili.

The inscriptions GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE with İSPEKÇÜR + DARENDE on the one hand, and IZGIN 1 + MALATYA 1 + MALATYA 4 on the other, give the following genealogies:



* explicitly stated by the inscriptions to have been rulers.

The reading of the name of the grandfather in dynasty A as Kuzi-TONITRUS and his identification with Kuzi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub,⁷³ provide an unexpected link of this Melidian dynasty with the Hittite Empire dynasty of Karkamiš, but raise chronological difficulties. By taking up the inscriptions GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE and the inscribed sculptures İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE to the second and fourth generations after Kuzi-Tešub, i.e. to the late 12th and early 11th centuries B.C., one dates them particularly early, which raises a problem regarding their palaeography. There is nothing about them to suggest that they are markedly more archaic than the earliest Karkamiš inscriptions; on the contrary, they appear distinctly more developed than the clearly archaic KARAHÖYÜK stele, for which a dating to the 12th century B.C. seems likely.⁷⁴ If, however, KARAHÖYÜK may

65 It was my collation of this inscription in August 1987 which established the grandfather's name as *ku-zi*-TONITRUS.

66 See DARENDE, § 1, Commentary.

67 Previously often read *Taras*, but this is rather uncertain; see IZGIN 1, § 1, Commentary.

68 TONITRUS-*HALPA-pa*-AVIS₂-*sa*; the sign AVIS₂ is of uncertain reading, see Commentary for discussion.

69 REX.*462: for interpretation, see MALATYA 5, Commentary.

70 All the sculpture associated with PUGNUS-mili is to be dated not later than the early 9th century B.C.; see above, p. 286 and n. 59.

71 See MALATYA 5, Commentary, for discussion.

72 It is curious that Tuwatis, a dynastic name of rulers in Tabal (see Tabal, p. 430 and n. 62), should here be given to a woman. An alternative interpretation has been considered ("Tuwatis the king's child") and a dynastic alliance between Melid and Tabal inferred. This was suggested by M. van Loon, *Anatolia in the Earlier First Millennium B.C.* (Iconography of Religions XV, 13; Leiden, 1990), p. 4.

73 See Karkamis, p. 73 and n. 5.

74 See above, p. 283 and nn. 13–14.

be associated with a conservative epigraphic style of the Anatolian plateau, deriving from Tarhuntassa and appearing also in the inscriptions of KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ and much later in TOPADA (+SUVASA), while GÜRÜN+KÖTÜKALE and İSPEKÇÜR +DARENDE could represent a more developed tradition derived from Karkamiš, this apparent epigraphic discrepancy between these geographically and chronologically close inscriptions would be explained.⁷⁵ An alternative way to resolve this difficulty would be to assume that “grandson” of Kuzi-Tesub actually meant no more than “descendant”.

The king PUGNUS-mili of the Lion Gate could be the same as the first or second of that name or possibly another. He is tenuously linked to Halpasulupis by the occurrence of the latter’s epigraph too on the Lion Gate. Similarly the naming of an Arnuwantis on the IZGIN inscription of CRUS+R-4/- is another faint link between the two genealogies. Also the Stag-Hunt scene, linked stylistically to the Lion-Hunt of Halpasulupis, may give evidence for one or two more rulers, in the persons of Maritis, son of Suwarimis (Dynasty C).

However these data are interpreted, a considerable number of generations of Melidian rulers is indicated. These cannot possibly be accommodated within the sequence of known dynasts of the Assyrian-Urartian domination. On the contrary, placed before 853 B.C., the generations must have extended back to before 1000 B.C., and in fact the link to Kuzi-Tesub probably does take the associated monuments back to the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

The rock-inscription ŞIRZI is the work of Sa(?)tiruntiyas,⁷⁶ son of Sahwis(?),⁷⁷ and commemorates a certain construction, presumably in the vicinity. The identification of the father’s name with that of Şahu, father of Hilaruada contemporary of Argišti I and Sarduri II, looks likely, and an identity of the individuals could also be envisaged. Thus, this inscription could belong to the period of Urartian domination.

The other inscription which can be dated late is that of PALANGA on the statue fragment, which by the style of the folds and fringes down the right side of the garment can be associated with a colossal statue of a ruler from Kululu and other late renderings of garments, and thus dated to the later 8th century B.C. The inscription, which is generally unclear, is the work of a “river-lord”, a subordinate ruler, whose name is not certainly read.

The other Malatya inscriptions cannot be associated with rulers of the country. MALATYA 2, simple epigraphs to a combined funerary banquet and hunting scene (fragmentary), may have been the work of a private person. The Karhuha-Kubaba stele with crude epigraphs MALATYA 13, may have been erected by a ruler but can only be read to identify the deities. Both these two monuments can be generally associated by their sculpture with the Lion Gate and Lion and Stag-Hunt scenes, i.e. the early phase of sculpture. The crude portal lion ARSLANTAŞ has been supposed to show traces of an inscription now illegible, although this may be doubted. In any case the quality of the sculpture is not such as to permit dating.

The Inscriptions

V.1. KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) (plates 133–134)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10754.

Description. Large, tapering stele, inscribed on obverse (A), right side (B), and left side (C). The inscription begins on side A, upper right, running sinistrovers (l. 1), continuing *boustrophedon* for 8 lines (ll. 2–9), to lower left corner. For the continuity, Güterbock (*editio princeps*) took the right side (B), top to bottom, sinistrovers (l. 10), followed by the left side (C), bottom to top, sinistrovers (l. 11), on the basis of the recognition of the curse formula at the end of this sequence (see Publication). He has been followed by all subsequent editors, and what can be understood of the general sense, especially the connections between §§ 15–16 and 20–21, supports this. Below the inscribed areas on

sides A, B and C is a short uninscribed area, and the reverse and top are also uninscribed.

Dimensions: total ht. (excluding base), 2.69 m.; max. w., 1.11 m.; th., 0.31 m.; line ht., ranges 0.28–0.15 m. **Condition:** good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: archaic.

⁷⁵ Chronological problems examined by Hawkins, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 102 f., 105 f., 107; id., in papers of the XXXIV R.A.I., Istanbul, 1987 (Ankara, [1998]). For more detailed argument associating KARAHÖYÜK with the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ inscriptions and the latter with TOPADA (+SUVASA), see Tabal, p. 429 and n. 60; and especially KARAHÖYÜK and KIZILDAĞ 4, Commentary, general observations; and TOPADA, Date.

⁷⁶ First syllable uncertain; see Commentary.

⁷⁷ Written *sa-HIIT-sa*: for the reading of the name, especially the important middle sign, see ŞIRZI, § 1, Commentary.

Peculiarities: closeness to Empire Period usages; no distinction of *ga*, *ia* and NEG₂; many otherwise unattested and unrecognized signs. See further below, Commentary, general observations.

Word-dividers: three examples, special circumstances only, i.e. probably not at this date used as word-divider (see Commentary, § 22).

Discovery. Excavated *in situ* during the 1947 campaign at Karahöyük, Elbistan. The stele was found fixed in its base, with a stone trough in front to the left, in a partially paved area identified as the first post-Hittite Empire level, overlying a level of Hittite Empire building. The stele precinct was not observed to have been connected with any buildings. The stele was found, after its period of display, to have been walled up round the left side and reverse, also partially the right side, and buried with soft soil against the obverse. The foundations of the upper levels left the stele undisturbed. See T. and N. Özgüç, below, Publication.

Publication. T. and N. Özgüç, *Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu (Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük) 1947* (T.T.K. Yayınlarından V/7; Ankara, 1949), pp. 22–25 (Turkish), 69–72 (German), also appendix by H. G. Güterbock, *ibid.*, pp. 52 f. (Turkish), 102 f. (German); illustrated *ibid.*, Plân 3 and 4, Lev. VI, VIII–X (excavation), and Lev. XLIX (copy by Güterbock), L–LI (photographs, obverse, sides).

Editions. Laroche, *RHA* XI/52 (1950), pp. 47–56 (pl. II–III redrawn from Güterbock); Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/3 (1975), no. 101, pp. 317–324, Tav. XIV (redrawn from Güterbock); E. Masson, *Mélanges Laroche* (1979), pp. 225–241 (figs. 3–4, free-hand drawing of text); H. Nowicki, *KZ* 95 (1981), pp. 251–273; Hawkins, *Studies Nimet Özgüç* (1993), pp. 273–279.

Excerpts.

- § 3 Melchert, *An. St.* 38, p. 33.
 § 4 Nowicki, *Hethitica* 5, p. 114.
 § 16 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 68 n. 2.
 § 17 Nowicki, *Hethitica* 5, p. 114; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 261.
 § 20 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 131 cit. 13.
 §§ 21–24 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 131 cit. 12.
 § 22 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 67 f.; Bossert, *AfO* 17, p. 67 Abb. 20, 70; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 138 f. cit. 16.

Content. Dedication to local Storm-God by official of a Great King. § 1, dedication by Armananis; § 2, arrival of Great King, Ir-Tešub(?); §§ 3–9, actions of Great King; §§ 10–15, relations of Armananis with local Storm-God; § 16, donation of three cities to Armananis; §§ 17–19, actions of Armananis; §§ 20–21, ban on disturbance of arrangements; §§ 22–24, protective curse.

Date. Post-Hittite Empire but archaic, thus 12th century B.C.: see Commentary, general observations. This date was originally proposed by Güterbock, and generally accepted (cf. Laroche, *HH*, p. 262), and nothing has appeared in the course of more recent work to call it in question.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Photographs. That of the obverse was taken at the same time. The stele now stands in one of the outdoor niches at Ankara Museum, which precludes photography of the sides B and C. Photographs of these therefore are old excavation photographs given to me by the late I. J. Gelb, which are mounted on the plate together with his print of side A.

Transliteration

Translation

obv. (A)

1. § 1 (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO) STELE
 2. LUNA.FRATER₂ PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS || 'la-mi-ni-'
 PRAE PONERE

- § 2 MAGNUS.REX i(a)+ra/i-TONITRUS MAGNUS.REX
 3. REL+ra/i-i(a) || POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO) PES₂+R-4/I
 § 3 a-wa/i URBS-MI-ni ta-na-ti wa/i-mi-OCULUS(+?) ||
 4. § 4 a-wa/i-ti (SOLIUM.MI)â-sa SUPER SOLIUM-tâ
 § 5 a-wa/i *512-i(a) *484 SUPER sa-SUPER ||
 5. § 6 *234 *235 *236 mu-ki-SUPER+ra/i SUPER sa-SUPER
 § 7 *202 *513-tâ-mi-zi-a CAPERE-tâ ||
 6. § 8 a-wa/i-ni¹ sa₂-*514-mi-ti SOLIUM²+MI²-ni-tâ

(To) the Storm-God of the land
 POCULUM (this) stele Armananis, Lord of the Pithos-Men, dedicated, at the time
 when Ir-Tešub, the Great King, came to the land POCULUM.
 He found the city empty,
 and he sat upon the seat,
 (or: and he set up a seat)
 ...
 ...
 ... he took.
 ... he settled(?),

- § 9 POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO) SUPER DOMUS-*zi/a*
 7. |URBS+*MI-zi/a* || *i(a)-zi/a*
 § 10 *a-wa/i-tá* (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.*67 *wa/i-sa*
á-sa-ha
 § 11 *wa/i-mi-tá-* DEUS-*ni-i(a) á-tá i(a)-**515-*ha* ||
 8. § 12 *a-wa/i-mu* (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.*67 LOCUS-*tá*
 LOCUS-*tá REL-i(a)-mi-sa* *135(9)-*ti sa-tá*
 9. § 13 *a-wa/i* || *a-mi-zi/a* REGIO-*zi/a* |URBS+*MI-zi/a* (DEUS)TONI-
 TRUS POCULUM.PES.*67 PRAE DARE
 § 14 *516 PONERE
 § 15 *517 DEUS.X(?) *mi-i(a)-ti-* DOMUS-*ti i(a)-zi/a* 1 *518 1
 *519 1 *520 ||
 right side (B)
 10. § 16 POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO)-*wa/i-mu-tá-* 3 URBS-*MI-ni-zi/a*
la/i/u-kar-ma(URBS) FRONS?²*282-*pi-i(a)*(URBS) *zu(wa)-*
ma-ka(URBS) DOMINUS-*na-ti* DARE-*mi-zi/a*
 § 17 *234.SUPER *263-*ta-na-sa₅* DOMUS-*zi/a i(a)-zi/a-ha*
 § 18 *259.*502-*mi-li* SUPER *521-*ha*
 § 19 *202 SCRIBA(-)CAPERE-*ha*
 § 20 LIS-*mu* NEG-*wa/i a-sa-ti*
 left side (C)
 11. § 21 PORTA?²-*zi/a* *293-*zi/a* *469-*zi/a* NEG-*sa a-sa-ti*
 § 22 REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i i(a)-ma* REL-*i(a)-sa* |CAPUT-*ti-sa a-mi-i(a)*
 DOMUS-*ni-i(a)* REL+*ra/i-i(a)-pa* |URBS+*MI-ni-i(a) tara/i-*
pa-a-ti
 § 23 REL+*ra/i-pa-tá* *293 *469 PONERE
 § 24 *a-wa/i-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.*67 LIS-*398
a-sa-tu

† § 13: see Addendum, p. 329

Commentary

General observations. KARAHÖYÜK has the appearance of being, along with the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group, one of the most archaic inscriptions of the post-Empire Period, though reasons are given below for thinking that it may not be so far removed in date from the other earliest inscriptions of the Late Period group, principally those of MALATYA. Its archaism is recognizable in two areas, sign forms and graphic usage, in which it is closer to the Empire Period inscriptions of Tudhaliyas IV, the EMİRGAZI altars and block, also the YALBURT blocks, than the Late Period corpus as a whole. It is here taken for granted that it cannot in fact belong to the Empire Period itself, principally on the historical grounds that the named Great King, whose name is probably to be read in Hurrian Ir-Tešub (see below, § 2), cannot be identified with any of the members of the Hittite dynasty of Hattusa, and must therefore be later.

Sign forms. (1) Most notably close to those of EMİRGAZI and YALBURT are the following: STELE, *la*,

he(?) improved the land POCULUM for houses (and) cities. I was dear(?) to the Storm-God of the land POCULUM, and myself to the god I ... (?)ed. For me the Storm-God of the land POCULUM was revered in every place with ... (?), and in my lands I(?) hand(ed) over the cities to the Storm-God of the land POCULUM,[†] (and) I(?) establish(ed) the god ... (?) from my house I(?) celebrate(d)

(In) the land POCULUM three cities, Lukarma, Hant...piya (and) Zu(wa)maka (are) given to me by the lord. I made *234 a house of(?) *263-TANA- ... I ... (?)ed up, I took There shall be no dispute against me,

against the gates(?) let there be no *293 *469!

Whatsoever person shall TARP- on my house or city,

or shall put *293 *469, let him, the Storm-God of the land POCULUM, be prosecutor!

PRAE, *i(a)*, REL, PES₂, *na*, *tá*, *á*, *mu*, LOCUS, DARE/*pi*, *la/i/u*, *ma*, NEG, CAPUT, *pa*, *tú*, PORTA?².

(2) Not found (or identified) in the Late corpus are the following: *67, FRATER₂, *512, *484, *234, *235, *236, *513, *514, *515, *135(9), *516, *517, *518, *519, *520, *282, *zu(wa)*, *263, *259, *502, *521, *293, *469. (Note that the signs numbered from 501 onwards are newly registered ones not booked by Laroche: see Introduction, p. 24 and Table 1.).

(3) The sign *sa*, written with a simple arch, differs from the more elaborate Empire Period form. This form is found at Karkamiš only in the late archaizing inscriptions of Kamanis and later (see KARKAMIŠ A18e, Date). Significantly it is the form used exclusively among the inscriptions of Tabal in the Hartapus group KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ and BURUNKAYA (see Commentary, General observations), and in TOPADA (+ SUVASA).

Graphic usage. (1) Most notable, the lack of differentiation of the signs *zi/a* and *i(a)* into *zi*, *za* and *i*, *ia*

by the addition of the *a*-vocalization (*a* in ligature), and similarly NEG into NEG₂ (*na*), NEG₃ (*ni*).

(2) Writing of nouns/adjectives and verbs without case and tense endings. Note in particular: nouns/adjectives, URBS-*MI-ni ta-na-ti* (§ 3); *á-sa* (?) (§ 4); *wa/i-sa* (?) (§ 10); verbs (logographic), PONERE (§§ 14, 23); DARE (§ 13); (phonetic) *i(a)-zi/a* (§§ 9, 15; but cf. § 17).

(3) Writing of clauses without connective particles. Note §§ 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21.

(4) Use of *a* (') at full line-height as word-ender. Note *la-mi-ni'* (§ 1); *wa/i-mi-tá'* (§ 11); *mi-i(a)-ti'* (§ 15).

(5) Word-divider used only before URBS+*MI*- (§§ 9, 13, 22) and CAPUT (§ 22), i.e. not as word-divider (see § 22). The usage, though not understood, appears archaic.

Hardly one of these characteristics is shared by KARAHÖYÜK with the geographically very close Malatya inscriptions, especially GÜRÜN and KÖTÜ-KALE, İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE, also IZGIN 1–2, and MALATYA 1 and 3. This lack of common epigraphic characteristics might be thought to indicate a wide chronological gap between KARAHÖYÜK and the Malatya inscriptions, yet there are now reasons to believe that the earliest Malatya inscriptions may date as early as mid-12th–mid-11th centuries B.C., hardly later than the earliest possible date for KARAHÖYÜK: see GÜRÜN and İSPEKÇÜR, *Dates*, also Malatya, *Historical Context*, p. 287 f. and n. 75. The discrepancy may be better explained by the assumption that the KARAHÖYÜK stele is an epigraphic import, specifically that it came in with the Great King named in § 2, which is facilitated by a proper understanding of that clause (see below). Lines of claimants to the title “Great King” are to be found in the east at Karkamiš (*Historical Context*, p. 76 and nn. 52–53), and in the west in Tabal (*Historical Context*, p. 429 and n. 60). In fact, KARAHÖYÜK shows significant links with the Hartapus group of Tabal inscriptions KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ and BURUNKAYA, which in turn has close links with the late archaizing TOPADA (+ SUVASA) inscriptions: see KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ, *Commentary*, General observations. These observations indicate that KARAHÖYÜK is actually better considered a Tabal inscription, rather than a Malatya one as its find-spot has suggested.

Note. In crediting recognitions and elucidations of earlier editors which I accept without further discussion, I cite simply Laroche, Meriggi, Masson, and Nowicki without detailed reference.

§ 1. POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO): no progress has been made on the reading of the name of the country since Güterbock originally observed that its Storm-God should be identified with the one on MALATYA 9,

designated POCULUM.CAPERETÀ (URBS), and that the land/city must refer to Karahöyük itself and (part of) Elbistan. Bossert's guess of *La(hu)wazantiya*, which would involve the location of this city at Karahöyük, does not seem appropriate. In the writing of the name, PES could be taken last as a phonetic complement -*ti*. The sign *67, apparently a palm-upward hand + *R.4/I* is otherwise unknown, but could perhaps correspond to the CAPERE of MALATYA 9 (which, alternatively, could itself be a phonetic complement -*tà*).

LUNA.FRATER₂: Luw. reading *Arma-nani* preferred by previous editors to unattested type of Hurr. compound *Kušub + šenni*.

PITHOS.VIR DOMINUS: title, “lord of the pithosmen” (Nowicki, following Laroche, *HH* no. 312.1 with reference to the occurrence of the title on *SBo* II, no. 223). A number of new occurrences of the title are now found on the new bullae excavated at Boğazköy in 1990–91.

la-mi-ni': “at the moment”, identified with Hitt. *lammar*, “moment”, rather than *laman*, “name” (Hier. *ataman-*) (Nowicki).

PRAE PONERE: “place before”, i.e. “dedicate to” (Masson).

§ 2. PES₂ + *R.4/I*: the sign is not, as assumed by previous editors, a repeated *67 at the end of the toponym, but as here identified. It presumably represents a verb of motion, and as such, PES₂ might stand for any one of a number of verbs, to judge from later usage. The + *R.4/I* however is probably best explained not as a writing of the verbal ending (rhotacism at this date would be most unexpected), but as indicating a verb stem ending in -*ra/i*- (cf. the usage in CRUS + *R.4/I* as proposed in KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5, *Commentary*). If so, the verb indicated would very likely be *ara/i*-, “come”, written (“PES₂”) *a + ra/i*- on ASSUR letters *a*, § 6, and *f + g*, § 24. The recognition of this verb is historically important: the clause does not state that the named Great King *ruled* in (Karahöyük-)Elbistan, simply that he *visited*. This leaves the way open to supposing that the Great King belonged to the western branch of the claimants of that title, and that the inscription KARAHÖYÜK itself belonged to an epigraphic tradition of the west, not one local to Malatya. See Tabal, *Historical Context*, p. 429 and n. 60.

i(a) + ra/i-TONITRUS: Hurr. reading *Ir-Tešub* to be preferred (Masson); cf. in detail, Hawkins, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 105 n. 38.

REL + *ra/i-i(a)*: since rhotacism is not expected at this period, this must represent *kuwari* not *kuati*; cf. same forms, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 30, 31; A13d, § 5, and *Commentary*. The form REL + *ra/i* is attested for the Empire Period on the YALBURT and SÜDBURG inscriptions, where it should be identical with Cun.-Luw. *kuwari*, attested unfortunately only in fragmentary contexts (*KUB* XXXV 133 iii 21, 23; iv 13 – *StBoT* 30,

p. 282; 114, 4–5 – *StBoT* 30, p. 267). Cf. the disjunctive REL + *ra/i-(i(a)-)pa*, below, §§ 22, 23. The present context, especially by correlation with *lamini*, “at the moment”, requires the translation “when”.

§ 3. Clause now closely paralleled by MARAŞ 8, § 3, where it is followed by clauses apparently describing restoration work; see Melchert, loc. cit., and my comparison of the MARAŞ 8 passage, *ibid.*, n. 8. Thus Laroche’s original interpretation is substantiated.

URBS-*MI-ni ta-na-ti*: in spite of the largely phonetic writing, the acc. sing. MF ending *-n* is not written, following usual archaic practice, as is shown by comparison with the parallel passage. Note that this ending is nowhere observable in this inscription. The reading URBS-*MI-ni* (last sign definitely so identified, following Meriggi, in place of *-li* (Masson and Nowicki) gives the word its usual Late Period phonetic complement; cf. URBS-*MI-ni-zi* (nom. plur. MF, § 16 below); [URBS + *MI-ni-i(a)* (dat. sing., § 22 below); also [URBS + *MI-zi/a* (acc. plur. MF, §§ 9, 13 below); and note that the last three attestations are all preceded by the word-divider, used elsewhere in this inscription only before CAPUT (§ 22).

na/i-mi-OCULUS(+?): identification with verb *na/i-mi-LITUUS-*, “find”, by Nowicki amply confirmed by parallel passage. The small appendage jutting from the lower right of the circular sign was taken by Nowicki as +*ra/i*, representing the verbal ending. As pointed out above § 2 however, this is not likely, since rhotacism is not expected at this early date. In fact it is quite possible that the appendage is not *ra/i*: it is much smaller than the other examples of *ra/i* in this inscription and points in the wrong direction. We could regard it simply as part of the OCULUS sign with no independent value, which would leave the verb written without ending, as elsewhere in this inscription following typical archaic usage. Thus of the following clauses, §§ 4, 7 and 8 have verbal ending *-ta* representing 3 (sing.) pret.; for §§ 5 and 6, no verb ending is discernible, and for § 9 it is not written, as is argued also for § 3. The subject of all clauses, except possibly §§ 8–9 (see Commentary), seems to be the Great King of § 2, described as carrying out restoration work.

§ 4. (SOLIUM.MF)*a-sa*: the unexplained *MI* has been observed attached to SOLIUM in ligature, determining the verb *isanu-* (see KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 16, and Commentary); and in or out of ligature to determine the simple verb *asa-* (see KARATEPE, 128, and Commentary). In these cases it has been argued that, whatever its function, it did not have a phonetic value. The same must apply here: the full word must be *asa-* (with *a* initial, as normally), for which, see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 8, and Commentary, a term designating a “seat” (perhaps a building) for prince or deity.

SUPER: identification of sign by Nowicki plausible [and now confirmed by new Boğazköy bullae].

SOLIUM-*ta*: SOLIUM presumably here represents the stem *as-/is-*, “sit”, but it is not clear whether this writing must indicate the simple verb, or whether it could stand for the caus. *isanu-*. EMIRGAZI and YALBURT do provide examples of causatives written with *-nu-wa/i-* (and cf. below, § 8, SOLIUM² + *MI²-nu-ta*), but IZGIN, in a usage which appears archaic, writes SOLIUM for the simple verb, SOLIUM-*wa/i-* for causative (see IZGIN 1, §§ 2, 7 and 8, and Commentary). Thus it is unclear whether the present verb is transitive or intransitive, whether *asa(-)* is acc. sing. MF with ending not written, whether *-ta* in *a-wa/i-ta* is *Ortspartikel*. In view of these uncertainties, several alternative translations are possible, but it seems likely that the clause describes the resettlement of the devastated land.

§§ 5–6. SUPER *sa*-SUPER: further recognition of SUPER by Nowicki seems to offer the best hope here; and his further suggestion of a syllabic value *sara/i* for SUPER should also be possible. Thus *sa*-SUPER, perhaps read *sa-sara/i*, may represent the verb in each clause, either endingless as the verb in § 9, or with an ending to be sought in the *-ra/i*. It is curious that Nowicki, after identifying the first SUPER *sa*-SUPER, does not recognize the repeated pair in § 6, nor the recurrence of the sign SUPER in § 9 (these forms are somewhat more closed up than in §§ 4 and 5). He does, however, recognize the further recurrences in §§ 17 and 18. For a possible phonetic use of SUPER as *sari* in the Late Period, see MALPINAR, §§ 1, 19, and Commentary. Could the writing possibly represent the verb *sasarla-*, “offer” (for which see CEKKE, § 5, Commentary)?

§ 5. *512: not listed by Laroche; Meriggi, *Glossar*, no. 310a. It appears to contain the sign SOLIUM.

*484: sign perhaps to be identified with a sign occurring twice on YALBURT (block 14 §§ 4, 5) in a toponym, in which it has been plausibly identified by Poetto as the sign *tal* (HH no. 367).

§ 6. *234 *235 *236: Laroche’s interpretation as logograms representing “constructions militaires” seems likely.

mu-ki-SUPER + *ra/i*: Nowicki’s reading, resulting in *mukisara/i*, which he hesitates to compare with Hitt. *mukessar*, “invocation”. Yet “for a ritual” in the context looks possible sense.

§ 7. *202 (see also § 19 below): sign, until recently found recurring only on İSPEKÇÜR, side A, frags. c+d, § 3, seems to represent a ligature SCALPRUM (i.e. “stone”) + TERRA + VIA, the recognition of which led Meriggi to guess the sense “bridge”. It has now appeared in the new BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription in the crucial final clause reading: “Here in that year a DEUS.*202 (I) construct(ed)”. It looks certain that DEUS.*202 must designate the Südburg

construction itself. I propose in the publication of that monument that DEUS.*202 (i.e. “(divine) Earth-Road”) is the Hier. equivalent of Hitt. ^DKASKAL.KUR, which designates a geographical feature, “karstic slot, pot-hole”, conceived also as an entrance to the underworld. This proposal should be testable against the two KARAHÖYÜK attestations, but it must be admitted that the present clause (“he took ... ^DKASKAL.KUR”), and § 19 below (“I took ... ^DKASKAL.KUR”) hardly gives contextual support to the hypothesis.

*513-tā-nū-zi/a (*513 otherwise unidentified): signs taken together at this point in order to obtain plausible verb (next word); conceivably phonetic writing of *202. Ending -zi/a highly ambiguous: nom./acc. sing. N, nom./acc. plur. MF, dat. plur.?

CAPERÉ-tā: would give plausible verb, order of reading not impossible; cf. similar order of reading in § 11 below. Note that the other clause containing the sign *202 (§ 19) also probably has the verb CAPERE.

§ 8. a-wa/i-ni: use of -ni in such position unparalleled, but perhaps, following Nowicki, identify as enclitic pronoun 3 sing. MF in place of usual -na, representing -an.

¹sa_x-*514-mi-ti: quite opaque, especially first three signs (*514 hardly = MAGNUS+R·I/I, as proposed by Nowicki); probably not personal name, as identified by Laroche.

SOLIUM²+MI²-nū-tā: identification of first sign as BONUS by Masson without discussion or supporting argument is unlikely. I tentatively suggest SOLIUM²+MI² on the following grounds. For SOLIUM±MI (i.e. in and out of ligature with MI), see KARATEPE, 128, and KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 16, Commentaries. Compare here (SOLIUM.MI)-ā-sa (§ 4) and the present sign with URBS-MI-ni (§ 3, MI not in ligature) and URBS+MI- (MI in ligature, §§ 9, 13, 22): i.e. the writing of MI in ligature with URBS can look like the 6 projections from the present sign.

§ 9. DOMUS-zi/a |URBS+MI-zi/a: ending -zi/a remains as ambiguous as in § 7; but if DOMUS and URBS are, as normally, N and MF respectively, the only case where both would end in -zi/a would be dat. plur., representing -(a)nza, which seems adequate grounds for so identifying the case here.

SUPER ... i(a)-zi/a: verb first identified as endingless form of “make” (i_{zi}-) by Laroche (though with old readings), and it recurs in this form in § 15; verb presumably 3 sing. pret., subject still the Great King. For clear form with ending, cf. § 17 below; examples of the endingless usage are found also on YALBURT and the new BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription. Perhaps interpret SUPER i_{zi}- like Hitt. šara/šer iya-, “extol”.

§§ 10–15. A 1st person singular suddenly enters the text, either with verbs 1 sing. pret. (§§ 10, 11), or with

pronouns -mi, -mu and ami- (§§ 11, 12, 13, 15), and this continues through the remainder of the text. A “speaker” has arrived, presumably the stele’s dedicator, Armananis, in contrast with the earlier 3rd person sing., identified as the Great King.

§ 10. wa/i-sa ā-sa-ha: last word read and identified surely correctly by Masson as “I was” (1 sing. pret., asa-, “be”); Nowicki’s doubts focus on wa/i-sa, but in preference to following him in relegating ā- to non-initial position (which cannot be demonstrated for this inscription any more than for later ones – cf. also §§ 4, 11), we should seek to explain wa/i-sa. Since the sense “I was dear to the Storm-God” is so probable (cf. Hitt. ANA DN aššīyanza eš- (+ -kan), “be dear to god”: Friedrich and Kammenhuber, HW², s.v. aššīja-II.2(a)), it is likely that wa/i-sa represents the adj., perhaps to be explained as endingless, as other forms in this inscription. This may imply the coexistence of a form wasa-, “good”, besides the usual wasu-; or perhaps the unwritten ending was -mis, so that wasa- might represent the commonly attested participle wasami-, “beloved”, and would parallel the cited Hitt. form aššīyanza. Note the presence of -ta, Ortspartikel, paralleling -kan in the Hitt. usage.

§ 11. wa/i-mi-tā-: the recognition of the 1 sing. reflexive pronoun -mi- (for which see now Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 41 f.) demands the clause’s verb to be 1 sing., which may be found in the ending -ha, already so identified by Nowicki.

ā-tā i(a)-*515-ha: for order of reading, cf. the CAPERE-tā of § 7. The grounds for separating ā-tā, identified as anta, “in”, are that there is no reason to suppose that this inscription, any more than others, would employ ā- in any position other than initial. Thus the verb is reduced to the signs i(a)-*515-ha, where *515, though clear, is an otherwise unidentified sign, not listed separately by Laroche because identified (implausibly) as REL.

§ 12. LOCUS-tā LOCUS-tā (= *pita *pita), “everywhere”: cf. pairs usin usin, “every year” (KULULU 1, § 6); arin arin, “always” (HAMA 4, § 13); also DEUS-ni DEUS-ni, “to every god” (HAMA 4, § 5).

REL-i(a)-mi-sa: identified as participle by Meriggi and associated with verb REL-sā-, “fear”, doubtless correctly; may now be seen to correspond exactly with Hitt.-Luw. (𐎶)kuwayammi- (see Laroche, DLL, s.v. kuwaya-; KARATEPE, 174, and Commentary).

*135(9)-ti: outline of this otherwise unknown sign vaguely suggests a bird, and it is thus listed by Laroche. But this identification is by no means certain, and an attempt to guess a meaning on this basis, as is done by Masson, leads nowhere. The word represented is perhaps abl. (sing.).

§ 13. a-mi-zi/a REGIO-zi/a |URBS+MI-zi/a: editio princeps of Güterbock reads REGIO, but collation suggests DOMUS as given in copy; see Addendum, p. 329.

a-mi-zi/a: if we may apply the rules observable in the Late Period corpus, this may represent either *aminzi*, nom./acc. plur. MF, or *aminza*, < *amiyanza*, dat. plur.; it should not represent *amanza*, nom./acc. sing. N.

REGIO-*zi/a*: again to follow later rules, this should represent REGIO-*za* (**utniyanza*), either nom./acc. sing. N (not otherwise attested), or dat. plur. (cf. IZGIN 1, § 4); it should not represent REGIO-*zi*, which is not an expected form of a neuter noun. The nom./acc. plur. N REGIO-*ni-i(a)* (**utniya*, as in the Late Period) is attested on YALBURT, and the same form on EMIRGAZI (alter A, l. 4 = C, l. 2) is perhaps the same case, or perhaps dat. sing. (**utni*).

[URBS+*MI-zi/a*: should represent (nom./) acc. plur. MF ending *-inzi*, or dat. plur. *-anza*.

From this, it is clear that first two words can only be dat. plur., as must be the third if it belongs with them, but the sense argues against this.

PRAE DARE: as identified by Masson. Hitt. *para pai-* is so regularly used of handing over property to god, that a similar sense for PRAE DARE (*pari piya-*) in this context seems certain; cf. BABYLON 1, § 9. (DEUS)TONITRUS ... will thus provide the demanded dat., but a direct object must also be identified; this can only be URBS+*MI-zi/a*, which must therefore be separated from the unavoidably dat. plur. *a-mi-zi/a* REGIO-*zi/a*.

§ 14. PONERE (as identified by Masson): paired verbs expressing dedication are later common (e.g. *upa- ... tunu-*, see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4, and Commentary), and it would seem that we have the same parallelism here with PRAE DARE ... PONERE.

*516: unidentified sign, perhaps object, perhaps preverb.

§ 15. *517: unidentified sign(s).

DEUS.X(?): very uncertain; reading (DEUS)*198, a god's name on TOPADA (§§ 17, etc.), by Masson is perhaps possible, though it would be strange to find a new god other than the Storm-God of the land POCULUM suddenly appearing as beneficiary. Alternatively and very tentatively, might one read DEUS.DOMINUS?, "the divine lord", who could be the familiar Storm-God?

i(a)-zi/a: verb probably continues 1 sing. (pret.?): for "making" (celebrating) a god, see HİSARCIK 1, § 2, and Commentary.

1 *518 1 *519 1 *520: in the context one thinks of numbered (measures of) commodities (three uncertain signs) as offering to god "from my house (estate)". From the sign forms as visible, one might tentatively suggest: *518, "sheep" (OVIS); *519, "jug" (URCEUS), representing liquid (wine?); *520, a cereal. But such offerings would not seem specially generous.

§ 16. Structure and sense of the clause elucidated by Meriggi, loc. cit.

la/i/u-ka-ma(URBS): at an early date, *la/i/u* might be expected to have the value *lu* only, suggesting a form *Lukarma*. The identification with Hitt. URU (less often KUR) *Ta/Tegarama* by Laroche (p. 49) is perhaps possible; Ass. Til-garimmu, with which the former is further identified, should be located in the Plain of Elbistan (see Malatya, Historical Context, p. 285 and n. 45).

FRONS? *282-*pi-i(a)*(URBS): identification of FRONS (*forehead* + *nose* without *eye*) seems reasonably secure as an archaic form; it might be expected to render a syllable *hant-*.

zu(wa)-ma-ka(URBS): value *zu(wa)* for archaic sign HH. no. 284/285 established fairly securely by Laroche's identification in the writings of *Kizzuwatna* (FRAKTIN) and *Allanzu* (YAZILIKAYA no. 45): see RH.4 XXVII/84–85 (1969), pp. 86–89. Sign *-ka* (for earlier *-la*) recognized by Masson.

DOMINUS-*na-ti*, "by the lord": identification as the Great King by Nowicki probable; but if the reading "divine lord" in § 15 were substantiated, the donation could alternatively be attributed to the god.

DARE-*mi-zi/a* (*piyaminzi*), "given": for this identification by Meriggi, cf. e.g. Hitt. [IR]-*an-ni-ia-mu ku-e* KUR.KUR^{MES} *pi-ia-an* [*e-šir*], "the lands which [were] given to me for subjection" (KUB XXI, 15 i 17 – see Goetze, *Neue Br.*, p. 46).

§ 17. *234.SUPER: SUPER again identified and read phonetically *-sari* by Nowicki, accepted by Starke, loc. cit., who however doubts the interpretation of the word as *kulasari*, "Mauer".

*263-*tá-na-sa₅*: Masson's reading REGIO for *-sa₅* is to be discarded, following collation; word possibly gen. (sing.) dependent on DOMUS-*zi/a* (note no other gen. ending discernible in inscription).

DOMUS-*zi/a*: usual ambiguity of form, as noted above, §§ 7, 9, 13; should represent *-anza*, nom./acc. sing. MF or dat. plur. (note: DOMUS-*zi* would not give a form expected of a neuter noun.)

§ 18. *259.*502-*mi-li*: word may recur on EMIRGAZI altar B, l. 5 ([...]*502 (reversed)-*mi-li*). [*StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 101].

SUPER: again identified by Nowicki.

*521-*ha*: *521 unidentified, certainly not LITUUS+*á* (Laroche, Masson) nor *á-* (Nowicki). [The sign occurs on *SBo* II, 62, and quite commonly on the 1990–91 Boğazköy bullae].

§ 19. SCRIBA(-)CAPERE-*ha*: possibly to be identified with the later word/phrase SCRIBA+*RA/I(-)* CAPERE/*tá-*, for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 22, and Commentary, though Starke's interpretation, "take for writing(-surface)", has no obvious appropriateness here.

§ 20. See Hawkins loc. cit. for elucidation of NEG-*wa/i*, = *nana*, "not".

LIS (for previous reading IRA): see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary. This reinterpretation permits the

translation here as noun, "dispute, quarrel" (for which cf. KARKAMIŞ A4b, §§ 2, 5), rather than an adj. "angry", which would necessitate the identification of a personal subject, Great King or Storm-God.

§ 21. PORTA²-*zi/a* *293-*zi/a* *469-*zi/a*: further ambiguity from the undifferentiated -*zi/a* ending. Masson (followed by Nowicki) is doubtless correct in pointing out that the objectionable items deprecated must be only *293 and *469, recurring as they do in § 23; they must therefore be nom., either sing. N (ending -*anza*), or more probably plur. MF (ending -*inzi*). *293 occurs only in this inscription; *469 is found also on KARADAĞ 1, § 1 (listed as *HH* no. 468), where it is apparently a verb. Laroche's interpretation of *293 from its pictographic content as "horse + chariot" = "chariotry" seems likely, and would place the pair *293 *469 in the sphere of hostile military action.

PORTA²-*zi/a*: thus probably dat. plur. (of disadvantage, ending -*anza*) – so Masson, correcting my earlier interpretation (Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating NEG-*sa*, = *nis*, prohib.). PORTA², so identified by Masson, certainly resembles the later, more clearly pictographic PORTA; the form is also found twice on EMİRGAZI altars, §§ 18, 23, with phonetic complement -*MI*, in contexts where the sense is by no means obvious [see Hawkins, *StBoT*, Bh. 3, pp. 88, 97 f.]; and further on MARAŞ 8, § 11, in a damaged context. The identification is provisionally accepted here, where the sense is reasonable.

§ 22. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating REL-*i(a)-sa i(a)-ma* REL-*i(a)-sa*, "whatsoever (man)" (= Hitt. *kuiš imma kuiš*); also disjunctive REL+*ra/i-i(a)-pa*, for which see also Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 164 f.; and for an examination of the verb *tarpa-*, see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; cf. KARKAMIŞ A6, § 11, Commentary, for a survey of the forms.

[CAPUT-*ti-sa*: this word is the only one, in addition to URBS+*MI* three times (§§ 9, 13, 22), to be marked with the word-divider. A similar restricted usage is found on YALBURT, where it marks the title |*416-*wa/i-ni-* (6 times) and the group |Z-*AVUS-zi/a*, "fathers (and) grandfathers" (once). The sign is not found on the other main Empire Period inscriptions: EMİRGAZI, SÜDBURG, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, KARAKUYU etc., nor on the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group. It does not appear to be functioning as a word-divider, indeed its function is unclear, and this restricted occurrence in YALBURT and KARAHÖYÜK appears to be archaic.

§ 23. REL+*ra/i-pa-tà*: for omissions of particle -*wa/i*, see KARKAMIŞ A18e, § 2, Commentary, listing examples; and for disjunctive, see Commentary to previous clause.

§ 24. LIS-*398: last sign not identified; in LIS (§ 20), the two "profiles" confront each other over a sign which more resembles *398 than the usual SIGILLUM. Some phonetic complement might be expected here.

V.2. GÜRÜN (plates 135–138)

Location. Pair of rock inscriptions *in situ*. From the town of Gürün on the Kayseri-Malatya road, some 3 km. up the Tohma Su, where the river emerges from a gorge, a place known as Şuğul Kaya, one inscription (Lower) is on the cliff face to the west of the river, the other (Upper) on a rock outcrop about 50 m. further up the slope to the west. Cf. now Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs* (1988), p. 191 f.

Description. *Upper inscription*: on the outcrop at the foot of the cliff is a 6-line inscription. A vertical fissure runs down the left edge of ll. 1–4 and cuts through ll. 5–6, which are extended leftwards by a distance approximately equal to the existing width of the inscription. The text begins top right and runs sinistaverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending lower right. It is fairly fully preserved, though difficult to read in places. *Lower inscription*: down the slope, about 5 m. up on the cliff face above a shallow grotto is a partially preserved 4-line inscription, which extends from its preserved left edge rightwards towards a long diagonal fissure. It appears to be a near duplicate of the upper inscription, and comparison with the latter suggests that it has lost about one-third of its right side. Even on the preserved

part, however, areas of text have been lost by the flaking of the surface. The inscription ran sinistaverse from its top right corner, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending about two-thirds along l. 4, which is thus preserved almost to its end.

Dimensions: (upper) not recorded; (lower) ht., c. 0.90 m.; max. preserved w., c. 1.50 m.

Condition: (upper) poor, signs fairly eroded; (lower) poor, flaked and partially destroyed.

Script, line-dividers: (upper) relief but eroded; (lower) relief.

Sign forms: (upper and lower) monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: very few visible.

Discovery. Found by Col. Sir Charles Wilson in 1879, at which date the soil level reached up to upper inscription: see Sayce, *TSB* 4 7 (1882), p. 305 f. (paper read on 2/10/1880); Wright, *EH* (1884), pp. 57, 62. Visited in 1882 by Wilson and Ramsay (see Sayce, below), and in summer 1890 by Ramsay and Hogarth, who took squeezes, copies and photographs of both inscriptions (see Publication).

Publication. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil* 14 (1891), p. 15 f., pl. IV, 1–2 (poor sketches); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 15 f., Taf. XVIII A–B (redrawn from Ramsay-Hogarth); Sayce, *PSB* 30 (1908), pp. 211–215 pl. I (poor drawing from photograph, collated from Ramsay-Hogarth); Charles, *HI* (1911), pp. 29, 31, figs. 30 (photograph of lower), 31 (photograph of upper covered with squeeze paper), pl. XVI (copies of lower, upper); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), nos. 23–24, p. 29, pl. XXXIX (photographs of lower and upper); Meriggi, *QA* 1 (1962), p. 276 fig. 1 (copy), Tav. LXX (photographs of gorge, upper inscription, lower and upper inscriptions).

Editions. Sayce, loc. cit.; Meriggi, loc. cit., pp. 273–278; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 97, pp. 30–34, Tav. VI (lower (A) redrawn from Charles, pl. XVI, A; upper redrawn from own earlier drawing).

Excerpts.

- §§ 1, 6–7 Bossert, *WAO* II/1, p. 75; *Lx Muséon* 68, Abb. 9.
 § 4 Laroche, *HH* nos. 360.2; 363.I.e.
 § 7 Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 437 f.

Content. Record of settlement by Runtiyas king of Malatya (see also KÖTÜKALE). § 1, Dedication to divine triad, name, genealogy and title of king; § 2, removal of three mountains from named city; § 3 [illegible]; § 4, settlement of city; § 5, promotion by gods; § 6, further settlement; §§ 7–8, protective curse.

Date. The reading of the grandfather's name in the genealogy as *ku-zi-TONITRUS-sa₅*, and the identific-

ation, based on the titles “Great King, Hero of Karkamiš”, with Kuzi-Tešub son of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš c. 1200 B.C., ostensibly dates GÜRÜN (also KÖTÜKALE) to the later 12th century B.C. This is unexpectedly early palaeographically, particularly when GÜRÜN is compared with the archaic KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan), discovered less than 60 km. across the mountains to the south. In particular GÜRÜN shows the signs *za* and *ia* differentiated from *zi* and *i*, which KARAHÖYÜK does not. An expedient for evading this high date would be to interpret INFANS. (iVI.)NEPOS (presumably = *hamsi*-, see Commentary) not as usual, “grandson”, but generally “descendant”. Alternatively, the palaeographic discrepancy between KARAHÖYÜK and GÜRÜN+KÖTÜKALE might be explained by assigning them to contemporary but different epigraphic traditions of the west (Tabal) and of the east (Karkamiš). In any case, it does seem likely that the entire group of MALATYA inscriptions (which, however interpreted, name a large number of generations of rulers) should, together with their associated sculpture, be dated higher than recently envisaged, perhaps to the 11th and 10th, if not the 12th, centuries B.C. See Malatya, Historical Context, p. 287 f. and nn. 73–75.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of photographs.

Photographs. Taken on visits to the inscription between 1966 and 1986. Composite detail photograph of lower inscription kindly supplied by Professor M. D. Roaf.

Transliteration

(upper inscription)

1. § 1 a (MAGNUS.DEUS)TONITRUS (MAGNUS.DEUS) *hi-pa-tü*
(MAGNUS.DEUS) *ARML*
2. § 1 b CERVUS *ku-zi-TONITRUS-sa₅* || MAGNUS.REX |INFANS.
(NI.)NEPOS HEROS *kar-ka-mi-i-si-sa₅*(URBS) PUGNUS-
3. *mi-li* |(INFANS) [*ni*] | *mu-wa/i-za MA_xLI_x-zi*(URBS)
REGIO DOMINUS
- § 2 *wa/i-tá-’* (*428) *tá-i-ti*(URBS) *ARHL* MONS(-) *zi-na-pi*(?) ||
4. MONS(-) *na-ha + ra/i-sá-na*(?) MONS(-) *na-ma-x-x-’*(?)
| *ARHL* (-) *li-sa-ha*
- § 3 a *wa/i-’* ... ||
5. § 3 b *wa/i-x-’* URBS-*MI-na*’ |(SOLIUM) *i-sá-nú-wa/i-ha*
- § 4 *wa/i-mu-’* *za-zi* DEUS-*nú-zi* MAGNUS-*nú-tá*
- § 5 *a-wa/i* *z[a]-i[a]* “LOCUS”-[...]’ [...] *i SOLIUM-nú-wa/i-ha*
6. § 6 *za-pa-wa/i* ANNUS(-) *za + ra/i-sá REL-i-sa* || *ARHL* (MANUS)
*li*375-ti*
- § 7 *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-’* |(MAGNUS.DEUS)TONITRUS (MAGNUS.
DEUS) *hi-pa-tü-sa₅* (MAGNUS.DEUS) *ARML* LIS-
la/i/u-za-tu-’]

Translation

The great Storm-God, the great goddess Hepatu, the great god Sarruma:
 Runtiyas(?), grandson of Kuzi-Tešub, the Great King, the Hero of Karkamiš, son of PUGNUS-mili, Country-Lord of the city Malizi.
 From the city Taita(?) the mountains Zinapi(?), Naharasa (and) Nama... I separated,
 and ...
 and ... the city I settled.
 Me the gods magnified,
 and these places ... I settled.
 (He) who shall *damage* this inscription,
 against him may the great Storm-God, great Hepatu and great Sarruma litigate!

(lower inscription)

1. § 1 [...]MAGNUS.REX[...N]EPOS[...]-i-sa₅(URBS) PUGNUS- (Translation: as above).
 2. [mi]-li |(INFANS)ni||-mu-wa/i-za[a] M-1_x.LI_x-zi[(URBS)]
 REGIO [DOMINUS ...
 § 2 [wa/i]-tá [...]la[...]x (*428)tá-i-ti(URBS) ARHLA (MONS)zi{...
 ...
 3. § 4 [...]MAGNUS-ni-ta
 § 5 a-wa/i za-ia LOCUS-x x [...]SOLIUM-ni-wa/i-ba
 4. § 6 [za]-pa-wa/i|| ANNUS x x x [...
 § 7 pa-ti-pa-wa/i- (MAGNUS.DEUS)TONITRUS (MAGNUS.
 DEUS)bi-pa-ti-sa₅ (MAGNUS.DEUS)ARM-1 LIS-[...

Commentary

Note. Text of duplicate (lower inscription) where extant is described at the beginning of the relevant clause.

§ 1. *Duplicate:* surviving traces on *lower* inscription show no divergences from text of *upper*, except possible phonetic complements to REGIO.DOMINUS.

§ 1 a. *The gods:* agreed by collations of Bossert, *Le Musée* 68 (1955), Abb. 10; Meriggi, *O.1* 1 (1962), p. 275 f.; and Hawkins, see copy.

(MAGNUS.DEUS)TONITRUS: probably to be read *Tešub* rather than *Tarhunzas* because of the location, date and context.

§ 1 b. *Authorship:* apparently same name, genealogy and title as on KÖTÜKALE, § 1, which also shares with this inscription the feature of an introductory god-list; the two inscriptions are thus the work of the same author. On İSPEKÇÜR, side B, a different ruler has the same genealogy as the author of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, and is thus to be identified as his brother, who also ruled Malatya.

CERVUS: that the author's name is written with this sign alone may be seen from a comparison of the present passage with KÖTÜKALE, §§ 1 and 5, especially the latter; the individual thus bears the name of the Stag-God, elsewhere found as one element in theophoric names, presumed reading *Runtiŷas* (cf. ŞIRZI, § 1, Commentary). We should also compare the Empire Period name written Cun. ^{1.D}KAL-a-, Hier. CERVUS-ti [for reading, see Hawkins, *StBoT*, Bh. 3, p. 62 n. 251].

ku-zi-TONITRUS-sa₅: first syllable previously thought by me to have been *la/i/u*, but the establishment by collation of the grandfather's name on İSPEKÇÜR, side B, § 1, as *ku-zi*-TONITRUS permits the confident recognition of the same name here (i.e. the supposed *la/i/u* can in fact be as easily recognized as *ku*). The recent discovery of a Kuzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, establishes the Hurrian character of the element *ku-zi*, and thus the Hurrian reading of TONITRUS here, rather than the Luwian: i.e. *Kuzi-Tešub(as)* rather than *-Tarhunzas*. Indeed the

grandfather of GÜRÜN and İSPEKÇÜR seems certain to be this king of Karkamiš: cf. below the titles MAGNUS.REX and HEROS *Karkamisis*(URBS). We should note that, while Runtiŷas of KÖTÜKALE is certainly identified with Runtiŷas of GÜRÜN, the grandfather's name on KÖTÜKALE cannot definitely be read and the inscription is not available for collation.

MAGNUS.REX: title shared with grandfather on KÖTÜKALE (the İSPEKÇÜR grandfather is entitled only HEROS).

INFANS.(NI)NEPOS: since there is no reason to suppose that this word did not have its normal reading *hamsi-* (cf. İSPEKÇÜR side B, § 1), the NI must be treated as having become part of the logogram from the usual INFANS+ni(*muwiza-*); cf. ("INFANS.NI") *atala-*, KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 16, and Commentary.

HEROS *kar-ka-mi-i-si-sa₅*(URBS): last word apparently ethnicon in *-i(ya)-* in contrast to the well attested form in *-iza-*; cf. KELEKLİ, § 1, and Commentary; and for a comparable variant *nimwiza-* for the usual *nimwiza-*, see MALATYA 1, and Commentary. The title must belong to the grandfather (cf. the grandfather's title HEROS on İSPEKÇÜR).

A combination of the titles "Great King" and "Hero of Karkamiš" strongly supports the identification of the grandfather as Kuzi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub: see Malatya, Historical Context, p. 286 f. and nn. 62, 65; also Karkamiš, Historical Context, p. 73 and nn. 5, 12.

PUGNUS-mi-li: name borne by at least two Malatya rulers, the sons of Kuzi-Tešub (GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR), and of AVIS₃-wa/i-tá-(DARENDE). The PUGNUS-mi-li of MALATYA reliefs 5 and 7-12 could be either or a third of that name. The evidence for the common identification of these early Malatya dynastic names with that of *Sulmal*, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, is inadequate (see MALATYA 5, Commentary).

(INFANS)[ni]-mu-wa/i-za: note lack of nom. sing. MF -s, as also of gen. sing. -s on PUGNUS-mi-li; cf. the

same writings on KÖTÜKALE, § 1; İSPEKÇÜR, § 1; DARENDE, § 1.

M-1_x.LI_x-zi(URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS: regular dynastic title at Malatya, borne by Runtiyas again (KÖTÜKALE, § 1); Arnuwanis I (İSPEKÇÜR, § 1); Arnuwanis II (DARENDE, § 1); CRUS + *RA/I* (IZGIN, § 1; MALATYA 1); Sa(?)tirutiyas (ŞIRZI, § 1). All attestations write the title in the same way as this, i.e. with endingless forms; the only variation in the writing is that of MALATYA 1, *M-1_x.LI_x-i*(URBS).

M-1_x.LI_x-zi(URBS): the writing of the city name is attested, apart from the dynastic title listed above, only in two further occurrences, once as *M-1_x.LI_x-zi*(URBS) (object of *isanu-*, “settle”, IZGIN 1, § 7); once simply as *M-1_x.LI_x*(URBS) (describing local Storm-God, MALATYA 10). The writing was recognized as standing for Malatya by Bossert (*AJO* 9 (1933–34), pp. 105, 330), but the interpretation remains uncertain, and the transliteration of “calf-head + leg” as *M-1_x.LI_x* is purely conventional and provisional. Cun. Hittite, Assyrian, Urartian and Aramaic writings of the place name are available: Hitt. ^{URU}*ma-al-di-ia* (early), ^{URU}*ma-li-ti-ia* (late); Ass. ^{uru}*mi-li-di-a* (Tiglath-pileser I), KUR/^{uru}*ma/me-mi-lid/li-du/di/da(-a-a)* (Neo-Assyrian); Urartian ^{uru}*me-li-tê(-i)a*; Aram. *mlz*; see Malatya, Historical Context, p. 283 f. and nn. 7–9, 11–12, 17, 19, 21. The correct establishment of the Hier. value *zi* seems to indicate that the final syllable is written as a phonetic complement and aligns the Hier. writing with the Aramaic (*-zi* < *-dia*; see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [19] f.). Evidence that the first two signs *M-1_x.LI_x* were phonetic rather than logographic is largely wanting. The seal MALATYA 15, apparently that of Runtiyas king of Malatya, may write the toponym as *ma*(REGIO) (see Commentary there), yet the “calf’s-head” itself is nowhere else attested with a syllabic value, so the transliteration *M-1_x* is unsupported. Similarly the “animal leg”, *LI_x*, lacks evidence for a syllabic value. It is compared by Laroche with the sign *li* found in KARATEPE (§§ 31, 107, 278) and TOPADA (§§ 6, 32), but the latter always shows a long tail or spur lacking in *LI_x*, so the connection is dubious. Thus it may be that *M-1_x.LI_x* should properly be regarded as logographic, to which *-zi* serves as a phonetic complement comparable to *-pa* in TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-*, “Halab” (for which see BABYLON 1, § 2, Commentary). The endingless form of the toponym in the titulary context is presumably archaic, to be compared with *ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sa*(REGIO) REX, “Karkamiš(ean) king” (KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 1). If *M-1_x.LI_x* are really logographic, the lack of phonetic complement (MALATYA 10), and the alternative complement *-i* (MALATYA 1) are perhaps more readily intelligible.

Note the occurrence in the titulary of two Karkamiš kings of *M-1_x(-zi)*(REGIO), probably representing Malatya, and thus a historic (but hollow) claim of sovereignty (see CEKKE, § 6, and Commentary).

§ 2. *Duplicate*: before the clearly preserved (*428)*tà-i-ti*(URBS), clear traces of extra word(s) not in upper inscription, [...]-*la*[...]x.

(*428)*tà-i-ti*(URBS): city name found also on IZGIN 1, § 6 (built by the ruler of Malatya), written *428-*tà-(wa/i)*(URBS), acc. sing. MF Melchert identifies the city name as *Taita-*, and the present form as dat. sing. (*An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 39; cf. also the verb(?) written (*428)*tà-ia-t*[*i*], KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 13, and Commentary). We should perhaps compare also the personal name *Taita-*, MEHARDE, § 2; SHEIZAR, § 1. It was clearly in the kingdom of Malatya and, to judge from the IZGIN context, in the plain of Elbistan.

[*ARH*]²(-)*li-sa-ba*: apparently verb, either *arha lisa-*, without obviously comparable stem (cf. Hitt. *leššai-*, “gather”, *CHD*, s.v.?), or possibly *irhalisa-*, denom. of *irhali-*, “frontier-post” (TOPADA, § 6, and Commentary), thus perhaps “delimit”.

Mountain names: doubtless objects of verb but not clearly enough written to show with any certainty acc. sing. MF *-n* in each case. Meriggi’s reading MONS-*na* three times each followed by the name seems to be precluded by the duplicates (MONS)*zi*... . But it is not easy to extract from the writings mountain-names corresponding to those listed by Gonnet, *RHL* XXVI/83 (1968), pp. 93–171; by del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978).

§ 3a–b. The photographs suggest that further collation might recover more here than I was able to do. It is possible that there are in fact here two clauses, not one. In any case, the (second?) clause apparently gives the main purpose of the inscription, the record of the foundation of a named city in the territory of Gürün. We should note that no archaeological site has been identified.

§ 4. *Duplicate* resumes with clear [...]MAGNUS-*nú-ta*.

Sense: alternatively perhaps: “For me the gods magnified (it).”

§ 5. Readings principally from duplicate; traces on upper inscription agree fairly well.

za-ia “LOCUS”...: acc. plur. N. *zaia* serves to identify following word as LOCUS, not TERRA; expected phon. complements LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-ta/tá/tà*, i.e. **pita(n)ta* (cf. KARKAMIŠ A31, § 6, and Commentary).

§ 6. ANNUS(-)*za+ra/i-sa*: form of logogram most clear on duplicate. Demonstr. pronoun *za(-)* indicates that the word is acc. sing. N, thus (-)*zar*(+*sa*, nom./acc. N, particle). The word presumably indicates “inscription” or the like, but what can be read of the word does not suggest identification with known stem.

ARH (MANUS)*li*-*375-*ti*: only attested elsewhere on ŞIRZI, §§ 5 and 8 (damaged), without logogram. *375 seems to be a syllabogram but is rare: see

SULTANHAN, § 47, *ta*-*375-*li-i-sa*, and Commentary. Sense from context must be generally “damage”.

§ 7. *Duplicate*: text almost exactly identical to that of upper inscription.

LIS-*la/i/u-za* [...]: for LIS, “prosecute” (formerly IRA, “be angry”), see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary, with phon. complements of verb. Bossert, loc. cit., reads IRA-*la-zi-tu*-, and further collation might establish -*la*- and -*tu*-, but -*za*- is more probable than -*zi*-.

V.3. KÖTÜKALE (plates 139–141)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*, but now buried, possibly damaged or destroyed. The old Darende-Malatya road followed the valley of the Tohma Su, while the modern road crosses the hills to the south. On the modern road just before Balaban, about 15 km. from Darende, a track goes off east to join the Tohma Su at Kötükale. About 2 km. beyond the village of Kötükale the river enters a gorge, along which the road was constructed, and at the entrance of this a spur of rock juts from the cliff into the river. The inscription was located on the far side of this spur, where a modern tunnel cuts through the rock. Cf. now Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs* (1988), p. 236 f.

Description. Low on the rock face was located a 6-line inscription. Along the top and right edge of inscription the framing border was visible; left edge seems to have been formed by an oblique fissure, probably with no loss of text. The text begins at the upper right corner and runs sinistrowise, continuing *boustrophedon* down the lines, ending apparently on l. 6, lower right.

Dimensions (Gelb): ht., c. 1.80 m.; w., c. 1.20 m.; line ht., 0.32 m. (Bossert).

Condition: fair to poor, surface rough.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: appear to be mixed monumental and cursive.

Peculiarities: archaic *zi*+*a* for *za* appears to be visible on photographs (§§ 2, 3); note also *á-tas-ma-zi* (for -*za*, § 5).

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery (and loss). Reported to Cornell Expedition by gunsmith from Darende, with rough sketch of two bottom lines; but the Expedition was unable, after two attempts, to reach it because of the height of the river. See Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 38 f. Likewise, von der Osten failed to reach it in summer 1929, but he saw “caves” associated with the inscription, perhaps ancient tunnels through the rock: *OIC* 8 (1930), pp. 102–104. Visited by Gelb in summer 1935, at the moment when road construction was in progress, which seems to have involved enlarging an already existing tunnel through the spur of rock above and to the right of the inscription. Gelb was able to clear the inscription and photograph it. Subsequently the tunnel was enlarged and the inscription buried; compare Gelb’s photograph

(1935) and mine (1974 and 1986), plate 139*a–c*. The site was visited by Landsberger, Güterbock, Alp, Akurgal and Bilgiç in summer 1946; and again by Bossert and Kalaç in August 1954, who found the inscription completely buried, with the top 1.75 m. below present surface, but were able to uncover the top two lines for collation. It would appear that the inscription survives buried. Site visited and photographed by myself in summer 1974, and again in September 1986. At the time of my first visit, the road ran through a tunnel in the rock enlarged since Gelb’s visit; and by 1986, the tunnel had been completely unroofed, with further destruction of the rock, so that the road now runs through a cutting.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 40, p. 35 f., pls. LIX (distant photograph of inscription, cave and roadworks), LX (photographs of Kötükale, gorge and summit), LXI (photograph and copy of inscription).

Editions. Bossert, *Le Muséon* 68 (1955), pp. 61–91 (note especially Abb. 4–6, photographs of modern tunnel, excavation for inscription, Abb. 13 inscription transcribed into linear arrangement); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 104, pp. 46–50, Tav. IX (redrawn from Gelb).

Excerpts.

§ 3	Laroche, <i>HH</i> nos. 221.1; 363.1(d).
§ 5	Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 172.4.

Content. Record of road building by Runtiyas king of Malatya (see also GÜRÜN). § 1, Dedication to gods, name, genealogy and title of king; §§ 2–4, record of construction; §§ 5–7, protective curse.

Date. Possibly as early as the later 12th century B.C.; see GÜRÜN, Date.

Text. The text here offered is taken, in the absence of access to the monument itself, from a tracing of Gelb’s photograph assisted by his own copy.

Photographs. Copies of Gelb’s published and unpublished photographs of the inscription are given. Photographs of the locality taken by Gelb in 1935, by myself in 1974 and by Dr. Trevor Watkins in 1986 are also given, to show the progressive destruction of the rock.

Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1 a MAGNUS.DEUS ... (DEUS) ... (DEUS) _x ... (DEUS) _{sa} ²	(list of 6/7 unidentified gods)
2. (DEUS) _x ... (DEUS) *142 ... (DEUS) _x x	
§ 1 b CERVUS [<i>ku-zi</i> -TONITRUS- <i>sa</i>](?) MAGNUS.REX	Runtiyas, grandson of Kuzi-Tešub,
3. IN[FANS].NEP[OS... ... PUGNUS- <i>mi-li</i> (INFANS) NI	Great King, [...] PUGNUS-mili's
ML ₁ .LL _x - <i>zi</i> (URBS) REGIO DOMINUS	son, Country-Lord of the city
	Malizi.
4. § 2 <i>a-na/i za-na x-x-x-na</i> x-x-x- <i>wa/i-na-na</i> PUGNUS- <i>ri+i-ba</i>	This ... I raised,
§ 3 <i>za-ba-wa/i</i> SCALPRUM- <i>na</i> VIA- <i>na i-zi-ba</i>	and this stone road [I] made.
§ 4 <i>a-[wa/i]</i> MONS x [...	The mountain [...
5. § 5 ... x x CERVUS- <i>sa</i> <i>a-ta₅-ma-zi</i> ¹ REL- <i>i-sa</i> ARHLA <i>tù-i</i>	... Runtiyas's name (he) who
	removes,
6. § 6 <i>wa/i-tà</i> [... ..]-' <i>i-zi-ti</i>	... [...] shall make,
§ 7 <i>wa/i-tu</i> MAGNUS.DEUS ... DEUS ... [...	for him the great god ..., the
	god ... [...

Commentary

This inscription being currently inaccessible, therefore not subject to collation, and known only from mediocre photographs taken under difficult circumstances, anything said about it is more than usually provisional. It is much to be hoped that it will one day be recovered, so that Gelb's text may be revised and supplemented.

§ 1 a. *The gods*: the inscription, like that of GÜRÜN, begins with a list of gods (cf. also KULULU 5, § 1), here apparently six or seven, but unlike the easily recognizable GÜRÜN triad of Tešub, Hepatu and Šarruma, not one of the present group is definitely identifiable, partly because of the state of the inscription, partly because of unfamiliar signs used to write the names. Bossert's attempts to interpret the names (see his Edition), are unconvincing, as pointed out by Meriggi in his Edition, where he takes a somewhat agnostic attitude. It is safer to follow him in this.

MAGNUS.DEUS...: these signs and following are uncertain.

(DEUS)_x: Gelb identifies X as TONITRUS, Bossert as form of SOL, Meriggi as BONUS; all very uncertain.

(DEUS)_{sa}²: identified by Bossert as *Sauska*, but Meriggi objects to absence of *-ka* and doubts appropriateness of the goddess here; his suggestion EQUUS is also unconvincing.

(DEUS)_x: x resembles CAELUM as Meriggi notes, but this does not yield a plausible god. Bossert on inadequate grounds seeks identification with Cun. ¹LIŠ.

(DEUS)*142: otherwise unknown sign, HH no. 142, which has been thought to resemble a snake; this does not lead anywhere convincing.

(DEUS)_x x: signs identified by Bossert as *bi-li*, but only in order to pursue a further chimaera, the recognition of the Malatyā king's name *Hilaniada*.

§ 1 b. Name of author, genealogy and title appear to be the same as found on GÜRÜN. It is indeed hardly

surprising that the same ruler should have left records of two different building works on the Tohma Su at no great distance from each other. Careful comparison of the three passages (GÜRÜN upper and lower; KÖTÜKALİ) serves to establish the difficult readings with some confidence.

CERVUS: that this is the author's name in both inscriptions can be established by the examination of GÜRÜN, § 1 b (where see Commentary) beside KÖTÜKALİ, § 1, and especially § 5. As noted, the king's name is presumably to be read Runtiyas.

[*ku-zi*-TONITRUS-*sa*]: conjectural reading of the grandfather's name based on the observation of probable identity of the author's name and genealogy with that on GÜRÜN (note that the grandfather is entitled MAGNUS.REX, "Great King" on both). Bossert's collation resulted in the reading *sa₅-IWT-wa/i*, for which the substitution of *ku-zi*-TONITRUS is not improbable and can be provisionally delineated on the photographs, though of course only collation of the original inscription could establish it with certainty.

PUGNUS-*mi-li* |(INFANS) NI: Bossert's restoration (not collation – he did not reach l. 3) *-mu-wa/i-za* before ML₁.LL_x-*zi*(URBS), though expected from comparison with GÜRÜN, § 1 b, appears from the photographs to demand much too much space. It looks much more probable that only a very truncated |(INFANS) NI was written before the usual dynastic title.

ML₁.LL_x-*zi*(URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS: for this dynastic title and the reading of the toponym see GÜRÜN, § 1 b, and Commentary.

§ 2. *za-na x-x-x-na x-x-x-wa/i-na-na*, "this ...": clearly object, but most of the constituent signs of the adj.(?) and noun cannot be positively identified. For x-x-x-na, perhaps read *41⁷-*bu-ta₅-na*, identifying first sign as HH no. 417(4), noted on KARKAMIŠ A24a19+19a to look like a pictogram of a tunnel. One might add here

the sign from KARAKUYU, Meriggi, no. 211 b (not in Laroche). "Tunnel" could well be appropriate in all three contexts.

PUGNUS-*ri+i-ba*: safe to identify this common verb, for which the interpretation "rise (intrans.); raise (trans.)" is proposed; see JISR EL HADID frag. 2 l. 2, Commentary.

§ 3. SCALPRUM-*na* (for form of logogram cf. TÜN P 1, §§ 2, 6): general usage of SCALPRUM in this form is to determine objects of stone and "stone" itself (see TÜN P 1, § 2, ("SCALPRUM") *á-su-*, Commentary). Here a derived adj. "stone" to give the sense "stone road" would seem appropriate to the context.

i-zi-[ba]: cf. *i-zi-ti* (§ 6). The writing *i-zi-* as against *i-zi-i/ia-* seems to be archaic (see KARAHÖYÜK, § 9, and KARKAMIŞ A21, § 10, and Commentaries).

§ 5. Connective particles: likely to be represented by signs before CERVUS including the visible *-i. arba ta-*, "take away" normally has *-ta Ortspartikel* (see KARKAMIŞ A2+3, § 20; A11a, § 27; A11b+c, § 30; ALEPPO 2, §§ 13, 18 etc.); thus here at least *wa/i-ta/tá-* expected.

§ 7. Traces suggest that in this curse formula, the gods' names at the beginning of the inscription might be repeated.

V.4. İSPEKÇÜR (plates 142–144)

Location. Broken stele, Sivas Museum, no. 342.

Description. Long, tapering, 4-sided stele sculptured and inscribed on 3 sides (A, B, C; 4th side blank, rough), found broken into 4 fragments (*a, b, c, d*). *Side A* (left): female figure facing right, wearing high polos with veil, and long fringed robe, holding cup before face in raised left hand, standing on area marked with masonry pattern and gate, thus city wall or tower. *Side B* (front): beardless male figure facing right, hair bunched on nape, wearing long, fringed robe, and shoes with upturned toes, holding in right hand a backward-pointing lituus, left hand raised in front of him, standing on area marked with scale pattern representing mountain; details of head obscure. *Side C* (right): male figure facing left, bare-headed, bearded, curly haired, with hair bunched on nape, wearing long, fringed robe, and shoes with upturned toes, standing on back of a bull, and holding a backward-pointing lituus in left hand while pouring from a jug in the right hand a libation into a 2-handled pot.

As the breaks occur, top fragment *a* has the figures' heads and shoulders, 2nd fragment *b* the bodies from breast to calf, and the 3rd fragment *c* the feet and the bases (wall, mountain and bull).

Inscription: below the sculpture on each of the 3 sides is an inscription split between 3rd and bottom fragments *c* and *d*, thus preserving 1st lines (sides A and C; side B has 1–2 and beginning of 3rd), and last lines (side A has last and traces of one above); on fragment *d* below end of inscription is a rough blank area. *Side B*: inscription appears to be continuous and self-contained, beginning upper right, running sinistaverse, continuing *boustrophedon* along l. 2 and the fragment of l. 3; last line seems to be dextroverse, and is thus probably l. 4, which may overlap on to and end on side C (see Commentary). *Side C*: Gelb's mistaken reversal of fragment *d* sides A and C was corrected by Meriggi (1958 – see below, Editions); this results in the recognition that side C consisted mainly of one

dextroverse line split horizontally across the middle, with signs written rather larger than other two sides. *Side A*: l. 1 (upper part only preserved) appears to be sinistaverse, as also the last line, above which are traces of a probably dextroverse line, thus l. 2.

Thus side A had 3 lines (largely destroyed), side B 4 lines (largely preserved), side C 1 line (largely preserved). Note that on sides A and C the top of the first lines is aligned with top of the second line of side B. Further, side A shows largely erased traces of writing in a panel on masonry-patterned base; side C shows traces of 2 signs in relief above figure's head, indicating that the stele was also surmounted by an inscription, relief not incised, now almost entirely lost. In the modern restoration of the monument, concrete has obliterated one or two signs originally visible, especially on side B frag. *d* (upper edge on right).

Dimensions: (see Naumann, below, Publication); original ht., 2.27 m.; w. (middle), 0.46 m.; th., 0.46 m.; line ht. (B only preserved fully), 0.08 m.

Condition: poor, signs poorly executed.

Script, line-dividers: incised (traces of relief signs, upper side C).

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: *mu, sa*; traces that *za* is written *zi+a* in archaic style.

Word-dividers: apparently none.

Discovery. Found broken up in the village of İspekçür on the north bank of the Tohma Su, c. 20 km. downstream from Darende, by the Cornell Expedition in 1907; said to come from "the citadel". See Charles, *HI* (1911), pp. 31–38. By the time of Gelb's visit to the Gök Medrese in Sivas in 1935, the monument had been brought there "a few years ago".

Publication. Charles, loc. cit., figs. 33–39 (photographs of pieces *in situ*), pls. XVIII–XIX (drawings from squeezes of inscribed areas; B+E = side A, A+D = side B, C = side C frag. *d*); Gelb, *HHM* (1939),

no. 28, p. 30 f., pls. XLIII (photograph of village and frags. c, d), XLIV (photographs of all sides of all fragments mounted in order, reproduced by Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXXVI), XLV (copies of inscribed areas of frags. c–d) – note that frag. d sides A and C were accidentally transposed; Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 326 (photograph of frags. a–c, sides B+C).

Editions. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 27–29; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 103, pp. 43–46, Tav. VII (copy, following Gelb, collated and rearranged).

Excerpt (genealogy).

Side B, § 1 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 188; cf. id., *Le Muséon* 68, p. 67 and Abb. 11; also *Felsefe Arkivi* 2, p. 93 f., Abb. 16.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*İspekçür* 1), pp. 117, 287, 290, 352, 354, 487; Naumann, *Fs Otten* (1) (1973), pp. 217–220 (with reconstructed drawing taken from photographs); Genge, *NSR*, p. 177 f.; Musa Törnük, *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Bülteni* (Ekim-Aralık 1986), pp. 29–32.

Content. Side B: inscription of Arnuwantis (with genealogy and title); side C: additional inscription of Arnuwantis “the grandson”; side A: epigraph of [wife?] of Arnuwantis.

Date. The reading of the grandfather’s name in the genealogy on side B, § 1, as *ku-zi-TONITRUS*, and his identification with Kuzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, c. 1200 B.C. (see also GÜRÜN,

Date), ostensibly provides firm evidence for a date, and a very high one at that. The monument appears to be the work of Arnuwantis the grandson, whose grandfather Arnuwantis is named grandson of Kuzi-Tešub. It would thus belong to the fourth generation after Kuzi-Tešub, i.e. to the early 11th century B.C. Such an unexpectedly early date gives rise to palaeographic problems, felt even more acutely in the case of GÜRÜN, when the inscriptions are compared with the archaic KARA-HÖYÜK (Elbistan). Furthermore, such an early date for the sculpture of İSPEKÇÜR and the associated DARENDE, and indeed for all the rest of the Malatya sculpture which remains linked to them, will necessitate a revision of recent views on the chronological development of Neo-Hittite sculpture. Such problems of palaeography and sculptural style are not insuperable, but have yet to be fully assessed. Meanwhile, even if “grandson” is taken to mean only “descendant”, it still points to a generally early date for all the Malatya inscriptions and sculpture, perhaps late 11th and 10th centuries B.C. See Malatya, Historical Context, p. 287 f. and nn. 73–75.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Sivas Museum in August 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time. The position of the stele in the central *ıvan* of the old *medrese* which serves as Sivas Museum makes sides C and especially A difficult to photograph. For the inscription itself, prints from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb are given.

Transliteration

Translation

Side B (frag. c)

1. § 1 (EGO?) *a+ra/i-ni-wa/i-ti-sa₅* REX *ku-zi-TONITRUS* HEROS ||
2. (INFANS) *ba-ma-si-sa₅* PUGNUS-*mi-li* INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za²* ||
3. [*ML-1_xLL_x-zi*(URBS)][REGIO DOMINUS]x[...

(I am?) Arnuwantis the King,
grandson of Kuzi-Tešub the
Hero, son of PUGNUS-mili,
Country-Lord of the city Malizi.

(frag. d)

4. § 2 ... || ...]x SOLIUM[...]-*ba*
- § 3 *a-wa/i* [...] *mu*[...] *na*- MONS[...] -*zi* [...] -*wa/i-ba*
- § 4 [...]x[...]x[(Side C)-*za i-zi-ba*

[...] I [caused to] sit,
and ... mountains I [pl]aced.
... I made.

Side C (frag. a)

[...]-*si-sa*

(frags. c + d)

a+ra/i-ni-wa/i-ti-sa₅ REX[...] (INFANS) *ba-ma-si-sa*

[... grand]son?

Arnuwantis, the Ki[ng, the]
grandson.
(or: the Ki[ng's] grandson.)

Side A (frag. c (upper))

a+ra/i-ni-wa/i-ti-sa₅ x x x

(lower, + frag. d)

1. § 1 [*a+ra/i-ni-wa/i-ti-sa₅*] x x x
2. § 2 *wa/i* [...] -*za-zi* PONERE[...] DEUS-*ni* || [...] *ba*[...] *na*[...] *ba* x ||
3. § 3 *202-*na* REL-*na-ba*
- § 4 *zi-sa-wa/i-mu* x x [...]

Arnu[wa]ntis's [wife ...]

[Ar]nu[wantis ...
These ... put ... god [...
...] any ...
and this (to) me [...]

Commentary

Side B frags. *c+d*

§ 1. (EGO?): the statement is offered (Charles, loc. cit., p. 37; Naumann, loc. cit., p. 218; Meriggi, Edition (1975), p. 43) that the male figure on this side, like the female on side A, is holding a cup to his lips. This is not clearly visible on any photograph (see best, Bittel, loc. cit.), nor does collation confirm it. It is possible that the figure is pointing to itself in an *amu*-gesture, identifying him as the king below named.

ku-zi-TONITRUS: reading of name established by my collation in Sivas on 7 August 1987. This permitted the reading of the same name in the same genealogy on GÜRÜN, § 1, where the titles “Great King, Hero of Karkamiš” permitted the identification of this individual as Kuzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, c. 1200 B.C. See Hawkins, Kuzi-Tešub and the “Great Kings” of Karkamiš (*J. An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 99–108). The recognition has considerable consequences for the dating of İSPEKÇÜR (with DAR-ENDE) and GÜRÜN (with KÖTÜKALE), indeed for the dating of all the Malatya inscriptions and sculpture, not to mention for our evaluation of Late Hittite civilization as a whole.

(INFANS)*ba-ma-si-sa*₅: apparently missing only the lower “crampon” of INFANS, i.e. written without the usual NEPOS; cf. the same writing on side C frags. *c+d*. INFANS is written in the usual archaic (İmpire) style without the upper “crampon”, as is also INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za*² in this clause. Contrast the writings INFANS.(NI)NEPOS and INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za* on GÜRÜN, § 1, where both INFANS have the upper and lower “crampons”.

INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za*²: this inscription shows two clear examples of the writing *zi+a* for *za* (below, sides B+C, § 4; A, frags. *c+d*, § 2; and Commentary). Here *zi* has neither the later regular two bars across the base, nor a clear *+a*, but instead apparently two little strokes high up on the side of *zi*, which are probably meant to indicate the expected *a*-vocalization.

[*MLL-zi*(URBS)] [REGIO.DOMINUS]: traces point to restoration of usual Malatya dynastic title, for which see GÜRÜN, § 1, and Commentary.

§§ 2–4: three verbs in 1 sing. pret. The break has left unclear who the speaker is, whether Arnuwantis the grandfather who introduces the inscription on this side; or Arnuwantis the grandson, whose work the complete monument appears to be.

§ 3. [...] *-wa/i-ha* (*-wa/i-* signalled by Gelb but no longer visible): restore [PONERE]? cf. DARENDE, § 3. Could this clause possibly refer to the mountain-scale pattern below the figure, i.e. a restoration “I myself [pl]aced mountains [bel]ow” (*mu* [SUB-*na-na-*]), or the like?

§ 4. Meriggi is surely right in his tentative suggestion to seek the verb of this clause round the corner on side C

written small, thus *i-zi-ha* (writing *i-zi-* for *i-zi-i-* appears archaic; see KÖTÜKALE, § 3, Commentary).

[...] *x[...]x||-za*: in the modern reconstruction of the stele, some concrete has covered even more of the signs *x* and *x* visible in Gelb’s photograph and copy; perhaps restore [*za-w*]*a/i* STE[LE]||-*za*, “and this stele ...”. Note the archaic usage *zi+a* for *za*, for which compare KARKAMIŠ A14*b*, Description (peculiarities); also again below, side A, frags. *c+d*, § 2.

Side C, frags. *c+d*

Extent of loss: the loss from the cutting on sides A and B can be securely estimated at about one line’s height, i.e. lower part of l. 1 + upper part of l. 2 (side A), lower part of l. 3 + upper part of l. 4 (side B). The larger writing on side 3 aligns with side B l. 2 (frag. *c*), and l. 4 (frag. *d*); thus an approximate equivalent of side B l. 3 is missing. Since each row of these larger signs is about the height of the other sides’ lines, we may be confident that between the dextroverse *a+ra/i-ni-* (frag. *c*) and the dextroverse *-ti-sa*₅ (frag. *d*) only [*-wa/i-*], placed below *ni* as on side B, § 1, is missing. It would seem that the inscription here contained only three words, which identified the figure above, mounted on the bull, namely *Arnuwantis* REX[...] (INFANS) *hamsis*. Either or both of the first two words could be gen. sing., giving “Arnuwantis, the king’s grandson”, or “King Arnuwantis’s grandson”. However, the identification of this Arnuwantis with the Arnuwantis, grandson of Arnuwantis ruler of Malizi, the author of DAR-ENDE (§ 1, see Commentary) makes it more likely that here the figure is simply identified as “Arnuwantis, the King, the grandson” (of Arnuwantis).

frag. *a*. [...] *-si-sa*: the traces of this relief inscription above the head of the figure suggest a restoration [*ba-ma*]-*si-sa*, “grandson”, which in turn suggests that what stood here was simply a duplicate relief epigraph identifying the figure, in the manner of MALATYA 9 and 10.

Side A, frag. *c*, upper

a+ra/i-ni-[wa/i]-[ti²]-[...]x: Meriggi was doubtless correct in Edition (1958) to suggest that this inscription was an epigraph identifying the female figure as [wife] of Arnuwantis (see further below); thus this name here would have been gen. sing. It is not clear whether this inscription was divided into two lines (thus lower dextroverse). Also identity of the sign, lower right, uncertain; HH no. 356? (so Meriggi).

frags. *c* (lower) + *d*

§ 1. [*a+ra/i-ni-[wa/i-ti-sa*₅]: recognition by Meriggi of the name again here doubtless correct; possibly traces of *sa*₅ to left of *ni*.

§ 2. *za-zi*: further clear example of archaic *zi*+*a* for *za* (cf. above, side B+C, § 4).

PONERE: for form, cf. DARENDE, § 3; here doubtless verb, cf. also side B, § 3.

DEUS-*mi*[...]: perhaps belongs to following clause; or perhaps interpret "these (the king and queen) [I] pla[ced] as god[s]"?

§ 3. *202: guessed by Meriggi from pictographic content to mean "bridge"; found elsewhere only on KARAHÖYÜK, §§ 7, 19 (see Commentary), and recently on the Boğazköy SÜDBURG inscription.

§ 4. *zi-sa* : *zi* for *za*?

Identification of persons

The identity of the three figures on the stele has been subject of much previous speculation. Using the evidence discussed in the Commentary, we may assert that the stele shows Arnuwantis the grandson mounted on a bull (side C) pouring a libation to Arnuwantis the grandfather standing on a mountain (side B) and Arnuwantis's wife, the grandmother, standing on a city-wall (side A). The presentation of the grandparents is certainly as gods, i.e. dead and deified. The presentation of the grandson on a bull is more ambiguous: is he too a god? Note that on DARENDE he stands on a lion to libate to Hebat and Sarruma.

V.5. DARENDE (plates 145–146)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara: museum no. not ascertainable.

Description. Small, 4-sided, round-topped, tapering stele, obverse/reverse (A, C) wider than sides (B, D). *Obverse* (A): goddess Hebat of the City, represented as figure facing left, wearing high polos, long robes, and shoes with upturned toes, seated on high-backed, crossed-legged chair with lions' feet(?), and footstool under feet, holding bowl up to lips in right hand, and lituus(?) in left hand; in front of her there is an altar with food offerings, and she is identified by epigraphs, "Hebat" (twice, in front of and behind head), "of the City" (behind chair). *Right side* (D): god Sarruma facing left, beardless, with hair falling down back in long pigtail, wearing long, fringed, belted robe, and shoes with upturned toes, holding bowl up to lips in right hand, and lituus(?) in left hand, standing on couchant lion; he is identified by the epigraph "Sarruma" placed behind the skirt of his robe. *Left side* (B): figure facing right towards the two gods, similar in appearance and accoutrements to Sarruma, also standing on couchant lion, holding double-axe (or hammer) in right hand raised behind him, and in left hand a jug from which he pours a libation into a 2-handled, footed bowl in front of him; the epigraph in a circle in front of his face has been mistakenly read (see Commentary), but represents his name as a king of Malatya; the figure, while standing on a lion (thus dead and deified, "in the presence of the gods"(?)), serves as the introductory *amū*, "I (am)", to the inscription. *Reverse* (C): 6-line inscription, beginning upper right immediately behind raised right arm of figure on side B, running sinistroversely along l. 1 and continuing *boustrophedon*, terminating with one word on l. 6.

Dimensions: ht., 0.79 m.; max. w., 0.30 m.; max. th., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

Condition: (sculpture) fair; (inscription) complete.

Script, line-dividers: incised (except relief epigraphs identifying figures on front and sides).

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: distinctive *mu*; one unidentified sign.

Word-dividers: not used (except with INFANS).

Discovery. Seen in the Gök Medrese, Sivas, by von der Osten (in 1931), Koşay (in 1931) and Gelb (in 1932 and 1935) (see Publication). Gelb's inquiries in Darende itself elicited the information that it had been found built into the wall of the minaret of the Ulu Camii in Eski Darende. Bossert's inquiries (see Editions) established that the stele was taken to the Gök Medrese between 1928 and 1931 (von der Osten saw it there in the latter year but not the former); and that it could not have come from the hole in the wall of the Ulu Camii shown to Gelb (its measurements would not fit), but that the story had a circumstantial origin in that it was true of some Islamic decorated elements. Thus doubt exists on the provenance of the piece from Darende. Its links with the inscriptions of GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE and İSPEKÇÜR, however, make a provenance from this area likely (Darende lies on the Tohma Su between Gürün and Kötükale).

Publication. Delaporte, *RH* 1 1/5 (1931), p. 184, pl. 18 (photographs of 4 sides, from Koşay, = id., *Malatya Arslantepe* (1940), pl. XXXV, cf. pp. 52–54); von der Osten, *OIC* 14 (1933), p. 141, figs. 132–133 (photographs and drawings); Gelb, *HMM* (1939), no. 18, p. 27 f., pls. XXXIV–XXXV (photographs of B, A, D (sculpture, = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 780–782), photograph and copy of C (inscription)); Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 40 (photographs of sides only, from Gelb).

Editions. Meriggi, *MLAeG* 39/1 (1934), p. 29 f.; Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pp. 491–493; Bossert, *AJO* 17 (1954–56), pp. 347–353; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 98, pp. 34–36, Tav. VII (drawing of front and sides, inscription redrawn from Gelb).

Excerpts.

§ 3 Laroche, *HH* nos. 65.1; 267; 360.2.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Darende* 1), pp. 116 f., 208 ff., 234 and 243, 274 and 276, 287 and 290, 353 f. and 360 ff., 481, Taf. 6 a.

Content. Dedication by king of Malatya. § 1, Name, genealogy, titles; § 2, foundation of city; § 3, dedication of stele.

Date. Early 11th–10th centuries B.C.? The author is argued below (Commentary, § 1) to be the same individ-

ual as the “Arnuwantis the grandson” on İSPEKÇÜR side C, and his grandfather appears to be the brother of the author of KÖTÜKALE and GÜRÜN (same genealogy). See İSPEKÇÜR and GÜRÜN, Dates.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum, in the summer, 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time. A set of prints of the published photographs of I. J. Gelb is also given.

Transliteration

1. § 1 (left side) EGO(?) AVIS₂ (rev.) AVIS₂-*wa/i-tā-sa₅* REX
2. |INFANS||NEPOS-*MI-sa* PUGNUS-*mī-lī* |(INFANS) *mī*||
- 3–4. *mu-wa/i-za* *MA₁LI₁-zi*(URBS) REGIO DOMINUS||-*sa₅*
5. § 2 *a-wa/i* MANUS_x(-)*tu-ma-ni-i-na*(URBS) *485-*li-na*|| SOLIUM-*nī-wa/i-ba*
6. § 3 *za-pa-wa/i* LAPIS DEUS-*mī* || PONERE-*wa/i-ba*

(obv.)

(DEUS) *bi-pa-tu* (twice) URBS-*MI-na-lī*

(right side) (DEUS) *LI-IRM-1*

Translation

(I am ?) Arnuwantis, King Arnuwantis's grandson, PUGNUS-mili's son, Country-Lord of the city Malizi.

I settled the city (-)tumani (as) ... ,

and I dedicated this stele to the god.

epigraphs:

(To) Hebat of the City;
Sarruma.

Commentary

§ 1 AVIS₂: sign (previously misread as DEUS/MAGNUS.TONITRUS) is the same as in AVIS₂-*wa/i-tā-sa₅* (rev. l. 1), indicating that this king of Malatya bore the same name as his grandfather. Since on Hittite Empire seals the name of Arnuwandas is written AVIS₂-*nī-tā* (Beran, *Heb. Glyptik* I, no. 161; cf. id., *MDOG* 93 (1962), p. 53), and the name phonetically written occurs as that of a ruler and a prince of Malatya (İSPEKÇÜR, see Commentary; IZGIN 1, § 12), a reading of the names here as *Arnuwanti-* has been proposed (see Hawkins, *ZA* 63 (1973), p. 310; *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 76–79). If this is correct, the grandfather here could be the same individual as the figure of İSPEKÇÜR side B, and the author of DARENDE (AVIS₂ grandson of AVIS₂-*wa/i-tā-sa₅*) the same as “*a+ra/i-nī[-wa/i]-ti-sa₅* king, grandson” on İSPEKÇÜR side C (see Commentary there). We may also note that AVIS₂-*wa/i-tā-sa₅* is gen. sing., while the other writings of *Arnuwantis* show it to be an *-i*-stem (İSPEKÇÜR, side B, § 1, side C (frags. *c+d*), nom. sing.; side A, writings uncertain; also IZGIN 1, § 12, dat. sing.).

|INFANS.NEPOS-*MI-sa*: on the assumption that this stands for the usual *bamsis*, we may note here a further unexplained *MI* attached to the logogram; cf. SOLIUM+*MI* (KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 16); PONERE+*MI* (MARAS 7, side A).

PUGNUS-*mī-lī* |(INFANS) *mī-mu-wa i-za*: for these endless forms, and for the doubts about reading the

father's name (often read *Sulumili* on inadequate grounds), see GÜRÜN, § 1, Commentary.

§ 2. MANUS_x(-)*tu-ma-ni-i-na*(URBS): second sign *tu* could belong with introductory particles to form *a-wa/i-tu*, “and to him” (so Meriggi), but if so it is very unclear to whom it would refer. Thus I prefer to take it as part of the city name, as transliterated. The first sign MANUS_x is apparently some form of “hand”, and the two little strokes above it are probably accidental damage. The only “hands” with syllabic values are the “giving” (*pi*) and the “taking” (*tā*); the “putting” (see § 3, l. 6) only has a logographic value, which would be hard to explain here. An identification as the hand with the down-pointing thumb INFRA with the Empire period syllabic value *ka(r)* (so Meriggi) would postulate an unparalleled usage for the Late Period. In view of these uncertainties, it seems wiser not to attempt a decision.

*485-*li-na*: first sign otherwise unidentified, word obscure.

§ 3. LAPIS: for this transcription of the sign (= STELE without the enclosed SCALPRUM), see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 b, l. 1, Commentary.

Formulation of stele (and purpose) very similar to QAL'AT EL MUDIQ and RESTAN.

V.6. MALATYA 5 (plates 147–148)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12249 (formerly Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7789).

Description. Corner orthostat with sculpture on right narrow side and sculpture and inscription on face. It forms a pair with the corner orthostat MALATYA 11 found *in situ*. *Sculpture* (right side): right-facing lion; (front): on left a god standing on stag, facing right, beardless, wearing pointed, horned hat, short, belted tunic, boots with upturned toes, holding in right hand a bow over his shoulder, in left hand a 3-pronged object and the reins of the stag; in centre a bare-headed, beardless figure facing left towards the stag, wearing a long, fringed garment, holding in right hand a jug, from which he pours a libation on to the ground, in left hand a lituus pointing back and downwards; behind this figure, a small bare-headed, beardless attendant facing left holds a goat.

Inscriptions: above the head of the stag in front of god, a 5-sign group (sinistroverse), and in front of the man and above his head, a 5-sign group (dextroverse); both inscriptions are epigraphs identifying the figures.

Dimensions: ht., 0.48 m.; w., 0.86 m. (*pace* Delaporte).

Condition: fair.

Script: (god's group) relief; (king's group) name, relief; titles, incised.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. The relief, subsequently designated Relief G, was found together with Reliefs H (uninscribed) and I (MALATYA 6) reportedly at Arslantepe on 15 January 1907. They were all taken to the *saray* in Malatya, where photographs were taken by Riggs and sent to Ronzevalle (cf. *CR-IBL* 1907, p. 232) and Garstang. These pieces were seen and photographed in the same year by the Cornell Expedition, and likewise in 1908 by Gertrude Bell. See Garstang, *L-4-4-1* 1 (1908), p. 3 f.; Ronzevalle, *MFO* 3/2 (1909), pp. 796–798; Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 40 f.; Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (London, 1911), p. 336. Taken to Istanbul Museum by 1914 along with MALATYA 6 and 7 (see MALATYA 7, Discovery), then transferred to Ankara Museum (after 1940). Original emplacement in the *Porte des Lions* reconstructed by the excavator: see Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), p. 15 f.

Publication. Garstang, loc. cit. (1908), pl. IV (photograph, reprinted in id., *LH* (1910), pl. XLIV(i), = Ronzevalle, loc. cit. (1909), pl. XV); Hogarth, *L-4-4-2* (1909), pl. XLI.4 (photograph by G. Bell); Charles, loc. cit. (1911), p. 41 f., fig. 41, pl. XXII (photograph (= Meyer, *RAC* (1914), Abb. 80), copy); Garstang,

L-4-4-6 (1914), pl. XXVIII (photograph); id., *HE* (1929), p. 202 f., pl. XXXVIII(a) (Istanbul Museum photograph); Herzfeld, *AMI* 2 (1930), p. 179, Taf. X, unten (another Istanbul Museum photograph, = Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pl. CV; Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXII, 1; Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 775; Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 49 (unten)); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 104 (photograph, Hirmer, = Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 41 b).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), p. 496; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 109, p. 53 f., Tav. IX (re-drawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/9 a), pp. 91–93, 259–261, 288–290, 353 f. 521, Taf. 41 b; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 172–178.

Content. Names and titles of god and king.

Date. MALATYA 5 and 7–13 all bear the name PUGNUS-mili (for the reading of which see Commentary here). There are at least 2 rulers of Melid who bore this name: (1) father of the authors of GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE and İSPEKÇÜR, the son of Kuzi-Tešub; (2) the father of the author of DARENDE, son of Arnuwantis. The ruler connected with the Lion Gate could be either or neither of these. We may note that there is no very direct way in which either of these two other PUGNUS-mili's could be connected with the Halpasulupis also connected with the Lion Gate (see MALATYA 4), since their genealogies are incompatible. The rulers of Malizi attested in their own inscriptions hardly connect at all with the rulers named in Assyrian and Urartian sources: see Malatya, The Historical Context, p. 284 f. Because of this the Lion Gate inscribed sculptures have been dated by stylistic criteria. Scholars are generally agreed on placing it early: Orthmann designates the style *Malatya* I, = *Späthethitisch* II, the equivalent of the Suhis-Katuwas style in Karkamiš. Genge places it more precisely in the period 915/900 B.C. Now, however, it would seem that, even if the author was not PUGNUS-mili I or II of the House of Kuzi-Tešub, he is likely to have been not far removed from that genealogy and from the sculptures İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE. This will require a much higher date to the Lion Gate sculpture than has been recently envisaged, perhaps 11th or early 10th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)*pá*² + *ra/i-ta*₅ REX-*tá*: PUGNUS-*mi-li* REX.*462.

The god Parata(?) the King: PUGNUS-mili, Potent(?) King.

Commentary

PUGNUS-*mi-li*: this name was identified by both Bossert and Hrozný in 1933 with that of Sulumal (¹*sulu-ma-al/mal*) named as king of Melid in 743, 738 and 732 B.C. by Tiglath-pileser III (see especially Rost, *Tiglath-pileser*, pl. XV (Annals, l. 152); pl. XXXVI (Nimrud Tablet, obv. l. 45); now also Levine, *TN-ASI*, p. 18 (Iran stele, side III A, l. 9). This identification was generally accepted, e.g. by Gelb, Meriggi and Laroche; for references, see Laroche, *HH* no. 39.I.9, p. 28. It also appears generally in the literature, see e.g. Delaporte, *Malatya*, p. 19 f.; Akurgal, *AH*, p. 128; Orthmann, *USK*, p. 208. Yet it has become clear that the sculpture and inscriptions associated with the name PUGNUS-*mili* can by no means be dated as late as the reign of *Sulumal*, i.e. the individuals could not possibly be the same. Thus the identification of the names is not only irrelevant, but suffers from the additional disadvantage that there is no corroborative evidence whatsoever for attributing a value *sulu* (or the like) to PUGNUS. Until such may be forthcoming, it is preferable to treat PUGNUS as a logogram of uncertain reading. Its other usages include: (1) PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi(-tá)*- and cognates, "strong" (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 4, Commentary); (2) PUGNUS-*ri+i*-, "rise, raise" (see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, and Commentary for references); (3) *261.PUGNUS-*m*-, "construct" (?) (cf. KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, Commentary); (4) PUGNUS-*wa/i+ra/i-mi*-, "?" (participle, see KARKAMIŠ A24a 2+3, § 11). The present name is perhaps connected with usage 1 (i.e. a form derived from verb/adj. stem PUGNUS-*la/i/u-mi*-). Only if evidence could be adduced for reading this stem PUGNUS-*la/i/u-mi*- as *sulumi*- would the traditional reading of the name be vindicated. Cf. CEKKE, § 17 g, and Commentary.

REX.*462: appears as the title of PUGNUS-mili here (incised), MALATYA 8 (relief + incised), 9 (in-

cised), 10 (incised), 11 (relief + incised), also as title of Halpasulupis, MALATYA 4. (PUGNUS-mili appears without title on MALATYA 7 and 12.) The sign here identified as *462 was not listed under that heading by Laroche but was instead identified with the Empire Period logogram for "priest", *HH* no. 372, the meaning of which has been more fully confirmed by the Meskene Cuneiform equivalents of ¹USANGA/HAL, and its form identified as a human ear (see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), pp. 11 (nos. 22, 36, 45), 14; id., *CR-IBL* 1983, pp. 15 fig. 4, 18). Though the interpretation "king priest" is tempting, it encounters the following difficulties: (1) the second sign of the title is certainly the same form as *462, and this, as one component of the sign EXERCITUS corresponds in the Empire Period forms of that sign to an element which does not seem to be the "ear/priest" sign (cf. HANYERİ, İMAMKULU, SIPYLOS; *SBo* II, 19, 21; *Boğ.* III, Taf. 31, no. 35; Poetto, *Kadmos* 21 (1982), pp. 101–103 and Tav. II); (2) also the Hier. form of "ear" in the Late Period may be seen in the sign AUDIRE (= AURIS + TU) and does not much resemble *462; (3) further, *462 is used as a logogram determining *muwita*-, "seed, issue" (see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 28–29, and Commentary). These considerations suggest that perhaps Meriggi's rendering "(re) potente", may be closer to the truth than Laroche's "(ROI) PRÊTRE".

(DEUS)*pá*² + *ra/i-ta*₅: detailed examination suggests this reading as probable. One would expect the god to be Runtiṣas/Runzas, normally written (DEUS) CER-VUS/CERVUS₂, i.e. with "stag's head" or "antler" (as Meriggi incorrectly read the present writing); no explanation of this apparent phonetic writing of the god's name suggests itself.

REX-*tá*: unclear how exactly related to normal REX-*tí*-; can it be a dative in -*a*?

V.7. MALATYA 6 (plates 147–148)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12248 (formerly Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7788).

Description. Orthostat with sculpture and inscription on front face. *Sculpture*: on right, a 2-winged goddess, facing left, wearing pointed, horned hat, long robe cut away in front to leave right leg bare from knee, and

shoes with upturned toes, holding in right hand held out before her a broken object, in left hand an axe over shoulder, stands with either foot on a bird; in front of her, facing right, a female figure wearing *polos* with long veil and long robe, left hand raised before her, holding in right hand a jug from which she pours a libation into a 2-handled bowl on the ground; behind this figure, a small beardless attendant facing right holds a goat.

Inscriptions: in front of goddess a 3-sign damaged group (dextroverse?), behind lady a 5-sign group (sinistroverse); both inscriptions are epigraphs identifying the figures.

Dimensions: ht., 0.48 m.; w., 0.73 m. (pace Delaporte).

Condition: poor.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. The relief designated Relief I was found together with Reliefs G (MALATYA 5) and H: see MALATYA 5, Discovery.

Publication. Garstang, *L444 1* (1908), pl. IV (photograph, reprinted in id., *LH* (1910), pl. XLIV(ii), = Ronzevalle *MFO* 3/2 (1909), pl. XV); Hogarth, *L444 2* (1909), pl. XLI.2 (photograph by G. Bell); Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 42 f., pl. XXII, fig. 42 (copy of inscription, photograph); Garstang, *HE* (1929), p. 203 f., pl. XXXVIII(b) (Istanbul Museum photograph); Herzfeld, *AMI* 2 (1930), p. 180, Taf. X, oben (another Istanbul Museum photograph, = Moortgat,

BK (1932), Taf. 74.1; Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pl. CVI (upper); Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXIII, 2; Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 768; Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 40 d; Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 278 (photograph, U.D.F.-Photothek).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), p. 497; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 110, p. 54, Taf. IX (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/7), pp. 91, 271 f., 353, 520, Taf. 40 d; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 172–178.

Content. Name of deity and princess, and title of latter.

Date. The princess is presumably wife or daughter of PUGNUS-mili, for whose uncertain date see MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made directly from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

tu-wa/i-ti REX-INFANS: [sà + US-ka].

Tuwatis the Prince(ss)(?) (or “King Tuwatis’s child”?): Sauska.

Commentary

tu-wa/i-ti: seems sufficiently clear (so Hrozný, in spite of damage and Meriggi’s doubts). The name is also a man’s name, that of a “Great King” of Tabal: see TOPADA, § 1; KULULU 1, §§ 1, 7, 11, 13, 15; ÇİFTLİK, §§ 2, 5, 11(?), 15; and appears also in Assyrian and Urartian sources: see Tabal, Historical Context, pp. 427, 430 and nn. 31, 33, 62.

REX INFANS: in the Empire Period “prince” is usually written with this sign + VIR₂, and the writing “princess”, i.e. + FEMINA, has been recognized by Güterbock (*JNES* 32 (1973), p. 137 f.). It is clear that

the present writing, the only attestation of the ligature in the Late Period, lacks any addition, VIR₂ or FEMINA.

Because of the attestation of *Tuwati* as the name of Tabalian kings, van Loon has proposed the alternative translation offered (see Malatya, Historical Context, p. 287 and n. 72).

[sà + US-ka]: as Laroche recognizes (*HH*, no. 104.1), but Meriggi doubts, it is likely that we have here an attestation of the Empire Period writing of the goddess Sauska, the only one to be found in the Late Period (i.e. probably does not occur on KÖTÜKALE, § 1).

V.8. MALATYA 7 (plates 147–148)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12247 (formerly Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7790).

Description. Orthostat with sculpture and inscription on front face. **Sculpture:** on right a god standing on a couchant lion, facing left, bare-headed and beardless, wearing long, fringed garment covering left arm, holding in his outstretched right hand a 3-pronged

object, in his left hand a lituus pointing back and downwards; on left, a bare-headed, beardless man, facing right, wearing a long, fringed robe, his left hand raised before him, his right hand holding a jug from which he pours a libation into a 2-handled bowl on the ground. **Inscriptions:** in front of god, a 4-sign group (dextroverse), in front of king, a 3-sign group (sinistroverse); both inscriptions are epigraphs identifying the figures.

Dimensions: ht., 0.49 m.; w., 0.56 m.

Condition: fair.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. Designated Relief J by Delaporte (see below). Not mentioned or photographed by Riggs, the Cornell Expedition or Gertrude Bell in 1907–1908 along with MALATYA 5 (see Discovery) and 6; stated by Garstang (1914 – see below, Publication), to have been found in the previous year, and taken to Istanbul Museum, along with the rest of the Malatya sculpture, i.e. MALATYA 5 and 6. Transferred to Ankara Museum along with MALATYA 1, 2, 5, 6. Original emplacement in the *Porte des Lions* reconstructed by the excavator: see Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), p. 16.

Publication. Garstang, *LAL 6* (1914), p. 117, pl. XXVIII, 1b (photograph); id., *HE* (1929), p. 205 f., fig. 16 (drawing from Istanbul Museum photograph); Herzfeld, *AMI* 2 (1930), p. 180, Taf. XI,

oben (Istanbul Museum photograph, = Moortgat, *BK* (1932), Taf. 75.1; Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pl. CVI (lower); Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXIII, 1; Bessert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 772; Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 41 c).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), p. 496; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 111, p. 54 f., Taf. IX (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/10), pp. 91, 235, 243, 288, 290, 353 f., 521, Taf. 41 c; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 172–178.

Content. Names of king and god, title of latter.

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

PUGNUS-mi-li: (DEUS)SARRUM MONS.REX.

PUGNUS-mili: the god Sarruma, Mountain-King.

Commentary

MONS.REX, “mountain-king”: as title of Sarruma apparently survival from Empire Period, cf. HANYERI (Laroche, *Syria* 40 (1963), p. 282 f.). It recurs on the

ANCOZ fragments: see ANCOZ 1, § 4, and Commentary.

V.9. MALATYA 8 (plate 149)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 55.

Description. Orthostat with sculpture and inscriptions on face, found broken in half but restored. *Sculpture:* centre left, god, facing right, bearded and with long, curled pigtail, wearing pointed, horned helmet, short, short-sleeved, belted, bordered tunic and boots with upturned toes, curved sword with crescent pommel in belt, holding in right hand raised behind him a boomerang(?), in left hand held before him a 3-pronged object; behind him on left of block, a similarly accoutred god, facing right, in a 2-wheeled cart, with body in form of a bird, drawn by 2 harnessed bulls (the 2 figures presumably represent the same god, first driving up, then arrived – note now the closely similar representation of the Storm-God in his chariot on the new Boğazköy bull with impression of a seal of Muršili

III: Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1991, p. 329 Abb. 29 c.); centre right, bare-headed, beardless man, with hair curled up on forehead and nape of neck, facing left, wearing long, fringed garment, and shoes with upturned toes, holding in his right hand a jug from which he pours a libation into a 2-handled bowl on the ground, in his left hand a lituus pointing back and downwards; behind him, facing left, a small bare-headed, beardless attendant holds a bull. *Inscriptions:* between the 2 figures of the god above the bulls, a 2-sign group, behind the king above the attendant a 6-sign group; both inscriptions are epigraphs identifying the figures.

Dimensions: ht., 0.87 m.; w., 1.95 m.

Condition: good.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. The relief, subsequently designated Relief K by Delaporte, was seen on 16 July 1928 by von der Osten, as it lay "*in situ* not far from the large stone lion" [Relief F//MALATYA 4]. It had come to light the previous year, and was broken in two pieces. See von der Osten, *AJSL*, 45 (1928/29), p. 85 f.; id., *OIC* 6 (1929), p. 92. The piece had been transferred to the Augusteum in Ankara by the time of Gelb's visits (1932 and 1935), and was subsequently transferred to Ankara Museum. The original emplacement of this piece was considered by the excavators to have been the north projection of the left side of the *Porte des Lions*, either on the passage side of this according to the memory of the workmen who found it, or on the exterior face, according to Ducoloner, the excavation's architect: see Delaporte, *Malatya*, p. 16.

Publication. Von der Osten, loc. cit. (1928/29), pls. II–III = id., loc. cit. (1929), p. 89 f. figs. 102–103 (photographs of each piece as found); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 45, p. 36, pl. LXVI (photograph of 2 pieces joined, in Augusteum); Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXIV (photograph, = Cavaignac, *Le problème hittite*

(1936), pl. VI fig. 14; Frankfort, *A-1-10* (1954), pl. 133 (B); Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 51; Vieyra, *HA* (1955), pl. 62); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 778 (photograph); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 105 (photograph, Hirmer, = Lloyd, *EHPA* (1967), ill. 103; Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 41 f.; Genge, *NSR*, Abb. 71).

Editions. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 112, p. 55, Taf. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/11), pp. 92, 140, 235, 238 f., 247, 288, 290, 353 f., 521, Taf. 41 f.; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 172–179.

Content. Names of Storm-God and King, title of latter.

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)TONITRUS: REX.*462 PUGNUS-*mi-li* REX.*462.
Storm-God: PUGNUS-mili Potent(?) King.

Commentary

REX.*462 PUGNUS-*mi-li* REX.*462: curiously in this dextroverse relief inscription only the left-hand

*462 is incised; cf. MALATYA 11, with same feature in reverse.

V.10. MALATYA 9 (plate 150)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12252.

Description. Limestone orthostat with sculpture and inscriptions on face. *Sculpture:* on left, god, facing right, bearded, with long pigtail, wearing pointed horned helmet, short, belted tunic and boots with upturned toes, curved sword with crescent pommel in belt, holding in his right hand raised behind him a boomerang(?), in his left hand extended in front a 3-pronged object; in centre, a man facing left towards the god, bearded, with hair falling in curl on nape of neck, wearing pointed hat, long, fringed robe and shoes with upturned toes, holding in right hand a jug, from which he pours a libation into a 2-handled bowl on the ground, in left hand a lituus pointing back and downwards; on right behind man, a small attendant facing left, holding goat. *Inscriptions:* in front of god, a 5-sign relief inscription, sinistroverse, duplicated by a 5-sign (1 variation) in-

cised inscription, also sinistroverse, placed below the other and straddling the god's body; behind man, above attendant, a 3-sign relief inscription, dextroverse, duplicated by a 3-sign incised inscription directly to right with a further 2 signs. Both inscriptions are epigraphs identifying the figures.

Dimensions: ht., 0.36 m.; w., 0.61 m.

Condition: good.

Script: relief + duplicating incised.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: one.

Discovery. The relief, designated Relief B, was excavated in autumn 1932 by the expedition of the Société des Études Hittites et Asianiques under the direction of L. Delaporte. It was found *in situ* on the front face of the south (inner) projection of the west side of the *Porte des Lions*, paired with Relief C to its right. See Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pp. 9, 13–15, pls. XI–XV.

Publication. Delaporte, loc. cit. (1940), pl. XIX, 1 (photograph, = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 779; Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 39 d).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 113, p. 55 f., Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/3), pp. 91 f., 235, 238 ff., 288, 290, 353 f., 520, Taf. 39 d; Genge, *NSR* pp. 172–178.

Content. Names and titles of Storm-God and king.

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)TONITRUS |POCULUM(CAPERE/*tā*) (URBS)(twice): PUGNUS-*mi-li*(twice) REX.*462.
Storm-God of the city POCULUM-ta: PUGNUS-mili Potent(?) King.

Commentary

Relief and incised inscriptions: this block and MALATYA 10 show most extensively the curious feature of a main relief inscription duplicated by a secondary incised inscription. In these two, both the god's name and title and the king's name are written both relief and incised, and further the king's title appears incised only, as on MALATYA 5 where the rest of the inscription is relief. MALATYA 8 and 11, in the antithetical pair of REX.*462 forming the frame of the 7-sign cartouche, each have only 1 sign, the *462 oriented against the

direction of the rest of the group, written incised. The reason for these incised additions is unclear.

(DEUS)TONITRUS |POCULUM(CAPERE/*tā*) (URBS): doubtless the same local god of Melid as the (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO), to whom the stele KARAHÖYÜK was set up. That stele implies that the cult-centre of the god was Karahöyük itself, and that the place-name designated the plain of Elbistan. The determination of the toponym with "city" here may indicate that it refers to Karahöyük itself.

V.11. MALATYA 10 (plate 150)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12251.

Description. Limestone orthostat with sculpture and inscriptions. *Sculpture:* on left, god facing right, closely similar to that on MALATYA 9, better preserved, left hand does not hold the 3-pronged object but 2 signs of inscription; in centre, man, facing left towards god, closely similar to that on MALATYA 9, better preserved; on right, small attendant facing left, holding bull. *Inscriptions:* in front of god above and below extended left arm, 5-sign relief inscription, sinistroverse, duplicated immediately to right by a 5-sign incised inscription, also sinistroverse; in front of man, 3-sign relief inscription, dextroverse, duplicated immediately behind him, above attendant, by a 3-sign incised inscription, with a further 2 signs, also dextroverse. Both inscriptions are epigraphs identifying the figures.

Dimensions: ht., 0.41 m.; w., 0.78 m.

Condition: good.

Script: relief, + duplicating incised version.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. The relief, designated Relief C, was excavated along with MALATYA 9 in 1932.

Publication. Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XIX, 2 (photograph, = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 777; Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 39 e).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 114, p. 56 f., Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. (Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/4)): see MALATYA 9.

Content. Names and titles of Storm-God and king.

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)TONITRUS *MA_xLI_x*(URBS)(twice): PUGNUS-*mi-li* (twice) REX.*462.
 Storm-God of the city Malizi: PUGNUS-mili, Potent(?) King.

Commentary

MA_xLI_x(URBS): for writing, see GÜRÜN, § 1,
 Commentary.

V.12. MALATYA 11 (plate 151)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12253.

Description. Corner limestone orthostat with sculpture on right narrow side, and sculpture and inscription on face. *Sculpture* (right side): left-facing lion; (front): on left, man facing right towards procession of 4 gods, figure closely similar to those on MALATYA 9 and 10, except that the left hand instead, of holding lituus, is raised before him in a gesture of reverence; behind man, small attendant facing right holding bull; on right, procession of 4 gods, facing left, (1) closely similar to figure on MALATYA 9, (2) 2-winged goddess closely similar to figure on MALATYA 6, but not standing on birds, extended right hand holds hammer/double axe, (3) closely similar to figure (1), extended right hand holds upright spear, left hand holds club over shoulder, (4) goddess, bare-headed(?) wearing long robe cut away in front to leave right leg bare from the knee, shoes with upturned toes, carrying in right hand extended in front a hammer/double axe, in left hand an axe over shoulder. *Inscription:* behind man, above attendant, a 7-sign relief inscription, 3 middle signs sinistroverse framed in cartouche of duplicate pair, sinistroverse-dextroverse (second sign of dextroverse pair is incised); the inscription is an epigraph identifying the figure.

Dimensions: ht., 0.46 m.; w, 1.27 m.

Condition: good.

Script: relief (1 sign incised).

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. The relief, designated Relief D, was excavated along with MALATYA 9 and 10 in 1932. It was found *in situ* on the corner of the back face of the south (inner) projection of the west side of the *Porte des Lions*, paired with Relief E to its left. See Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pp. 9, 13–15, pls. XI, XII, XIII.2, XIV.1, XV, XVIII.2, XXI.

Publication. Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XX.1 (photograph, = Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 770; Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 50, oben; Vieyra, *HA* (1955), pl. 63); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 104 (photograph, Hirmer, = Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 40 b); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 276 (photograph, U.D.F.-Photothek).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 115, p. 57, Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/5), pp. 91 ff., 235, 238 ff., 271 f., 288, 290, 353 f., 361, 520, Taf. 40 b.

Content. Name and title of king.

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

REX.*462 PUGNUS-*mi-li* REX.*462.
 PUGNUS-mili, Potent(?) King.

V.13. MALATYA 12 (plate 151)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12254.

Description. Limestone orthostat with sculpture and inscriptions on face. *Sculpture:* on left, man facing right, closely similar to figure of king on MALATYA 11; centre left, 2-winged, bearded god facing left towards king, wearing pointed, horned helmet surmounted by crescent, long, fringed garment covering left arm, and shoes with upturned toes, holding in extended right hand a 3-pronged object, in left hand a club over shoulder; centre right, man facing right, beardless and bare-headed, otherwise same clothing, equipment and gesture as figure on left, also on MALATYA 11; on right, god facing left towards the king, beardless and bare-headed, with hair curled on forehead and nape of neck, wearing on head the winged sun-disc, long, fringed garment covering left arm, and shoes with upturned toes, holding in extended right hand a 3-pronged object, in left hand a lituus pointing back and downward. *Inscriptions:* on left, between king and god, a 3-sign inscription sinistroverser; on right between king and god, a 3-sign inscription, sinistroverser; these are epigraphs identifying the king. In addition, the crescent on the left-hand god's hat and the sun-disc on the right-hand god's head are effectively Hieroglyphs identifying the deities.

Dimensions: ht., 0.45 m.; w., 1.01 m.

Condition: good.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. The relief, designated Relief E, was excavated along with MALATYA 11 in 1932.

Publication. Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XX.2 (photograph, = Cavaignac, *Le problème hittite* (1936), pl. V fig. 12; Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 771; Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 50, unten; Vieyra, *HL* (1955), pl. 64; Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pl. 104 (photograph, Hirmer, = Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 40 a).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 116, p. 57, Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/6), pp. 91 ff., 253 ff., 288, 290, 353 f., 520, Taf. 40 a.

Content. Name of king (twice).

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

PUGNUS-*mi-li*: (LUNA): PUGNUS-*mi-li*: (SOL₂).

PUGNUS-mili: (Moon-God): PUGNUS-mili: (Sun-God).

V.14. MALATYA 14 (plate 152)

Location. Fragment, Malatya Museum, no. 625.

Description. Upper part of limestone stele (top missing). *Obverse:* single figure of god, facing right, preserved down to waist, beardless, with hair curled in locks on forehead and nape of neck, wearing short-sleeved, belted tunic, holding in right hand a club over his shoulder, left hand raised before him in salute; on his head he has a winged sun-disc, surmounted by the Hieroglyph for "sun" (broken); *left side*, blank; *right side* (part of upper left only preserved), head and raised right arm of man facing left, bare-headed, beardless, hair in curl on forehead; 5-sign inscription above head (upper 2 signs sinistroverser, lower 3 dextroverser), epigraph identifying figure.

Dimensions: ht., 0.60 m.; w., 0.45 m.; preserved th., 0.20 m.

Condition: damaged but fair.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. Found in winter 1967 in the modern city of Malatya during road works in the Cumhuriyet Carşısı, in unknown circumstances, hardly *in situ*. See Pecorella, loc. cit. below, n. 1.

Publication. Pecorella, *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), pp. 226–235, figs. 1–3 (photographs of obv. + side, obv., and side); id., *Malatya* III (Rome, 1975), p. 62 f., Tav. LXIV–LXV (photographs: diagonal, front, side).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 118, p. 58, Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Malatya D/1)*, pp. 96, 117, 523, Taf. 43 f, g.

Content. Title and name of king, identification of god.

Date. See MALATYA 5, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photographs.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

Transliteration, translation

(obv.) [(DEUS?)]SOL SOL₂: (right side) REX.*462 PUGNUS-*mi-li*.
Sun-God: Potent(?) King, PUGNUS-mili.

V.15. IZGIN (1 and 2) (plates 153–154, 160)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7693.

Description. Tall obelisk-like stele with 2 wider sides (obverse (B), reverse (D)), and 2 narrower (A and C), inscribed on all 4 sides. Sides ABC bear a 16-line inscription forming one text (IZGIN 1), and side D a separate but partially parallel 20-line inscription forming another text (IZGIN 2). This text division is clear from the way the line-dividers correspond on sides A-B-C but not on D, as Hrozný noted (see Publication); also from the vertical divisions between C-D and D-A, where A+B and B+C have none. The sense sequence of the texts confirm this epigraphic observation. Areas of all sides have suffered much damage, especially mid-lower parts, where the signs are worn down to unidentifiable outlines or completely lost.

IZGIN 1: text begins on side B, right, running sinistaverse on to side C, where it descends to l. 2, running dextroverse sides C-B-A and so continuing *boustrophedon* to the end of l. 16 (side A, right); here the sense breaks off abruptly and must have continued elsewhere (side D or missing base?). Sides B-C, ll. 7–15 and A, ll. 13–14 are partially or completely obliterated, leaving substantial lacunae.

IZGIN 2: this text could have been a continuation of IZGIN 1, but the damage to the texts and loss of sense has removed any positive evidence for this (see Commentary, IZGIN 2, § 1); otherwise it would form a subsidiary and secondary text added later to the stele. The text presumably began on the completely destroyed l. 1, right side, running sinistaverse; it continued *boustrophedon* down side D to l. 20 left side, where it could have ended (sense not clear) or continued elsewhere. Its ll. 10–15 are partially or completely obliterated, producing a substantial lacuna.

Dimensions: ht., 2.45 m.; w. (B, D), 0.48 m.; th. (A, C), 0.25 m.; line ht., A-C, 0.13 m.; D, upper, 0.11 m., lower, 0.07 m.

Condition: signs in parts clear, in parts indistinct shapes, in parts completely lost.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: mixed (monumental *ta, tà, ma, na*); cursive (*mu, u, á*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *a, i*.

Word-dividers: only one visible, significantly before *tá-ti*, “fatherly” (1, § 2), apparently an archaic usage (see KARKAMIŠ A21, § 13, and Commentary).

Discovery. The Rev. H. Marsden* saw the stele standing as a headstone in a cemetery at Izgin, 9 km. west of Elbistan near confluence of the Hurman Çayı and river Ceyhan, and had it taken to a house. Sterrett failed to see it when at Izgin in 1884. It was transferred by officials to Elbistan shortly before it was seen there by Hogarth and Munro in July 1891. See (Ramsay and) Hogarth, *Recueil* 15 (1893), pp. 92, 94 f. The stele had reached Istanbul Museum by 1897: see Peiser, *OLZ* 1 (1898), p. 8.

Publication. (Ramsay and) Hogarth, loc. cit. (1893), pls. I (copy of sides B+C+D+A from drawings by Hogarth and Munro), II (photographs of sides A, B, D; cf. Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar* (1896), pl. facing p. 22; Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 16 f., Taf. XIX (copy redrawn from Hogarth) designating sides A, B, C, D (= the present B, C, D, A); id., *CIH*¹ (1902), pp. 13–15, Taf. XIX (new copy from squeeze of Delitzsch and Hartmann in Berlin Museum; his sides rearranged B, C, D, A and designated D, C, B, A); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 8 (1936), p. 273 f., pls. XXX–XXXIV = *IHH* III (1937), p. 442 f. (establishing correct order of reading and redesignating A+B+C, with D separate, as followed here), pls. XCV (Istanbul Museum photographs, sides A and B), XCVI–XCVIII (pho-

* So called by Ramsay and Hogarth, as well as by Humann and Puchstein. But the correct form of the name appears to be Marden: see MARAS 8, Location, Discovery.

tographs of sides C and D in sections), XCIX (copy); Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXXIV (= Istanbul Museum photographs as used by Hrozný); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), p. 253 f., collations and detailed photographs, Tav. XII, nr. 1-2 (side A, ll. 8-13 details), XIII, nr. 3-5 (side D, ll. 2-13, 15-20; B ll. 5-11).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit. (1936), pp. 273-289, = loc. cit. (1937), pp. 442-458; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 102, pp. 38-43, Tav. VIII (redrawn from Messerschmidt, with collations); Hawkins, *Studies Nimet Özgüç* (1993), p. 277 f.

Excerpts, IZGIN 1.

- §§ 2-3 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 20 f.; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 110.
 § 3 Laroche, *HHI* nos. 58.1; 82.1.
 § 4 Laroche, *HHI* nos. 216.1.1; 228.1.
 § 5 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 20 f.; Laroche, *HHI* no. 212.2.
 §§ 6-7 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 110.
 § 9 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 239.
 § 14 Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 135, cit. 15 (iii).
 § 18 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 20 f.

IZGIN 2.

- § 4 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 273.
 §§ 4-5 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 20 f.
 §§ 8-9 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 124 f., cit. 3.

Content. IZGIN 1. Building inscription of ruler of Malatya. § 1, name and title; §§ 2-3, accession by favour of Storm-God; §§ 4-5, extension of boundaries and river-lands; §§ 6-8, building of city and settlement of Malatyans and others; § 9, further city ...; §§ 10-16, fragmentary; §§ 17-19, uncertain, name "Azamis" and "nine gods".

IZGIN 2. Continuation or new inscription? [§ 1, lacuna]; § 2, settlement of people; §§ 3-5, extension of frontiers; §§ 6-7, fragmentary ... [lacuna]; §§ 8-9, duties of Azamis to his lord; §§ 10-11, protective curse (text ends or breaks off?).

Date. Early (11th-10th centuries B.C.?), like other Malatya inscriptions. Author bears same name as grandfather of author of MALATYA 1, and is probably the same person. Inscription appears somewhat archaic, which agrees with the generally high dating envisaged for the Malatya inscriptions and sculpture. Cf. GÜRÜN, İSPEKÇÜR, MALATYA 1, MALATYA 5, Dates.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of collated photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1971. Detail shots by Dr. Hatice Gonnet are also given.

Transliteration

Translation

(IZGIN 1 (B+C+A))

1. § 1 (B) EGO-mi CRUS+R-1/I-sa HEROS (C) M-1, LL-zi ||
 2. (URBS) REGIO... DOMINUS...
 § 2 (B) wa/i-mi-ta' mi-i' tã-ti THRONUS-tara/i-ti (A) REL SOL-IUM-ba
 3. § 3 wa/i-mu ||' (DEUS) TONITRUS CUM-ni (B) CRUS-ta
 4. § 4 wa/i-ta' [mi-ia-za tã] [... (C) ...]-za || REGIO-za
 FINES+ba-zi (B) FINES+ba-za POST-ni a-tã i-zi-i-ba
 § 5 FLUMEN.REGIO-zi-pa-wa/i (A)-ta FLUMEN.REGIO-za ||
 POST-ni a-tã i-zi-i-ba
 § 6 *428-tã-wa/i (URBS) AEDIFICARE-ba
 6. § 7 M-1, LL (C) -zi-pa-wa/i (URBS) SOLIUM ||-wa/i-ba
 § 8 [X-na/i'] FLUMEN-na (B) SUPER+ra/i *85-li-ia-[sa']-sa
 URBS+M-na-zi (a') SOLIUM-wa/i-ba
 7. § 9 (A) PITHOS.GRYLLUS-pa-wa/i-mi || (URBS) mi-ia-ti-'
 LEPUS+R-1/I-ti (B) ba-sa'-tara/i-ti-ba
 8. § 10(?) [a'-mu'-pa']-wa/i-tã (C) [... || ...
 § 11 (B) ... || [a-tã i] (A) -zi-i-ba
 9. § 12 ¹a+ra/i-ni ||-wa/i-ti-ia-pa-wa i-mu (B) FRONS-na [... (C) ...
 10. § 13 ... || x-na DEUS-ni-zi B

I (am) Taras(?), the Hero, the Malizi(ean) Country-Lord.
 When I sat myself on my paternal throne,
 Tarhunzas stood with me.
 In my pa[ternal grandfather]ly (?) countries, I added frontiers upon frontiers,
 and I added river-lands upon river-lands.
 I build the city Taita(?),
 and I settled the Malizi(eans),
 I settled the ... river (people) up in the towns of YALIYASA-,
 and the city PITHOS.GRYLLUS by my authority ...
 ... [...
 [...] I added(?).
 And for Arnuwantis myself [...
 ... the gods ...

11. § 14 (B) x(-)ta x x x (-)wa/i-li-na (A) IUDEX-ni-i-na PRAE ||
LITUUS+na-[mi²-na]
§ 15 ta(B)-ni-ma-ti-wa/i-tá [...
...
(A, 12)...(-)li(-)REL ...
(C, 14)... mi-zi FINES+ba-zi ...
...
15. § 16 ... (A) ... ||-m-tá á-zi-ia-ti LEPUS+R-1/I-ti
§ 17 (B)[pa²]-ti-pa-[wa/i²]-tá á-za-mi-na [x...]-ba (C)
16. [(474?)] [wa/i-si]-na-si-na || SERVUS-t[a₄...]
§ 18 wa/i-tá- 9²-zi- (B)DEUS[-ni]-zi POST-ni a-tá BONUS-li-
ia-za-ta
§ 19 (A) a-wa/i CERVUS₂.ANIMAL(-)ni-ia REL-zi[a...]
(IZGIN 2 (D))
1. § 1 [illegible]
2–3. § 2 a-wa/i-tá *85(-)ia-li-ia-sa-[sa] || URBS+MI-na-za SOLIUM-
wa/i-ta
4. § 3 a-wa/i FINES+ba-zi || TIERRA(-)la-tara/i-ta
5. § 4 wa/i-tá- pi-[na]- ||[...]*286-wa/i-ni-zi(URBS) FINES+ba-zi
6. POST-ni || a-tá i-zi-i-tá
7. § 5 zi-pa-wa/i-ta bi²-li-ki ||-zi(URBS) FINES+ba-zi POST-ni
a-tá i-zi-i-tá ||
8–9. § 6 x-x-x-x-wa/i-li-pa-wa/i-tu-tá x x a-tá || x-x-sà-t[a]
10. § 7 PITHOS.GRYLLUS-zi²[-pa²] ||-wa/i-ta(URBS) REGIO [... ||
(11) ...]-zi REL-ia || (12) na REGIO x na URBS ||
(13) ... ti ... wa/i ||
ll. 14–15 completely obliterated
16. § 8 [...](-)wa/i-ti-ta- á-tas-ma-[zi]a [...]-sa [x]-x-[x]-x ||
17. VAS-tara/i-i-na (PE)u-pa-i pa-sa-na- DOMINUS-na-ni«x»
18. PRAE-na
19. § 9 a-wa/i pa-sa-ba²- á-za-mi-sa i-zi-ia-na-zi || i-zi-i-tu pa-sa-na-
DOMINUS-na-ni CUM-ni
20. § 10 za-pa-wa/i || REL-i-sa ARMA MALLEUS
§ 11 wa/i-tá- (DEUS)TONITRUS ku[...]-i[(a)...]-zi[i/a] ...
[...] we shall foresee(?) a (-)WALI-
ruler,
and with all [...
...
...
(C, 14 ... my frontiers ...)
[...] he/they [...]ed by our
authority,
and to him(?) I did give? Azamis
(as) a eunuch(?) servant.
The nine gods they continually
exalted them/(him),
and for the stag
[...]
and them he settled in towns of
YALIYASA-.
He extended the frontiers.
On that hand he added the
frontiers of the city ...*286,
and on this hand he added the
frontiers of the city Hiliki(?).
and to him ...
and the city PITHOS.GRYLLUS ...
...
[(He) who] his name [or/and his]
image shall bring before his lord,
even that Azamis – may he
perform rituals for his lord!
But (he) who erases this,
for him the Storm-God [...].

Commentary

IZGIN 1

§ 1. CRUS+R-1/I-sa: see also the name of the grandfather in the genealogy of MALATYA 1, § 1. The name has been read *Taras* (Meriggi) or *Tatas* (Laroche) by attributing a syllabic value *ta*₆ to CRUS, which may still be possible (see TELL AHMAR 1, Description (peculiarities)); but as a verb CRUS+R-1/I is to be distinguished from CRUS = *ta*-, “stand” (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5, Commentary), and it may well be that the present usage connects rather with this.

MA₄.LL₄-zi(URBS): for reading *Malizi*, see GÜRÜN, § 1, Commentary.

§§ 2–3. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for readings and interpretation of verb SOLIUM, “sit” (probably read *asa*-, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 10,

Commentary), as against SOLIUM-wa/i-, caus., = *isanuwa*- (below, §§ 7, 8; IZGIN 2, § 2).

§ 4. Restoration: translation implies ||*tá*||-*ti-ia-za* AVUS-*(ba)-ti-ia*-za, very uncertain from traces but would give good sense.

POST-ni a-tá i-zi-i-: sense of “add”, here and in following clause, clearly parallel to SUPER+*ra/i-ta* i-zi-i- (KARATEPE, 43–44, 47–48, 51–52); see also IZGIN 2, §§ 4–5.

§ 5. FLUMEN.REGIO: read *hapatai*-//*hapati*-//*hapari*-, see HAMA 1–3 and 7, § 3, Commentary. “River-lands” seems an appropriate term to apply to the well-watered plain of Elbistan.

§§ 6–7. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., with readings.

§ 6. *428-*tā*-(URBS): also mentioned GÜRÜN, § 2 (see Commentary there for reading *Taita*(?)). This clear statement of building seems to refer to the central concern of the inscription, which would indicate a location of this city at the site where the stele was originally set up (Izgin itself?).

§ 7. *MA_x.LL_x-zi-pa-wa/i*(URBS): established by collation; for the use of “the city Malizi”, meaning “the Malizians”, cf. Hitt. ^{URU}*battuša*-, “the Hittites”.

Together §§ 5–7 may well be understood to describe the annexation and colonization of the plain of Elbistan by the Malatyan ruler.

§ 8. Closely paralleled by IZGIN 2, § 2.

[*X-wa/i*]²: copula needed but *-wa* uncertain; X probably a logogram representing river name of following FLUMEN-*na*, “the river X”. This element, the dir. object, in the parallel clause is probably represented only by *-ata*, “it/them”. “The river X”, like “the city Malizi”, seems to refer to the “inhabitants of the river-land X”, in the context perhaps the Euphrates.

SUPER+*ra/i*: absent from parallel clause.

*85-*li-ia*-[*sa*]²-*sa*, cf. parallel *85(-)*ia-li-ia-sa*-[*sa*]: the identification of the sign *85 is not certain, and would be its only appearance outside the writing of the place-name *Halpa*. In the latter usage the sign may have a phonetic value *hal(a)* (see KÖRKÜN, § 5, Commentary). The present word would seem to be a place name, or possibly personal name, gen. sing.

URBS+*MI-na-za*<[*a*']>: parallel clause has the clear URBS+*MI-na-za*, which is easily intelligible as dat. plur. Further collation might indicate the presence of *-za* for the apparent *zi* here (so Messerschmidt and Hrozný); but, if not, we should emend to *-za*<[*a*']>, to align it with the parallel, to produce more readily intelligible sense, and to gain an expected dat. plur. ending *-na-za* as against acc. plur. MF *-ni-zi* (URBS+*MI-ni-* is a consistent *-i*-stem).

§ 9. PITHOS.GRYLLUS(URBS): Malatyan town names are mostly written logographically and thus elude phonetic rendering. The animal forming the second element is a fair representation of a grasshopper, thus GRYLLUS, rather than a kind of capricorn (cf. Hrozný, *Edition*, p. 446 n. 4).

hā-sa²-tara/i-ti-ha: appearance of abl. sing. of abstract in *-atar-* linked by copula *-ha* to *tapariyati*. Meriggi's reading *ha-tā²*- (for an interpretation “wisdom”, compared with Hitt. *battatar*, followed by Starke, loc. cit.) cannot be accepted, and comparison with Hier. (“VAS”) *ā-ta-na-sa-ma-* (KARATEPE, 92, = Phoen. *hkm̄t*, “wisdom”) and *hā-tā-sā-tara/i-ma-* (BULGARMADEN, § 6), does not provide any easy association. Also, there is a strong possibility that this word may represent a verb, 1 sing. pret., if indeed the following signs are to be read [*ā²-mu²-pa²*]²[(*-*)*wa/i-tā*], introducing a new clause: these uncertain signs might however supply the verb. A

definite decision can hardly be made in the present state of the text.

§ 11. [*a-tā i*]-*zi-i-ha* (so also Hrozný): gives best chance of recognizing a verb at end of clause.

§ 12. ¹*a+ra/i-nū-wa/i-ti-ia*: apparently a dynastic name at Malatya; see İSPEKÇÜR, side B, § 1; side C; and side A (twice?); also probably DARENDE, § 1.

FRONS-*na*: for *bant-*, “forehead, front”, and derivatives (*banta* (plur. tant.), “face”; *banti-*, “first, prime”; *bantili-*, “former, first”; *bantahi-*, “priority, preeminence”), see KARKAMIŞ A2+3, § 6, Commentary, with references. In the present incomplete context, it is not clear what form we have here.

§§ 12–14. Damage obscures clause divisions, which are arbitrarily placed.

§ 14. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating verb LITUUS+*na-*, “see”, and identifying ending possibly as *-mi-na* (1 plur. pres.) (see especially photograph of Meriggi-Poetto).

PRAE: without phonetic complement unclear whether this represents *pari* (PRAE-*i*) or *paran* (PRAE-*na*). Sense imparted to verb LITUUS+*na-* also uncertain; Hitt. *para auš-*, “overlook”, is hardly useful for comparison (cf. Zuntz, *Ortsadu*, p. 77).

(*-*)*wa/i-li-na*: probably not complete word.

ll. 12–14. Hopeless except for the two groups of faintly recognizable signs out of context.

§§ 16–17. Division based on uncertain reading [*pa²*]-*ti-pa*-[*wa/i*]²-*tā*, “but to him ...”.

§ 16. ...]-*ru-tā*: probably verb.

ā-zi-ia-ti LEPUS+*RA/I-ti*: by comparison with *mi-ia-ti* LEPUS+*RA/I-ti*, “by my authority” (§ 9 above), it seems safe to recognize the possessive pronoun 1 plur., *anzi-*, “our”, for which see ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 9, Commentary.

§ 17. *ā-za-mi-na*: reading fairly established, gives known personal name (see also IZGIN 2, § 9; and BOYBEY-PINARI 1, §§ 4, 9; 2, §§ 5, 18), acc. sing. MF.

[*x...*]-*ha*: probably verb, most likely reading, as implied in translation, [*pi(-ia)*]-*ha*, “I gave”.

[(*474?)] [*wa/i-si*]-*na-si-na*: restoration, envisaged by Meriggi, seems likely; for *wasinasī-*, “he of the body, attendant, eunuch”, see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 30, Commentary.

SERVUS-*t*[*a₄...*], “servant”: could belong at end of present clause, but also at beginning of next clause with enclitic connective particles.

Sense: IZGIN 2, § 9, where Azamis is enjoined to perform rituals for his lord, would seem to combine well with the present statement that Azamis was given(?) by the author to someone as his personal attendant.

§ 18. 9²-zi[-] : “nine” : Meriggi’s interpretation, following Hrozný’s reading, appears very likely.

Subject/object uncertain : subject, “gods” or “he/they”; object “gods”, “them” or “the servant”?

§ 19. Apparently incomplete, thus text continued elsewhere, either on lost base or conceivably on side D [§ 1], see below.

CERVUS₂.ANIMAL(-)ni-ia : presumably ANIMAL indicates that a real stag is intended; (-)ni-ia most easily taken as phon. complement, dat. sing., though the Hitt. (and) Luw. word “stag” is not known.

IZGIN 2

§ 1. (l. 1) : not certain that there was ever writing on this sloping top of the reverse of the stele.

Connection between two texts. IZGIN 1 breaks off incomplete and IZGIN 2 begins abruptly with a series of clauses, §§ 2–7, which are more or less closely parallel with IZGIN 1, §§ 4–5, 8–9, but with the verbs in 3 (sing.?) instead of 1 sing., suggesting another “speaker” narrating same or similar events. It hardly seems possible that side A l. 16 (§ 19) + side D l. 1 (even if inscribed) would have provided space for sufficient text to explain the transition; nor that side D l. 1 could, with no more than 1 clause, have provided sufficient introduction to an independent inscription beginning at this point. Thus it seems most probable that IZGIN 1 continued on a lost element (the base?) and that IZGIN 2 began there, or possibly formed a direct continuation of IZGIN 1.

§ 2. See the parallel IZGIN 1, § 8, Commentary.

§ 3. TERRA(-)la-tara/i- : apparently alternative writing of MANUS(-)la-tara/i-, KARATEPE, 21, = Phoen. *rhb*, “(cause to) be wide”; contextually the two attestations are closely similar.

§ 4. pi-[na]- : restored to give a parallel to zi(n)(-pa-wata), following clause; *pin* ... *zin*, “on that side ... on this side”, instead of the more common *zin* ... *zin*.

[...]*286-ua/i-ni-zi(URBS) : perhaps one or two signs lost at beginning. Sign *286 here reversed, occurs as logogram in ASSUR letters ((*286.*31⁺) *ua/i+ra/i-ma*), and apparently as syllabogram *ua/i-* in TOPADA, §§ 4, 20, 25. Here it is more likely to be logographic.

§ 5. *bi²-li-ki-zi*(URBS) (first sign probably *bi-* rather than *sa-*) : the form, with nom. plur. MF ending -*zi*, shows no obvious ethnic adj. suffix, which is perhaps to be explained simply as -*i*; cf. *mu-zi-ki-ia*(URBS), acc. plur. N (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 5); *ta-i-ma-ni-ti*(URBS), abl. sing. (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 19). We may compare *bi-ri+i-ka*-(URBS//REGIO) (MARAS 4, §§ 2, 6; see Commentary). It seems plausible that a king of Gurgum might smite the same city/country as the king of Malizi might annexe, though the identification of *bi-ri+i-ka* with Cun. *Hilakku*, “Cilicia (Tracheia)”, may be geographically less plausible in the case of the present *Hiliki* – it would be somewhat surprising to find the power of Malizi extending as far as Cilicia.

§§ 8–9. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., quoting Hawkins’ readings. For possibly comparable context of putting a name and (not) an image before a god, see ALEPPO 2, §§ 10–11.

§ 8. *á-tas-ma-[z]a* : read from careful collation.

[...]-*sa* : perhaps [(*á*)-*pa*]-*sa*, “his”, or [REL]-*sa*, “(he) who”.

[x]-x[-x]-x : copula would seem to be necessary to join *á-tas-ma-za* and VAS-*tara/i-i-na*; read [ni]-*pa²-[wa/i]-ti²?*

VAS-*tara/i-i-na*, “form, figure, image” : see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary, for discussion.

pa-sa-na- DOMINUS-*na-ni*«x» PRAE-*na*, “before his lord” : the additional element «x», noted by Meriggi-Poetto and visible in their photograph, certainly appears to be present but is hard to accommodate in the sense.

§ 9. *pa-sa-ba²* (clearest in Meriggi-Poetto photograph) : force of -*ba* presumably emphatic, “even that Azamis”.

i-zi-ia-na-zi i-zi-i-, lit. “do deeds”, perhaps “perform rituals”, as suggested by Morpurgo Davies.

For similar nouns *izi(ya)tinza* and *iziyatarza*, see MALPINAR, §§ 10, 14; MARAS 14, § 7, and Commentaries.

pa-sa-na- DOMINUS-*na-ni* CUM-*ni*, “for, on behalf of his lord” : cf. above, IZGIN 1, § 17, where Azamis was apparently given to someone (his lord?) as an attendant.

§ 10. *ku*[-...]-*l(a)*...-*zi*[*i/a*...] : this may be the end of the text unless it was continued elsewhere. The traces do not suggest the restoration of a known verb.

V.16. MALATYA 1 (plate 155)

Location. Orthostat, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12245 (formerly Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7704).

Description. Orthostat with sculpture and inscription on front face. *Scene* : on left side 2 men (1 archer, 1 rein-holder) in two-wheeled chariot drawn by horse(s) face

right, and a dog runs between the horse’s legs; on right side a rearing lion with an arrow in its back twists the upper part of its body to face its attackers. *Inscription* : beginning upper left, l. 1 runs dextroverse across a reserved area above the scene, returning *baustrophedon* along l. 2 placed in the spaces of the scene, between lion and horse, horse and charioteers.

Dimensions: ht., 0.55 m.; w., 1.23 m.; th., 0.30 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: complete.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: form of *ia*; archaic *mu*.

Word-dividers: none (except with INFANS).

Discovery. Found together with MALATYA 2 in May 1894 at Arslantepe by a peasant digging for stone, and seen and photographed by Hogarth and Yorke during the summer of the same year: Hogarth, *Recueil* 17 (1895), p. 25 f. Already in Istanbul Museum by 1896: see Hilprecht, below, Publication. Transferred to Ankara Museum after excavations at Arslantepe and accession of the Lion Gate sculptures. The excavations found no evidence for the original emplacement of the piece (Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), p. 16 f.).

Publication. Hogarth, loc. cit. (1895), with accompanying pl. (photograph of block, copy of inscription); Hilprecht (ed.) *Recent Research in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 160 (Istanbul Museum photograph, further reproduced by Meyer, *RKC* (1914), pl. VI; Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXXII (below); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 767; Riemschneider, *WdI* (1954), Taf. 52; Viciya, *HL* (1955), pl. 67); Messerschmidt, *CHI* (1900), p. 13, Taf. XVI A (drawing based on photographs of Hilprecht (loc. cit.) and Jensen, also on squeeze in Berlin Museum); Hrozný, *III* III (1937), pl. CIII (photograph); Akurgal, *AI* (1962),

pl. 105 (photograph, Hirmer, reproduced in Lloyd, *EHPA* (1967), ill. 105; Orthmann, loc. cit., below; Genge, loc. cit., below).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), p. 494 f.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 105, p. 51, Tav. IX (redrawn).

Excerpt.

Laroche, *Syria* 35, p. 260–262; Melchert, *KZ* 103, p. 203.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* B/1), pp. 93–96, 141, 158, 210, 418, 420, 423, 522, Taf. 42 a; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 173, 175, Abb. 35.

Content. Epigraph to sculpture giving name and genealogy of author.

Date. Early (11th–10th centuries B.C.?), as the other Malatya inscriptions. Author's grandfather bears the same name and title as the author of IZGIN 1 and is probably the same individual. The author's name recurs as MALATYA 4, a graffito-like inscription on one of the lions of the Lion Gate, and probably refers to the same individual.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. A print of the old Istanbul Museum photograph given to me by the late I. J. Gelb is offered.

Transliteration, translation

ṣa-ia-wa/i (*262) *sa-sa-li-ia* TONITRUS.HL.ALP.A-pa-AVIS₃-sa ¹CRUS+R.A/I-sa HEROS M.A_x.LL_x-i(URBS)
DOMINUS-ia-ia | INFANS.NEPOS-ia MONS.CORNU².CERVUS₂ | INFANS-mu-wa/i-ia-ia REX³

These *shootings* (are) of Halpasulupis, grandson of Taras(?) the Hero, the lord of the city Malizi, son of Wasu(?) - runtiyas(?), the King(?).

Commentary

(*262) *sa-sa-li-ia*: the interpretation of this word, recurring elsewhere only in MALATYA 3, by Laroche, loc. cit., as “chasse, tir”, from a combination of the context and the etymological association of the word with Hitt. *šiya-*, redupl. *ššiya-*, “press; seal; shoot”, Hier. (SIGILLUM) *sasa-*, “seal”, remains plausible; but the appropriateness of the logogram *262 to such an interpretation remains unclear.

TONITRUS.HL.ALP.A-pa-AVIS₃-sa: compared by Laroche with ¹TONITRUS.HL.ALP.A-pa-AVIS₃-pi-na (KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 23), and read *Halpasulupi-* by a combination of Hitt. *Halpasulupi-* *Noms.* no. 256) with the identification of *sulupi-* as an oracle bird. The chain

of evidence seems impeccable, though Laroche is not correct in his suggested restorations of *-pi-* in the two MALATYA attestations.

Sense. “These *shootings* (are) of Halpasulupis ...”, as proposed by Laroche, is surely correct.

¹CRUS+R.A/I-sa HEROS M.A_x.LL_x-i(URBS) DOMINUS-ia-ia: cf. same name and titles for the author of IZGIN 1, § 1, and Commentary there for the reading of the personal name.

M.A_x.LL_x-i(URBS): for the writing of the toponym, usually M.A_x.LL_x-ṣi(URBS), see GÜRÜN 1, § 1, and Commentary, where *-ṣi* is identified as phonetic complement to the probably logographic M.A_x.LL_x. In this

context the present *-i* is unexpected and hard to understand: can it be an ending, in this usually endless form, to be compared with the *-ia* of the following two words?

DOMINUS-*ia-ia*: for this unexpected form compare also the following INFANS.NEPOS-*ia*, also INFANS-*mu-wa/i-ia-ia*, which recurs in the same context on MALATYA 3. In each the expected form would be gen. or gen. adj. Melchert (loc. cit.) has convincingly shown that instead these are adjectives in *-iya-* nom. (/acc.) plur. N qualifying *sasaliya*. The forms are thus alternatives to the expected genitives, and are paralleled by the well-established *tati(ya)-*, "of the father", DOMINUS-*nīya-*, "of the lord"; cf. now also the form SERVUS-*taya-*, "of the servant" (MALPINAR, §§ 5, 18).

MONS.CORNU².CERVUS₂: independent evidence for a value *wa/i₄* for MONS comes only from TOPADA (+ SUVASA), not a specially good parallel for the present archaic inscription. CORNU² (probably to be so identified, rather than *la* as taken by Meriggi and Laroche, who compare MONS-*la*-CERVUS-*ti* (SBo II, no. 75), which I followed in *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 76 f.) has fair evidence for a phonetic value *sū* besides TOPADA. A reading of the name as *Wusu-Runtiyas* is possible but by no means certain.

INFANS-*mu-wa/i-ia-ia* (also INFANS-*mu-wa/i-i-ia-ia*, MALATYA 3, same context): Melchert's identification of the final *-ia* as nom. plur. N of an attributive adjective replacing the expected genitive is very satisfactory, as noted above. But we are then left with the stem (*ni*)*mu-wiya-* in place of the usual *nimuwiza-*, a form which may recur on KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 1 (see Commentary). It would seem that we must accept this *-iya-* as a further example of an *-iya-* adjective suffix, in this instance replacing the usual *-iza-*; cf. the form *karkamisis* (<*karkamisiyas*?; GÜRÜN, § 1 b and Commentary), which appears in place of the usual *karkamisa-*, "Karkamišan".

REX²: so identified by Hrozný, who further identified, apparently erroneously, the same title in the same position on MALATYA 3 (see Commentary there). That Halpasulupis was indeed king (of Malatya) is established by the lion epigraph MALATYA 4. Bosser's identification of the sign as a form of *i*, to give INFANS-*mu-wa/i-i-ia-ia* as on MALATYA 3 (see *Le Muséon* 68 (1955), Abb. 11), seems unlikely (the form differs so markedly from *i(a)* on this inscription). Possibly the element is not a sign at all but part of the sculpture (fixture on the reins?), though to establish this a parallel would need to be adduced.

V.17. MALATYA 4 (plate 155)

Location. Portal lion, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 1802.

Description. Portal lion of white limestone, cut from an orthostat slab, the forequarters rendered as a protome in the round, the hindquarters in relief. The top of the orthostat projects above the back from shoulders to tail, and a 6-sign sinistroverse inscription is placed on this in the upper right corner above the lion's rump.

Dimensions (inscribed area): ht., 0.26 m.; w., 0.46 m.

Condition: complete.

Script: linear incised.

Sign forms: none diagnostic.

Peculiarities: –

Word-divider: one.

Discovery. Found apparently *in situ* at Arslantepe by the Cornell Expedition in 1907. The detached head was sent to Istanbul Museum, while the rest was found fallen from its place by the French excavators of Arslantepe in 1932. Head and body were reunited in the Augusteum at Ankara and subsequently transferred to the Archaeological Museum. See Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 39 f., pl. XXI and fig. 40; von der Osten, *OIC* 6 (1929), pp. 88 fig. 101, 92; Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 46, pp. 18, 36; Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pp. 6 f., 15, 60 f., pls. XII–XVII. The lion, designated Relief F, forms a

pair with another similar but uninscribed lion, excavated *in situ*, forming the other door-jamb of the inner gate of the *Porte des Lions*.

Publication (photographs, inscription only). Charles, loc. cit. (1911) (also copy); von der Osten, loc. cit. (1929); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), pl. LXVI; Delaporte, *Malatya*, (1940), pl. XVII, 2; Akurgal, *HI* (1962), pl. 103; Poetto, *RVO* 52 (1978), p. 2 f., Tav. I–II.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 108, p. 53, Taf. IX (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* A/2), pp. 97 f., 140 f., 519, Taf. 39 b, c; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 175–179.

Content. Epigraph giving royal name and title.

Date. King has same name as author of MALATYA 1, and is presumably the same individual; see MALATYA 1, Date. His relationship with the king PUGNUS-*mili*, with whom all the rest of the sculpture of the Lion Gate is associated, is unknown.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Photograph. Taken in Ankara Museum in 1971.

Transliteration, translation

TONITRUS.H4LP4-AVIS₃ REX. |*462 (ṣa-na).
Halpasulupis, Potent(?) King (erasure?)

Commentary

TONITRUS.H4LP4-AVIS₃: cf. MALATYA 1, Commentary, and note the absence of the usual phonetic complement -pa- after H4LP4.

REX |*462: see MALATYA 5, Commentary.
ṣa-na: the presence of these faint, apparently erased signs was noted by Poetto.

V.18. MALATYA 3 (plate 156)

Location. Orthostat, Louvre Museum, Paris, no. AM 255.

Description. Orthostat with sculpture and inscription on front face. *Scene*: on left side, 2 men (1 archer, 1 rein-holder) in two-wheeled chariot drawn by horse(s) face right, and a dog runs between the horse's legs; on right side a stag facing right flees, its hind-legs overlapped by the horse's fore-legs. *Inscription*: placed in 1 dextroverse line on a reserved area above the scene.

Dimensions: ht., 0.42 m.; w., 0.77 m.; th., 0.16 m.

Condition: complete.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: form of ia (as on MALATYA 1).

Word-dividers: none (except with INFANS).

Discovery. Entered Louvre Museum in 1891 after acquisition at Harput (Elazığ), but discovery of the closely similar MALATYA 1 in 1894 at Arslantepe indicated an original provenance from the same place. The excavations at Arslantepe found no evidence for its original emplacement. See Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), p. 16.

Publication. Heuzey, *Les Origines orientales de l'art* (Paris, 1892), pl. X (photograph, later reproduced by Messerschmidt (see below); Meyer, *RKC* (1914), Taf. VII; Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXXII (above)); Sayce, *PSB* 1 26 (1904), p. 23 (copy of inscription only); Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), p. 7, Taf. XLVII (copy of

inscription from squeeze and plaster cast in Berlin Museum, photograph from Heuzey); Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Berlin, [1921]), Abb. 41 (photograph, reproduced by Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 764); Moortgat, *BK* (1932), Taf. XXX (photograph of Berlin Museum cast); Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pl. CIV (photograph of Istanbul Museum cast); Vieyra, *H4* (1955), pl. 66 (photograph); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 280 (photograph).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit. (1937), p. 495; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 107, p. 53, Tav. IX.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* B/2), pp. 93–96, 141, 158, 210, 418, 420, 423, 522, Taf. 42 b; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 175–179.

Content. Epigraph to sculpture giving name, genealogy and title of author.

Date. Early (11th or 10th centuries B.C.?), as the other Malatya inscriptions. Closely associated stylistically with MALATYA 1, yet at some chronological remove from it, since the present author, apparently a ruler of Malatya, cannot overlap with the genealogy on MALATYA 1.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by the Louvre Museum.

Transliteration, translation

ṣa-ia-wa/i (*262)sa-sa-li-ia¹ma-ri+i-ti²-sa¹ṣu-wa/i-ri+i-mi-sa |INFANS-mu-wa/i-i-ia-ia REGIO²[...?]-sa
These *shootings* (are) of Maritis, Suwarimis's son, ...(?).

Commentary

(*262)sa-sa-li-ia: for identification by Laroche, see MALATYA 1, Commentary.

ma-ri+i-ti²-sa: identification of sign as ti² possible, otherwise unidentified; not listed by Laroche. For

Laroche's identification of the name as gen. sing., cf. MALATYA 1, Commentary.

INFANS-*mu-wa/i-i-ia-ia*: cf. MALATYA 1, Commentary, for this form.

REGIO² [...?]-*sa*: first sign identified as REX by Messerschmidt and Hrozný, followed by Meriggi, but inspection shows that it is actually REGIO. Conceivably this could be explained as a mistake for REX.

Alternatively, we could reckon with the possible loss of the upper right corner of the block (which looks possible) and restore REGIO.[DOMINUS]-*sa*, "Country-[Lord]", the usual title of kings of Malatya. Certainly Maritis seems likely to be a ruler of Malatya and thus to belong in the dynastic list, but his relationship to any of the other attested rulers and dynasties is unknown.

V.19. ŞIRZI (plates 157–159)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. The village of Şırzı lies east of Malatya-Sivas road between Hekimhan and Hasançelebi. About 8 km. beyond Hekimhan a rough, steep track ascends to village, about ½ hour's walk from main road. The inscribed rock is situated on a hillside below a rocky crest at some distance above and to right of track before it reaches the village. For topographical details, see Bossert, *AfO* 17 (1955), pp. 56–63; cf. now Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs* (1988), pp. 194–197.

Description. Undistinguished, unworked rock outcrop bearing on vertical, undressed north-west face a 4-line inscription, and, on a horizontal surface above, a 5th line.

Dimensions: (vertical) ht., c. 1.50 m.; w., c. 2.50 m.; (horizontal) inscribed area, ht., c. 0.40 m.; w., c. 1.30 m.

Condition: vertical, fair; horizontal, poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: rhotacism apparent (§§ 2, 6).

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Reported to Landsberger by German engineer, Müller, in 1936, and visited by Landsberger, Güterbock, Alp, Akurgal and Bilgiç on 6–7 September 1946 (inscription photographed and drawn); see below, Publication. Visited on 14 July 1952 by Bossert, Kalaç and Darga, and again 3–7 September 1953 by Bossert and Kalaç (inscription cleaned, squeezed, drawn and photographed); survey of area revealed remains of walls and ancient mine – Bossert, loc. cit. Visited and collated by Meriggi in summer 1962 (*O4* 2 (1963), p. 279 f.).

Publication. Güterbock and Alp, *DTCFD* 5/2 (1947), pp. 147–151 (Turkish), 153–158 (English); Bossert,

loc. cit. (1955), Abb. 5–8 (photographs of environs), Abb. 9 (copy from squeeze), Abb. 10–15 (detail photographs of inscription).

Editions. Bossert, loc. cit., 63–70 (description, translation, commentary); Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2, no. 119, pp. 58–64, Tav. XII (redrawn from Bossert).

Excerpts.

§§ 1–2	Starke, <i>Stammbildung</i> , § 190, also § 105.
§ 5	Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 329.I.1.
§§ 5–6	Starke, <i>Stammbildung</i> , § 190.
§ 6	Morpurgo Davies, <i>FS Risch</i> , p. 137 f., cit. 12.

Content. Inscription of king of Malatya celebrating some kind of local construction (see Commentary). § 1, Announcement of construction; § 2, favours to god Runtiŷas; §§ 3–4, blessings(?); §§ 5–7, protective curse for construction; (horizontal) §§ 8–9, protective curse for inscription.

Date. Father of author *Sahwis* (for reading see Commentary) may be identified with *Šahu*, father of the Malatyan king Hilaruada who reigned c. 780–760 B.C. (see Malatya, Historical Context, p. 285 and nn. 39–40). Since the author of the present inscription can by no means be identified as Hilaruada, he would have been his brother and ruled before or after him. In general, the resulting early or mid-8th century date seems otherwise appropriate.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of photographs of the inscription.

Photographs. Taken on a visit to Şırzı in the summer 1969.

Transliteration

(side)

1. § 1 [ʒ]a-wa/i [i]pá² PES₂.PES-pa-[mi]-na *417-ti-CERVUS₂-ia-sa
|HEROS-sá M-4_x.LI_x-ʒi REGIO DOMINUS sa-HWT-sa
2. |HEROS-s[á] |INFANS|-mu]-wa/i-ʒa-sa (DEUS)CERVUS₂-ia-sá
BONUS-mi-sa SERVUS-ta₄-sa |i-ʒi-i-tà

Translation

This IPA² TARPAMI- Sa(?)*tiruntŷas*
the Hero, Country-Lord of
Malizi, the Hero Sahwis's son,
Runtiŷas's dear servant, made.

- § 2 |*wa/i-ta* |*á-mi-i-na* DOMINUS-*ni-na* *i-pá*² (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-na*
 (“LIGNUM”) *ba-zi-wa/i+ra/i-ti* |*u-sa-nu-sa-ba*
- § 3 |< > *i-pá*² (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-sa* MONS-*ti-zi* “DOMUS+
 3. SCALA”¹ |(-) *ba* |*-ti-i* |PRAE-*na* |*á-ru-wa/i+ra/i-tu*
- § 4 |*wa/i-tu* |*356(-) *sa*(-) *387-*wa/i-sá* |HWT-*tà-ni-ia-za* |*sü-pu-na*
 |*pi-pa-sa-tu*
4. § 5 |*za-pa-wa/i* || *i-pá*² PES₂.PES-*pa-mi-na* |REL-*sa* |.ARHL-*1*
 |*li* *375-*ti*
- § 6 |*á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i+ra/i-ta* |*i-pá*²-*sá* (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti-sá*
 |(*464) *ba+ra/i-ma* PES₂.PES-*pi-tu*
- § 7 *wa/i-tu* |*ara/i-ti-na* |*u-pa-tu*(?) (x?) ||
- (top)
- § 8 *z[a-i]* *a-pa-wa/i* [REL(?)]-*za-ma*[-*ia*?] .ARHL-*1* REL(?)-*sá*
 |*li* *375-*ti*(?) |
- § 9 *a-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu*-[...
- My lord IPA² Runtiyas I blessed
 with ritual.
 May IPA² Runtiyas's mountains bow
 down(?) before ... ,
 and may they grant him to SUP- ...
 that of the wild beasts.
 (He) who shall ... away this IPA²
 TARPAMI-
 for him may IPA² Runtis TARPI-
 them *ruinously*,
 and for him may he
- (He) who shall ... away these in-
 cised (words),
 may Tarhunzas[...

Commentary

§ 1. PES₂.PES-*pa*-[*mi*]-*na*: it would be of considerable interest to identify this word which is likely to designate the construction whatever it was; see § 5 below for discussion.

[*i-pá*²]: restored from § 5, below; see there.

*417-*ti*-CERVUS₂-*ia-sa*: *417 identified by Laroche and Meriggi (no. 220 a) with various signs from fragmentary contexts; in fact only useful comparisons are with a sign on TOPADA, §§ 4 and 10, possible value *sa*_x, see Commentary; also SUVASA, inscription B. The onomastic element CERVUS₂-*ia-sa* compares with the writing of the Stag-God's name elsewhere in the inscription, for which a reading *Runti(ya)s* is most probable (see below). The name here then should probably be read *Satiruntiyas*, which certainly could not be identified with Cun. Urartian ¹*bi-lu-ru-a-da* (Šahu's son), though possibly the onomastic element -*runti**ya*- could be represented by *ru-a-da*.

M-1_x.L1_x-zi REGIO DOMINUS: for this Malatya dynastic title, and the reading of the toponym, see GÜRÜN, § 1, Commentary. Note the omission here of the usual determinative (URBS).

sa-HWT-*sa*: the sign HWT, formerly identified as a form of REL(“REL₂”), can now be seen to be completely separate. It is used to write the verb (*hwi*-)*hwiya*-, “run” (see KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 8, and Commentary); also *hwisara*-/*hwitara*-, “wild beasts” (see MARAŞ 1, § 11, and Commentary); and other words, which also point to an original value *hwi*. The transliteration HWT is adopted here as a caution that its original *hwi* value may have developed with the passage of time, as its later confusion with REL (i.e. *kwi/a*; see SULTANHAN, § 4 Commentary) suggests, but a syllabographic usage is evident here, and the value *hwi* would fit well, since the name has been plausibly identified with Cun. Urartian *ša-bu*- (for which see Malatya, Historical Context, p. 285 and n. 40); thus probably read *Sahwis*. If the Urartian and Hier. name both refer to the same

individual, which is quite possible, this will serve to date ŠIRZI to the generation of Hilaruada of Malatya, a contemporary of Argišti I and Sarduri II of Urartu (i.e. the present author would have been his brother — see above, Date).

[INFANS-*mu*]-*wa/i-za*:- collation should establish first three signs; for phonetic writing of word with omission of initial *ni*-, cf. MARAŞ 1, § 1; MARAŞ 8, § 1; PORSUK, § 1; also the forms -*mu-wa/i-ia*- on MALATYA 1 and 3.

(DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-sá* (gen. sing.): cf. other writings below —

(DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti-sá* (nom. sing., § 6).

(DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-na* (acc. sing., § 2).

(DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-sa* (also gen. sing. — or nom.? § 3).

These writings agree well with the reading of the god's name (and the onomastic element) as *Runti(ya)s*, as established by MARAŞ 1, § 6//§ 11; also § 1 a, c//e. *DEUS₂ ti-ja-sa*

§ 2. For closely similar statements, cf. BULGARMADEN, § 8, and Commentary; KULULU 4, § 10 (both verbs qualified by *wasu*, “well”); and for *usa-nu(wa)*-, “bless”, see KARATEPE, 73, Commentary.

*i-pá*² (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-na*: for *i-pá*² as apparent epithet of Stag-God, see BULGARMADEN, § 7, Commentary, with other attestations (in this present inscription also §§ 3, 6; and cf. § 5 for its occurrence before *tarpami*-).

(“LIGNUM”) *ba-zi-wa/i+ra/i-ti*: interpretation by Starke, loc. cit., who identifies with Hitt.-Luw. *ba-zi-wi(t)*-, “rite”. The logogram LIGNUM is observed to determine (1) objects of wood; (2) (as here) words denoting authority; see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary.

§§ 3–4. The many unidentified lexical items render sense and syntax uncertain.

§ 3. Note absence of connective particles.

(DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ia-sa*: gen. sing., as in § 1, or nom. sing., in contrast to (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti-sá* (§ 6)? The distinct writing of the latter form inclines one to identify a further gen. sing. here.

MONS-*ti-zi*: as nom./acc. plur. MF, either subject (if verb is correctly identified as intransitive) or object.

"DOMUS+SCALA"¹ (-) *ba-ti-i*: logogram appears to be *HH* no. 252 (not a separate no. 253), which elsewhere determines *tá-wa/i-ni*, apparently "women's (upper-floor) quarters" (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 19). It is hard here to interpret DOMUS+SCALA other than by reference to its ideographic content as a specific part of a building, but equally hard to accommodate such an interpretation to any possible sense. (-) *ba-ti-i*, dat. sing. governed by *PRAE-na*, or abl.?

a-ru-wa/i+ra/i-tu: Hier. *bapax legomenon* but perhaps to be identified with Cun. Luw. *a-ru-wa-ru-un-ni* (if *-unni* may be separated and identified as ending of 1 plur. pres.; see Carruba, *Sprache* 14 (1968), pp. 17–21). Melchert now suggests that the form is a denom. verb in *-ta(i)-* based on verbal noun in *-ta-*, rhotacized, from cognate of Hitt. *aruwai-*, "bow down" (*An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 40 n. 17).

Sense: with all these uncertainties the approximate translation offered is only one of several possibilities.

§ 4. *wa/i-tu*, "and to him": to whom? Stag-God, or if he is the subject, perhaps the author appearing again in 3rd person as in § 1.

*356(-) *sá(-)* *387-*wa/i-sá*: quite obscure. Value *mi* for *387 depends on single KARATEPE alternation only (*mi/mi*, Hu./Ho. 293); and a syllabographic use (apart from SERVUS-*ta₄/ta₅-*, "servant", where in fact it may be a logogram – see KARATEPE, 6, Commentary) is found otherwise only here. Grammatical form also unclear: nom. sing. MF, or gen. sing.? Conceivably (nom./) acc. sing. N (with *-sa* ending, instead of the more usual *-(n)za*), qualified by following word.

HWI-tá-ni-ia-za: for the syllabographic usage *hwi*, see above, § 1, Commentary. The present word seems likely to be associated with *hwitara-/hwisara-*, "wild beasts", found elsewhere always in the context of donations of the Stag-God (see MARAŞ 1, § 11, Commentary). A derived form is recognizable in ("BESTIA") *HWI-sá-na-ma-ia* (*hwisnamaya*, ASSUR letter *a*, § 10, and Commentary). By comparison, here we may recognize *hwit-niyanza*, an adjectival form in *-iya-*, most likely (nom./) acc. sing. N, though dat. plur. cannot be ruled out. The sense "that of the wild beasts" imposes itself, which, if not qualifying the previous word, presumably stands as a noun like *zitiyan-*tiyanza**, "virility", and FEMINA-*tiyan-*tiyanza**, "femininity" (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 26–27).

sü-pu-na: clearly infinitive of verb *sup-*. The outline sense, "let them (the mountains?) grant him (the Stag-God?) to SUP- the wild beasts' ...", suggests the interpretation "suck the wild beasts' milk". In spite of the very unpromising *356(-) *sá(-)* *387-*wa/i-sá*, it would be appropriate that the god of the wild beasts should, like the pastoral Enkidu, suck their milk, and that their habitat, the mountains, should give this. If so, the verb *sup-* could be connected with the IE root **seu-* or **seuH-* (cf. Pokorny, *IEW*, p. 912 f.).

§ 5. PES₂.PES-*pa-mi-na*: *-mi* suggested by Meriggi's collation and confirmed by my own, may thus be restored also in first attestation of the word in § 1. The arrangement of *-pa(-mi)-na* in either place indicates that PES must form part of the logogram with PES₂ rather than be read as the syllabogram *ti* (this should settle doubts expressed by Bossert, loc. cit., p. 64 f., and Laroche, *HH* no. 96.2). PES₂.PES is only attested as determining the stem *tarp-*, and the identification of PES₂.PES-*pa-mi-* as *tarpami-* is confirmed by the appearance of *i-pá² tara/i-pa-mi[-?]* (ANCOZ 3, l. 2); cf. also ("PES₂.PES") *tara/i-pa-ma-za* (dat. plur.? JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 2, and Commentary). Here the word seems to be a participle as Meriggi pointed out, and the same form is attested as a personal name (ASSUR letter *a*, § 6; KULULU lead strip 3 (+ frag. 2), side ii). For a consideration of the stem, see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 11. In the present context it remains unclear what kind of construction, the object of the inscription's dedication, is indicated.

i-pá²: term here clearly seen to be applied to the object of construction, may further be recognized in the traces of the same phrase, § 1; cf. also ANCOZ 3, l. 2, already cited. Elsewhere this obscure word is applied only to the Stag-God (see § 2, Commentary); it is not understood in that context, even less so in this.

ARHA *li* *375-*ti*: verb found also in GÜRÜN, § 6, where see Commentary.

§ 6. For close parallels to this clause, see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 11, and Commentary; problems considered there are (1) meaning of *tarpi-* in the context; (2) status of *batama*, apparently acc. plur. N of participle, perhaps dir. object, perhaps adverbial. Cf. also Morpurgo Davies and Starke, loc. cit.

-pa-wa/i+ra/i-ta: other examples of clause have only *-ta Ortspartikel*; here *-wa/i+ra/i-* could represent *-wa+ata-*, "it/them", or possibly *-wa+ti* (reflexive).

§ 7. Signs, order of reading, and words – all uncertain.

§ 8. Readings and restorations: somewhat conjectural; cf. KARABURUN, § 11; and for verb, above, § 5.

V.20. PALANGA (plates 161–162)

Location. Part of statue, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7764 (formerly 1215).

Description. Lower part of standing, long-robed figure, preserved from waist to bottom of robe. Down right side, the opening, folds and fringed, tasselled, vertical hems of an over-garment are rendered, forming the frame to a 5-line inscription, which begins on the front to the right of this feature and runs dextroverse all around the body to its left, continuing *boustrophedon* round the over-garment to its bottom, ending lower left corner. The lines are marked off by horizontal incised line-dividers including the upper edge of the inscription, but excluding the division between ll. 4 and 5 which is not marked; the lower edge of the over-garment marks the bottom of the inscription.

Dimensions: preserved ht., c. 1.30 m.; circumference, c. 1.37 m.; ht. of inscription, 0.78 m.; w, 0.64–0.72 m.; line ht., 0.14 m.

Condition: poor and worn.

Script, line-dividers: incised, poorly executed.

Sign forms: largely cursive (monumental *ta*).

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: some visible.

Discovery. Reported by the Rev. A. W. Hubbard of Sivas. Seen by Munro and Hogarth on 5 August 1891 lying in mud by a spring near Palanga, about 12 km. west of Darende; copied and photographed (see Publication). Brought to Istanbul Museum after 1900: Peiser does not mention its presence in November 1897 (*OLZ* 1 (1898), pp. 6–9), and Messerschmidt in his first publication did not know that it was there, but Sayce saw it there in May 1905 (see below, Publication).

Publication. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil* 15 (1893), p. 95 f., pl. III (A, B, photographs of right side, front; C, copy); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 17, Taf. XX (1, copy; 2, sketch of front; following Ramsay-Hogarth); id., *CIH*² (1906), 1 f., Taf. XX (copy revised from autopsy); Sayce, *PSBA* 28 (1906), 93 f., pl. II (copy); Garstang, *LH* (1910), pp. 141 f., 400, pl.

XLV = *HE* (1929), pp. 211 f., 342, pl. XXXIX (photograph, diagonal front + left side); Bossert, *Alt-anatolien* (1942), Abb. 786 (photograph of right side); Özgüç, *Kultepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age* (Ankara, 1971), pp. 47–49 (Turkish), 103–105 (English), lev./pl. XXXIX (photographs of right side, diagonal back + right side); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 325 (photograph, diagonal right side + front); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or.* NS 49 (1980), p. 254 f., Tav. XIV–XVI nr. 6–10 (photographs, details).

Editions. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 4–7, fig. 1 (copy); id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 99, p. 37 f., Tav. V (same copy).

Sculpture. Not treated by Orthmann and Genge. For remarks on the preserved details of the drapery with a summary of earlier views, see Özgüç, loc. cit. above, Publication, pp. 47 f. (Turkish), 103 f. (English).

Content. Largely obscure, apparently dedication of funerary statue by subordinate ruler.

Date. This must be based largely on stylistic criteria: see above Sculpture, for Özgüç's review of previous opinions, which have stressed the comparison of the representation of the drapery with early Classical art. On general grounds one must follow the views of von Bissing, Bossert, Bittel and Barnett in not allowing a date later than 700 B.C. for the Hieroglyphic inscription, rather than accept the late dating of Unger, von der Osten and Akurgal (mid-6th century B.C., on the grounds of comparison with Classical sculpture drapery).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1974.

Photographs. Taken by myself in Istanbul Museum in 1971, and 1986. The detail photographs showing the inscription more clearly were kindly supplied by the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul from their photographic archive.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 á-mu-wa/i-mu²¹ |AVIS²-pi-sa-sá |x x x FLUMEN.DOMINUS-i-sá
- § 2 wa/i² FRONS-la/i/u-zi REL-zi á-sá-ta
- § 3 [...]
2. § 4 ...
- § 5 [...] |... x x-ba REX-ti-i |CUM-na² sà-mu-ru-wa/i-ba
- § 6 |REL-pa-wa/i-² za á-[...]sá[...]REX[...] ...]
3. § 7 wa/i² OMNIS-mi-zi-i LOCUS-ta₅-x-x || AVIS²-pi-sa-ia² |pi-ia-ta
- |DEUS-ni-i [(DEUS)] TONITRUS-bu-ti-i [(DEUS)SOL]
- (DEUS)CERVUS₂(-)[ru²]-ti-i (LITUUS)u-ni-mi-sa

I (am) ...pisas ... River-Lord.
(Those) who were foremost,
[...]
...
... for the king I SAMURUWA-ed,
but when my(?) king [...] this,
he, the known to god, the Storm-
God, the Sun, the Stag-God, gave
all precincts to ...pisas,

- § 8 $\{[wa/i^?]-' x-ti- \dots \dots wa/i \dots\}$ and [...
 4. § 9 $\dots \dots -sá sa^? -ni-ri+i$... and shall overturn(?),
 § 10 $\{wa/i- CAELUM-ti-[i^?] \dots \dots ta \dots$ from the sky ...
 § 11 $\dots -pa-wa/i-ta \dots ha(-)pá^? + ra/i-[wa/i^?]-li-sá \{á-wa/i+ ra/i$ and [from the earth] barley will
 come ...
 5. § 12 $\{REL-pa-na \{ (ANNUS)u-[sá^?] OVIS sa_5 + ra/i-la \langle \dots \rangle -za \parallel \dots$ Him in the year a sheep (as) an
 $x(-)sá-ti-sa$ offering(?) ...
 § 13 $\{AVIS^? \} -pi-sa-pa-wa/i ha-li \dots x \{á-wa/i \dots DOMUS \dots \{ \dots$ But ... pisa(?) ... day(s)(?) ...

Commentary

§ 1. $á-mu-wa/i-mu^?$: last sign, if correctly identified, unique variant for $-mi$ in this context.

AVIS²-pi-sa-sá: name of author of inscription, seems to recur in § 7, and possibly § 13. First sign not definitely identified, resembles cursive AVIS, which would be of uncertain phonetic reading.

|x x x: qualification of following FLUMEN.DOMINUS, “river-lord” (for which see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 2, and Commentary).

§ 2. Sense possibly comparable to MALPINAR, § 4.

$wa/i^?$: for this order of the connective particles in place of the usual $a-wa/i$, see SHEIZAR, § 2, and Commentary. In this inscription it seems to recur in §§ 7 and 10, possibly also in § 8.

§ 4. Estimate of this missing clause hypothetical.

§ 5. CUM-na²: final $-na$ suggested by comparison with KARATEPE, 79 (Hu.), which has $-na$ in place of the usual $-ni/ní$; otherwise CUM-² possible.

$sá-mu-ru-wa/i-ha$: fairly certainly read *hapax legomenon*.

§ 6. $á-[...]sá$: restore perhaps $á-[mi-]sá$, “my”, or $á-[pa-]sá$, “that”.

Sense appears to be (§ 5) benefit conferred by “me” on the king, (§ 6) king’s recognition of benefit, (§ 7) king’s reciprocating donation.

§ 7. OMNIS-mi-zi-i LOCUS-ta₅-x-x: LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-, (*pida-), “place”, and LOCUS-ta₄/ta₅-ta- (*pida(n)ta-), “precinct”, for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary, both elsewhere appear as neuter. Here OMNIS-mi-zi-i points to an MF form, but the two signs following LOCUS-ta₅-, while uncertain, do not help to produce such a form.

DEUS-ni-i: this and the three following divine names all appear to be dat. sing. instead of the abl. expected before *unimis*, “recognized, known” (for which see MARAŞ 1, § 1 h, and Commentary).

§ 9. $sa^? -ni-ri+i$: could be an occurrence of the common verb *sani-*, “overturn”, found in commonplace contexts of prohibition of damage to monument; if so, it would probably indicate that the present context is such a passage, but the legible traces of §§ 10–11 do not obviously support this observation. Note the apparent rhotacizing of the 3 sing. pres. ending $-ri<-ti$; and cf. $á-wa/i+ ra/i$ (§ 11).

§§ 10–11. Preserved traces suggest that these clauses may have contained the usual [rain coming down] from the sky, and vegetation coming [up from the earth]. If so, they would only be appropriate, following the interpretation of § 11 as a clause envisaging aggression against the monument, if they contained negatives or prohibitives of which there is no visible trace.

§ 11. $\dots -pa-wa/i-ta$: recognition of these disconnected signs as the connective particles is not improbable, but should, if the context is correctly identified, be appended to an initial (TERRA) *tasa*REL + *rati*, “from the earth”, which the surviving traces do not readily support.

$\dots ha(-)pá^? + ra/i-[wa/i^?]-li-sa$: apparent context and traces definitely suggest the appearance here of *pa^?r-wali-*, “barley(?)”, as seen in SULTANHAN, §§ 6 and 15 (see Commentary on former). The clear *ha* however is a problem in this recognition: could it be taken with a previous word, or perhaps represent a determining logogram, (ideally *179)? Collation desirable.

§ 12. REL-pa-na: for omission of the usually $-wa/i$ from connective particle chain, see KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 2, Commentary. The structure of the clause is unclear, because of the difficulty of reading. In the connective particles we must presumably recognize *-an*, “him” (acc. sing. MF), but where may we find the verb governing this object?

(ANNUS)u-[sá^?]: apparent final syllable $-sá$ not particularly suitable in the *i*-stem *usi-*, but no better reading seems possible. In the context the word is likely to indicate “in the year, annually”.

$sa_5 + ra/i-la \langle \dots \rangle -za$: presumably represents some form of stem *sarli-* (redupl. *sasarla-*), “offer”, for which see CEKKE, § 5, Commentary; *sarla<ta>nza*, “offering”, is perhaps most likely, though no trace of *ta-* is apparent. Alternatively an unattested verbal form *sar-la₂za-* could be suggested, but this depends on the understanding of the first word of l. 5.

$\dots x(-)sá-ti-sa$: it is not clear whether anything originally stood to the left of this at the beginning of l. 5, and thus whether there is any further loss following the end of l. 4. This word is apparently the last of its clause, since the following word has the enclitic connective particles. As final word in a clause it should be the verb, though its ending does not look promising: could we recognize here the $-tisa$ ending of 2 sing. pres., which is

almost never found in monumental dedicatory inscriptions (but cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 4a, and Commentary)?

§ 13. [AVIS?]-*pi-sa* : it seems not unlikely that the name of the author should recur here, but the traces

do not obviously suggest the first sign of the name; if it did indeed stand here, it should be acc. sing. (MF), ...*pi-sa(u)*.

ba-li... suggests "days" in the context of a blessing for long life wished for the author, but the faint traces fail to suggest the grammar of the clause.

V.21. MALATYA 2 (plate 163)

Location. Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 12246 (formerly Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7705).

Description. Two joining pieces forming left end of block with sculpture and inscription. *Scene*: on left, two seated figures facing each other over a cross-legged table with food on it; the left-hand figure a beardless man wearing a long garment and shoes with upturned toes, sitting on a high-backed cross-legged chair with his feet on a footstool, holding in his right hand a backward-pointing lituus, in his left raised before him a cup; the right-hand figure (damaged) a woman wearing a high, veiled *polos*, sitting on a straight-legged stool, her right hand raised before her (other details unclear). On the right, the beginning of a hunting scene as on MALATYA 1 and 3, two men in a two-wheeled chariot only preserved. *Inscription*: several signs only preserved written in the field above the sculpture, apparently in two groups corresponding to the two scenes, the left sinistroverse, the right dextroverse.

Dimensions: ht., 0.50 m.; preserved w., 0.61 m.

Condition: poor.

Script: relief, additional linear incised.

Sign forms, peculiarities: unclear.

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Together with MALATYA 1 (see Hogarth, *Recueil* 17 (1895), p. 25); in Istanbul Museum by 1896, transferred to Ankara with MALATYA 1.

Publication. Hogarth, loc. cit. (1895) (copy of 7 signs only); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 13, Taf. XVI B (drawing from photograph of Jensen); Przeworski, *IJO* 5 (1928–29), Taf. IX, 1 (Istanbul Museum photograph, also reproduced by Herzfeld, *AMM* 2 (1930), Taf. IX, unten; Moortgat, *BK* (1932), Taf. LVIII; Delaporte, *Malatya* (1940), pl. XXXIII; Bossert, *Felsefe Arkevi* 2 (1947), Abb. 9; Orthmann, loc. cit. below).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 106, p. 52 f., Tav. IX (redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Malatya B/3)*, pp. 93–96, 158, 210, 373–376, 522, Taf. 42 c.; Genge, *NSR*, pp. 175–178.

Content. Presumably epigraph(s) to sculpture.

Date. Stylistic criteria only, associated with MALATYA 1 and 3, thus early (11th or 10th centuries B.C.?).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photograph. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

- (a) *wa/i-su*
- (b) *za-sa VIR-[ti]-sa za[...]-wa/i la/i/u*
- (c) *za-wa/i*...

Translation

Good!
This (is) Zitis, this (is) Lu...
This [...]

Commentary

There seem to be two epigraphs separated by (a) *wa/i-su*: the left group (b) above the banquet running sinistroverse, the right group (c) running dextroverse over the chariot scene and broken off with it. This might be thought to be contradicted by the two *za*'s, since the slope of the double bars of both could indicate the opposite orientation, but the other considerations discount this.

(a) *wa/i-su*: appears simply to be the word *wasu*, "good!", serving as a blessing and separating the two

epigraphs, for which its two symmetrical signs, neither sinistroverse nor dextroverse, make it suitable.

(b) *za-sa VIR-[ti]-sa*: probably complete, in spite of the faintness of the latter two signs.

za-wa/i la/i/u: incised inscription apparently added later (at death of wife?) and unfinished (*la/i/u* perhaps simply first syllable of wife's name).

(c) *za-wa/i*... : apparently beginning of epigraph to the hunting-scene but does not correspond exactly to MALATYA 1 and 3, which both begin *za-ia-wa/i*... The sign *wa/i* has a long and unusual downwards extension.

V.22. MALATYA 13 (plate 164)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10304.

Description. Rough limestone boulder with dressed front face bearing sculpture of two facing deities on animals below a winged sun-disc. On each side of the stone there is an inscription, and also across the lower front below the sculpture. *Sculpture*: on left, a god facing right, bearded, with long pigtail, wearing a pointed hat with 3 pairs of horns, a short, belted, bordered tunic and boots with upturned toes, a curved sword with crescent pommel at his waist, carrying in his right hand raised behind him a spear pointing obliquely downwards, in his left hand extended in front of him a 3-pronged object, stands on a couchant lion; on right, a goddess facing left, with hair falling in a curl on the shoulder, wearing a high *polos* with falling veil, a long pleated, fringed robe and shoes with upturned toes, holding in her right hand extended before her a mirror, is seated on a high-backed, cross-legged chair with lion's(?) feet, her feet on a footstool, all on the back of a stag. Above the pair is placed a winged sun-disc with central rosette in disc and lateral volutes, above which is a further oval shape with unclear surface marking, apparently the sign DEUS. *Inscription*: on left side, some 20 signs arranged vertically down the side, sinistrovers, in so far as orientation is determinable; right side, 8 signs arranged vertically down side, dextrovers as far as determinable; lower front, damaged area with traces of some 4 signs visible towards left, apparently sinistrovers.

Dimensions, left side (inscription): ht., 0.82 m.; w., 0.13 m.; right side (inscription): ht., 0.38 m.; w., 0.13 m.; front: ht., c. 1.30 m.; w., 0.90 m.

Condition: poor, rough and faint.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: mixed monumental and cursive?

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Illegally excavated from Arslantepe, in 1942, "à environ 1 m. 50 du puits mis au jour au cours de la campagne de fouilles de 1938"; seen by Vieyra in school in Orduzu in autumn 1945: see Vieyra, *CR-IBL*, 1946, pp. 130–135.

Publication. Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 44, oben (photograph); Vieyra, *HLA* (1955), pl. 65 (photograph = Orthmann, *USK* (1971), Taf. 42 f.; Genge, *NSR* (1979), Abb. 42); Poetto and Meriggi, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), pp. 259–261, Tav. XXI–XXIII (copy of inscription, photographs of right side (nr. 21), lower front (nr. 22), left side, upper (nr. 23), lower (nr. 24)); Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 169–171 with figs. 2 (a–c, photographs of left side, right side; d, drawing of front and sides) and 3 (photograph of front).

Edition. [cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 117, p. 58].

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Malatya* B/4), pp. 96, 209, 236, 240 ff., 275 ff., 360 ff., 522, Taf. 42 f.; Genge, *NSR*, p. 175–177.

Content. Unclear, beyond identification of gods as Karhuhas and Kubaba.

Date. Stylistic criteria only: Orthmann, *Sph.* II?; Genge, 915/900 B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

Left side

([*z̃*]a-[*n*]a/i?) (DEUS.CERVUS₂)*kar-hu-ha-sa* ...

Right side

(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS *z̃a-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-na* ...

Front

[...]-*na*² [PON]ERE²-*wa/i-tá*

Translation

This(?) (is) the Stag-God Karhuhas ...

Kubaba: but this deity (acc. sing.) ...

[So-and-so] erected [this *monument*] (?).

Commentary

Left side. [*z̃*]a-[*n*]a/i: traces claimed by Meriggi-Poetto, not observed by myself; these would certainly be appropriate here.

(DEUS.CERVUS₂)*kar-hu-ha-sa*: read by Laroche (*HH*, no. 103.II.(b)); cf. (DEUS)CERVUS₂+*R-1/I-bu-ha* (KARKAMIS A11b+c, § 18b) in place of the

normal (DEUS) *kar-bu-ha-*. These two unusual writings seem to point to the identification of *Karhuhas* as a *Kar-kamiš* form of the Stag-God, *Runtiyas*.

No other identifiable word can be recovered from the rest of the signs (NEG₃², [ta²], *ni*, *wa/i*, *tá*, *x*, *nú*, *wa/i*, *i*², *zi+ra/i*, *i*, *x*, *x*, *ma*).

Right side. *za-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-na* ... : collation seems to yield the final *-na*, which gives an incomplete clause.

Front. Apparently simply a statement of authorship of the monument.

V.23. ARSLANTAŞ (ELBISTAN)

Pair of portal lions, apparently *in situ*, although no traces of the building, the gate of which they would have flanked, are recorded as remaining (lion A is on the left to one entering and lion B on the right). The pair is located in the open country, some 15 km. from Darende on the Elbistan road, to the west of the road, between the villages of Yarımca and Yeniköy (which has been moved). They were first reported by von Vincke: see Ritter, *Kleinasien*, vol. XIX (1858), p. 13. They were visited by Sterrett in 1884 (*Epigraphical Journey* (1888), p. 299); by Hogarth and Munro in 1891 (*Recueil* 15 (1893), pp. 92, 96, and pl. IIA – photograph of the standing lion A); and by the Cornell Expedition in 1907 (Charles *HI* (1911), pp. 31, 35 pl. XVII (copies of alleged inscriptions), fig. 32 (photograph of lion B, right foreleg)). Other visitors include von der Osten in July 1929 (*Explorations 1929* (OIC 8; Chicago, 1930), p. 105 with fig. 111 (photograph of lion A)); T. and N. Özgüç in 1947 (*Ausgrabungen in Karaköyük 1947* (Ankara, 1949), map 3 following p. VII, pp. 15 f. (Turkish) with Abb. 16, 17 (photographs of lions from left and front), Abb. 18, 19 (photographs of uncovered paws of lion B), and p. 64 (German)); also Meriggi in 1964 (*Q.45* (1966), pp. 72–73 with fig. 2 (copies of inscriptions on lion B), pls. XIX figs. 11–12 (photographs of the lions from front–north and right side–west), XX fig. 13 (photograph of signs on foreleg of lion B)).

Hogarth describes lion B as being fallen on to its left side, which is repeated by Charles, yet Özgüç's photographs show it standing, while those of Meriggi show it again fallen over to the left. It seems likely that Özgüç

re-erected it on his visit, and that it subsequently fell back again.

As to inscription, Hogarth reported that “certain rude lines and circles have been scratched in modern times here and there on the stone”, apparently with reference to lion B. The Cornell Expedition reported that “the right foreleg of each of the two lions ... seems to contain a badly weathered inscription in boldly incised characters”, and attempted to reproduce these in copy and a photograph of lion B. Meriggi on the other hand reported Hier. signs on the *left* fore- and hind legs of lion B, which he reproduced in copy and (foreleg only) in photograph. He further claimed that the Cornell Expedition photograph (p. 35 fig. 32) actually shows not the right foreleg but the left hind leg, but this does not appear to be supported by close examination of available photographs. There is thus doubt as to the location and even the existence of an inscription or inscriptions.

Meriggi repeated the information gathered on his *viaggio* in the form of an edition: *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 100, p. 316, Tav. XIII. By so classifying the inscription, he categorizes it as archaic. Özgüç in discussing the date of the lions tentatively placed them in the 12th or 11th centuries B. C. Orthmann compared the lions with another, found at Sevdili Köy near Arslantaş (Elbistan), now in the Maraş Museum: see *USK*, p. 118.

I have not been able to see the lions, but doubt whether such traces of inscription as may be established have much significance. The information collected by other scholars is simply presented here for the sake of completeness.

Addendum.

KARAHÖYÜK, § 13 (see above, pp. 290, 293 f.): Güterbock's reading REGIO is, following collation, better changed to DOMUS, as given in my copy. Exactly the same arguments apply to DOMUS as to REGIO,

i.e. the writing *should* represent *ami(ya)nza parnanza* dat. plur. But this does not provide such a ready sense in translation as REGIO.

VI. COMMAGENE

The Historical Context

The state, name and location in the Iron Age

Archaeological investigation

Kummuh in Assyrian and Urartian sources

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The Inscriptions

House of Suppiluliumas (Ušpilulume)

1. BOYBEYPINARI 1 (double base)
2. BOYBEYPINARI 2 (double base)
3. MALPINAR (rock inscription)
4. ADIYAMAN 1 (stele fragment)
5. ANCOZ 1 (basin)

6. ANCOZ 2 (fragment)

7–8. ANCOZ 3 and 4 (fragments)

9. ANCOZ 5 (block)

10. ANCOZ 6 (fragment)

Miscellaneous

11. ADIYAMAN 2 (stele)

12. SAMSAT 1 (stele)

13. SAMSAT 2 (fragment)

14. SAMSAT 3 (fragment)

15. SAMSAT fragments 1–10

16–19. ANCOZ 7–10 (blocks and fragments)

The Historical Context

The state, name and location in the Iron Age

The Iron-Age kingdom of Kummuh¹ attested in Assyrian sources was located by the survival of the name in the classical kingdom of Commagene (cf. *Melid* surviving in *Melitene*) on the west bank of the upper Euphrates, where the river forms a great loop to the east between Malatya and Karkamiš. Assyrian reference is both to a land (KUR) and a city (^{uru}) of Kummuh,² and the existence of a city Kummuh is further corroborated by the use of the name to designate the Assyrian province following the usual practice of naming these from the capital cities. Evidence for the location of the city is provided by the almost certain identification with the Babylonian Chronicle's "city of Kimuhi on the bank of the Euphrates",³ which strongly suggests that the site of the city Kummuh was indeed the classical capital Samosata, modern Samsat Höyük, the largest and most important site of the country. The land is also named in Urartian sources as the land of Qumaha,⁴ and a recently discovered indigenous Hieroglyphic inscription MALPINAR names a city Kumaha.⁵

A long-standing confusion of Kummuh with the land of Katmuhi, attested in Assyrian sources as lying on the south bank of the upper Tigris opposite modern Cizre, led to unnecessary uncertainty on the location of Kummuh, but this is now decisively resolved.⁶ Less easy to decide is the possible identity with the city Kummaha, attested in Cun. Hittite texts from the Middle Hittite period onwards.⁷ The association of the latter with Alzi, Išuwa and Pahuwa⁸ make the identification plausible, and in particular, an early Assyrian reference by Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 B.C.), in which the land of Kummuh appears in a context in place of the usual Alzi,⁹ gives added support, since this

generally locates it and shows that the Assyrians already knew of it during the Hittite Empire. Yet the geographical association of Kummaha with the land of Hayasa¹⁰ suggests a location too far towards the north-east for an identification with Kummuh. The matter can hardly be decided on present evidence, and in the absence of certain geographical identification, the later Kummuh remains a historical blank for the IInd millennium B.C.

1 For a general survey of the sources, see Hawkins, *RLA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. Kummuh.

2 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. KUMMUHI. Unfortunately references to the distant Katmuhi have been included, and should be deleted; for this latter, see Postgate, *RLA* V/7–8 (1980), s.v. Katmuhi; also Nashief, *RGTC* 5, s.v. Katmuhi, for Middle Assyrian references.

3 See below, p. 332 and n. 42.

4 See König, *HChI*, Wörterbuch, s.v.; also Diakonoff and Kashkai, *RGTC* 9, s.v.

5 Published by Mustafa Kalaç and myself, *An. St.* 39 (1989), pp. 107–112.

6 Cf. above, n. 2.

7 For references and proposed identifications, see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Kumaha; also Otten, *RLA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. Kummaha.

8 Mita of Pahuwa text, *KUB* XXIII 72, obv. 31, rev. 16 (Middle Hittite); evocation texts associate Kummaha especially with Alzi(ya) and Papa(n)hi, also Hayasa – *KUB* XV 34 i 58; 35 + *KBo* II 9 i 35.

9 Weidner, *Tukulti-Ninurta*, p. 36 f., no. 26 (= *RLA* I 1, A.0.78.9) l. 19, and note; for parallel passages with Alzi, see Weidner, loc. cit., p. 3, no. 1 (= *RLA* I 1, A.0.78.1) iii 32, iv 19–20. See also Nashief, *RGTC* 5, s.v. Kummuh.

10 Deeds of Suppiluliumas, *KUB* XIX 11, iv 40–44. Suppiluliumas and his father are proceeding against Hayasa, when the Hayasan king meets them for battle at Kummaha. See Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), p. 66. This information has been taken to indicate the location of Kummaha at Kemah on the upper Euphrates west of Erzincan: Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, p. 35.

The general extent of the Iron-Age kingdom is defined in the north by the mountains separating it from the land of Melid,¹¹ and in the east by the line of the Euphrates. To the west a common frontier with Gurgum at Pazarcık is evidenced, c. 800 B.C.¹² Curiously there is no certain evidence to which kingdom the excavated palace site of Sakça Gözü belonged, since no inscriptions were found.¹³ It is likely that Kummuhean territory extended south along the Euphrates as far as that of Karkamiš.

Some places of Kummuh are named in Assyrian, Urartian and Hieroglyphic sources: the lands Kištan and Halpi by Tiglath-pileser III;¹⁴ the "royal cities" Uita, Halpa and Parala by Sarduri II;¹⁵ and the riverine cities Sukiti and Sarita(?) in BOYBEYPINARI 1, 2 and MALPINAR. None of these is certainly located.¹⁶

Archaeological investigation

The pre-classical archaeology of this country was virtually unknown until the 1977 survey and subsequent rescue excavations in the area to be flooded by the Atatürk Barrage Project under construction on the Euphrates below Samsat.¹⁷ Here, though Iron Age levels have been identified in some excavations, no major settlements or remains of the period have been exposed.¹⁸ At the capital site Samsat, the main Iron Age levels were not substantially reached by the excavators before the site was flooded.¹⁹ Outside the threatened area, chance finds of Hieroglyphic monuments at the village of Boybeypinari²⁰ and near the village Ancoz²¹ suggest the presence there of important Iron Age shrines.

Kummuh in Assyrian and Urartian sources

Apart from the uncertain early reference by Tukulti-Ninurta I, the land of Kummuh does not appear in the Assyrian record until the reign of Aššurnāširpal II, who in 866 B.C. received the submission and tribute of Qatazili the Kummuhean in Huzirina (mod. Sultantepe).²² The same king submitted without a fight to Shalmaneser III in 858 B.C., when the latter crossed the Euphrates and passed through his land *en route* for Pa-

qaruhbuni and Gurgum;²³ and again, along with the other north Syrian kings in 857 B.C.²⁴ In 853 a new Kummuhean king, Kundašpi, was among the north Syrian kings who submitted to Shalmaneser in Pitru.²⁵ Assyrian narrative of these events never suggests that Kummuh took part in resistance to Assyria.

In 805 B.C., the Kummuhean king Ušpilulume summoned the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III, together with his mother Sammuramat, across the Euphrates to support him against Ataršumki of Arpad and an alliance of eight kings.²⁶ After a battle, Adad-nirari established

11 A common frontier with Melid is also inferred from the identification of Uetaš the strong city of Lalla of Melid, named by Shalmaneser III (see above, Malatya, p. 284 and n. 36) with Uita the royal, fortified city of Kuštašpi(li) of Kummuh, named by Sarduri II (see below p. 332 and n. 29). According to Astour's plausible reconstruction of the geography, Uetaš/Uita lay on the road leading south-west from Malatya to Gölbaşı: see *Assur* 2/3 (1979), p. 5.

12 Pazarcık stele set up by Adad-nirari III, presumably at Pazarcık itself, to mark the boundary between Kummuh and Gurgum (see further below, and nn. 26–27).

13 The likely possibilities are that it belonged to Kummuh, Gurgum or Sam'al. See Ussishkin, *BABOR* 181 (1966), pp. 15–23, for the dating of the site.

14 See below, p. 332 and nn. 30–31.

15 See below, p. 332 and n. 29.

16 But cf. Astour, *Assur* 2/3 (1979), pp. 1–23 [69–91], for an illuminating review of the geography, with a location of Halpa "on the lake" (according to Sarduri II) at Gölbaşı (p. 13 f.); of Uita, see above, n. 11; and of Parala at Besni (p. 14 f.), and Kištan at Keysun (p. 15 f.).

17 U. Serdaroglu, 1975 *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin* (M.E.T.U. Lower Euphrates Project Publications, series 1, no. 1; Ankara, 1977); M. Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (M.E.T.U. Lower Euphrates Project Publications series 1, no. 2; Istanbul, 1977). See also now the *Lower Euphrates Project 1978–1979 Activities* (M.E.T.U. Lower Euphrates Project Publications, series 1, no. 3; Ankara, 1987). See also the summary reports by Machteld Mellink, "Euphrates area, salvage excavations", in her *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, *AJA* 84 (1980) – 95 (1991); references are included to other preliminary reports in *Anatolian Studies*, the reports of the annual archaeological symposium in Turkey, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, and other publications.

18 But see now the report of the excavations by the British Institute of Archaeology at Tille Höyük, G. D. Summers *et al.*, *Tille Höyük* 4 (Ankara, 1993).

19 Short reports in Turkish by N. Özgüç, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 5 (1983), p. 111 f.; 7 (1985), pp. 221–227; 8 (1986), pp. 297–304.

20 For observations on the find spot, see Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), p. 72. My visit to Boybeypinari in the company of the late Professor F. K. Dörner led to the discovery of a fragment of a *dexiosis* relief on the hill-top above the village and of an enclosure wall. The sanctity of the site may have gone back at least to the Neo-Hittite period. See F. K. Dörner, *Ist. Mitt.* 19/20 (1969/70), p. 287 f.; cf. H. Waldmann, *Die Kommageneischen Kult-reformen* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 45–47.

21 See below, p. 333 and n. 47.

22 *Annals*, *AKA* p. 375 (= *RLM* 2, A.0.101.1), iii 95 f.

23 Kurkh Monolith, III R 7 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.2), i 37; also new, near duplicate text, Mahmud and Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985–86), pp. 135–155, text 1, rev. 3 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.3).

24 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8, ii 29 f. A further submission of north Syrian kings, not named individually, is reported for 856 B.C.; *ibid.*, ii 39 f.

25 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8, ii 83.

26 Pazarcık stele of Adad-nirari III, obverse. "When Ušpilulume, Kummuhean king, brought Adad-nirari king of Assur (and) Queen Sammuramat across the Euphrates, Ataršumki, son of Adrame, the Arpadite, together with 8 kings who (were) with him, <drew up> their battle-line in the city Paqirahubuna." (ll. 7–13). Dated 805 B.C. from the Eponym Chronicle, "against Arpad" (C^h1, obv. 12; see *RL* 1 II, p. 429). The stele is now published by Veysel Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990), pp. 8–10, figs. 7–16 on pp. 15–24. See also *RLM* 3, A.0.104.3; and Weippert, *ZDPV* 108 (1992), p. 55 f. n. 2.

the boundary (*taḫūmu*) between Kummuh and the adjoining Gurgum under king Qalparunda at Pazarcık, where the valley of the Aksu marks a natural frontier.²⁷ This boundary was re-established for Ušpilulume in 773 B.C. by the *turtān* Šamši-ilu acting nominally on behalf of Shalmaneser IV, after a campaign against Hadiani of Damascus.²⁸ Thus for this period, Ušpilulume, with a minimum reign of 805–773 B.C., is clearly seen as an Assyrian client.

A subsequent king Kuštašpi, during the period of Assyrian weakness, was detached from the Assyrian alliance c. 750 B.C. by Sarduri II of Urartu, who captured Uita and Halpi and attacked Parala, all described as “royal cities”, whereupon Kuštašpi submitted and paid tribute.²⁹ He later appears as one of the members of the Urartian-Arpad led alliance, defeated by Tiglath-pileser III in 743 B.C. between “Kištan and Halpa, districts of the land of Kummuh”.³⁰ After his victory Tiglath-pileser pursued the retreating Urartians through Melid to the “bridge of the Euphrates, the border of his land”, surely correctly located at the Tumeški crossing,³¹ then returned against the cities of Gurgum, whose king submitted.³² Like other subordinate members of the alliance, Sulumal of Melid and Tarhulara of Gurgum, Kuštašpi was pardoned and appears in the lists of tributary kings in 738 and 732 B.C.³³

By the reign of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), Kummuh seems to have regained the position of favoured Assyrian client, since at the dismemberment of the kingdom of Melid in 712 B.C., the city Melid itself was entrusted to the king of Kummuh, Muttallu.³⁴ It has been suggested that this Muttallu, as the only ruler who could possibly have included the sites of both Malatya-Arslantepe and Sakça Gözü within his territory, is the king represented by the closely similar portrait figures, the Malatya colossus and the Sakça Gözü ruler.³⁵ But this position did not last. In 708 B.C. Sargon accused Muttallu of intrigue with Urartu and sent his generals to annexe the country.³⁶ Muttallu escaped, but the royal family was removed, and the population deported to Babylonia,³⁷ and replaced by settlers from Bit-Yakin. The land, constituted as an Assyrian province under the *turtān* of the left, whose seat would have been the city Kummuh³⁸ (probably Samsat),³⁹ was clearly crucial to Assyrian control of its north-west frontier. *Turtāns* as governors are attested for 668, 663 B.C., and postcanonical.⁴⁰ It would seem that the Assyrians held the province right up to the final annihilation of their empire, since the “city Kimuḫi on the bank of the Euphrates”, which was involved in the fighting between the Babylonians and Egyptians in 607–606 B.C.,⁴¹ is almost certainly to be identified with Kummuh and located at Samsat.⁴² Clearly the expected *terminus ante quem* for indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions is the Assyrian conquest of 708 B.C.

The Hieroglyphic monuments

Hieroglyphic inscriptions from this province are not at present numerous, though there have been sufficient chance finds right up to the present to suggest that it could be a rich source. The longest known and best preserved inscriptions are the BOYBEYPINARI blocks, found by chance at the village of that name,

27 Ibid. “With them I fought, I seized their camp. To save their lives they went up. In that year, this boundary (*taḫūmu*) between Ušpilulume, Kummuhean king, and between Qalparuda, son of Palalam, Gurgumean king, they put up.” (ll. 13–18). The stele was found at Pazarcık during the construction of a barrage and was taken to Maraş Museum c. 1970.

28 Ibid. reverse, ostensibly an inscription of Shalmaneser IV (ll. 1–3). “When Šamši-ilu the *turtān* went to the land Ša-imerišu, the tribute of Hadiani the Ša-imerišu-e-an, silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her vast dowry, the unnumbered property of his palace I received. On my return, this boundary to Ušpilulume, Kummuhean king, I gave” (ll. 4–13; see now *RIAL* 3, A.O.105.1). Dated 773 B.C. from the Eponym Chronicle “against Damascus” (C^b1, obv. 45; *RLA* II, p. 430).

29 Van Annals of Sarduri, *UKV* 155 E = *HCB*, 103, § 9. See Salvini, *La Parola del Passato* 142–144 (1972), p. 104 f.; and for an elucidation of the route of the campaign by the identification of Uita as a town on the Melid-Kummuh frontier, see Astour (above, n. 11).

30 For the sources, see Maraş, p. 250 and n. 19: these are either fragmentary (Annals, ll. 59–62, and Nimrud tablet, obv. 45 f.), or summary (Nimrud slab I, ll. 20–22; slab II, ll. 28–33). They are now supplemented by the new fragments of the Iran stele (obv., frag. B, ll. 21'–43'), which dates to 737 B.C., the Median campaign, and is thus by far the earliest account of the campaign of 743 B.C.

31 This important elucidation of the geography of the campaign, based on a rejection of the long-accepted identification of Halpa with mod. Halfeti and its location by reference to the city Halpi described by Sarduri as “on the lake”, see Astour (above, n. 16).

32 New information from the Iran stele, see above, n. 30.

33 For the sources, see Cilicia, p. 42 and nn. 49–50.

34 This action is recorded only in the Annals, both times in damaged passages: Lie, *Sargon*, p. 36 ll. 220–221 = *ARAB* II, § 27; p. 70 ll. 467 ff. = *ARAB* II, § 45.

35 Landsberger, *Sam'al*, p. 76 f.; but cf. the remarks of Orthmann, *USK*, p. 211, C.

36 Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, p. 70, ll. 467 ff. = *ARAB* II, § 45; restored from Display Inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 117 and pl. 34 no. 72, ll. 112–117 = *ARAB* II, § 64; dated by Eponym Chronicle to 708 B.C., C^b4, rev. 15 and C^b6, rev. 2 (for which see Tadmor *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 84 f., also p. 96).

37 Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, p. 64, l. 15 f. = *ARAB* II, § 41; restored from Display Inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, pp. 137 ff. and pl. 35 no. 74, l. 138 f. = *ARAB* II, § 69.

38 Not, as often asserted, Melid; see Malatya p. 285 and nn. 49–50.

39 See below, with n. 42.

40 668, Marlarimme (*ARU* 40, l. 37; 101 l. 41); 663, Bel-na'id(?) (*ARU* 56, l. 16 f.); postcanon., Šalmu-šarri-iqbi (*ARI* 376, l. 49; cf. 57 l. 24 f.).

41 Babylonian Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 97 f., Chronicle 4, obv. 13–18.

42 Zadok, *RGTC* 8, s.v. Kimuḫu, citing identifications by Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung*, p. 78 f.), and Astour (*Assur* 2/3 (1979), p. 6 n. 35), *pace* Wiseman, *CCK*, pp. 64 ff., 83.

two pairs of podia for throne and table of the goddess Kubaba, set up by Panamuwatis, wife(?) of the ruler Suppiluliumas. This name appears in the Assyrian sources as *Ušpilulume*, a ruler with a minimum attested reign from 805–773 B.C.⁴³ Panamuwatis named her son as Hattusilis, a name probably to be identified with the Assyrian *Qatazili*, a ruler with a minimum reign of 866–857 B.C.⁴⁴ That Hattusilis succeeded his father Suppiluliumas is made clear by a recent discovery, the rock inscription of MALPINAR set up by a certain Atayazas, the servant of Hattusilis as ruler.⁴⁵ One of the individuals, Suppiluliumas or Hattusilis, is likely to be identical with one of the Assyrian-attested rulers: the identity of Suppiluliumas with Ušpilulume would fit the rather developed style of the BOYBEYPINARI writing. If this were so, Hattusilis would have reigned sometime between 773 B.C. (last attested year of Ušpilulume) and c. 750 B.C., when the ruler Kuštašpi appears in the Urartian records.

The other native monuments are anonymous fragments. ADIYAMAN 1, the remains of a once fine stele showing the Storm-God standing on a bull, is dated stylistically to the first half of the 8th century B.C.⁴⁶ and is close epigraphically to BOYBEYPINARI; it is thus probably the work of Suppiluliumas or Hattusilis.

A site above the village of Ancoz, which is high enough to have escaped the inundation but has received only preliminary investigation so far, shows extensive classical remains but has also yielded numerous Hieroglyphic fragments and associated sculpture.⁴⁷ The remains suggest a hill-top shrine with continuity from the Iron Age into the Classical period. On ANCOZ 1 the surviving fragment of text records offerings on “this table” to the gods Runtiyas and Kubaba and others. ANCOZ 2 is an insignificant fragment. Another fragment, ANCOZ 3, associated with further pieces, ANCOZ 4,⁴⁸ 5⁴⁹ and 6,⁵⁰ actually bears the names of Hattusilis and Suppiluliumas, which indicates an attribution of all the pieces to this period, the first half of the 8th century B.C.

The small, unprovenanced Storm-God stele ADIYAMAN 2, is stylistically dated to the early 9th century B.C.⁵¹ Remains of the short inscription are sufficient to identify it as the notice of dedication, together with a scribal signature.

The crucial site of Samsat itself, doubtless as noted the capital of the kingdom and seat of the dynasty, has now (1990) disappeared beneath the waters of the Atatürk Barrage Project. A long-known but badly preserved stele from this site, SAMSAT 1, shows a royal figure in archaic style and is probably to be dated c. 900 B.C.,⁵² but the accompanying inscription is unfortunately quite illegible. The piece does however indicate the existence of an old tradition of sculpture and inscriptions in Kummuh. Apart from this, the site, now

lost forever, has yielded only small fragments. SAMSAT 2, discovered by Bossert; SAMSAT 3, seen by Wätler; and the SAMSAT fragments 1–10, recovered by the excavations of Nimet Özgüç.⁵³

The dynasty of Kummuh shows in its onomastics a distinct tendency towards the famous names of the Hittite Empire with its Qatazili-Hattusilis, Ušpilulume-Suppiluliumas and Muttallu (Muwatalis). For this reason the mysterious King Tudhaliyas on the KELEKLI stele, who married the daughter of Suhis of Karkamiš, c. 900 B.C., could possibly be thought of as a king of Kummuh.⁵⁴ By contrast the other two royal names, Kundaspi and Kuštašpi(li), have a striking but perhaps deceptive resemblance to Iranian names.⁵⁵

43 See above, p. 331 f. and nn. 26–28.

44 See above, p. 331 and nn. 22–24.

45 See above, p. 330 and n. 5.

46 Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 102, 551, assigned to the period *Spätheth.* III.

47 Mellink, *AJL* 64 (1960), p. 64 f.; Özdoğan, op. cit. (above, n. 17), p. 100–102. Preliminary investigations have been conducted by Professor Sedat Alp and his assistants. These have recovered over five substantial fragments of blocks like those of BOYBEYPINARI. These are at present in Adıyaman Museum. For a preliminary report, see Sedat Alp, in the Lower Euphrates Project Publications 1/3 (see above, n. 17), pp. 57–59 (Turkish), 61–64 (English), pls. 15–18. Professor Sedat Alp has generously permitted the inclusion of these important pieces in the present Corpus.

48 Özdoğan, op. cit., pl. 106, lower (ANCOZ 3) and upper (ANCOZ 4) photographs. I am most grateful to Professor Özdoğan for supplying photographs of ANCOZ 3, 4, 5 and 6.

49 Reported with ANCOZ 3 and 4, Özdoğan, op. cit., p. 101. Photograph published by Alp, loc. cit. (n. 47), pl. 15.2, and cf. p. 62 f. The piece is now in Adıyaman Museum, bearing the no. 364.

50 Reported by Özdoğan, *ibid.*

51 Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 101, 551, assigned to the period *Spätheth.* II. A fragment of sculpture from Ancoz reported by Mellink, *AJL* 64 (1960), pl. 12, 7, is also tentatively assigned to this period: *USK*, pp. 101, 479 (*Ancozköy* 1). It shows the middle part of a relief female figure wearing a veil, holding a spindle, seated on a stool, facing left. A similar further fragment is reported by Özdoğan, op. cit., p. 101.

52 Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 100 f., 533, tentatively assigned to the period *Spätheth.* II.

53 Reported by M. Mellink, *AJL* 88 (1984), p. 448. Frags. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10 published by H. Gonnet, (*Hethitica* 10 (1990), pp. 129–133, pls. 1–11). I am most grateful to Professor Nimet Özgüç for making photographs of all these fragments available for inclusion in the present Corpus.

54 But see Karkamiš, pp. 76 f., 93.

55 Weippert, *ZDPI* 89 (1973), p. 46 n. 82; Mayrhofer, *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg* II (*Acta Iranica* 10, 1975), pp. 53–57.

The Inscriptions

VI.1–2. BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2 (plate 165)

Location. Two pairs of blocks, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 21+22, 24+23.

Description. Two pairs of blocks, I+II and IV+III, each pair originally forming a double podium of one large block (I and IV) with one smaller block (II and III), originally joined with the blank areas touching, so that each inscription completely encircled the pair, forming a unitary text. BOYBEYPINARI 1, circling blocks I+II with a 1-line inscription, began on block I side B, right edge, and ran sinistroversely around the upper vertical faces of the blocks, IB-IC-ID-[IID, missing]-IIA-IIB-IIC-IA, where it ended at the left edge. Below the inscription there was a blank band of dressed face and below that a further band of undressed face, which suggests that blocks I and II, being of different heights, were levelled by being sunk in the ground at different depths up to the bottom of their dressed faces. BOYBEYPINARI 2, circling blocks IV+III with a 3-line inscription, began at a comparable point, block IVB, upper right edge, and ran sinistroversely IVB1-IVC1-IVD1-IIIA1-IIIB1-IIIC1-IIID1[-IVA1-IVA2: these two perhaps erased]-IIID2, continuing *boustrophedon* to IIIC3 left side, where the inscription jumped a blank space probably covered by another element, to conclude on IVA3, left half. Again blocks IV and III, being of different heights, would have been levelled by being sunk in the ground at different depths, apparently up to the lower edge of I. 3.

For the demonstration of this arrangement of the monuments, see Hawkins, *Edition*, pp. 72–76 (here Fig., p. 335).

Dimensions: (I) max. ht., 0.56 m.; w. (sides B, D), 0.58 m., (sides C, A), 0.84–86 m.

(II) max. ht., 0.61 m.; w. (sides D, B), 0.43–46 m., (sides A, C), 0.51–56 m.

(IV) max. ht., 0.56 m.; w. (sides B, D), 0.63 m., (sides C, A), 0.94 m.

(III) max. ht., 0.66 m.; w. (sides A, C), 0.43 m., (sides B, D), 0.58–56 m.

Condition: fair–poor; worn patches, damage to edges. Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: generally cursive (occasional monumental *tā*, *ta*).

Peculiarities: characteristic form of *pa*.

Word-dividers: very seldom.

Discovery. Seen by von der Osten and Koşay in summer 1931 in village of Boybeypinari shortly after discovery by villagers “while breaking ground for a new

vineyard”. The blocks were reused as a wall with a piece of classical architrave. See Delaporte, *RHA* 1/5 (1931), p. 183 f. (preliminary report); von der Osten, *OIC* 14 (1933), p. 140, figs. 127–128 (photographs of blocks as found). The blocks were taken to the Augusteum in Ankara soon after their discovery, and were seen and copied there by Gelb in summer 1932 (also summer 1935); and by Hrozný, Sept.–Oct. 1934.

Publication. Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pls. XIX (photograph of blocks as found), XX (photograph of blocks stacked in Augusteum), XXI–XXVI (block I, photographs and copy); XXVII–XXXI (block II), XXXII–XXXVII (block III), XXXVIII–XLIII (block IV); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), nos. 4–7, p. 23 f., pls. IV (von der Osten’s photographs), V (blocks stacked in Augusteum), VI–IX (block I photographs and copies), X–XIII (block II), XIV–XVII (block III), XVIII–XXI (block IV).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), pp. 133–155 = id., loc. cit. (1937), pp. 317–338; Meriggi, *Acme* 4 (1951), pp. 199–216 (p. 200, blocks I, II, III; p. 215, block IV; redrawn from Gelb); Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), pp. 69–97, pls. VII (general views), VIII–XI (blocks I+II, Gelb’s published photographs except blocks IID, IA), XII–XV (blocks IV+III, photographs (blocks IVB and C, Gelb’s published photographs)), fig. 9 facing p. 108 (copy, redrawn from Gelb, rearranged and collated); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), nos. 128–131, pp. 73–84, Tav. XIII–XIV (redrawn, following Hawkins).

Excerpts. BOYBEYPINARI 1.

- § 1 Bossert, *Fs Friedrich*, p. 64; Laroche, *IHH* no. 294.
 §§ 2–3 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 124 cit. 1.
 § 5 Bossert, *Fs Friedrich*, p. 64; Laroche, *IHH* nos. 280.I; 294; 368.2.
 § 10 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 167 cit. 23 b.

BOYBEYPINARI 2.

- § 1 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 167 f., cit. 23 a.
 § 4a–b Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 134 cit. 13.
 § 5 Bossert, *Or.* NS 26, p. 115, Abb. 5.
 §§ 8–10 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 167 f., cit. 23 a.
 § 13 Bossert, *Or.* NS 30, p. 201.
 § 15 Bossert, *Fs Friedrich*, p. 64.
 § 19 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, Anm. 984.
 §§ 20–21 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 167 f. cit. 23 a.
 § 21 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 69 f.

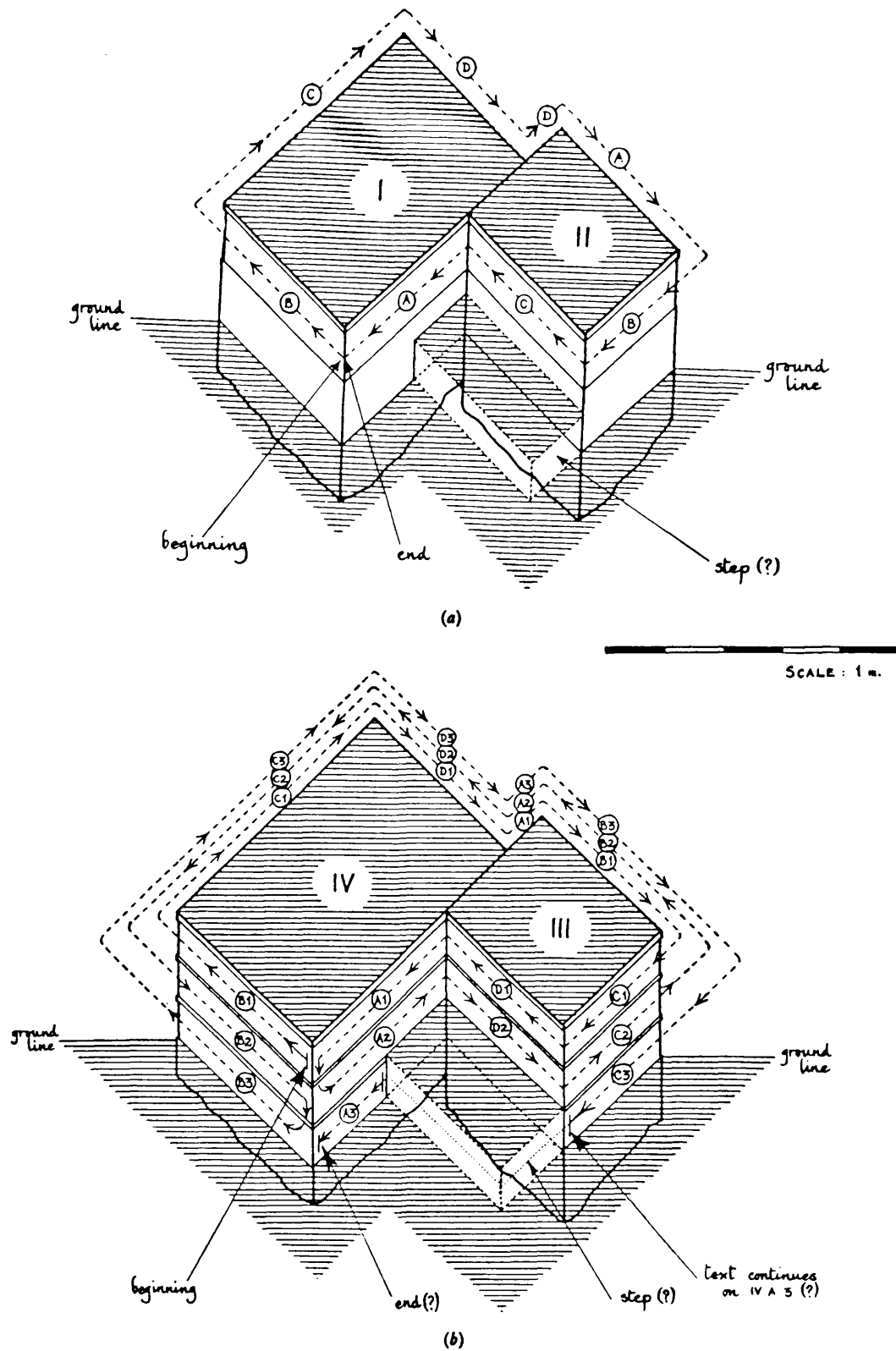


Fig. Inferred arrangement of BOYBEYPINARI blocks I+II, giving text BOYBEYPINARI 1, and blocks IV+III, giving text BOYBEYPINARI 2.

Content. BOYBEYPINARI 1. Dedication to the goddess Kubaba of a throne and a table, for which the blocks served as a podium, by Panamuwas, wife of the ruler Suppiluliumas. §§ 1–4, dedication by Panamuwas (and Azamis); §§ 5–10, protective curse; § 11, scribal signature.

BOYBEYPINARI 2. Dedication of a statue of Kubaba by Panamuwas, also of a throne and a table, for which the blocks served as a podium, by her father Azamis. § 1, dedication of Kubaba by Panamuwas; §§ 2–4 (unclear); §§ 5–6, dedication of throne and table by Azamis; §§ 7–9 (unclear); §§ 10–22, protective curse.

Date. Reign of Suppiluliumas, probably to be identified with *Ṭipilulume* king of Kummuh, attested in Assyrian sources for 805 and 773 B.C. See Commagene, The Historical Context, p. 331 f. and nn. 26–28.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings made direct from the stones in Ankara Museum supplemented by tracings from latex squeezes.

Photographs. The blocks are kept in one of the outdoor niches at Ankara Museum and it is difficult to take satisfactory photographs. I therefore give prints of photographs taken by the late I.J. Gelb, supplemented by two of my own (IA and IIIA).

Transliteration

Translation

(BOYBEYPINARI 1)

- IB. § 1 [ʔ]a-wa/i (THRONUS)i-sà-tara/i-tà-za ʔa-ha
MENSA-ʔa mu ¹pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa PURUS.
FONS.MI-sa IUDEX-ni-sa FEMINA-na-ti-sa
PONERE-wa/i-ha
- IC. § 2 a-wa/i sù-[ki]-t]a-ʔa-sá(URBS) REL-sa |FLUMEN.
DOMINUS-sá
- § 3 wa/i-tà-pa-sa-na [ti]-na-ti-i PONERE-wa/i-ha
- § 4 (PES)u-pa-tà-pa-wa/i-tà[- ʔ ¹a-ʔa-mi-i-sá PURUS.
FONS.MI IUDEX-ni-sa SERVUS-ta-sa ||
- ID. § 5 ʔa-a-pa-wa/i i-sà-tara/i-ta-ʔa ʔa-ha MENSA-ʔa REL-sa
MALUS-ta-sa-tara/i-ti ARHA “MALLEUS”-i
- IID. § 6 ni-pa-wa/i-ta || [...] ||
- IIA. § 7 n[i-pa-wa/i]-tà a-tà (OCCIDENS)i-ma-ni-ti
- IIB. § 8 ni-pa-wa/i-ta pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-[sa] á-ta-sa-ma-ʔa
[|AR[HL] “MALLEUS”-i
- IIC. § 9 ni-pa-wa/i-ta ¹a-ʔa-mi-sá á-[ta-sa]-ma-ʔa || [ARHL] “MALLEUS”(-)*71-la¹i
- § 10 pa-ti-pa-wa/i á-ta-sá [(DEUS)]AVIS LIS-tà-ti
CUM²-ni X-tu
- IA. § 11 SCALPRUM+CAPERE[...] || ¹LOCUS-ta-ti-mu-wa/i-sa
SCRIBA-la-sa á-sa-TONITRUS-hu-ʔa-sa-ha
SA₄-na-na-la-sa PURUS.FONS.MI-sa DOMUS-ni(-)
NEPOS-mi-i(-ni?) -sá

This throne and this table I Panamuwas, the ruler Suppiluliumas's wife, dedicated.

(He) who (is) Sukita-ean River-Lord,

– I dedicated them for his *tithe*.

But Azamis, the ruler Suppiluliumas's servant brought them.

(He) who shall deface this throne and this table from evil,

or [...]

or shall ... them,

or shall erase Panamuwas[is's name],

or [shall] erase Azamis's name,

against him may ATA Kubaba ... with litigation!

Pedantimuwas the Scribe and Asatarhunzas the KWANANALAS, Suppiluliumas's “house-descendant”, carved (this).

(BOYBEYPINARI 2)

- IVB 1. § 1 ʔa-wa/i á-ta-sa DEUS.AVIS mu-u ¹pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa
PURUS.FONS.MI IUDEX-ni-sá FEMINA-na-ti-sa
- IVC 1. § 2 ¹HL+LI-sa || [...]-sá (SOLIUM)i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha
hu-pi-tà-ta-tà [...] -ba-wa/i mi-i-sa DOMINUS-ni-sa
PURUS.FONS.MI u-[...] ʔa [...]
- IVD 1. § 3 [signs visible but uncertain ...]
- § 4 a a-wa/i LITUUS+na-ti-sa
- b hu-pi-tà-ta-tà-ti-wa/i REL-a-ti sà-ka-tà-li-sà-wa/i
- IIIA 1. § 5 ʔa-pa-wa/i i-sà-tara/i-ta-ʔa || ʔa-ha MENSA-ʔa á-mi-sá ||
- IIIB 1. tá-ti-sa ¹a-ʔa-mi-sá DEUS-na-ti (LITUUS)á-ʔa-mi-sa
SOL-tà-mi-sá x-ta-sa(URBS) sù-ki-ti-ʔa-ha (URBS)
- IIIC 1. FLUMEN.DOMINUS-ia-sa || (PES)u-pa-tà
- § 6 wa/i-tà PONERE-wa/i-ta

This ATA Kubaba I Panamuwas, the ruler Suppiluliumas's wife, Hattusilis's [moth]er seated.

The HUPITATATA-(?) my lord Suppiluliumas ...

... “You do see (??),

how I shall SAKATALISA- with/ from the HUPITATATA-(?).”

And this throne and this table my father Azamis, loved by the gods, the sun-blessed, the *Sarita*-ean and Sukiti-ea River-Lord, brought, and dedicated them.

IIID 1.	§ 7	<i>a-wa/i mi-sā DOMINUS-ni-sa PURUS.FONS.MI</i> <i>REL-i bu-pi-tā-tā-na-na sū-ka-ta-li-sā-tū</i>	When my lord Suppiluliumas SAKĀTALISA-ed the HUPI- TATANA(?),
	§ 8 a	<i>mi¹-pa-wa/i zā-a-ti ā-ta₅ DEUS.AVIS PRAE-na</i> <i>MONS²(-)ba-ta-[x?]-mi-na</i> (IVA, 1–2: erased ? ; text continues directly on IIID, 2 ?)	before this ATA Kubaba I myself ...
IIID 2.	b	<i>sa-ma-ni-ba</i>	created,
	§ 9	<i>a-wa/i ā-pi SCRIBA + R. 1/I-wa/i ma-za .ARHL.1</i> (PES ₂)i-ba	and then I went forth to ...
IIIC 2.	§ 10	<i> zā-pa-wa/i (FEMINA) ā-ta₅-na DEUS.AVIS REL-i-sa </i> <i>“X”()wa/i-si-ia-na REL-sa MALUS-ta₄-sa-tara/i-ti</i> <i>.ARHL.1 MALLEUS-i</i>	(He) who shall efface this ATA Kubaba ... from evil,
IIIB 2.	§ 11	<i> ni¹-pa-wa/i-na ā-tā (OCCIDENS) i-ma-ni-ti</i>	or shall ... her,
	§ 12	<i>ni¹-pa-wa/i-tā ā-ta₅-za (SA₄) sa-ni-ti</i>	or shall overturn (her) in the place(s) (?),
IIIA 2. + IVD 2.	§ 13	<i>ni¹-pa-wa/i-ti wa/i + ra/i li-na ā-pa-sa ā-ta₅-ma-za i-zi-i-ti </i>	or shall make her name his own,
	§ 14	<i>[NEG₂(?)-pa-wa/i zā-la-na PONERE-wa/i-i</i>	or shall put ... ,
IVC 2.	§ 15	<i>ni²-i-pa-wa/i zā i-sā-tara/i-ta-za zā-a-ba (MENSA)</i> <i>wa/i-si-za zā-ia-ba pā² + ra/i-tā REL-sa MALUS-</i> <i>ta₅-sa-tara/i-ti .ARHL.1 MALLEUS-i</i>	or (he) who shall efface this throne and this table and these words from evil,
	§ 16	<i>ni¹-pa-wa/i-tā [...] tā [...] ...</i>	or [...
IVB 2.	§ 17 a	<i>[ni¹-pa-wa/i-tā- ā-ma-za DOMINUS-[ni]-ia-za PURUS.</i> <i>FONS.MI-sā ā[-ta₅]-ma-za</i>	or my lord Suppiluliumas's name,
	b	<i> ni¹-pa-wa/i ¹pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-i-sa ā-ta₅-ma-za</i>	or Panamuwas's name,
IVB 3.	c	<i>[ni¹-pa-wa/i ā-ma-za INFANS-ni-ia-za FL.1 + LL-i-sa </i> <i>[ā]-ta₅-[ma]-za .ARHL.1 MALLEUS-i</i>	or my son Hattusilis's [na]me shall erase,
IVC 3.	§ 18	<i>ni¹-pa-wa/i-tā ā-ma-za tā-ti-ia-za ¹ā-za-mi-sa ā-ta₅-ma-za </i> <i>.ARHL.1 MALLEUS-i</i>	or shall erase my father Azamis's name,
	§ 19	<i>ni¹-pa-wa/i-tā mi-i-sā² DOMINUS-ni PURUS.FONS.</i> <i>MI-sa-ba ¹pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa-ba FL.1 + LL-sa-ba</i> <i>ā-ta₅-ma-ni MALUS-ta₅-sa-tara/i-ti CUM-ni</i> <i>.ARHL.1 tā-i </i>	or shall take away both my lord Suppiluliumas's and Panamu- was's and Hattusilis's name(s) from evil,
IVD 3.	§ 20	<i>ā-pa-ti-pa-wa/i ā-ta₅-sa (DEUS) ku-AVIS ā-pa-si-i-na</i> <i>“VAS”(?)-ni-na (“*476”) ta-wa/i-sa -ba-na PRAE-na </i>	for him may ATA Kubaba cause to ... his TAWASHA- person(?),
IIIB 3.		<i>TONITRUS(?) -wa/i-ni¹-wa/i-tu</i>	
IIIC 3.	§ 21	<i>(“CAELUM”) ti-pa-sa-ti-sa-pa-wa/i-tu-u (“TERRA”) ta-</i> <i>sā-REL + ra/i-ti-sa-ba CAELUM-sa-ba TERRA-</i> <i>REL + ra/i-sa-ba DEUS-ni-i-zi LIS-tā-ti CUM-ni</i> <i>X-tu</i>	and against him may Heaven and Earth and heaven's and earth's gods ... with litigation,
IVA 3.	§ 22	<i>wa/i-tā ni-i ba + ra/i-wa/i-x (PONERE) tu-wa/i-x</i>	and [may] they not put ... !

Commentary

In the years which have elapsed since my *Edition* in 1970, there have been substantial advances, notably the new readings *i/ia* and *zi/za*, and also Meriggi's second edition in *Manuale* II/2 (1975) (here cited as Meriggi, *Edition*), which was able to evaluate my *Edition*. These developments call for some further detailed considerations.

BOYBEYPINARI 1

§ 1. (THRONUS) *i-sā-tara/i-tā-za*: for consideration of this form, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Jn. St.* 28 (1978), p. 107 f.; Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 255.

MENSA-*za*: for full phonetic writings, see *wa/i-si-za* (acc. sing. N, BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 15), *wa/i-si* (dat. sing., ANCOZ 1, § 1); the new readings make this word a curious *-i* stem neuter, which complicates the association with Cun. Luw. ^{GIS}*waššanza*, for which see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 63.

PURUS.FONS.MI-*sa*: *Edition*, p. 77 f., considered possible (and Meriggi, *Edition*, persisted in) a reading *tū-ba-mi-* (= Assyrian *Tuhamme*) for this name; but it is now clear that the sign PURUS is distinct from *tū* and cannot be so read (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 14, Commentary), nor is there any possibility of identifying the

form of FONS here with syllabic *ba*. Further, the appearance of a king of Kummuh named ¹*uš-pi-lu-lu-me* in the Assyrian records, at an appropriate date (see above, Date) to be identified with the present ruler, supports the reading of the name as *Suppiluliuma* or some late variant of such.

FEMINA-*na-ti-sa*: Meriggi (Edition, p. 74 f.) appears to make the distinction between FEMINA and *ba* depend on whether the oval sign has a central line or not. But this is not diagnostic for FEMINA: for forms with a central line see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 22; also probably KÖRKÜN, § 10; ASSUR letter *a*, § 11, (and Commentaries). The sign here may have the line though apparently lacks it in BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§ 1 and 10. For the Luw. word for “woman”, see Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 74–86, establishing the forms *wana(tti)-*. It may thus be seen how Hier. FEMINA (used where Cun. would distinguish SAL//AMA) with phonetic complements *-(na)-ti-* representing both *wanati-*, “woman” and *anati-*, “mother”, completely obliterates the possibility of distinguishing the two words.

§ 2. *sù-[ki-t]a-za-sá*(URBS): cf. *sù-ki-ti-za<-sa>* (URBS), BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 5; now further *sù-ki<-ta>-za-sá* (URBS), MALPINAR, § 1.

[FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*sa* (and with *-ia-sa*, also BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 5; also now MALPINAR, §§ 1, 19): contrary to Meriggi, Edition, this title is found also in CEKKE, § 10, the title of one Ahalis, and in ASSUR letter *e*, § 24, title of one unnamed; and see also now KARATEPE 3. One must suppose that the frequently attested Hier. entity the “river-land” (*hapat(a)i-*, FLUMEN.REGIO//Cun. KUR ID; see HAMA 1–3, § 3, and Commentary) may have given rise to the title.

§ 3. *pa-sa-na [ti]na-ti-i*: grammar of *pa-sa-na* clear (dat. sing., (*a*)*pasi-*, “his”; cf. Morpurgo Davies, loc. sing., with other attestations).

[*ti]na-ti-i*: reading and identification with *ti-na-ta(-za)*, “tithe” (SULTANHAN, § 28; ANCOZ 1, § 2) virtually certain, but would justify further collation.

§ 4. (PES)*u-pa-tá*: for the sequence of actions *tuwa-//upa-*, cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§ 5–6 (reverse order); and for a comparable *tanuwa-//upa-*, see SULTANHAN, §§ 2–4, 10+12 (§ 4 without determinative (“PES”), where the object of (“PES”) *u-pa-* is the god, “Tarhunzas of the Vineyard”. In other attestations of (“PES”) *upa-* the objects are (1) “this statue (for the god)”, KIRÇOĞLU, § 2; (2) “name [and/or?] image (before his lord)”, IZGIN 2, § 8; (3) “(frontier-post)” (again parallel with *tuwa-*, “put”), and “UPATIT- and women (??)” (twice), TOPADA, §§ 5–6; 15//25. The verb (“PES”) *upa-* is provisionally identified with (“CAPERE₂”) *upa-* and (“CAPERE”) *upa-*, and both possibly with Cun. Luw. and Hitt. cognates (see İSKENDERUN, § 3, Commentary, with attestations).

¹*á-za-mi-i-sá*: new readings give this name, which should probably be read in this order in spite of my

misgivings expressed in *Edition*, p. 78. Azamis can be seen from BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 5, to be both father of Panamuwas, and “river-lord” of Sukiti (and another place). The way he is introduced in §§ 2–4 here seems rather curious.

§ 5. MALUS-*ta₅-sa-tara/i-ti*: for MALUS-*ta₄/ta₅-*, see KARATEPE, 102, also 378; and for other forms of the stem TELL AHMAR 1, § 19, Commentary.

§ 7. *a-tá* (OCCIDENS)*i-ma-ni*: only here, BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 11, and ADIYAMAN 1, § 4 (frag.); sense, use of logogram, unknown. [Also ANCOZ 7, § 11]

§ 9. “MALLEUS”(-)*71-*la-[i]*: apparently the same as TELL AHMAR 2, § 12, and cf. perhaps MARAŞ 8, § 12. For the restoration of the ending, cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, § 29, with reference to Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 584, 607 n. 8 (this attestation should probably have been included there).

§ 10. *á-ta₅-sá* (DEUS)AVIS: see Hawkins, loc. cit., for a further review of this designation for the goddess Kubaba.

LIS-*tá-ti* (cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 21): for the re-interpretation of the logogram IRA, “anger”, as LIS, “litigation”, see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary, where the verbal and other forms are listed. An abstract LIS-*la/i/u-bi-ri+i-ti*, abl. sing., occurs in KARKAMIŠ A25b, § 3, argued there to represent LIS-*labirati* < *-labitati*; the present writing could be a variant of this (see Commentary there).

CUM²¹-*ni*: curious sign form in which the LITUUS seems to be separated from the attenuated remains of the sign; but the clearer CUM-*ni* in the corresponding passage BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 21, supports the identification.

X-*tu*: writing of verb (logogram?) still unidentified.

§ 11. SCALPRUM+CAPERE: perhaps followed only by connective particles as in scribal signatures, SHEIZAR, § 8; TOPADA, § 39.

¹LOCUS-*ta₄-ti-mu-wa/i-sa*: for recognition of LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-ta/ti-* as representing **pita(n)t-*, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary; and for the scribal name, cf. SHEIZAR, § 8.

SA₄-*na-na-la-sa*: possible full phonetic writing is now found on IVRIZ frag. 2; see Commentary there.

DOMUS-*ni(-)*NEPOS-*mi-i(-ni?)*-*sá*: presumably kinship term of some kind; for DOMUS in compound, cf. DOMUS-*ni(-)*DOMINUS-*ni-i-sa₄*, “house-lord” (KULULU 4, § 8), and for NEPOS-*MI-*, cf. DARENDE, § 1.

BOYBEYPINARI 2

§ 1. [...] *-sá*: as pointed out in *Edition*, if the identification of Panamuwas as a woman and her position as Suppiluliumas’s wife is correct, the word for “mother” must have stood here.

¹*HL-1+LL-sa*: compared with Assyrian *qa-ta-zi-lu/li* by Hawkins, *Edition*, p. 78 f.; name, probably referring to same individual, recurs now on MALPINAR, §§ 1, 2, 5, 18.

§§ 2–4. Very difficult because of unclearness of reading, but also very unusual sense may be suspected. Clearly a key word is the twice occurring *bu-pi-tà-ta-tà*; this links it with § 7, which is somewhat clearer and could provide a key.

§ 7. Structure clear: “When my lord Suppiluliumas SAKATALISA-ed the HUPITATANA-”.

bu-pi-tà-tà-na-na (reading fairly clear in photographs of Hrozný, Gelb and Hawkins): an association with (Hitt.-)Luw. *ḫupitananza*, nom. sing. MF, “veiled”, used of statues in *Bildbeschreibungen*, is obvious, since the context seems to be the same here, but the morphology is not easy to grasp in view of the apparent discrepancy between this form and the *bu-pi-tà-ta-tà* of §§ 2, 4; see van den Hout, *KZ* 97 (1984), p. 66 f. nn. 29, 35. If we may identify the basic stem as *ḫupita(nza)*, “veil” (cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, Anm. 1914), the present form shows a *-tana-* suffix, as against *-tata-* suffixes in the other forms.

sà-ka-tà-li-sà-tà (reading fairly clear in photographs of Hrozný, Gelb and Hawkins): cf. *sà-ka-tà-li-sà-wa/i* (§ 4b, not very clear in photographs, but so read by Hrozný and Gelb, and collated by Hawkins). This verb has been compared with *sà-ka-tà-la-i*, a verb expressing unfavourable action against stelae (3 sing. pres., EMIRGAZI altars, A 1. 2; A 1. 5//B 1. 2; see Hawkins *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 128 f.; and now *StBoT* Bh. 3, pp. 88 (§§ 7, 16, 24), 94). The latter form is difficult to associate with Hitt. *salik-*, as has been proposed, and for the BOYBEYPINARI verb and context, an unfavourable meaning is hardly suitable. For a possible association for the stem *sakata(lisa)-*, see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 301, who also separates it from the EMIRGAZI verb, read differently and associated with a different stem (*ibid.*, § 180 and Anm. 939). For this verb, cf. also now ANCOZ 5, 1. 2.

§ 2. *bu-pi-tà-ta-tà* [...] *ba-wa/i* (relatively clear on photographs of Hrozný and Gelb: presumably inaugurates a statement parallel to or resumed by § 7).

§ 3. Impossible to determine limits of clause(s)(?).

§ 4a–b. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for possible division into two clauses.

LITUUS+*na-ti-sa* (reading relatively clear on photographs of Gelb, and Gelb *apud* Hawkins): apparent presence of verbal form 2 sing. pres. (see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 104–106) would be, as noted, unparalleled outside the ASSUR letters, yet the following verb is in 1 sing. pres., itself rare in monumental inscriptions and suggesting a reported passage of direct speech. If so, a meaning “you see//do you see?” is not unthinkable.

§ 4b. Recognition of LITUUS+*na-ti-sa* as verbal form would separate **this** as another clause; collation suggests presence of *-wa/i* connective suffixed to *bu-pi-tà-ta-tà-ti*.

Photographs not very clear (best, Gelb, and Gelb *apud* Hawkins); readings agreed by Hrozný (with minor discrepancies), Gelb and Hawkins.

sà-ka-tà-li-sà-wa/i: verb in 1 sing. pres. suggests, by comparison with § 7, that clause ends a reported passage of direct speech by Suppiluliumas.

bu-pi-tà-ta-tà-ti: abl. sing. of *hupitatata-* here, as against acc. sing. MF of *hupitatana-* in § 7, accompanying same verb; reason for, or significance of, discrepancy unclear.

REL-*a-ti*: perhaps “(you see) how/that...”.

§ 5. *x-ta-za-sa*(URBS): recurrence of toponym on MALPINAR (§§ 1, 19) gives the possibility of identifying the first sign as form of SUPER presumably used with syllabic value *sari* (see Commentary there).

§ 8a+b. Continuity of text, IID1–2 remains dependent on the assumption of the deliberate contemporary erasure of the adjacent IVA1–2, which is very faint.

mu-pa-wa/i: form and reading of *mu* remains likely after further collation, in spite of Meriggi’s reservations.

MONS²(-)*ba-ta*[-x?]-*mi-na*: remains very doubtful.

sa-ma-ni-ba: connection with Hitt. *šamnai-/šammaniya-*, “create”, continues to look possible.

§ 9. SCRIBA+*RA/I-wa/i-ma-za*: quite obscure, perhaps dat. plur.

(PES₂)*i-ba*: new readings have brought recognition of (“PES₂”) *i-*, “go”, = Cun. Luw. *i-*; see KARATEPE, 181, Commentary, for paradigm.

§ 10. REL-*i-sa* ... REL-*sa*: problematic remains the double relative with the unidentified word between. Perhaps one REL(-*i*)-*sa* could be excised as a mistake. This would presumably leave “X”(-)*wa/i-si-ia-na* as an epithet of Kubaba. The expedient considered by Meriggi of disposing of the first relative by reading REL-*i-sa-x-wa/i-si-ia-na* looks unpromising.

§ 11. Cf. above, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 7.

§ 12. Frequently repeated topos is ...*ta* (*Ortspartikel*) ... LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za* (SA₄)*sa-ni-*, “overturn (orthostat, stela, god) in the place(s)”; see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, with analysis and other attestations.

a-ta₅-za: in view of the common topos, and especially the closely comparable sequence ADIYAMAN 1, §§ 3–5, it seems certain that this should be emended to LOCUS¹-*ta₅-za*, “in the place(s)”.

§ 13. *wa/i* [+*ra/i*]-*li-na*: the recognition of Hier. *warali-*, “own, proper”, attested only in the usage *warali-izya-*, “make own, appropriate” (see KARATEPE, § LXIX, and Commentary), makes the identification of the topos “misappropriation of the monument” highly probable in the present context, and indeed collation tends to support the presence of +*ra/i*. But a lack of the

normal congruence between the object *atamanza* and its predicate, the proposed *naralin*, is difficult; the expected acc. sing. N form *naralanza* is actually attested on TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1, frag. 2, § iv. The identification of the topos is so probable however, that the apparent lack of congruence may require an alternative explanation, or perhaps simply be regarded as a mistake.

§ 14. [NEG₂(?)]-*pa-wa/i*: since the identification of the negative NEG₂ and the disjunctive NEG₂-*pa-* (Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 119–156), this reading as a possible alternative for my earlier [ni-]-*pa-wa/i* (new readings) would be intelligible though rather strange in the middle of a series of *ni(-i)-pa*. Some such reading was envisaged by Meriggi.

za-la-na: besides the parallel clause KARKAMIŠ A13a–c, § 3, see also ALEPPO 3, § 3, and Commentary, for the phrase *za-la-na* PONERE.

§ 15. *ni²¹-pa-wa/i*: although *ni* or *ni* are required as the first sign, I cannot agree with Meriggi that this is a normal or recognizable form of the latter – unfortunately.

§§ 17–18. The contrast between the personal names in gen. sing. in *-(i)s* and the juxtaposed adjectival formations in *-iya-*, acc. sing. N, was noted in *Edition* but becomes clearer with the new readings.

§ 17 a–c. [ni]-*pa-wa/i-ta* ... *ni-pa-wa/i* ... *ni-pa-wa/i*: note required *-ta* *Ortspartikel* appearing only in first chain (cf. § 18).

§ 19. *mi-i-sá?* DOMINUS-*ni* PURUS.FONS.MI-*sa-ba*: last word, the personal name, clear gen. sing., like the two which follow; cases of two preceding words problematic. §§ 17 a, c, 18 establish the pattern *amanza* (acc. sing. N), DOMINUS-*ni*/INFANS-*ni*-/*tá-ti-ia-za* (acc. sing. N.), PN_{1–3} (gen. sing.), *atamanza* acc. sing. N, i.e. “my lordly Suppiluliumas’s name”. One might expect the same pattern here, but the establishment of this requires the correct identification of *atamani*. I would have taken this as direct object of verb, thus a rare nom./acc. plur. N in *-i* (for which cf. *urni*, “horns”,

ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 36; perhaps *kurupi*, ASSUR letters *b*, § 5; *f+g*, § 37; also *hali*, “days” (though < *haliya*; BOR, § 11, ÇİFTLİK, § 17). This would require the identification of *mi-i-sá* as gen. sing. and DOMINUS-*ni* as the same with omission of the ending. The phrase then would not conform to the expected pattern.

Starke, however, (loc. cit.) identifies *atamani* as dat. sing., adopting Meriggi’s reading (with revision) *mi-i-i* (dat. sing.), and taking DOMINUS-*ni* also as dat. sing., thus obtaining a phrase conforming to the usual pattern. While this analysis is perhaps preferable to mine, it is not without difficulties of reading and sense.

mi-i-i vs. *mi-i-sá*: collation still favours the latter, and a plene writing *-i-i* would be very unexpected in BOYBEYPINARI (though found on SULTANHAN, § 36).

Sense: takes what away for the name? Direct object to be understood? (but what?); or to be sought in *-ata*, “it/them”, in connective particles, but this may be *-ta* *Ortspartikel*, and in any case, to what could it refer?

§§ 20–21. See Hawkins, loc. cit., considering the reading *á-pa-si-i-na* “VAS”(?)*-ni-na* (“*476”) *ta-wa/i-sa-ba-na*, suggesting that behind the second word might lie *wasini-*, “body”, and pointing out that the third appeared also on CEKKE, § 27, as *476-*wá/i-sa-ba-na*, adj. qualifying “Kubaba’s abundance”. Further collation was unable to establish the reading “VAS”, but neither did it produce anything else; the reading is left as a possibility, and may now be supported by a probable recurrence on KULULU 5, § 12. In the present phrase, *tawasha-* is presumably again the adj., and “VAS”(?)*-ni-na*, if that reading can be substantiated, the noun. In place of reading “VAS”*-ni-* as *wasini-*, evidence is accumulating that this may be no more than a variant of (VAS)*atri-* (i.e. a form *atni-*; see KULULU 4, § 9, and Commentary). This would fit well in the present context: the malefactor’s (VAS)*atri-* is the object of imprecation in KULULU 1, § 12, and TOPADA, §§ 36, 38.

§ 21. LIS-*tá-ti* CUM-*ni* X-*tu*: see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 10, and Commentary, for parallel imprecation.

§ 22. Doubtful, in absence of supporting parallel clause.

VI.3. MALPINAR (plates 166–168)

Location. Rock inscription, *in situ*, in the *vilayet* of Adıyaman on the Göksu river. 13 km. from Adıyaman on the Gölbaşı road, the new Atatürk Barajı road branches south, passing Akpınar (16 km.) to Turuş (8 km.), where a track turns right for Durak (formerly Gemrik, 3 km.) and Malpınar (4 km.). From Malpınar village a short track descends round the side of a high rocky escarpment to the Göksu. The inscription is located low on the west-facing escarpment. In September the sun gradually passes across the inscription during the later afternoon, leaving it completely in the sun about 5.0 p.m. Some 20–30 m. south of the inscription, from

a cave at the foot of the escarpment flows a beautifully clear spring, the eponymous Malpınar.

Description. The inscription has been executed on a dressed, recessed panel of the rock face. In front there is a long terraced shelf on which the viewer may stand to bring his head level with the inscription. The 6-line inscription begins in the top right-hand corner and runs sinistroversely. A short distance from the right edge, the full height of the inscription is occupied by an *amu-*figure, indistinct through weathering but of a vaguely Assyrianizing appearance, probably bearded, with hair

falling in a bunch on the nape, wearing a fez-like hat and long robe with fringed lower hem, and pointing to its face with right(?) hand while holding a long staff in its left(?). The inscription running *boustrophedon* jumps the figure on each line, leaving a narrow strip of writing to its right, and ends on the bottom right-hand corner. On the lower left side a large hollowed hole, presumably the work of treasure-seekers, has destroyed most of the left ends of ll. 4–6, and a smaller hole above and right of this has damaged parts of ll. 2 and 3. Some other holes have caused minor damage and parts of the inscription have been further eroded into illegibility.

Dimensions: ht., 0.90 m.; w. 1.80 m.; line ht., 0.14 m.

Condition: fair in parts.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: apparently consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: few, but notably not always at top of line.

Discovery. The inscription was discovered in September 1979 by Professor Mustafa Kalaç, together with his students Selahattin Aksu and Hüseyin Sayıcı, during a survey conducted by the Lower Euphrates Project of the Middle East Technical University. Photographs and a latex squeeze were made.

Publication. Announced by Kalaç at the Xth Turkish Congress of History, 22–26 September 1986, in Ankara; published by Kalaç, *Lower Euphrates Project 1978–1979 Activities* (Middle East Technical University Lower Euphrates Project Publications, Series I, no. 3; Ankara, 1987), pp. 53 (Turkish), 55 (English), pl. 13 (photograph); Kalaç and Hawkins, *An. St.* 39 (1989), pp. 107–112, fig. 2 (copy), pls. XXIII (general photograph), XXIV, XXV (photograph, details); Kalaç, *X. Türk. Tarih Kongresi, Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, II. Cilt (Ankara, 1990), p. 607, lev. 314–315, res. 10–12.

Edition. Kalaç and Hawkins, loc. cit.

Content. Dedication by Atayazas vassal of Hattusilis, ruler (of Kummuh). § 1, name and titles of dedicator; §§ 2–3, actions on behalf of his overlord; §§ 4–7, prayer for offerings to monument; §§ 8–9 (damaged); §§ 10–12, blessings; §§ 13–17 (damaged – curse protases (and apodosis)?); §§ 18–22, curse (protases); §§ 23–24 (damaged – curse (apodosis)); §§ [25], 26–28, further prayer for offerings to monument.

Date. Style and content have close links with BOYBEY-PINARI (note that each names a “River Lord of the cities Sari(?)ta and Sukita”). The ruler Hattusilis is doubtless the same as the Hattusilis of BOYBEY-PINARI, the son of Panamuwatis and the ruler Suppiluliumas. Note also the names of Hattusilis and Suppiluliumas together on ANCOZ 3. Suppiluliumas is doubtless the Ušpilulume king of Kummuh named on the PAZARCIK stele inscriptions of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV for the years 805 and 773 B.C. Hattusilis, and thus this inscription, belong in the period c. 770–750 B.C., after which Kuštašpi(li) is attested as ruler in Urartian, then Assyrian sources.

Text. Traced on photograph and collated in 1990 to produce revised edition. The principal result of that collation was the recognition that the figure holds not a sceptre but a long staff reaching to the ground just in front of the foremost foot. This observation has implications for the text: the space between the staff and the figure’s skirt bore no inscription, which means that, contrary to what I had supposed, there is almost nothing lost from the parts of ll. 4–6 to the right of the figure. This affects §§ 18, 19, and 28. Some other revisions based on the 1990 visit have been incorporated in the present text.

Photographs. Taken during visits to Malpinar in the summers 1986, 1987.

Transliteration

1. § 1 *ṣa-wa/i [(STATUA[?])] ta-ru-[sa[?]] [mu-u] á-ta₅-ia-ṣa-sá
*HL-á + LL-si-sá IUDEX-ni-sa [SER]VUS-ta₄-sa [x]-ta₄-ṣa-sa
 (URBS) sù-ki<-ta>-ṣa-sá(URBS) FLUMEN.DOMINUS-
 ia-sá i-ṣi-i-bá**
- § 2 (a) *a-wa/i á-[m]i-i DOMINUS-ni-i HL-á + LL-i IUDEX-ni-i REX-ti-i
 [...(b[?]) ... “SCALPRUM”-wa/i FLAMMAE[?](?) -x-tá-ti-i
 ku-ma-ba(URBS) [x]-wa/i-ni-sá-ba*
2. § 3 “X”-x-pa-wa/i | ... (-) ṣa-[?] || (“X”) ku+ra/i-[ti[?]]-ni-na
PONERE-wa/i-[bá[?]]
- § 4 *a-wa/i [FRONS-la/i/u(-)x-x-ṣi REL-ṣi a-tá x-x-ṣa-i PUGNUS-
 ri+i[...]*
- § 5 *wa/i-i-[a-[?]] [ṣi-a-ti] á-mi¹ á-ta₅-ia-ṣa-sa-na HL-á + LL-sa-na
 SERVUS-ta₄-ia STATUA-ru-ti-i OVIS(ANIMAL)-ti
 PRAE-i (“*69”) sa-sa-tu-u*

Translation

- This statue I(?) Atayazas, the Ruler
 Hattusilis’s servant, the River-
 Lord of the cities *Sarita*(?)
 (and) Sukita, made.
- For my lord Hattusilis the Ruler, the
 King, ... in the city Kumaha
 I ... ed.
- ... I(?) put.
- The first(-)...s who shall arise in(?)
 ... ,
 let them present to this my statue,
 (that) of Atayazas, servant of
 Hattusilis, with a sheep,

- § 6 *a-wa/i su-tu+ra/i-na* (PONERE) *sà-ti-tu-u'*
 § 7 *wa/i-tà' ku-ma-ia-la* |ARHLA EDERE-*tà-ri+i tu*
 § 8 |*a-wa/i* |*sa² ni² sà²* (figure) [...]*...na* ||
 3. § 9 *zi-i-wa/i ... pa ...* (figure) *ni-i ...*
 § 10 *a-wa/i za' i-zi-i-ia-t[i²-z]a²* REL-*i-sa* |*la+ra/i-...-ia*
 § 11 *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i a-tá' i-wa/i-x-si-...* (DEUS) SOL-*ti-i-sa*
 [VAS²]-*na-[x]* (BONUS) *wa/i-li-ia-[nu²]-tu-u*
 § 12 *wa/i-tu ...*
 § 13 ...
 4. § 14 ... |*i-z[i]-i-ti-i-za* ||*i-zi-...*
 § 15 [...]
 § 16 ...
 § 17 ... |*-wa/i ... wa/i ...*
 § 18 *za-[a]-pa-wa/i [i¹á]-ta₅-ia-za-sa* ¹HLÁ+LL-sa SERVUS-*ta₄-ia-za*
 STATUA-*sa za-ia-ha'* (LOQUI) *pá²+ra/i-tá* REL-*[sa]*
 x-*[...]-ti-...* (figure) ARHLA MALLEUS-*i* ||
 5. § 19 *ni-pa-wa/i [-sa²]* SUPER-*ta₄*- (figure) |*za²]-sà-* (URBS)
 FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ia-sa*
 § 20 *ni-pa-wa/i-tà' POST+ra/i-i-sá* REL-*sà-ha'* CAPUT-*ti-sa*
 ARHLA MALLEUS
 § 21 *ni-i-wa/i u-si-na-si-i-sa*
 § 22 *ni-pa-wa/i ...*
 § 23 ...
 6. § 24 ... [...]DELERE-*na* ||*-wa/i-mi-sa [...]-ti-...*
 § 25 ...
 § 26 *za-ti-pa-wa/i i¹á-ta₅-ia-za-sa-na* STATUA-*ru-ti-i* 1 OVIS
 (ANIMAL)-*na sa-sa₅+ra/i-la-tu*
 § 27 *ni-pa-wa/i-ti POST+ra/i-i-sa* REL-*sà-ha'* CAPUT-*ti-sa*
sú+ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti
 § 28 *a-wa/i x[...]x x ti... ta x x sa* INFRA-*ta'* (figure) (“*69”)
sa-sa-tu

let them SATI the SUTURI,
 and let them feed up the sacrificial
 victims.
 ...
 Here ... let not(?) ...
 (He) who shall benefit(?) this
 performance,
 for him ... may the Sun-God exalt
 the person(?),
 and for him ...
 ...
 ...]perform a performance[...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 This statue of Atayazas, of Hattusi-
 lis's servant, and these words (he)
 who shall erase [with malice(?)],
 or (if) [he?] (be?) the River-Lord
 of the city Sarita (?),
 or (if) any inferior man shall erase
 them,
 whether a eunuch,
 or ...
 ...
 ... destroyed[...
 [If a king or a river-lord ...],
 to this statue of Atayazas let him
 offer a sheep.
 Or (if) any inferior man shall
 SURAWANI- (for) himself,
 ... may he let down!

Commentary

§ 1f(STATUA²)|*ta-ru-[sa²]*: it is probable that further collation will be able to confirm this reading, which might legitimately be restored even without the traces, especially in view of §§ 5, 18, 26. For *tarusa*, properly “wood(en image)”, applied to stone relief, cf. KARKAMIS A7, § 6. To judge from the preserved part of the inscription, the main purpose of the monument was the setting up of the “image” to receive offerings, thus as a funerary memorial.

[*mu-u*]: suggested by collation in 1990 (cf. BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 1; 2, § 1). It would be entirely appropriate to find this pronoun here over the head of the *amu*-figure, which itself also seems to be marked with the personal determinative ¹.

[x]-*ta₄-za-sa*(URBS) *sù-ki<-ta>-za-sá*(URBS) FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ia-sá*: for this title, cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 5; also 1, § 2. It is unfortunate that this new attestation does not serve to identify the uncertain sign at the beginning of the first toponym; but evidence below, § 19, suggests that it is SUPER, to be read *sari*. Bearing this title here, Atayazas is clearly the successor

of Azamis of BOYBEYPINARI 2, who was father-in-law of the ruler Suppiluliumas. It is likely that Atayazas was uncle or cousin to his overlord Hattusilis.

§ 2. Clause remains elusive, though might yield to further collation.

REX-*ti-i* | ... “SCALPRUM”-*wa/i* (collation confirms REX as against URBS): probably two words illegible in gap; could conceal transition from one clause to another (possible *-ha-wa/i* before “SCALPRUM”); or “SCALPRUM”-*wa/i* could begin new clause (cf. KARABURUN, § 6²), in which case traces of verb should be sought before it.

FLAMMAE²(?)*-x-tà-ti-i* (noun, abl.): FLAMMAE² (uncertainly identified here) elsewhere determines verbs *kinu(wa)(sa)-*, *lulus-*, *luhanu-*, and perhaps *saranu-*, and the noun *marusana-*, and the contexts usually indicate (sacrificial) burning.

ku-ma-ha(URBS): must surely refer to the city Kummuh (= Samsat), Urartian (land of) Qumaha. For a reconsideration of the identification of Cun. Hitt.

^{URU} *kummaba*, see Commagene, the Historical Context, p. 330 and nn. 7–10.

§ 3. “X”-x-*pa-na/i* |... (-) *za-*: perhaps 4–5 words missing; could also contain transition from one clause to another. The *a-tá* x-x-*za-i* signalled in the revised copy at the beginning is uncertain.

(“X”) *ku+ra/i-[ti²]-ni-na*: probably correctly read; unknown word with unrecognized determinative.

§ 4. |FRONS-*la/i/u(-)*x-x-*zi*: either single word, extended form of *bantili-*, “first”, thus perhaps “the first ones, leading people(?)”; or two words, *bantili*, adv. qualifying following word, “first, very” (cf. KARATEPE, 278 f., *sarli bantilis*, “highly preeminent”; perhaps also KARKAMIS A11a, § 17, FRONS-*la/i/u* ARGENTUM.DARE-*si-ia*, “very costly”). The clause seems to express similar sense to the clearer PALANGA, § 2: “(Those) who were first ...”.

§ 5. |*z[a-ti]* *á-mi-i* ... STATUA-*ru-ti-i*, “to this my ... image” (dat. sing.); remarkable display of gen. adjectives interposed, which are also dat. sing. in agreement.

¹*á-ta₅-ia-za-sa-na*: dat. of gen. adj., “to (that) of Atayazas”.

¹*H-á+Ll-sa-na* SERVUS-*ta₄-ia*, “to (that) of the servant, the one of Hattusilis”: the composer of the text has balked at a third in a row gen. adj., dat. sing.; instead he has formed an adj. SERVUS-*taya-*, “of the servant”, cf. § 18.

PRAE-*i* (“*69”) *sa-sa-tu-u* (see also below, § 28): verb clearly a reduplicated form of the (*arba*) (“*69”) *sa-* of the ASSUR letters (*b*, § 5; *e*, § 13; *f+g*, §§ 12, 37, 38) – the reduplication establishes that *sa-* is the full form of the simple verb. For a preliminary examination of *arba* (“*69”) *sa-*, see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, KZ 94 (1980), pp. 98 f., 115. Meanwhile Melchert (KZ 102 (1989), pp. 32–36) has proposed to interpret Cun. Luw. *ša-*, redupl. *šaiša-*, as “let go, release (// Hitt. *tarna-*, *lai-*), and further identified Hier. (“*69”) *sa-* with this stem, translating *arba* (“*69”) *sa-* as “leave behind” (// Hitt. *arba tarnu-*), which fits the contexts as well as our “miss, lack”. The present occurrence establishes the correctness of Melchert’s insight by attesting the reduplicated (“*69”) *sasa-* to match Cun. Luw. *šaiša-*. The resulting literal sense “let go forth” must from the context mean something like “present”.

OVIS(ANIMAL)-*ti*: apparently abl. sing., where acc. sing. might have been expected (cf. below, § 26). It may be understood as a confusion of the usages “to offer an object (acc.) to a god etc. (dat.)”, as against “to present a god etc. (acc.) with an object (abl.)”. An alternative possible reading could be OVIS(ANIMAL) PRAE-*ti-i* (for PRAE-*ti*, see CEKKE, § 12, and Commentary).

§ 6. Clause provides a welcome parallel for ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 8:

|*su-ti-ri+i-na-na/i-* |*ba+ra/i-ta-ba* |PRAE-*i* (PONERE) *sá-ti-nu*¹.

The verb PRAE-*i* (PONERE) *sá-ti-nu*¹ also occurs *ibid.*, § 4, again with a pair of unknown objects, and the pair *sutiri-* and *barata-* in ASSUR letter *e*, § 10. The combined contexts should present an opening for interpretation of the elements. Here we merely note the probability that *su-tu+ra/i-* and *su-ti-ri+i-* are the same word and that it may be an evil (letter *e*, § 10, context).

§ 7. ARFLA EDERE-*tá-ri+i-tu*: verb is clearly a good correspondence to Cun. Luw. *atari-*, and Hitt. *etr(esk)-*, “feed”.

ku-ma-ia-la: important as phonetic writing attesting the existence in Hier. of the root *kumai-* = Cun. Luw. *kummai-*, Lyc. *kume-*, “pure”. Hitherto recognized Hier. form is PURUS-*MI-ia*, acc. plur. N, where the -*MI-* because of its ambiguous usage (cf. especially OMNIS-*MI-ma-*, *tanima-*) cannot be taken to establish a phonetic *kumiya* as against *kumaya*; see KARKAMIS A11a, § 14, Commentary. The present form should be the object of *atari-*, “feed”, thus acc. plur. N of a -*ali-* suffixed form, and the context dictates the interpretation “sacrificial beasts, victims”. Starke compares the formation directly with that of Hitt. *šuppai-* (pers. comm.; see now *Stamm-bildung*, Anm. 526). Poetto has made the same point: O-4 28 (1989) [1990], pp. 193–196.

§ 9. *zi-wa/i*: likely beginning of new clause: *zin* (“here”) + *wa*.

ni-i: probably prohibitive, possibly end of word continued across figure.

§ 10. *i-zi-i-ia-t[i²-z]a²*: tentatively restored following reading of word in § 14, although traces do not look like *ti*. What is fairly certain is that we have here a noun, acc. sing. N, a derivative of *izi(ya)-*, “make”, meaning “performance”, referring to the prescriptions §§ 5–7 (also 8–9?). Already attested are *i-zi-i-ia-tara/i-za* (nom. (acc.) sing. N, MARAŞ 14, § 7), and *i-zi-i-ia-na-zi* (acc. plur. MF, IZGIN 2, § 9); the former is another possible reading here. These formations resemble Hitt. *aniur* and *aniyatt-*, “performance”, from *aniya-*, “make, do”.

la+ra/i-...-ia (probably one or two signs missing): verb seems likely to be (*arba*) *la-tá-//la+ra/i(+a)(-nu)*-, “(cause to) prosper”, for which see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Jn. St.* 28 (1978), pp. 104–106. The -*nu*- caus. form might perhaps be restored here, since such forms may have 3 sing. pres. in -*i(a)* (see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs. Szemerényi*, p. 605). But it does not appear that *arba* can have been present.

§ 11. *a-tá- i-wa/i-x-si-...* (one or two signs missing): possibly “in the ...”, perhaps participle, *anta* ... [-*mis*], epithet of Sun-God.

(DEUS)SOL-*ti-i-sa*: shows coexistence of form *tinatis* beside the better attested *tinazas*; cf. (DEUS) SOL-*wa/i-ti-i-na*, acc. sing., TELL AHMAR 2, § 6; cf. also MARAŞ 1, § 6; and Commentaries. Cf. KÜRTÜL, § 6.

[VAS²] *-na-[x]* (collation important): (VAS) *atri-*, “form, image, person,” quite expected in context; cf.

KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 3–5; A14b, § 6; MARAŞ 4, § 15. The usual writing VAS-*tara/i* might be expected, perhaps VAS-*na'* could be possible. But an alternative acc. sing. VAS-*ni-na*, either a variant form of the stem or a near synonym, does occur; see KULULU 4, § 9 and Commentary. Here a reading VAS-*na-[na]* looks possible from photographs, but would not fit well with the other attested forms.

§ 13. Uncertain whether space for this clause between §§ 12 and 14.

§ 14. *i-zi[i]-i-ti-i-za* || *i-zi* [...] looks like "... perform a performance" (cf. remarks above, § 10); the form of the noun (representing *izi(ya)tinza*, acc. sing. N?) seems strange, but may find parallels.

Sense of clause: either parallel to § 10, or possibly the contrary, "[he who does not] perform the performance" (this would require the placing of the negative with the relative, NEG₂-*wa/i* REL-*sa*, "who ... not"; cf. KARATEPE, §§ XXI and XXVI; KARKAMIŠ A17b, § 4). On this interpretation, § 14 would be the protasis of a curse; §§ 15–17 could provide further protases, preceding § 18, another protasis, or they could provide one or more apodoses. The exact number of clauses missing and illegible here is only an estimate.

§ 18. SERVUS-*ta₄-ia-za*: acc. sing. N of SERVUS-*taya*-, "of the servant"; cf. *tati(ya)*-, "of the father", etc.

REL-*[sa]* x- [...] -*ti* [...] (figure) *ARHLA* MALLEUS-*i*: reading suggested by collation on visit in 1990.

§ 19. In the earlier edition we supposed that the River-Lord in this clause was qualified as being of the cities x-ta and Sukita, i.e. a successor of Atayazas himself. It

now appears, with the recognition of the long staff held by the figure (see above, Text), that there is no space to restore [Sukita]. Nevertheless it still seems likely that the city-name here corresponds to the second in § 1, and thus that its first syllable is written SUPER; this would be consistent with the traces of the name in § 1, and would serve to identify firmly the uncertain sign form in BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 5. The reading of SUPER is normally *sari*, so it may be supposed that it is used here to write that syllable (cf. PRAE used to write the syllable *pari*).

§§ 23–24 (number of clauses estimated, could perhaps be one more): must contain one or more apodoses to curse formulae protases §§ 18–22. The sole surviving word DELERE-*nu-wa/i-mi-sa*, "destroyed", nom. sing. MF, confirms this obvious observation; cf. KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 24: "let him be made accursed ...". The following word [...] -*ti* could be the verb [*a-sa*]-*ti*, "he will be"; or possibly noun in abl., "by [...]".

DELERE-*nu-wa/i*: for Melchert's elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

§ 25. Clause required to change sense and provide subject for § 26, and parallel to § 27. Some such restoration as offered in the translation is demanded by the context. §§ 25–26 are very parallel to §§ 4–5, where sheep for the statue have already been demanded; the difference must presumably reside in the different persons from whom offering is required.

§ 26. *sa-sa₅ + ra/i-la-tu*: for the vowel of the reduplicated stem *sasarla*- as against the simple *sarli*-, see CEKKĒ, § 5, Commentary.

VI.4. ADIYAMAN 1 (plates 169–170)

Location. Stele fragment, Adiyaman Museum, no. 493.

Description. Lower left-hand quarter of white limestone stele including base tenon. *Obverse*: relief figure of Storm-God standing on bull, lower back part of god and back half of bull only preserved. The god wears a long, belted robe with sword at waist, and traces of his long, curled pigtail hanging down to waist survive; figure of bull shows knee-curls and tail ending in broad, spade-shaped tuft. In the field behind the god are two rosettes. *Left side (A) and reverse (B)*: parts of last 4 lines of inscription survive, perhaps ½ of the original width, including preserved edge on right, and ⅔ of original height, l. 1 running sinistrovers, ll. 2+3 dextrovers-sinistrovers, and l. 4, dextrovers, containing the end of the text.

Dimensions: preserved ht. (without tenon), 0.83 m.; preserved w., 0.30 m.; th., 0.19 cm.; line ht., 0.16–0.19 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: tend towards cursive (*a*, *ta*, *ma*), also monumental *ma*.

Peculiarities: 2 forms of *pa*; *ta₄* as on BOYBEYPINARI; ligature *AR(HL)* + MALLEUS.

Word-dividers: only 4 visible.

Discovery. Seen in Adiyaman Halk Kütüphanesi in 1969 by the late F. K. Dörner and Hawkins; no details of provenance ascertainable at the time.

Publication. Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), pp. 100–105, pl. XVII (photographs of obv., rev., left side), fig. 6 (copy traced from stone).

Editions. Hawkins, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Mannale* II, 2 (1975), no. 122, p. 65 f., Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Adiyaman 1)*, pp. 102, 233, 551, Taf. 67 f.

Content. Fragmentary, dedication of Storm God of the *irnila-*. [Lacuna] §§ 1–2, dedication [lacuna]; §§ 3–6 protective curse (protases) [lacuna]; §§ 7–8, protective curse (apodoses) (end).

Date. Closely similar to BOYBEYPINARI, perhaps same reign, i.e. c. 805–773 B.C.

Text. The text here offered is the same as that given in Publication, traced directly from the stone in Adiyaman in 1969. It has been collated against the stone in Adiyaman Museum in the summer 1987.

Photographs. Taken in Adiyaman in the summer 1969. Detail shots taken by Professor F. K. Dörner at the same time are also given.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [... (DEUS)TONITR]US-[r]a [i+ra/i]-ni-la- PRAE-i
CRUS+R.1/I
- § 2 |a-wa/i |za-na CAELUM-sa-si-na i+ra/i-ni-li-za-na
[(DEUS)TONITRUS ...|| ...]
2. § 3 za-pa-[wa/i] CAELUM i+ra/i-ni-li-za-na (DEUS)TONITRUS-na
REL-i-sa MALUS-ta₄-ti ARH.1+MALLEUS
3. § 4 ni-pa-wa/i-na a-tá ||(OCCIDENS)[i-ma-ni-t]i
- § 5 ni-pa-wa/i-tá LOCUS-ta₄-za (SA₄)sa-ni-ti
- § 6 ni-pa-wa/i-ta ma-na-sa [...]za[...]
4. § 7 ...]ARH.1[...]-wa/i-tu
- § 8 |a-wa/i |pa-si-i- á-ta₅-ma-za CAELUM.TERRA *336-na-na
ARH.1 DELERE-nu-wa/i-tu

Translation

... Tarhunzas(?) stood forth to the IRNILA.
This celestial IRNILA-can [Tarhunzas (acc.) ...]
But (he) who from evil erases this celestial IRNILA-ean Tarhunzas, or IMANI's him, or overturns (him) in the place(s), or, whether he (is)[...]
...]let him/them [...] away, and let him/them destroy his name in the sight of heaven (and) earth!

Commentary

Since my first *Edition* (1970), Meriggi produced his *Edition* (1975); also the new readings have been established. Some further comments may be offered.

§§ 1–2, also 3. [i+ra/i]-ni-la-, i+ra/i-ni-li-za-: the new readings have transformed the root from the previously read *†arnala-* (and the suffix from *†-i-* to *-i-za-*), but still no parallel is known which may assist with the interpretation of this otherwise unattested word. For a parallel word and epithet of the Storm God, cf. *a+ra/i-ta-li-* and *a+ra/i-ta-la-si-*, KULULU 1, §§ 5, 10.

PRAE-i (the protruding tongue of PRAE is probably represented by the traces, mistaken for the nose by Meriggi, who has thus unnecessarily restored the tongue): Meriggi correctly drew attention to the distinction between *pari* (PRAE-i) and *paran* (PRAE-na) (as now read), as noted in his *Manuale* I, Cap. II §§ 146–147, III §§ 53–56.

CRUS+R.1/I: contrary to my note in *Edition*, this should now be identified as a curious endingless verb, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5, Commentary, with other attestations; the verb is there dissociated from CRUS

= *ta-*, “stand”, Hitt. *tiya-*, Cun. Luw. *ta-* (for which see A. Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Cowgill*, pp. 206–226), but considered from the ideographic content of the logogram still likely to represent a verb of standing.

§ 4. (OCCIDENS)[i-ma-ni]-: only attestations of verb are BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 7; 2, § 11, whence restoration [also now ANCOZ 7, § 11].

§ 5. For phrase LOCUS-tanza *sani-*, “overturn in the place(s)”, in the common topos, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, Commentary.

ni-pa-wa/i-tá: phrase requires *Ortspartikel -ta*, and elsewhere has direct object expressed; here either understand “(him)”, or perhaps analyse particle chain as *nipa+wa+an+ta*, “or him (+ *Ortspartikel*) ...”.

§ 8. CAELUM.TERRA *336-na-na: for postposition, still unidentified and unread, see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 24, Commentary.

DELERE-nu-wa/i-tu: for Melchert's elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

VI.5. ANCOZ 1 (plates 171–172)

Location. Fragment, Adana Museum, no. 1336. An unpublished ANCOZ fragment bearing the Adiyaman Museum no. 684 seems to be the joining lower part of this fragment.

Description. Two joining fragments of basalt basin, bearing on side A part of 2-line inscription, beginning sinistroverse and returning *boustrophedon*. The upper surface of frag. 1 is partly preserved; the new fragment

shows that l. 2 was the last, and had an uninscribed space below. It also preserves the lower part of the adjoining left side (B), including (upper right) a small piece of l. 2 of the inscription immediately adjacent to side A l. 2 left end; the inscription thus was originally placed on at least two of the four sides.

Dimensions: (frag. 1) preserved ht., 0.30 m.; preserved w., 0.87 m.; th., 0.14 m.; line ht., 0.15 m.; (frags. 1 + 2) total ht., c. 0.80 m.; total w. (side A), c. 1.0 m.; total th. (side B) c. 0.90 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive (*á, pi, ta*, AVIS).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: only one visible.

Discovery. (Frag. 1) seen in 1958 by Dr. Teresa Goell built into house wall of Ancoz village, near N. bank of Euphrates c. 20 km. S.E. of Káhta; it was reported to come, with other fragments of inscriptions and sculpture, from hill above village where classical remains were visible on the surface. For preliminary notice of discovery, see M. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor* (AJA 64 (1960), p. 64 f.). The fragment was still in the house-wall when I saw it in 1969, but was removed and taken to Adana Museum by Dr. O. Aytuğ Taşyürek before 1974. Cf. Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Istanbul, 1977), p. 102. Frag. 2: recovered by survey of Professor Sedat Alp in 1979; see above, *Historical Context*, n. 47; below, p. 356, ANCOZ 7–10.

Publication. Frag. 1: Mellink, loc. cit., pl. 12 fig. 6 (photograph of plaster cast made from rubber mould); Hawkins, *JAn. St.* 20 (1970), pp. 97–100, pl. XVI(b) (photograph of stone *in situ*), fig. 4 (copy, traced from photograph and collated). Frag. 2: here for first time.

Editions. (Frag. 1) Hawkins, loc. cit., Publication; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 124, pp. 67–69, Tav. XI (redrawn from photograph of cast *apud* Mellink).

Excerpts.

§§ 1–2 Hawkins, *JAn. St.* 31, p. 168 cit. 24; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, p. 284.

Content (fragmentary). Dedication to Runtiyas and Kubaba, and offerings to other gods.

Date. Probably contemporary with BOYBEYPINARI blocks (style and content very similar), i.e. c. 800 B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Adana Museum in August 1987 (frag. 1), and traced from photograph (frag. 2).

Photographs. Taken in the Museums of Adana in 1987 and Adıyaman in 1990.

Transliteration

1. § 1 ...[*pi-ia*...] *tá* PURUS-*MI-ia* | *za-a-ti* (MENSA) *wa/i-si* PON-ERE-*wa/i-ti*
- § 2 *a-wa/i za-ia* (ARGENTUM.DARE) *ti-na-tá* (LIBARE) *sa₅ + ra/i-la-i-ti i-pá²* (DEUS) CERVUS₂ (FEMINA) *á-ta₅* (DEUS) *ku + AVIS-pa-pa* [...] ||
(for continuity – see Commentary)
2. § 3 ... (DE)US | SOL | (DEUS) [*i*] *ku + ra/i* (DEUS) *ta-sà-ku-ia-ha*
1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL) *-sa* CORNU(-) *ku-wa/i-ha á-pa-si-ti-ta*
- § 4 POST-*ni-pa-wa/i* CAELUM.MAGNUS (DEUS) TONITRUS
(DEUS) X-*tà* (DEUS) *šARMA-ma* MONS.REX-*wa/i-ti-i*
(DEUS) *á-l[a-s]û-[wa/i-i]a* [...]

Translation

... [...?] pure *gifts* on this table they will put,
and these *tithes* they will offer to IPA Runtiyas and ATA Kubab[a... ,
to the Sun-God, the god Ikuras,
and the god Taskus 1 gazelle ... ,
but afterwards to the great Storm-God of Heaven, the god ... , the
god Sarrumas mountain-king, the
goddess Alas[uwas ...

Commentary

Since the Editions of myself (1970) and Meriggi (1975), the new readings have been established and other points have emerged, necessitating further comment. It is unfortunate that Meriggi should have based his text and readings on the photograph of the cast, which gives a misleading impression, particularly of the background to the signs, and led him into error on a number of points, where collation of the stone itself

clearly establishes the text. The new ANCOZ fragment forming the lower part of this piece now completes the readings of l. 2.

§ 1. *pi-ia* [...] *tá* (Meriggi's additions in the break are based solely on the misleading appearance of the cast): word is likely to represent noun, acc. plur. N, qualified by following word, derivative of stem *piya-*, "give".

Possible parallels include: (1) *pi-ia-za*, uncertain morphology (KULULU lead frag. 1, side ii, see Commentary); (2) *pi-ia+ra/i-ia-za*, also uncertain (*ibid.*); (3) (ARGENTUM)*pi-ia-tara/i-...*, dat. sing. (KARKAMIŠ A12, § 12, and Commentary); (4) Lyc. *piyatu*, acc. sing. MF (Laroche, *FdV* VI, p. 107 n. 32). None of these forms is sufficiently clear to indicate unequivocally a restoration here. The possible presence of [...*wa/i*]-*tá*, copula + *Ortspartikel -ta*, cannot be excluded, in which case a word [...]*piyu* (acc. plur. N) may be present.

PURUS-*MI-ia*: logogram incorrectly identified by myself and Meriggi as *tú*, now firmly established as PURUS, Cun. Luw. *kummai-*, Lyc. *kuma/e-*; see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 14, Commentary.

Note that this writing does not unambiguously attest a form *kumiya*; the usage of the sign *mi* is such (cf. writings such as OMNIS-*MI-ma* etc.) that a reading *kumaya* is equally possible.

za-a-ti (MENSA)*wa/i-si*: clear phonetic writing, dat. sing., of (MENSA)*wa/i-si-za* (see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 1, and Commentary).

PONERE-*wa/i-ti*: certainly 3 plur. pres., as against 3 sing. pres. *tuwai* (see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 586, 590).

§ 2. (ARGENTUM.DARE)*ti-na-tá*: cf. *ti-na-ta-za*, SULTANHAN, § 28, and Commentary; also [*ti*]-*na-ti-i*, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 3; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 95 n. 3. For the compound logogram ARGENTUM.DARE, “silver(?) + give”, see BULGARMADEN, § 9. The present context suggests an offering to a god, which was regarded as a payment, that of SULTANHAN that the offering might represent 1/10 of a yield, thus “tithe”. The interpretation is argued in detail by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), pp. 283–286.

(LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-la-i-ti*: also 3 plur. pres., parallel to PONERE-*wa/i-ti*. The 3 sing. pres. would be *sarliti*, cf. 1 sing. pret. *sarliha*, 3 sing. pret. *sarlita*, 3 sing. imp. *sarlitu* (for forms of the verb see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, Commentary; cf. CEKKE, § 5, Commentary).

i-pá: sign form perfectly clear, not followed by anything else, *pate* Meriggi. For this epithet of the Stag God, see BULGARMADEN, § 7, Commentary, and cf. also ANCOZ 3, l. 2. [Also ANCOZ 7, §§ 4, 9].

(FEMINA)*á-ta₅* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-pa*[...]: for a review of this epithet applied to Kubaba, see Hawkins, loc. cit.

l. 2. The new ANCOZ blocks and fragments, published here for the first time contain much material concern-

ing offerings to the Commagenian gods. With the present context, compare ANCOZ 7, § 4; ANCOZ 9, § 2; and ANCOZ 10, § 1.

Continuity: Contextually the gods listed on ll. 1 (Stag-God, Kubaba) and 2 (Sun, Ikuras, Taskus) could well be part of the same list (cf. ANCOZ 7, § 4). Yet traces of writing are preserved immediately around the corner on side B, which, unless the corner between sides A and B forms the left edge of the inscription, must belong to a part of the text leading into side A l. 2. Not enough is preserved to permit a decision on this question.

§ 3. (DEUS)[*i*]-*ku+ra/i-ia*: now found on ANCOZ 7, § 4; (see Commentary), also 10 § 1.

(DEUS)*ta-sá-ku-ia-ha* 1 GAZELLA(ANIMAL)-*sa*: paralleled by “to the god Taskus one gazelle (animal)” on ANCOZ 10, § 4. For the god, cf. ANCOZ 5, l. 1.

CORNU(-)*ku-wa/i-ha*: form, meaning and relation to following word unclear.

á-pa-si-ti-ta: the word should be the verb (a *bapax legomenon*), unless § 3 forms a direct continuation from § 2.

§ 4. CAELUM.MAGNUS (DEUS)TONITRUS: both CAELUM and MAGNUS are found individually as epithets of the Storm-God; CAELUM – see KARATEPE, 388; KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 9, 25; A13d, § 10; CEKKE, § 24; KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 13; TELL AHMAR 2, § 22; 1, §§ 2, 21, 25 etc.; MAGNUS – see GÜRÜN, § 1. A combination of the two occurs further on ANCOZ 9, § 2.

(DEUS)*X-tá*: X uncertain; it recurs in the same context on ANCOZ 9, § 2 (see discussion there).

(DEUS)*šARMA-ma* MONS.REX-*wa/i-ti-i*: the epithet “Mountain-King” for Sarruma is found on MALATYA 7 (see Commentary), and recurs on ANCOZ 9, § 2 in the same context. Here *-wa/i-ti-i* must be the phonetic complement of the title. Does it belong with REX, elsewhere complemented only *-ti-*, though the presumed reading is *hantawati-* (see KARATEPE, 137, Commentary)? We should note that MONS also has the phonetic complement *-wa/i-ti-*; see ANCOZ 5, l. 1, and Commentary.

(DEUS)*á-l[a-s]ú-[wa/i-i]a*: since her first recognition as consort of Sarruma on ÇİFTLİK, § 10, Alasuwas (= Hitt. *Allanžu*) has appeared also on KULULU 5, § 1, in the same context. The present Commagenian context is further paralleled on ANCOZ 9, § 2.

Sense: though this breaks off, all the gods’ names appear to be in the dative (note endings of MONS.REX and *Alasuwas*, also parallel passage ANCOZ 9, § 2).

VI.6. ANCOZ 2 (plate 173)

Location. Fragment, whereabouts unknown.

Description. Fragment showing parts of 2 lines of inscription, sinistroverso-dextroverso. A small section of uninscribed space below 2nd line may show that it was the last.

Dimensions: not given.

Condition: uncertain.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: apparently cursive *ta*.

Peculiarities: *ARFLA*+*MALLEUS* as for *ADI-YAMAN* 1.

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Found by Dr. Theresa Goell in 1958 on a visit to Ancoz, and stated to come from the "acropolis west of the village".

Publication. Mellink, *JNES* 16 (1960), p. 64 and pl. 12 fig. 8 (photograph, probably of plaster cast of original).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 125, p. 69, Tav. X (redrawn from Mellink).

Content. Too little preserved; both lines seem to have parts of protective curse formulae.

Date. Presumably same as for other ANCOZ fragments, also *ADİYAMAN* 1, *BOYBEYPINARI*.

Text. The text here tentatively offered is taken from a tracing of the published photograph.

Photograph. In the absence of the piece, the published photograph is reproduced.

Transliteration

Translation

- l. 1 ...*ā*]-*ta*₄-[*ma*]-*zā* [*z*]*a-ia-ba* [*pā*²+*ra/i*]-*ta* ... [...] ||
l. 2 ...] *MALUS-ta*₄[-*ti*] *ARFLA*+*MALLEUS ni-pa-wa/i-ta* x x [...

- ... this name and these words ... [...
... from] badness shall erase, or [...

Comment

The contexts of the two lines are so close in sense that one might suppose that they were virtually continuous, thus that the piece is almost at the left edge of

an inscription; minimal restorations would be a word at the end of l. 1 and another at the beginning of l. 2, one of which would be *REL(-i)-sa*, "(he) who ...".

VI.7–8. ANCOZ 3 and 4 (plate 174)

Location. Fragments, whereabouts unknown; apparently not in *Adiyaman* Museum depot.

Description. 2 fragments, ANCOZ 3, preserving parts of 2 lines (sinistroverso-dextroverso), and ANCOZ 4, part of 1 line (dextroverso). Parts of same monument?

Dimensions: ANCOZ 3, preserved ht., c. 0.24 m.; preserved w., 0.38 m.; ANCOZ 4, preserved ht., 0.23 m.; preserved w., 0.40 m.; (both) line ht., not preserved.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: 2 preserved (ANCOZ 3).

Discovery. On a hill known as *Han Mevkii* (see ANCOZ 5, *Discovery*), probably also the source of ANCOZ 1 and the fragment ANCOZ 2 and sculpture

fragment associated with it. They were found by the survey conducted by Özdoğan in June 1977 (see *Publication*). For the site, cf. also Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), p. 98, pl. XVI a.

Publication. M. Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Istanbul, 1977), p. 101 f., pl. on p. 106 (photographs, with scale).

Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. Insufficiently preserved to judge.

Date. As for *BOYBEYPINARI* 1 and 2, from mention of *Hattusilis*, *Suppiluliumas*.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the photographs.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Professor Mirjo Salvini. I am grateful to Professor Mehmet Özdoğan for providing prints of the same pieces.

Transliteration

Translation

(ANCOZ 3)

- l. 1 ... x CAPERE[...] / [...] x [...] -*wa/i* [...] *na* [...] || (see Commentary)
 l. 2 ... x-*wa/i* | *ṣa* [...] (MONS) *bu* [...] MONS [...] *i-pā²* *tara/i-pa-mi* [-?] -
 | FRONS-*la/i/u* [-?] (-) *ṣa* [...]

(ANCOZ 4)

- § 1 ... x-*ba* (*474) *sa-ri* + *i-ia-si-sa* *á-sa-tá* ...] he was a eunuch,
 § 2 *wa/i-sa* *HL-á* + *LI-i* [*a²*] [PURUS].FONS. *MI-i* [*a²*] -*ba* *p* [*i²*] -*n* [*a*...] and he [to?] Hattusilis [and to?] Suppiluliumas [...]

Commentary

ANCOZ 3

l. 2. *ṣa* [...] (MONS) *bu* [...] MONS [...]: apparently “this mountain Hu[...] (case unknown); for a “Mount Hurlula”, see ANCOZ 5, l. 1, and Commentary.

i-pā² *tara/i-pa-mi* [-?]: possibly space after *-mi* to accommodate case ending. Clearly here is a phonetic writing of the *i-pā²* PES₂. PES-*pa-mi*-, which is the object of construction and dedication of ŠIRZI (see §§ 1 and 5, and Commentary). It remains unclear what the object could be, although an approach through the stem(s) *tarp-* could ultimately be fruitful (cf. A. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 129–145, esp. n. 20).

FRONS-*la/i/u* [-?] (-) *ṣa* [...]: as for previous word, space remains for possible case ending, or this could be *-ṣa*.

ANCOZ 4

§ 1. (*474) *sa-ri* + *i-ia-si-sa*: logogram found elsewhere only determining *wasinasi*-, “(he) of the body, attendant”, argued from the contexts to mean specifically “eunuch” (see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 30, and Commentary). This leads to the supposition that the present rendering actually represents a loan from the Akk. *ša rēši*, “eunuch” (lit. “(he) of the head”), which is already seen as a loan in Hebrew as *saris*, and also Aramaic *srs* (SI-FIRE stele, iii l. 5). The further implication of this recognition is that the term *wasinasi*- itself is probably simply a calque of the Akk. *ša rēši*.

HL-á + *LI-i* [*a²*] [PURUS].FONS. *MI-i* [*a²*] -*ba*: both names appear to be dat. sing. in *-ia*; for the former, see BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 1, and for the latter, BOYBIY-PINARI 1, § 1.

VI.9. ANCOZ 5 (plates 175–176)

Location. Damaged block, Adiyaman Museum, no. 364.

Description. Block, top preserved but upper left corner missing, also an indeterminable amount from the right side. The front of the block bears a right-facing figure cut in a recessed panel, originally occupying the full height of the block, but now preserved only from the waist downwards; it is clad in an Assyrianizing fringed garment with overlapping hems, and shoes with upturned toes, and it carries a staff. In front of the figure a 2-line inscription, sinistroverse-dextroverse, is partially preserved, l. 1 destroyed at right and left ends and l. 2 at the right end only but also damaged in the centre. Below the inscription is a blank unscribed space of about one line's height. On the left side of the block, left side, 2 signs of l. 2 survive, probably implying that front, l. 1, continued over the figure on to the left side, descended to l. 2 at the left edge of left side and returned along l. 2, again jumping the figure on to the front.

Dimensions: ht., 0.74 m.; preserved w., 1.24 m.; th., 0.44 m. (reverse roughly dressed); line ht., 0.20 m.

Condition: fair – poor.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: few visible.

Discovery. On ridge called Han Mevkii overlooking the village of Ancoz, about 1 km. to its south west, remains of a large classical building were visible on the surface. About 100 m. north-west of this building, fragments of stone reliefs and Hieroglyphic inscriptions were observed in 1975 and 1977 by the Lower Euphrates survey led by Professor Mehmet Özdoğan. The latter described the present block and planned to remove it to the Adiyaman Public Library but in fact it remained *in situ*. See M. Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Istanbul, 1977), p. 101. The piece was relocated by Professor Sedat Alp's survey in 1979 in his grid square K-12 (see Alp, Publication). It was subsequently brought to Adiyaman Museum.

Publication. M. Özdoğan *apud* Ümit Serdaroglu, 1975 *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin* (Middle East Technical University Lower Euphrates Project Publications, series I no. 1, Ankara, 1977), p. 76 pl. 13 fig. 37 (photograph); Sedat Alp, in *Lower Euphrates Project 1978–79 Activities* (Middle East Technical University Lower Euphrates Project Publications, series I no. 3; Ankara, 1987), pp. 57 f. (Turkish), 61 f. (English), pls. 15.2 (photograph of stone partially covered with earth), 17.1 (plan of grid square K-12: “The *stele* bearing the inscription is the block of stone on the right of the central section of plan no. 1”).

Edition. Here for first time.

Content. On l. 1 a list of Commagenian gods as seen on the other ANCOZ fragments is visible; l. 2 men-

tions the ruler Suppiluliumas and another person, Tarhanti[...].

Date. Apparently belongs to the general group of Commagenian inscriptions attributable to the rulers Suppiluliumas (Ušpilulume) and his son Hattusilis, thus end of 9th – early 8th century B.C. Cf. BOYBEYPI-NARI 1 and 2, Date.

Text. Traced from photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Adıyaman Museum in the summer, 1990. I am also very grateful to Professor Mehmet Özdoğan for supplying prints.

Transliteration

- (front)
l. 1 ... ı̄-pá² (DEUS)CERVUS-ti[-sa²] (FEMINA)á-ta₅-sa² (DEUS)
AVIS-sa² (DEUS)tá-sà-ku-sá (MONS)hu+ra/i-tu-la-sa²-ha
MONS(-)wa/i-ti-sá [ARFLA “[X]”(-)pa+ra/i-nu-wa/i-tu
[za-ti-...][za-...]
(left side, traces of writing show inscription continued here).
(front)
l. 2 [x-wa/i-ti REL-i ¹HA+LI ¹PURUS.FONS.MI ... [INFANS-sa ...
sà-ka-ta-li-sà-[tá²] ...
... ¹PURUS.[FONS.MI] SERVUS-ta₅-zi (X)sà-ka-ta-li-sà-tá
¹TONITRUS-hu-ti-i-[...s]a-wa/i [...]

Translation

...] the gods Stag, Kubaba, Taskus,
and Mount Hurtulas ... may they
... away!
To this/these ...
... Hattusilis Suppiluliumas's ...
son ... SAKATALISA-ed ... [...]
Suppi[luliumas's] servants he/they
SAKATALISA-ed, and Tar-
hanti[...]

Commentary

l. 1. The gods' names seem all to end in -sa, so it is probable that they stand in nom. sing. MF, the subjects of the verb. Collation should establish this.

(DEUS)tá-sà-ku-: deity found on ANCOZ 1, § 3, and recurring on ANCOZ 7 §§ 4, 9; 10, §§ 1, 4.

(MONS)hu+ra/i-tu-la-sa²-ha MONS(-)wa/i-ti-sá²: mountain presumably to be restored on the fragmentary ANCOZ 3, and recurring on ANCOZ 8, § 4; 10, § 5. The evidence for the phonetic reading of MONS as wati- has increased since it was originally proposed by Bossert on the shaky evidence of the syllabic value MONS = wa/i₄ based on TOPADA (Bossert, *Or.* NS 23

(1954), p. 135; see here TOPADA, the Signary (4)). In addition to the ANCOZ passages here cited, KAR-KAMIŠ A17c, § 2, has MONS(-)wa/i-ti-i-sa (see Commentary there). Starke has proposed for Cun. Luw. HUR.SAG the phonetic reading *ariyatti-* (KZ 93 (1979), p. 253 n. 27; cf. *Stammbildung*, Anm. 1031). The Hier. evidence here presented does not combine well with this.

“[X]”(-)pa+ra/i-nu-wa/i-tu: logogram largely lost, but there is no reason to connect this phonetic writing with DELERE-nuwa-, “destroy”, for the possible reading of which see KARKAMIŠ A28g, Commentary.

VI.10. ANCOZ 6 (plate 173)

Location. Fragment, still *in situ* in house wall in Ancoz village?

Description. Fragment bearing part of one dextroverse line of inscription.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.16 m.; preserved w., 0.34 m.; th., unknown.

Condition: poor.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: mixed monumental – cursive (*tu*).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Found by Professor Mehmet Özdoğan during his 1977 survey built into the wall of the house of Mehmet Alagöz: see Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Middle East Technical University Lower Euphrates Project Publications, series I no. 2; Istanbul, 1977), p. 101.

Publication. M. Özdoğan *apud* Ümit Serdaroglu, 1975 *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin* (Middle East Technical University Lower Euphrates Project Publications,

series I no. 1, Ankara, 1977), p. 76 f., and pl. 13 fig. 36 (photograph).

Edition. Here for first time.

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. Presumably early 8th century B.C. like other Commagenian inscriptions.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by Professor Mehmet Özdoğan.

Transliteration, translation

...|x-ta(-)wa/i-ta ʒa- á-taš-ma-ʒa- [S]OL? BOS? x x x [...

... and this name ... [...

VI.11. ADIYAMAN 2 (plates 177–178)

Location. Stele, Adiyaman Museum, no. 492.

Description. Small white limestone stele, round topped, bottom trimmed into tenon to fit into a base. *Obverse:* figure of Storm-God facing right, bearded, with long, curled pigtail, wearing horned helmet, short, short-sleeved, belted tunic with sword at waist and boots with upturned toes, right arm raised behind carrying boomerang(?), left arm extended in front but broken away. Above the figure are traces of a winged Sun Disc, and below the feet a cable pattern. *Right side* (upper): remains of 4-line inscription, right side only, beginning upper right, running sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending lower right.

Dimensions: ht., 0.72 m.; w., 0.50 m.; inscribed area, ht., 0.43 m.; orig. w., 0.18 m.

Condition: few words preserved.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: as preserved, monumental.

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Seen in Adiyaman Halk Kütüphanesi by the late F. K. Dörner and Hawkins in summer, 1969; no details ascertainable at that time.

Publication. Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), pl. XVIIIa–b (photographs of obv., side), figs. 7 and 8 (drawing of sculpture, copy of inscription).

Edition. Hawkins, loc. cit., pp. 105–108; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 123, p. 66 f., Tav. X (redrawn).

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Adiyaman 2)*, pp. 101 f., 551, Taf. 67 g.

Content. Apparently only dedication of stele etc. (§§ 1–2) and scribal signature (§ 3).

Date. Stylistically later than *Malatya* 1 (Orthmann, loc. cit.).

Text. The text here offered is the same as that given in Publication, traced from a latex squeeze. It has been collated against the stone in Adiyaman Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photographs. Taken in Adiyaman in the summer 1969. Detail photographs taken by Professor F. K. Dörner at the same time are also given.

Transliteration

1–2. § 1 ʒa-w[a/i]-[... || ...]i-ʒ[i]-i-[t]à ||

3. § 2 wa/i-ta- [ʒa- i]a- ||

4. § 3 ... -[ʒa-]tā-[pa/ha]-wa/i-na la-ka-wa/i-ni-sa

Translation

This S[torm-God(?) So-and-so ...]
made,
and t[hese(?) ...
Lakawanis ("the Lakean") [ca]rved
it.

Commentary

§ 1. $\zeta a-w[a/i]-[...] i-\zeta[i]-i-[t\ddot{u}]$: probably first and last word of § 1; thus missing is only object ([DEUS.TONITRUS?]) and subject with title(s) or epithet(s).

§ 2. Could have occupied remaining available space.

§ 3. Plausibly identified by Meriggi as scribal signature, which would account for final word in nom. sing. MF. See KARATEPE 4, § 2, Commentary.

$...-\zeta[a^{\ddot{z}}]-t\ddot{a}-[pa/ha]-wa/i-na$: restore [(CAPERE+SCALPRUM)REL-] $\zeta[a^{\ddot{z}}]-t\ddot{a}$?; cf. KARATEPE 4, § 2; GAZIANTEP 1, l. 3; İVRİZ 1 (C), § 4. Alternatively read SCA[LPRUM].CAPERE[- pa/ha]- $wa/i-na$; cf. SHEIZAR, § 8.

$la-ka-wa/i-ni-s\ddot{a}$: in context must be a personal name though formally ethnicon (for which see HAMA 2, § 3, and Commentary).

VI.12. SAMSAT 1 (plate 179)

Location. Stele, Adıyaman Museum (unnumbered?).

Description. Poorly preserved stele, top missing, otherwise complete including tenon at bottom for erection in base. *Obverse* (A): remains of figure of ruler facing left, head lost with missing top; long fringed robe and shoes with upturned toes visible, also backward-pointing lituus. A groove has been cut vertically down through the middle of the figure. *Left* (B) and *right* (D) *sides*: traces of inscription, probably 9 lines on side B occupying entire height from missing top, though the right side of this side is destroyed except for the last line; the last 4 lines are fairly visible on side D, but above those only the faintest traces. The lines are separated by incised line-dividers, which are mostly visible on side B and lower side D. Side B appears to run *boustrophedon* all the way down to the sinistaverse last line; on side D this is less clear, but the last line may also be sinistaverse. No signs of writing have been detected on the reverse (C), which may have been uninscribed, implying independent inscriptions on left and right sides; if however it had borne writing now erased, the text could have run continuously across left, back and right sides (B-C-D).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.53 m. (+ tenon, 0.42 m.); w., 0.61 m.; th., 0.41 m.

Condition: desperate.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: probably cursive.

Peculiarities, word-dividers: unclear.

Discovery. Found by Humann and Puchstein on 3 June 1883, lying between Samsat village and *böyük*; still there at the visits of the Cornell expedition in 1907, and of Bossert in summer, 1958 (see Publication); cf. also Garstang, *LH* (1910), p. 130 f. = *HE* (1929), p. 234. Not seen by Meriggi on visit in summer, 1965 (*Q-4 6* (1967), p. 275). I saw the stele in summer, 1969, lying on its face in the yard of the Yatılı İlk Okul, Adıyaman, and subsequently it was set up there and photographed by Professor F. K. Dörner in 1970. It has now been taken to Adıyaman Museum, and was broken in two pieces, but has been restored.

Publication. Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen* (1890), Textband, pp. 182 fig. 28 (sketch map), 184, 392; Atlas, Taf. XLIX (1, sketch of obverse; 2–3, drawings of inscription, right and left sides (transposed) – drawings based on photographs and squeezes); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 14 f., Taf. XVII (A, B: copies of left (B) and right (D) sides, from squeezes of Humann and Puchstein in Berlin Museum; C: Humann-Puchstein sketch of obverse); Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 49, pl. XXVI (copy of left (B) and right (D) sides, redrawn from Messerschmidt, with collations); Bossert, *Or. NS* 28 (1959), p. 271 f., Taf. XLVI–XLVII Abb. 2–5 (photographs of side D last 4 lines, side B l. 9, stele lying obverse, reverse).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 126, pp. 69–72, Tav. XI (redrawn from Charles). Meriggi supposes that the text originally continued across the reverse; yet on two occasions he sees a continuity between pairs of lines on the sides (left (B) ll. 5+6; right (D) ll. 6+7), which would negate this supposition.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Samsat* 1), pp. 100 f., 533; dated probably *Spb.* II.

Content. Obscure.

Date. Cf. Sculpture.

Text, Translation, Translation, Commentary: not offered. Having seen the text, I regard the efforts of all the publishers of the text as over-optimistic, though in fact they produced few enough recognizable signs. No certainly identifiable words are visible, except possibly one or two connective particle chains. Conceivably in future a scholar working in favourable conditions with efficient lighting might produce something, but for the present, we should accept that the text is gone beyond recall.

Photographs. Taken in the yard of Adıyaman Museum in August 1990. The photograph of side B, which faces towards the north and is always in shadow, is that of F. K. Dörner, taken in 1970 (see above, Discovery).

VI.13. SAMSAT 2 (plate 180)

Location. Fragment, now lost?

Description. Two joining stone fragments bearing parts of 2 lines of inscription, upper presumably sinistroverse, lower dextroverse, separated by line-divider in relief. The piece is stated to be a flake from a block.

Dimensions: preserved ht., *c.* 0.17 m.; preserved w., *c.* 0.21 m.; preserved th., *c.* 7.0 cm.

Condition: as preserved fair.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: mixed; cursive *ma*, *sā*, monumental *mu*.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: 2 preserved.

Discovery. Seen by Bossert in summer, 1958; not heard of since.

Publication. Bossert, *Or.* NS 28 (1959), p. 272 f., Tab. XLVIII Abb. 6 (photograph), 7 (copy, with reconstruction (incorrect – l. 1 *ta* and INFANS are drawn dextroverse)).

Editions. Bossert, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Munale* 11/2 (1975), no. 127, p. 72 f., Tav. XI (redrawn from Bossert, corrected).

Content. Insufficiently preserved to judge.

Date. Uncertain within 9–8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from Bossert's photograph; incorrect restoration omitted.

Photograph. Nothing available apart from the photograph published by Bossert, which is reproduced.

Transliteration

- l. 1 ... NE]POS[...] -*sa* [...] *ba* [...] x [...]
l. 2 ... -*s*] *a* [*ma-pa-wa/i* | *mu-ki-sa-zi/a* ...] (RE[GIO]) ...

Translation

See Commentary

Commentary

l. 1. [NE]POS[...] -*sa*, “grandson”: perhaps part of introductory titulary.

l. 2. “or the country Mukisa ...”: perhaps with ethnic ending -(i)*za-*; (KUR)*Mukeš*, attested only in 11nd millennium texts (Alalah, Ugarit, Boğazköy), compared by Bossert.

VI.14. SAMSAT 3 (plate 180)

Location. Fragment, whereabouts unknown (lost?).

Description. Column drum(?) bearing 1-line sinistroverse inscription along its upper edge. (In fact the piece looks more like a base).

Dimensions: ht., *c.* 0.29 m.; diam. *c.* 0.32 m.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive?

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Seen in the 1960's by Wäfler in a farm building near Samsat Höyük. No further information on the piece is available.

Publication. Steinherr, *RHA* XXX (1972), pp. 81–84 (Abb. 1, Wäfler's photograph, Abb. 2, reoriented drawing by Steinherr).

Edition. Steinherr, *ibid.*

Content. Presumably epigraph identifying the monument of which it formed a part (statue base?).

Date. Uncertain with 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from the photograph.

Photograph. Nothing available apart from the photograph published by Steinherr, which is reproduced.

Transliteration

za-wa/i AVIS-*na* x-*na* ...

Translation

See Commentary

Commentary

AVIS-*na*: reference to Kubaba in the Commagenian style?

Sense: "This BIRD ... (acc. sing. MF) [So-and-so set up]" seems most likely.

VI.15. SAMSAT fragments (plates 181–184)

Location. Fragments, Adiyaman Museum, nos. 4771 (frag. 1); 4772 (frag. 2); 3452 (frag. 3); 2147 (frag. 4); 4735 (frag. 5); 1685 (frag. 6); 4733 (frag. 7); 1860 (frag. 8); 3813 (frag. 9); 2274 (frag. 10).

Description. (The nos. St. ... refer to the Samsat excavation numbers.)

Frag. 1 (St. 89-232), white limestone block, preserving apparently sides, top, reverse, which are smoothly dressed. It bears on its face the left part of a 1-line sinistroverse inscription; right part of face completely destroyed, left part has signs erased almost to background surface level. Below inscription is a dressed blank space, and below that, a less carefully dressed area.

Dimensions: ht., 0.38 m.; w., 1.40 m.; th., 0.49 m.; line ht., 0.20 m.

Condition: damaged.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: mixed monumental-cursive (*tā*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: 2 preserved.

Frag. 2 (St. 89-233A-B), white limestone block broken in two parts, preserving top, sides; bottom roughly worked, lower left and right corners cut out (secondary working?). The front face bore a 2-line inscription, but the top line and top of the 2nd line have been roughly erased; the lines ran [sinistroverse]-dextroverse. There is an unscribed space below bottom line.

Dimensions: ht., 0.63 m.; w. (2 parts together), 1.50 m.; th., 0.46 m.; line ht., 0.20 m.

Condition: largely erased.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: cursive (?).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: tops of lines not preserved.

Frag. 3 (St. 86-298), white limestone fragment apparently from right side of sculptured block, bearing parts of 2 lines of inscription apparently spanning the width of the block (parts of left and right edges preserved); the adjoining left face (obverse of block?) bears traces of relief sculpture.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.28 m.; preserved w. (sculptured face), 0.13 m.; th. (inscribed face), 0.22 m.; line ht., 0.15 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: one preserved.

Frag. 4 (St. 84-79), black basalt fragment, bearing part of 1 line of dextroverse inscription.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., 0.24 m.; w., 0.20 m.; th., 0.08 m.; line ht., 0.15 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: nothing diagnostic.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Frag. 5 (St. 89-182), black basalt fragment, bearing 2 sinistroverse signs.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., 0.09 m.; w., 0.10 m.; th., 0.10 m.

Condition: small fragment.

Script: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: not determinable.

Frag. 6 (St. 83-344), black basalt fragment bearing part of lowest, dextroverse line of inscription, unscribed blank space below.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., 0.18 m.; w., 0.20 m.; th., 0.12 m.

Condition: small fragment.

Script: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: not determinable.

Frag. 7 (St. 89-480), black basalt fragment from rim of stone bowl bearing below raised rim part of 1 sinistroverse line of inscription.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., 0.09 m.; w., 0.15 m.; th., 0.04 m.

Condition: small fragment.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities, word-dividers: not determinable.

Frag. 8 (St. 83-389), flake of white limestone bearing part of 1 sinistroverse line of inscription.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., 0.10 m.; w., 0.15 m.;
th., 0.03 m.
Condition: small fragment.
Script: relief.
Sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: not determinable.

Frag. 9 (St. 89–98), black basalt fragment, bearing parts of 2 lines of inscription, (dextroverse)-sinistroverse.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., 0.10 m.; w., 0.12 m.;
th., 0.11 m.
Condition: small fragment.
Script: relief.
Sign forms: cursive.
Peculiarities, word-dividers: not determinable.

Frag. 10 (St. 84–146), black basalt fragment bearing parts of 3 unidentified signs, orientation uncertain.

Dimensions (as preserved): 0.09 × 0.09 m.; th., 0.04 m.

Condition: tiny fragment.

Script: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities, word dividers: not determinable.

Discovery. Frags. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10: see H. Gonnet (below, Publication).

Publication, Edition. Frags. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10: H. Gonnet *Hethitica* 10 (1990), pp. 129–133, pls. I–II (= SAMSAT 4, 6, 8, 5, 7); others, here for the first time.

Date. 9th–8th centuries B.C., as other Commagenian Hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Text. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings made in Adiyaman Museum in the summer 1990 (frags. 3–10), and from photographs (frags. 1, 2).

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

- Frag. 1 ... *ti* ... REX² ... |*pa*... x-*tara/i-wa/i-x i wa/i-tà* CUM-*ni*
 SOL-*tà-sa* |REL-*ti* ... x-*sa* ... *á-pa-ti-i* [...] *m[u]*...
- Frag. 2 ...-*wa/i* [...] -*na* [...] *a²-wa/i x sa* [...] -*sa* [...] -*i* [...] -*za-na*
 [...] x [...] *ARH-¹* [...] -*si-ti* [...] -*pa-wa/i* [...] -*sa-ta-na*
 REX²-*na* DOMINUS-*i* [...] -*ti-na* [...] -*sa₅ + ra/i-na za-zi*
 [...] x [...] -*ta* ... -*i* ||
- Frag. 3 1. 1 ...-*wa/i* [...] x [...] ||
 1. 2 “CAELUM” TERRA-REL + *ra/i-sà* |*sá* [...] *wa/i* [...] ||
- Frag. 4 ... | -[*s*] *a-tara/i-ti a-wa/i* | ...
- Frag. 5 ... | *si* [...] *ia* [...]
- Frag. 6 ... | x-*wa/i* [...] -*zi* [...] x [...] | *ia* [...] | *ha* [...] | *ha* [...]
- Frag. 7 ... | *mu* [...] LONGUS [...] x [...] | *zi/a* ...
- Frag. 8 ... | x x [*ia*] ... *sa*(-)*FRONS²* *ia* [...]
- Frag. 9 1. 1 ... x x ...
 1. 2 ... | VIR [...] *tà* [...]
- Frag. 10 ... | x x x [...]

Commentary

No connected passages and few enough words recognizable or translatable.

Frag. 2

a²-wa/i: perhaps beginning of clause.

ARH-¹ [...] -*si-ti*: probably verb at end of same clause; cf. PES₂-*si-ti*, “comes” (KARKAMIŠ A31, § 10)?

[...] -*pa-wa/i*: beginning of new clause; spacing would perhaps only permit restoration of [*mu*-]?

VI.16–19. ANCOZ 7–10

These interesting inscriptions were recovered by Professor Sedat Alp and his team during his survey at Ancoz in 1979, when the site, on a hill above the village, was expected to be flooded by the waters of the Atatürk Barrage. In the event, the hill-top has survived the inundation.

Prevented by his other commitments from publishing these inscriptions, Professor Alp has very kindly

agreed that they should be included in the present Corpus. I am most grateful to him for this generous concession.

Note. One of the fragments bearing the Adiyaman Museum no. 684 seems to join the long-known ANCOZ 1 fragment, and is here published with it.

VI.16. ANCOZ 7 (plates 185–186)

Location. Block, Adiyaman Museum, no. 686.

Description. A 4-sided block (sides A, B, C, D), completely surrounded by 1 line of sinistroverse inscription. It originally had a further line of inscription above, of which only traces survive, and since most of the ANCOZ blocks originally had 2 lines of inscription only, it is likely that this one did too (cf. ANCOZ 1, 5, 8, 9, 10). The inscription appears to terminate at the end of side D; thus the lost line 1 would have begun immediately above this point (corner A+D) and run dextroverse round sides D–C–B–A, where it would have descended to line 2. Below the line of inscription the block is uninscribed.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.40 m.; w. of sides, 0.75 m.; line ht., 0.20 m.

Condition: good, except for beginning of side A.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: occasional.

Discovery. One of the group of inscriptions recovered by Sedat Alp on his 1979 season of excavation at Ancoz: see Alp, *Ancoz Excavations*, 1979, in *Lower Euphrates Project 1978–1979 Activities* (Ankara, 1987), pp. 61–64 with pls. 15–18.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. [Beginning lost] ...; §§ 1–3, unclear; §§ 4–13, curse formulae (protases) protecting donation of “these cities and these ...” to gods, also “this table”; § 14, curse formula (apodosis).

Date. Reign of Suppiluliumas of Kummuh (§§ 6, 13), end of 9th, beginning of 8th centuries B.C.; see BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2, Date.

Text. The text is traced from photographs. Collation is desirable and should produce clearer readings.

Photographs. Taken in Adiyaman Museum in the summer 1990.

Transliteration

Translation

- A. § 1. ...]-*si-sa*[...] *wa/i*[...] *pu*[...]
 § 2. | *wa/i*²-*za* | *za*- DEUS-*ni-ia-za* [...] -*za* [...]
 § 3. DEUS-*na-za-pa-wa/i* x-x-*pi-za* NEG₂ REL-*ba i-zi-ia-ti*
- B. § 4. | *za-zi-i-pa-wa/i* URBS-*ni-i-zi* || DEUS-*na-si-i* DOMUS. PONERE²
 -*ti-zi* | *za-a-zi-ba* u²-x(-) PRAE-*ia-zi* REL-*i-sa i-pa*² + *ra/i*(?) -*sa-na*
 (DEUS) CERVUS₂-*ia a-ta*₅ (DEUS) AVIS (DEUS) SOL-*ti*
 (DEUS) *i-ku* + *ra/i* (DEUS) *ta-sa-ku* . ARH₁ | *ta-i*
- § 5. *ni-pa-ta*² REL + *ra/i hu* + *ra/i*-x-x INFRA ... || FINES-*bi-zi*
 C. REL-*sa* | *za-la-na* PONERE-*wa/i*-*i*
 § 6. *mu-wa/i* PURUS.FONS.MI REL-*zi* | *pi-ia-ba*
 § 7. *ni-pa ku*-*ma-sa-lara/i*-*na* REL-*na za-ti-ia-za* URBS + .MI-*na-za*
 CUM-*ni i-zi-i-ba*
 § 8. *wa/i-na* | NEG₂ REL-*sa* | *i-zi-i-ti*

...
 and for us(?) this divine ...
 but for the gods he/they shall not
 make any ...
 These cities, *habitations*(?) of the gods,
 and these ...-s (he) who shall take
 away from the IPARA(?) Stag-God,
 ATA Kubaba, the Sun-God, the
 god Ikuras and the god Taskus,
 or ... puts the frontiers ZALAN,
 which I Suppiluliumas gave,
 or the sacrament which I made for
 these cities,
 (he) who does not perform it,

- § 9. *ni-pa* | *za* MENSA | REL-*sa i-pá² + ra/i(?)* (DEUS) CERVUS₂ *á-tu₅*
 D. (DEUS) AVIS (DEUS) *tu-sà-ku-ba* || ¹“MALUS”-*ta₄-tara/i-ti*
 PRAE-*ba tá-i* or who takes this table (from) be-
 fore the IPARA(?) Stag-God, ATA
 Kubaba and Taskus with malice,
 § 10. *ni-pa-wa/i-tà* .ARHLA MALLEUS or effaces (it),
 § 11. *ni-pa-wa/i-tà a-tá i-ma-ni-ti* or ...s it,
 § 12. *ni-pa* LOCUS-*ta₄-za* [(SA₄)] *sa-ni-ti-i* or overturns (it) in (its) place(s),
 § 13. *ni-pa-wa/i-ta* PURUS.FONS.MI ¹HLA + LI-*ba tá-ti-ia-za*
 |INFANS-*ni-za-ba á-ta₅-ma-za* .ARHLA MALLEUS-*i* or erases the name of Suppiluliumas
 and Hattusilis, of the father and son,
 § 14. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i* | *za-zi* DEUS LIS-*la/i/u-zi* | *á-sa-tu-u* against him may these gods be the
 prosecutors!

Commentary

It is probable that examination of this block in favourable conditions and in a good light would result in an improved text, especially for side A and other uncertain passages. The edition here offered should be regarded as preliminary.

§ 3. x-x-*pi-za* NEG₂- REL-*ba*, “not any ... PIZA”: perhaps all belonging together, acc. sing. N, perhaps from the context something harmful, but no parallels occur.

§ 4. DEUS-*na-si-i*: seems to be gen. (plur.).

DOMUS.PONERE-*ti-zi*: reading not certain, perhaps forming with preceding word a phrase standing in apposition to “these cities”; “habitations” guessed sense based on the logograms as identified.

n²-x(-) PRAE-*ia-zi*: also uncertain, appears to be single word with PRAE used syllabically, = *pari*.

i-pá² + ra/i(?)-*sa-na*: for this epithet of the Stag-God, here clearly dat. sing. of -*asi*- adjective form, see BULGARMADEN, § 11, and Commentary (+ *ra/i* only here and § 9).

List of gods: same group in same order may appear on ANCOZ 1, ll. 1+2 (see there), perhaps also ANCOZ 10, § 1. The gods *Iku²* and *Tasku*, otherwise unknown, seem to be paired in these passages, but for *Tasku* alone, see ANCOZ 5, l. 1. The divine names are all dat. sing.

§ 5. End of side B should be more readily legible on examination, but present uncertainty over two or three words obscures beginning of clause.

ni-pa-ta²: for apparent omission of -*wa/i*, which may be seen also below, §§ 7, 9, 12, cf. the remarks on KARKAMIŠ A 18e, § 2, Commentary.

REL+*ra/i*: the clause appears to be a straightforward relative clause introduced by REL-*sa*, “(he) who”. It is thus unclear what this extra relative REL+*ra/i* could be doing.

|*za-la-na* PONERE-*wa/i-i*, “puts ZALAN”: evidence for this phrase is now accumulating, see ALEPPO 3, § 3, and Commentary. The present new attestation, which clearly has “frontiers” (acc. plur. MF) as direct

object, should assist in elucidation: it supports the view that *za-la-na* should be adverbial rather than acc. sing. MF. It clearly expresses an offensive act against “frontiers”, for which there is a rather limited range of possibilities.

§ 7. *ku-ma-sa-tara/i-na*: further good example of formation with -(a)*stari*- suffix, giving noun MF; cf. Hier. *ba-ta₆-sà-tara/i-* = Cun. Luw. *hattaštarri*, “frightfulness” (TELL AHMAR 1, § 12, and Commentary), also Cun. Luw. *maršaštarri*, “desecration etc.” (CHD, s.v.). The base *kumai-*, “pure”, for which see MALPINAR, § 7, and Commentary, suggests some such sense as “sacrament”, actually the opposite of *maršaštarri*.

§ 9. PRAE-*ba tá-i*: preverb presumably the same as *pa+ra/i-ba* (KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 7, 10), PRAE-*i-ba* (BULGARMADEN, § 6). Exact nuance of reprobated act unclear: “take (from) before the gods ...”?

§ 10. *ni-pa-wa/i-tà*: -*ta* Ortspartikel is usual with .ARHLA MALLEUS (KARKAMIŠ A14b, § 3, Commentary), so is presumably to be identified here.

§ 11. *a-tá i-ma-ni*: verb occurs only in Commagenian inscriptions, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 7 ; 2, § 11; also ADIYAMAN 1, § 4. It normally has direct object expressed, here probably -*tà* (= -*ata*) in particle chain.

§ 12. For this clause see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary.

§ 13. PURUS.FONS.MI ¹HLA + LI-*ba tá-ti-ia-za* INFANS-*ni-za-ba á-ta₅-ma-za*: good example of the elaborate constructions favoured by the Commagenian inscriptions. *Suppiluliuma* and *Hattusili*, case endings not written but presumably genitive, while the appositional “father and son” are expressed by -*iya*- adjective formations, *tatiyanza* INFANS-*ni(ya)nga-ba* (acc. sing. N).

§ 14. LIS-*la/i/u-zi*: for LIS(-)*za-sa-li*-, “prosecutor”, in this context, and consideration of the logogram, see MEHARDE, § 6, and Commentary. It would seem that this is the word to be recognized here.

VI.17. ANCOZ 8 (plates 187–188)

Location. Block, Adiyaman Museum, no. 682.

Description. Damaged block, top and bottom preserved, sides lost, bearing on one face part of 2-line inscription, top line sinistroverse, bottom dextroverse. There is no way of estimating the extent of losses from either side, so the content of each line is an isolated fragment. Below this inscription the block is uninscribed; the reverse is roughly dressed.

Dimensions: ht., 0.75 m.; max. preserved w., 0.93 m.; th., 0.44 m.; line ht., 0.20 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: largely cursive (monumental *tā*, also *ta*).

Peculiarities: unusual *ta*, also BONUS.

Word-dividers: 3 visible.

Discovery. See ANCOZ 7, Discovery.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. Somewhat obscure. Line 1 may have had part of regular curse protasis, also names Mount Hurtula; l. 2 records activities of two named servants.

Date. Associate with other ANCOZ blocks: see ANCOZ 7 (Suppiluliumas of Kummuh), and ANCOZ 1, Date. Late 9th – early 8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Adiyaman Museum in the summer 1990.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1. ... [x]x[...]-i § 2. [...] -<i>wa/i-tā</i> [...] -<i>la-na</i> [...] <i>tu-wa/i</i> § 3. [...] -<i>ti</i> SUPER² -[<i>li</i>²] -<i>zi</i> [<i>á</i>²] -<i>pa-sa</i> [x] -<i>za</i> [...] OVIS [...] -<i>zi-ti</i> § 4. <i>wa/i-ta za-ti-i</i> (MONS) <i>bu+ra/i-tu-la</i> MONS(-) <i>wa/i-ti-i</i> [...] ... 2. § 5. [...] -<i>i-ta</i>² ¹<i>i-ha-wa/i+ra/i-pa-mi-sa</i> ¹<i>sa-la/i/u-wa/i</i> -[x] -<i>sa-ha</i> x-x-<i>li-zi-i</i> § 6. [<i>wa/i-tā tá-ti-zi</i> SERVUS-<i>ta-zi-i á-sa-ta</i> § 7. [<i>wa/i-ta</i> [<i>za-á-ta</i>₅-<i>ma-za</i> BONUS-<i>li-ia-ti</i> (*273) <i>tu-pa-i-ta</i> § 8. REX² -<i>ti</i> [...] -<i>pa-wa/i</i> [...] -<i>i</i> [...] x[...]	... or puts ... ZALAN, ... to this Hurtula mountain [... ] Ihawarpamis and Saluwa...s the ...s – they were paternal servants – they struck this name with <i>honour</i>. But king [...

Commentary

§ 2. Restore [*za*] -*la-na* [(PONERE)] *tu-wa/i-i*: for the context apparently to be recognized here, see ANCOZ 7, § 5, and Commentary.

§ 3. Broken but unusual clause is difficult to restore.

Connective particles: can only be represented by *-ti*, thus [*wa/i*] -*ti*?

SUPER² -[*li*²] -*zi*: somewhat difficult order of reading, but would give recognizable word, *sarlinzi*, “upper” (nom./acc. plur. MF).

[*á*²] -*pa-sa*: probably *apa-*, gen. sing., “his”, rather than nom. sing. MF, “that one”, which is difficult to envisage as subject.

[x] -*za*: logogram + phonetic complement, acc. sing. N, object?

[...] OVIS: unusual sheep-sign showing full animal; logogram, “[...] -sheep”?

[...] -*zi-ti*: presumably verb. Space does not appear to permit restoration [*i*] -*zi* -[*i*] -*ti*, “he/they will [ma]ke”.

§ 4. (MONS) *bu+ra/i-tu-la* MONS(-) *wa/i-ti-i* (dat. sing.): for mountain Hurtula occurring in other ANCOZ inscriptions, and for the reading of MONS, see ANCOZ 5, l. 1, and Commentary. The mountain recurs on ANCOZ 10, § 5. The repeated appearance of this mount Hurtula, which is grouped with the other Commagenian gods on ANCOZ 5, indicates that it was a sacred mountain, either one near Ancoz (nothing very obvious), or possibly in a general Commagenian context the most prominent mountain of the country, namely Nemrut Dağ.

§ 5. Broken clause appears to introduce two persons, perhaps with their rank (x-x-*li-zi-i*, nom. (acc.) plur. MF), subjects of clause.

§ 7. (*273) *tu-pa-i-ta*: familiar verb, good example of 3 plur. pret. in *-ai(n)ta*, for which see KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 4.

BONUS-*li-ia-ti*: stem (BONUS) *waliya(nu)-*, “(cause to) exalt” is well enough attested as a verb, but the

present form, a noun/adjective, abl. sing., is not actually paralleled. There seems no reason to doubt that it means “with *honour*” or the like.

Sense: it is not known to what “this name” exactly refers, but “strike with *honour*”, a literal translation must in the context be something good. For *a(n)ta tupi-*, “incise (a name)”, see KARATEPE, 350, 372.

VI.18. ANCOZ 9 (plates 187–188)

Location. Fragment, Adiyaman Museum, no. 683.

Description. Fragment of block, top and bottom preserved, sides destroyed, bearing part of 2-line inscription (top line sinistaverse, lower line dextroverse), uninscribed area below.

Dimensions: ht., 0.71 m.; max. preserved w., 0.46 m.; preserved th., 0.52 m.; line ht., 0.20 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: not diagnostic (monumental *tà*, cursive *á*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. See ANCOZ 7, Discovery.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. l. 1, ?; l. 2, god list with offering only.

Date. Associate with other ANCOZ blocks: see ANCOZ 7 (Suppiluliumas of Kummuh), and ANCOZ 1, Date. Late 9th–early 8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Adiyaman Museum in the summer 1990.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1. ...]-*sa*[...]*AVIS*²[...]-*ku*[...]-*ti-i*[...]-*ti-i*[...]*CRUS*[...]-*za*[...]-*i*[...]
...

–
...

2. § 2. ...] CAELUM MAGNUS (DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)*X-tà*
(DEUS)*Š-IRIL-1* MONS.REX (DEUS)*á-la-sù-wa/i-ia*
(DEUS)*CRUS+MI-ha* 1 GAZELLA(ANIMAL)-*na*
LIBARE-*la-i-ti* x|...

...] (to) the great Storm-God of
Heaven, the god ... , the god
Sarrumas mountain-king, the
goddess Alasuwas, the god ...
1 gazelle they shall offer ...

Commentary

l. 1. Too little remains, no single word identifiable.

l. 2. The god list: this corresponds to that found on ANCOZ 1, § 4, as far as it is preserved, and contrasts with another sequence seen on ANCOZ 7, § 4, and probably ANCOZ 10, § 1, and ANCOZ 1, §§ 2+3.

(DEUS)*X-tà* (recurs in same position in parallel list): the sign *X* is otherwise unknown, presumably a logogram. In the context one would expect the deity represented to be the consort of the Storm God of

Heaven. There is no evidence who this would have been in the Commagenian pantheon, but in the Tabalian pantheon we find Hebat (written (DEUS)*hi-pu-tà*) in contexts where Sarruma with Alasuwas also appears: see KULULU 5, § 1, and Commentary. It thus seems likely that Hebat should also be the deity indicated here.

(DEUS)*CRUS+MI-ha*: otherwise unattested writing representing unidentifiable deity.

LIBARE-*la-i-ti*: cf. ANCOZ 1, § 2, and Commentary.

VI.19. ANCOZ 10 (plates 187–188)

Location. Fragment, Adiyaman Museum, no. 485.

Description. Fragment flaked off face of block, top preserved, sides lost, bearing part of 2-line inscription, sinistaverse-dextroverse. Above l. 1 is a narrow raised band

of frame; below l. 2, the block is uninscribed. Line 2, unusually, was divided into compartments by vertical dividers, apparently separating out individual offerings to gods.

Dimensions: ht., 0.55 m.; preserved w., 0.66 m.; preserved th., 0.13 m.; line ht., 0.15–0.16 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: one visible.

Discovery. See ANCOZ 7, Discovery.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time.

Content. Similar to other ANCOZ blocks: offerings to gods.

Date. Associate with other ANCOZ blocks: see ANCOZ 7 (Suppiluliumas of Kummuh), and ANCOZ 1, Date. Late 9th–early 8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Adiyaman Museum in the summer 1990.

Transliteration

1. § 1. ...]x (DEUS)SOL. (DEUS)*i-ku+ra/i-na* (DEUS)*tá-sà-ku-ha*
 | .ARHL.1 (*69)*la-la-ti*
 § 2. [...] *-na/i-tá* x x x [...] ...
 ...
 2. § 3. [...] 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
 § 4. (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia* 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
 § 5. *bu+ra/i-tu-la-na/i-tá* MONS(-) *na/i-ti* REL-*i-sa i-pá*²
 [(DEUS)CER[VUS₂]]...

Translation

- ...] the Sun-God, the god Ikuras
 and the god Taskus shall take away,
 ... [...
 ...
 [to the god ...] 1 gazelle,
 to the god Taskus 1 gazelle.
 For Hurtula the mountain (he) who
 the Stag-God [...]

Commentary

§ 1. The god list: looks as if it may have been the same as that on ANCOZ 7, § 4, also perhaps ANCOZ 1, §§ 2+3, i.e. headed by IPA Stag-God and ATA Kubaba (whose AVIS sign would be represented by the broken trace).

(DEUS)*i-ku+ra/i-na*: the god's name seems to be simply *i-ku+ra/i-*, which appears in dative as *i-ku+ra/i* (ANCOZ 7, § 4; ANCOZ 1, § 3). Thus the *-na* here probably represents acc. sing. MF *-(a)n*, which would further indicate that all the other god's names here are also accusative, the direct objects of the verb.

(DEUS)*tá-sà-ku-ha*: this god's name appears elsewhere in nominative (*-sà*, ANCOZ 5, § 1), dative *-ia*, below, § 4, also ANCOZ 1, § 3; no ending, ANCOZ 7, §§ 4, 9); here like the others names it should be accusative, thus *tasku(n)-ha*.

| .ARHL.1 (*69)*la-la-ti*: verb is presumably (*arba*) *lala-*, “take (away)”, for which see MARAŞ 1, § 10, and Commentary. It is normally determined CAPEPE, the “taking hand”. The sign *HH* no. 69 has been shown to be a form of MANUS (the simple “hand”, KARATEPE, 387, Commentary), but its usage here to determine *lala-* is unexpected.