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Part 2: Text

Amuq, Aleppo, Hama, Tabal, Assur Letters, Miscellaneous,
Seals, Indices

by

John David Hawkins



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P 31
26
17

CONTENTS

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. II.74. KARKAMIŠ 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

VII. AMUQ

The Historical Context

Background: the Hittite Empire

Unqi in the Assyrian sources

Archaeological investigation

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The Inscriptions

1. TELL TAYINAT 1 (statue, throne fragments)
2. TELL TAYINAT 2 (base fragments)
3. TELL TAYINAT 3 (?)

4. TELL TAYINAT fragments

5. JISR EL HADID frags. 1–3 (stele fragments)

6. TULEIL 1 (block)

7. TULEIL 2 (fragment)

8. KIRÇOĞLU (statue)

9. 'AZAZ (fragment)

10. AIN DARA (epigraph)

11. AFRIN (stele)

12. ANTAKYA (stele, unpublished)

The Historical Context

Background: the Hittite Empire

The Amuq plain, where the river Orontes swings from flowing north to south-west towards the sea, was the centre of a prominent Neo-Hittite kingdom. At that date it was already known by the ancient form of the modern name, Assyrian Unqi, Aramaic 'mq.¹ Archaeologically the area has been investigated by the American Syrian-Hittite Expedition of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the years 1933–1938.² More recently the Syrian General Directorate of Antiquities has been conducting excavations at Ain Dara on the river Afrin, the principal affluent of the Amuq Lake, a site which certainly formed a part of the Neo-Hittite kingdom.³

The area is also comparatively well-known historically for the IInd millennium B.C., from the excavations of its then capital city, Alalah (modern Tell Atchana)⁴ of the land of Mukiš, where the discovery of tablet archives for the periods 1700–1600 and 1500–1400 B.C. throws much light on the period.⁵ In the earlier period this small Amorite kingdom was a dependency of the larger power of Halab (Aleppo) of the land of Yamhad. Later, heavily Hurrianized, it fell under the power of Mitanni.⁶ With the conquest of Syria by Suppiluliumas I, c. 1340 B.C., Mukiš was incorporated into the Hittite system of control under the general authority of the Hittite viceroy of Karkamiš.⁷ At this time its neighbours would have been the vassal kingdoms of Ugarit, Niya and Nuhašše to the south-west, south, and

south-east, Halab under its Hittite king in the east, and Hittite-dominated Kizzuwatna to the north. When the Hittite empire in Syria fell before the assaults of the Sea Peoples, c. 1200 B.C., the land of Mukiš in its coastal position doubtless bore the brunt of the invaders, as did Ugarit, and the city of Alalah was finally destroyed.

Unqi in the Assyrian sources

Historical attestations of the land do not resume until the Neo-Assyrian period, c. 870 B.C. onwards. Aššur-naširpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–

1 For a general survey of the ancient sources, see Hawkins, *RI* IV/2–3 (1973), s.v. Hattin. After the article was in proof, evidence became available that the old reading of the name as Patin (Cun. *bat* also has the value *pa*) was more likely to be correct. For this toponym and for Unqi, see below, p. 362 and nn. 8–9.

2 For the survey, see R. J. Braidwood, *Means in the Plain of Antioch* (OIP 48; Chicago, 1937). The architecture of the Iron Age has been published by R. C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, II: structural remains of the later phases* (OIP 95; Chicago, 1971).

3 Campaigns in 1956, 1962, 1964, 1976 and 1978 are reported in preliminary publications: F. Seirafi, *The Excavations of Ayin-Dara, first campaign, 1956* (*ALAS* 10 (1960), pp. 87–102 (in Arabic)); W. Orthmann, *Zu den Ausgrabungen in Tell Ain Dara* (*Arch. Anz.* 1964, pp. 136–143); F. Seirafi and A. Kirichian, *Recherches archéologiques à Ayin-Dara* (*ALAS* 15/2 (1965), pp. 3–20); A. Abou Assaf and W. Khayata, *ALAS* 33/1 (1983), pp. 21–38 (Arabic); *ALAS* 33/2 (1983), pp. 61–92 (Arabic). Most recently a final publication has appeared: Ali Abu Assaf, *Der Tempel von 'Ain Dara* (Damaszener Forschungen 3; Mainz am Rhein, 1990).

4 C. L. Woolley, *Alalah: an account of the excavations at Tell Atchana* (Oxford, 1955).

5 D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets* (London, 1953); supplementary publication in *JCS* 8 (1954), p. 1 ff.; 12 (1958), p. 124 ff.; 13 (1959), pp. 19 ff., 50 ff. The tablets of level VII document the earlier period, those of level IV the later; see also Klengel, *GS* I, Kap. 11–12.

6 The period documented, besides by the tablets, by the autobiography of the king Idrimi inscribed on his statue: see S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi* (London, 1949); also see now M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, H. Klengel and R. Mayer-Opificius, *Untersuchungen zu Statue und Inschrift des Königs Idrimi von Alalah* (*UF* 13 (1981), pp. 201–290); also, with a new evaluation of the historicity of the inscription, J. Sasson, *Studies Lacheman* (Eisenbrauns, 1981), pp. 309–324.

7 Klengel, *GS* I, Kap. 13; Astour, *The partition of the confederacy of Mukiš-Nuhašše-Nii* (*Or NS* 38 (1969), pp. 381–414).

824 B.C.) refer to the kings and their subjects as "Patinite", determining the toponym as "land" (KUR).⁸ Alternatively the land was known to Shalmaneser III and later to Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) as Unqi.⁹ Its capital city was known to all three kings as Kinalua.¹⁰

Besides the capital, other cities of the land of Unqi are mentioned: Hazazu and Aribua by Aššurnāširpal II;¹¹ Alimuš(?), Taia, Hazazu, Nulia, Butamu and Urime by Shalmaneser III;¹² Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra, Sagillu by Tiglath-pileser III (Annals).¹³ Of these only Hazazu is definitely located by identification supported by the itineraries with modern 'Azaz.¹⁴ Some of the others are speculatively located by uncertainly founded identifications with modern toponyms.¹⁵

Aššurnāširpal II, on his western campaign c. 870 B.C., passed through the country, and his itinerary gives clear information of the kingdom's extent.¹⁶ Marching from Karkamiš past the land of Yahan (Bit-Agusi, later Arpad), he entered the territory of Lubarna the Patinite at Hazazu. He then crossed the river Apre (modern Afrin) and descended on the capital Kunulua, where he received a massive tribute, hostages, and cavalry and infantry to accompany him. From Kunulua he crossed the river Orontes, and passing the river Sangura, presumably the tributary entering the Orontes north of (modern) Jisr eš Šuğur, he entered Aribua, a fortress of Lubarna. From here he was able to launch an attack on the land of Luhuti, identified with I'š, the northern province of Hamath,¹⁷ and the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Nuhašše, lying in the hills east of the Orontes in the neighbourhood of the modern Idlib. This itinerary seems to place Kunulua in the Amuq plain, presumably at the site of Tell Tayinat; an identification with Ain Dara has been proposed, but fits our understanding of the route less well.¹⁸ The territory of Lubarna is seen to extend from Hazazu in the north, where it bordered on Yahan, to Aribua near the middle Orontes, where it bordered on Luhuti, presumably already part of Hamath. The kingdom controlled the valleys of the Afrin

and the Kara Su, up towards the small kingdom of Sam'al. In the north, the Amanus range doubtless formed the perennial frontier with Flat Cilicia, at this date known to the Assyrians as Que.

Aššurnāširpal later received Patinite envoys at the inauguration of Kalhu,¹⁹ and settled Patinites in the newly built city.²⁰ His son Shalmaneser in 858 B.C., his first year, launched an assault on the north Syrian cities.²¹ Descending from Gurgum on Hayanu of Sam'al, he found him supported by an alliance of Sopalulme the Patinite, Ahuni of Bit-Adini and Sangara of Karkamiš. Shalmaneser claimed victory and passed south from Mt. Amanus across the Orontes against the city Alimuš (or Ališir), a stronghold of Sopalulme, where he found himself confronted by the same alliance enlarged by the presence of Cilicians, Kate of Que, Pihirim of Hilakku,

8 (KUR)PA/HAT-ti-na-a-a: the earlier reading *Patin* (see e.g. King, *AK-I*, loc. cit. below, n. 16) was abandoned in favour of *Hattin* after a certainly incorrect identification with the city Hattina attested in Hittite texts: see Gustavs, *OLZ* 20 (1917), pp. 321–323. The reading Hattin became generally accepted: see e.g. Luckenbill, *AR-AB* II, Index of Names, s.v.; Parpola, *N-AT*, s.v. HATTINA; Orthmann, *USK*, p. 197 n. 1. Yet this preference for *hat-* to *pa-* was without good authority. The KUR *pat-ti-nu*, found in a list of Syrian cities between Bit-Agusi (Arpad) and the city Nanpigi on a new fragment of the Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser III, is almost certainly to be identified as a writing of this toponym, and by its alternative spelling would provide conclusive evidence in favour of *pa-* (frag. B, left side, l. 5': see Levine and Tadmor, in Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III* (1994), p. 102 l. 5 – prior information by courtesy of the author). This writing remains a unique attestation of the country name as opposed to the ethnonicon.

9 Also regularly determined KUR, thus recognized as a country: see Parpola, *N-AT*, s.v. UNQI. This has long been identified with the Aramaic attested kingdom of 'mq (see below, p. 363 and n. 29), and recognized as the general W. Semitic term for "low-lying plain"; cf. the Hittite texts' KUR (URU)Amga (the Beqa valley, Aharoni, *IEJ* 3 (1953), pp. 153–161); also Phoen. 'mq 'dn, the plain of Adana (KARATEPE, Phoen. A i 4, ii 2, 8–9, 14, 15–16). The location of the Patinites in Unqi is clear from the campaign of year 829 B.C. of Shalmaneser III (see below, p. 363 and n. 28); also the alternations of the term "Patinite" and "Unqite" applied to the king Qalparunda (below, p. 363 and nn. 24–27).

10 Parpola, *N-AT*, s.v. KINALUA; Hawkins, *RLA* V/7–8 (1980), s.v. Kinalua. Alternative spellings include Kinalia, Kunulua, Kunulua and Kunalia. The city is described as royal city of the Patinite(s) by Aššurnāširpal II and Shalmaneser III, and of Unqi by Tiglath-pileser III. For its location see below, and n. 18.

11 See below, and n. 16.

12 See below, and nn. 21–23.

13 See below, p. 363 and n. 35; cf. also the list of otherwise unknown cities on a broken slab of Tiglath-pileser III, III R 10, 3 (Rost, *Tiglath-pileser*, pl. XXVII, ii 8–15 = *AR-AB* I, § 820), identified as cities of Unqi by the inclusion of Kulmadara.

14 See Hawkins, *RLA* IV/2–3 (1973), s.v. Hazazu. The town later appears in the list of Tiglath-pileser III (preceding n.), ii 2, among the towns of Bit-Agusi, indicating that it had changed hands since the reign of Shalmaneser III.

15 Cf. Elliger, *Fs Eissfeldt*, p. 94 f.; also Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), pp. 220 ff., nos. 4, 15, 30, 35, 46, 153.

16 Annals, *AK-I*, pp. 368–372 (= *RLM-I* 2, A.0.101.1), iii 71–84. See especially Lewy, *Or. NS* 21 (1952), pp. 398–402, with earlier references.

17 See Hama, p. 400 and nn. 36–38.

18 Orthmann, *USK*, p. 198 and n. 21, giving also references to earlier locations.

19 See Karkamiš, p. 75 and n. 31 (Banquet stele (= *RLM-I* 2, A.0.101.30), iv 144).

20 Ibid., i 35 f.; also Annals, *AK-I*, p. 387, iii 134; the same account is found in several summary inscriptions.

21 Detailed account on the Kurkh Monolith (= *RLM-I* 3, A.0.102.2), i 42–ii 12. A new inscription of Shalmaneser III has been discovered in the Nabu Temple, Nimrud, with accounts of the first two campaigns. The text is a near duplicate of that of the Kurkh Monolith, but in the present passage it both restores damaged clauses and adds some significant details. See Mahmud and Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985–86), pp. 135–150, text 1, rev. 10–44 [see now *RLM-I* 3, A.0.102.3].

Burannati of Yasbuq and Adanu of Yahan.²² After a further victory and the capture of Alimuš, he seems to have been left unopposed. The recently discovered inscription gives a rather clearer account of his subsequent itinerary: he proceeded from Alimuš to the sea, then up Mt. Amanus, up Mt. Atalur²³ and against the cities Taia and Hazazu. Here this account diverges somewhat from the Kurkh Monolith, which adds the cities Nulia and Butamu, while the new inscription instead narrates the destruction of Urime, called the "fortified city of Lubarna the Patinite". This information seems to show that Lubarna, contemporary of Aššurnāširpal, was still alive, so we must suppose that at this time the land was divided between him and Shalmaneser's opponent Sapalulme. Both rulers bore illustrious Hittite names, Labarnas and Suppiluliumas.

In 857 and again in 853 B.C. Shalmaneser again received Patinite tribute along with that of other north Syrian rulers,²⁴ but this time the ruler paying it was Qalparunda, who thus seems to have replaced Sapalulme, perhaps in the aftermath of the events of 858. The tribute of this ruler was illustrated on monuments from later in the reign, the Balawat Gates,²⁵ the Nimrud Throne Base²⁶ and the Black Obelisk.²⁷

In 829 B.C., Shalmaneser, hearing that the Patinites had killed their ruler Lubarna, perhaps the second of that name but possibly the ruler known c. 870 and 858 B.C., and replaced him with a usurper Surri, sent the *turtān* Dayan-Aššur to avenge him.²⁸ The usurper died, and the Patinites submitted and accepted the installation of Sasi the Kuruşşean(?) in Kunalua.

In the reign of Adad-nirari III, a king of Unqi (ʿmq) took part in the Arpad-led alliance which besieged Zakur of Hamath in Hatarikka in 796 B.C.²⁹ This alliance seems to have been the same which earlier opposed the Assyrians in 805 B.C.³⁰

Unqi is not however recorded as a member of the Urartu-Arpad alliance, including Gurgum, Kummuh and Melid, which was defeated by Tiglath-pileser III in 743 B.C.³¹ The Assyrian king captured Arpad in 740 B.C. after a three-year siege, and established it as the first Assyrian province west of the Euphrates.³² In 739 B.C., while he was fighting in Ulluba in the east,³³ Unqi under a ruler Tutammu broke the oath (*adê*), which was regarded as revolt. In 738 B.C. Tiglath-pileser returned, removed Tutammu and the wealth and population of

Unqi, and constituted the capital city Kinalia (Kunulua) a province under an Assyrian governor.³⁴ Large numbers of settlers from the east were planted in Kinalia and other cities of Unqi, Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatairra, and Sagillu.³⁵ The province is attested during the Assyrian empire under the name Kullani, apparently a dialectal variation of Kunulua, known also to the Old Testament as Kalneh or Kalno (*kelnh*, *kelnw*).³⁶ This annexation is likely to be an absolute *terminus ante quem* for native monuments.

23 The sequence sea-Amanus-Atalur-(Taia-)Hazazu suggests that Mt. Atalur (alias Lallar) with its image of Anum-hirbe may be sought on one of the peaks of the Kurt Dağ range which separates the valleys of the Aksu and Afrin. Cf. Röhlig, *RLA* VI/5-6 (1983), s.v. Lallar (2).

24 See Karkamiš, p. 75 and n. 33.

25 King, *Bronze Reliefs*, band V, pls. XXV-XXX upper register; for the epigraph see Michel, *WdO* IV/1 (1967-68), p. 36 l. 7 = *RLM* 3, A.0.102.69. See in general, Wätler, *AQAT* 26 (1975), pp. 158-170.

26 Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 56 l. 48, 65 l. 48 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.60); Oates, *ibid.*, pp. 18-20 and pls. VI-VII a, b.

27 Register V, with epigraph: Michel, *WdO* II/2 (1955), p. 142 f. = *RLM* 3, A.0.102.91.

28 Black Obelisk, *WdO* II/3 (1956), pp. 224 ff. (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.14), ll. 146-156 (28th *palû*); Eponym Chronicle, *RLA* II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 433, C^b4, obv. 12, *ana KUR unqi*. The latter source has the correct date, 829 B.C.; for the chronological discrepancy with the Black Obelisk, see Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 251-255. It has always been assumed that this Lubarni was a different individual from the opponent of Aššurnāširpal c. 870 B.C., but the new evidence that Lubarna was still alive in 858 B.C. when he was earlier thought to have been succeeded by Sapalulme (see above, p. 362 and n. 21), raises the possibility here that the same Lubarna had survived also the reign of Qalparunda to be assassinated at this date. Cf. Hawkins, *RLA* VII/1-2 (1987), s.v. Lubarna, where the evidence of the new inscription must be incorporated.

29 See Hama, p. 401 and n. 47.

30 See Commagene, p. 331 f. and nn. 26-27.

31 See Maraš, p. 250 and n. 19.

32 See Aleppo (Babylon), p. 390 and n. 29.

33 See Postgate, *Sumer* 29 (1973), pp. 47-59, esp. 57 f.

34 Annals, ll. 92-101, Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 16, and pl. XIV (for which see Tadmor, *Agrya*, p. 256; Introductory Remarks, pp. 180, 185 f.) = *ARAB* I, § 769. The deportation of Tutammu is referred to in a Nimrud letter, XV, rev. 9-12 (see Saggs, *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 133 f. and pl. XXXIII).

35 Annals, ll. 143-145, Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 24 and pl. XV (for which see Tadmor, Introductory Remarks, p. 177), = *ARAB* I, § 772.

36 Hawkins, *RLA* VI/3-4 (1982), s.v. Kullani(a), with earlier bibliography. The date of the annexation of Unqi is established by the recognition that it is described by "Kullani conquered" (Eponym Chronicle, C^b1, rev. 36, see *RLA* II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 431). The provincial status of Kullani is adequately attested: governor Manzerni, 684 B.C., Eponym Canon C^d4 (*RLA* II, p. 426 f.); III R 2 no. 22 l. 9 f.; *ARU* 60 l. 32; *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 46 (ND 2340); *An. St.* 7 (1957), p. 143 (s.v. 51/43A). Unnamed governor, with governor of Arpad, in list of defaulting governors, reign of Esarhaddon: *ABL* 43, obv. 15. Listed with other western provinces next to Arpad: *ABL* 372, rev. 11 (horse payments); *ADD* 951, obv. 2, rev. 13 (wool payments); see Postgate *TCLE*, pp. 7 ff., esp. 14 f., 230 ff., 322 f. A late reference to the land of Unqi as such is found on the Borowski stele of Sargon II from Hamath, l. 19 (see Hama, p. 401 and n. 56).

22 This name is restored to the damaged text from the new duplicate (rev. 28 f.): *ʿa-da-a-nu* (KUR) *ia-ha-na-a-a*. This Adanu the Yahanite is presumably the successor of Gusi the Yahanite named by Aššurnāširpal II, c. 870 B.C. (Annals, *AK-I*, p. 370, iii 77 f.). It is a surprising new piece of information to find him as a contemporary with Arame son of (A)gusi, named as tributary at the end of this campaign (rev. 44 f.; Kurkh Monolith, ii 12). This seems to show that the Aramean tribal state of Bit-Agusi, with its later attested capital at Arpad, did not at this date incorporate the land of Yahan. Cf. Hawkins, *RLA* V/3-4 (1977), s.v. Jahan, an entry which should be revised to incorporate this new evidence.

Archaeological investigation

The numerous tells in the Amuq, the plain of Antioch, were surveyed by the American Expedition team, who then excavated three main sites, Tell al-Judaidah, Çatal Hüyük and Tell Tayinat, as well as sounding a number of smaller ones.³⁷ Tell al-Judaidah provided the full pottery sequence from c. 600 A.D., stretching back to before the Halaf period, in a series of levels numbered I–XIV, later designated as cultural phases S–A.³⁸ The levels/phases of interest here are levels V–IV phases N–O (1200–1000, 1000–500 B.C.). Characteristic pottery of this period was widely distributed across the Amuq.³⁹

Building remains of phases N–O, largely house plans, were uncovered at Tell al-Judaidah⁴⁰ and Çatal Hüyük,⁴¹ with part of the fortification wall at the latter. But the most striking remains were found at Tell Tayinat, in the form of a palace area with monumental buildings in the Hittite style of mud-brick walls incorporating a timber frame structure, and basalt orthostats flanking the wall footings. At the high point of the site in the area described as “West Central”,⁴² through a Gate (XII)⁴³ was entered a Courtyard (VIII),⁴⁴ which was flanked by buildings, Building IV to the north,⁴⁵ Building VI to the east,⁴⁶ and Buildings I⁴⁷ and V⁴⁸ to the south. Abutting Building I on its south side was a small Shrine (II),⁴⁹ which showed a late phase in which it was substantially rebuilt.

South of the West Central area below another peak of the site the remains of a building (IX) were excavated, which from the Mesopotamian character of its surviving plan was identified as an Assyrian provincial palace.⁵⁰ On the east side of the citadel mound a Citadel Gate (VII) was excavated,⁵¹ and off the mound East and South city gates XI and III were located.⁵²

Excavations at Ain Dara⁵³ have located below later occupation a large Neo-Hittite temple, of which the fully disengaged plan can be completely reconstructed. An exterior terrace wall, faced by a continuous frieze of lion and sphinx orthostats on a dressed plinth, surrounded a rectangular temple entered on the short, south-east side, and consisting of an ante-cella and square cella. The outer walls of the temple preserved some broken sculptured orthostats *in situ*, and the left side of the south-east facade slabs of lions and sphinxes surmounted by frontal lion protomes. All this sculpture, which was of high quality, suffered severely in the destruction, which splintered and flaked the orthostats from the top. The only well preserved sculpture comes from the interior of the shrine, two sets of three small blocks carved with caryatid triads of bull-men, lion-men and griffin-men flanking mountain-men. Elsewhere a well preserved portal lion was found out of context.

The sculpture is rendered in a heavy, robust style, identified, along with the Karkamiš Water Gate sculpture, as representing the earliest Neo-Hittite style.⁵⁴

More recent work at the site has discovered further significant sculpture, one piece with a fragmentary Hieroglyphic inscription, and some graffiti or mason's marks.⁵⁵

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The epigraphic discoveries of the Tell Tayinat excavations were fragmentary.⁵⁶ Two major monuments were found in scattered pieces, TELL TAYINAT 1, fragments of a colossal inscribed basalt throne and base with associated fragments of a colossal seated figure; and TELL TAYINAT 2, a large number of inscribed fragments, probably of a square base of a lost monument.

The fragments of TELL TAYINAT 2 were widely dispersed.⁵⁷ The main group (VII) was found under the first floor of the shrine, Building II (otherwise designated the “Megaron”). Fragments V, VI and VIII 1–20, 28–29, 30–37, 51–52 were found in the street east of Building I. Other pieces come from yet other areas, but the groups and single fragments are linked by joins. No royal or city names survive on the fragments, and it is difficult to suggest a date for the original monument. The generally cursive sign forms point to the 8th century B.C. rather than the 9th. The breaking and dispersal of the monument seems likely to have been the work of the Assyrian conquerors in 738 B.C. This would indicate that the final building phase of the “Megaron”, Building II, under the floor of which many

37 Results published in Haines, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2).

38 Braidwood, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), pp. 4–8, cf. Haines, p. 1 f.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 48 f. The pottery remains to be published.

40 Reported in Haines, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–31.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 3–25 and pls. 19–20.

42 *Ibid.*, pl. 93, with the isometric reconstructions pls. 106–108.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 57 and pl. 104.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 40 f. and pl. 99.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 41–43 and pls. 96–97.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 44–53 and pls. 103–104.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 55–57 and pl. 104.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 53–55 and pl. 103.

50 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–63 and pl. 109.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 60 f. and pl. 110A.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60 and pls. 110B–111.

53 See above, p. 361 and n. 3.

54 Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 56–59, 476–479 with plan 1, Taf. 1–4; and recently Abu Assaf, *op. cit.* (n. 3 above), ch. VIII.

55 I am indebted to Dr. Paul Zimansky for information on finds at Ain Dara in 1981–82.

56 Published by Gelb, *HFM*, pp. 38–40 and pls. LXXVII–XCII. This was intended as a preliminary publication, to be followed by an *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* volume, devoted to the stone monuments. This has not materialized. I am deeply indebted to the Oriental Institute, Chicago, where the material is housed, for permission to work on it in the spring 1983, and to publish the results; also to Professors Güterbock, Braidwood, Adams and Dornemann for their assistance and encouragement at that time.

57 For details see TELL TAYINAT 2, Discovery.

pieces were found, belonged to the period of the Assyrian province, as does also its double-lion column base.⁵⁸

As to the colossal seated figure⁵⁹ and its inscribed throne, one fragment of TELL TAYINAT 1 preserves the name Halparuntiyas,⁶⁰ suggesting the possible attribution of the original monument to Qalparunda, contemporary of Shalmaneser III, named in 857 and 853 B.C. The fragments had been reused in the latest paving of the Citadel Gate, VII,⁶¹ and these circumstances again suggest destruction and reuse of the monument by the Assyrians. Possibly the enthroned figure had been originally placed in the gate, like the comparable figure in the South Gate of Karkamiš, which had suffered a similar fate.⁶²

Another inscription found on the excavations was TELL TAYINAT 3, described as a basalt pedestal with basin ("altar") *in situ* on the right of the porch of the "Megaron" Building II. It seems unlikely that this Assyrian building would have employed in primary use in such a position a monument bearing a Hieroglyphic inscription, so it may be that the piece was recut from another monument. In any case the inscription is completely illegible, and possibly lost.

Other miscellaneous inscribed fragments from the excavations are of various or unknown provenances.⁶³

The American Expedition also collected while on survey some inscriptions at Jisr el Hadid and Tuleil: JISR EL HADID fragments 1–3, possibly parts of the same original monument, found in secondary reuse; and TULEIL 1 and 2, a block with a complete but worn inscription and a fragment. None of these pieces have yielded any name of king or place which would permit their placing in any historical context.

A long known chance find from the Amuq is the small inscribed statue KIRÇOĞLU, dedicated by a private individual to the "divine Queen of the Land", a goddess found also on MEHARDE and SHEIZAR.

No place-names have survived on any of the Amuq inscriptions except the ethnicon *wadasatinizas* (REGIO), i.e. "of the land Wadasatini",⁶⁴ which is found also on MEHARDE and SHEIZAR as the place from which the "Hero", Taitas, drew his title. In the context it could conceivably be the indigenous designation of the country, although the evidence is much too scanty for any certainty. In any case no Hieroglyphic writings of the country names Pattin or Unqi or the city name Kunulua have been found, or indeed those of any of the Unqian cities.

The Inscriptions

VII.1. TELL TAYINAT 1 (plates 189–192)

Location. Fragments, Oriental Institute, Chicago, excavation no. T 1260.

Description. "Several large fragments of a colossal statue seated on a throne, discovered near the East Gate" (Gelb, see below, Publication). Fragments 1 and 2 both preserve parts of ornate, projecting capitals of two legs of the throne. *Frag. 1:* below a preserved horizontal surface, l. 1, with part of upper edge preserved, runs sinistroverse above projecting capital round 3 adjoining faces; l. 2 runs dextroverse round same 3 faces jumping a double-volute flanked by tress-patterned bands which surmounts the front of the column; ll. 3 (sinistroverse) and 4 (dextroverse) are only preserved to right of column, but by analogy with frag. 2 would have continued to its left, and would have had a blank space representing a structural element of the throne below; above the upper horizontal surface, set back from the edge, there are traces of the beginning of a further vertical inscribed surface. *Frag. 2:* surmounting horizontal surface and upper part of l. 1 not preserved but may be inferred from frag. 1; traces of lower part of l. 1 may be seen running sinistroverse above double-

volute with tress-patterned bands, to left of which a fragment of l. 2 (dextroverse) is preserved; ll. 3 (sinistroverse) and 4 (dextroverse) run round the fragment straddling the projecting capital. *Fragments 3, 4 and 5* have been joined by Dornemann to form a section of a 5-line inscription preserved from a horizontal upper surface to an uninscribed blank space below and a horizontal lower surface set back from which are remains of a continuing vertical face, indicating that this was not an original base. Ll. 1, 3, and 5 are sinistroverse,

58 Orthmann, *USK*, pp. 83, 534, recognizes their purely Assyrian character.

59 Published only as a photograph of the roughly assembled fragments: Gelb, *HHM*, pl. LXXIX. The head, somewhat further restored, is in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

60 TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 6; the name Halparuntiyas and the historical association was pointed out by Gelb, *HHM*, p. 39.

61 For details, see TELL TAYINAT 1, Discovery, but note the doubts on the find-spots raised by Ussishkin.

62 See Karkamiš, p. 79 and n. 79.

63 Published as a group TELL TAYINAT VIII by Gelb, *HHM*, p. 40 and pls. XCI–XCII. Some pieces have since been added to TELL TAYINAT 2.

64 TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 3: see Commentary.

ll. 2 and 4 dextroverse; and on frag. 5 ll. 4–5 seem to show traces of sculptural detail. *Frag. 6* is a still unattached piece bearing remains of a dextroverse line, with a blank space below, turning under to a lower surface at right angles; projections from this look like the tops of further Hieroglyphs, which could suggest that the inscribed area on the adjoining face was originally a horizontal surface.

Dimensions: preserved ht., frag. 1, 0.48 m.; frag. 2, 0.64 m.; frags. 3–5, 0.75 m.; frag. 6, 0.06 m.; line ht., average *c.* 0.11 m. throughout.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Script, line-dividers: relief, ornate with much internal detail.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: occasionally preserved.

Discovery. Excavated at Tell Tayinat, end of 1936 season in building “Eastern Citadel Gate” (old no. XVII, new no. VII), described as “used in 1st pavement” (information from excavation catalogue); cf. Haines, *OIP* 95 (1971), pp. 60, 66 – “Gateway VII”; and description of “highest paving” with reused carved limestone orthostats T 1253–58, dated to “fourth building period”. Circumstances of discovery are similar to those of the fragments of the colossal statue KAR-KAMIŠ B27*a* and its inscribed base KARKAMIŠ A13*a*–*c*, and suggest that this monument too had stood in or at the Gatehouse and was smashed at the Assyrian conquest of Unqi in 738 B.C., the fragments being reused in the pavement of the Assyrian rebuilding of the

structure. Cf. Amuq, *The Historical Context*, p. 365 and nn. 59, 61–62. But cf. now the doubts raised by Usishkin, in *Studies Tabsin Özgüç*, p. 488. It is not correct to say that I identify the fragments TELL TAYINAT 1 (T 1260) with the “reused carved limestone orthostats (T 1253–58)”.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 52, p. 39, pls. LXXVIII–LXXIX (frag. 1, photographs and copy), LXXX–LXXXI (frag. 2, photographs and copy), LXXXII (frag. 3, photograph and copy), LXXXIII (frags. 4, 5, 6, photographs and copies).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 293, pp. 224–227, Tav. XL (redrawn from Gelb, reassembled to explore possibility of aligning ll. 1–4 on frags. 1, 2 and 3; for consideration see below, Commentary).

Content. Insufficient to determine, few complete words preserved.

Date. Halparuntiyas (frag. 6) identified by Gelb with Qalparunda of Unqi attested in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III in 857 and 853 B.C. This mid-9th century dating seems possible, but is by no means certain.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of photographs collated from the stones in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, April 1983.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

	Transliteration	Translation
frag. 1	1. 1 ...]x-sa-ba ² VIR-tā[...]tā [] FEMINA-la-ba PRAE ² - wa/i-na-ṣā ARH-1[... 1. 2 ...]mi-ia-ti- “IUDEX”-ti-i REGIO-[ni]-ia-ba [... 1. 3 ...] PRAE ² -i[... 1. 4 ...] ta x x [...	...] I [...]ed, [and] for male and female ... away [... ...] by my justice, and the lands [... ...] forth [... ...
frag. 2	1. 1 ...] x x [...]tā[... 1. 2 ...]ā mu '[... 1. 3 ...](LIB)ARE[sa ₅]+ra/i-li-tā wa/i- IUDEX-li-i[... 1. 4 ...] [...]-wa/i-t[ā ²] ṣā-pa-wa/i-tu (m)u ² -x[...]	] he offered, and ... [... ...] he/they [...]ed, and this [...] to him [...
frags. 3–5	1. 1 ...]-ni-sā wa/i-ta ₄ -sā-ti-ni-[ṣā-sa](REGIO)[... 1. 2 ...] x x x x-wa/i-i [... 1. 3 ...]x-pa-wa/i-ta- REL-a-ṣā x x x [... 1. 4 ...] FORTIS[-li ²]-i-na *273-i-na x[... 1. 5 ...] x-ni(-)a+ra/i-li-ka SUPER+ra/i- [CAPERE ²]-ta *356-sū-ba(-)[tā]-mi-i[...REL-sā REL-ṣā(-)x[...]	...] ... the Wadasatinean [...]but (that) which [... ...] a mighty virtue (acc sing.) [... ?
frag. 6.	...u]a/i[...]- [TONITRUS].H-1LP-1[pa]-CERVUS ₂ - [ti-i]a-sa x[...	...] Halparuntiyas [...

Commentary

Order of reading fragments. Meriggi's attempt to assemble a text from rearranging the fragments was made without the knowledge of Dornemann's join of frags. 3, 4 and 5, which does not rule out his attempt but renders it less probable by establishing the bottom of that fragment and the fact that it had 5 lines. None of the juxtapositions resulting from Meriggi's arrangement produces compelling sense. Thus it seems preferable simply to list the fragments in order of the numbers originally allocated.

Frag. 1

l. 1. VIR-tà[...]tā || FEMINA-la-ha: Cun. Luw. has a probable *ašrulaḫša*, "femininity", contrasted with *šidaḫša*, "masculinity" (see *StBoT* 30, p. 252, IV.10 ll. 3'–4'; cf. Carruba, *Gs Kronasser*, p. 2 cit. 3), and an adj.(?) *ašruli-*, "feminine"; see Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 75 n. 1. In the present context, following VIR, it is natural to associate FEMINA-la- with this stem, in contrast with FEMINA-nati- (= **wanati-*), "woman"; Starke appeared to envisage a verb, which seemed unlikely on grounds of both sense and context; cf. now his remarks in *Stamm-bildung*, § 92. VIR-tā- and FEMINA-la- could be parallel forms (dat. sing.?); the link would be most easily understood with restoration VIR-tā[-pa/ha-wa/i]-tā. This would suggest that the previous word ...]x-sa-hā was a verb, 1 sing. pret.

PRAE²-wa/i-na-šā: somewhat unusual form of PRAE which normally has a long curved neck; the present form is closer to that of the Empire period (so listed by Laroche, *HH* no. 13, while Meriggi in doubt lists separately – note: the PRAE (*pari*) of HAMA 4 //RI:STAN// QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, § 1, does have the long neck; another form without the neck on KARKAMIŠ A22c, l. 5, seems certain to be a conscious archaism). But the sign is probably correctly identified (cf. below, l. 3), giving a word *pari-wa/i-na-šā*, otherwise unknown, acc. sing. N or dat. plur.

l. 2. REGIO-[ni]-ia-ha[...]: perhaps beginning of clause; restore [-wa/i etc.]?

Frag. 2

l. 3. ...(LIB)ARE][sa₅]+ra/i-li-tā, "he offered"; cf. KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 4, Commentary.

wa/i-': for this form, see SHEIZAR, § 2, Commentary.

|IUDEx-li-i: somewhat unusual form of IUDEx (*273), occurring elsewhere +RA/I with phonetic value *tara/i*; see KARATEPE, 277, Hu. *tā+ra/i* = Ho. IUDEx+RA/I; also ÇİFTLİK, § 16; KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 2. It is unclear what value the present form without RA/I might have.

l. 4. [...]wa/i-t[a²]: apparently verb, followed by new clause.

Frag. 3 + 4 + 5

l. 1. wa/i-ta₄-sa-ti-ni-[ša-sa](REGIO): toponym seen also on MEHARDE, § 2 // SHEIZAR, § 1, where it supplies the local title of the dynast. Meriggi notes that in the present passage it should similarly supply the title of author of the inscription. Tell Tayinat (in ancient Unqi) and Meharde-Sheizar (in ancient Hamath) are rather widely separated for it to be easily understood how the same land could provide the title for dynasts of both, nor is there a Cuneiform toponym with which the name can be identified.

l. 4. FORTIS[-li²]-i-na *273-i-na: cf. SULTANHAN, § 8, [muw]atalin *warpin*; context probably similar. The present attestation would appear to confirm the restoration [muw]atalin as against [tiw]atalin; cf. also KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 4, and Commentary.

l. 5. ...]x-ni(-): perhaps [URBS+MI]-ni, "to the city".

a+ra/i-li-ka: *hapax legomenon*.

[CAPERE²]-ta: possibly verb, "he/they took (up)", but this recognition depends on following word.

[*356-sù-ha(-)]tā-mi-i[...]: probable verb "*356"(-) REL-sù[...] identified on ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 15, which looks likely to connect with present word; but where does this end – with -ha (thus verb 1 sing. pret., but what about preceding word), or with -ha-[tā]-mi-i [connective particles?] (in which case how analysed and connected with ASSUR letter verb?)?

Frag. 6.

[TONITRUS].H.4LP.4-[pa]-CERVUS₂-[ti-i]a-sa: identification of name *Halparuntiyas* (Assyrian *Qalparu(n)da*) certain, but context too unclear to assure that this is the name of the author of the inscription and thereby to date it.

VII.2. TELL TAYINAT 2 (plate 193)

Location. Twelve main fragments and others, Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Publication, Discovery, Description: taken in reverse order from that usually followed, in order to es-

tablish the identity and designation of the fragments, and their coherence as a group, before describing them.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), nos. 54–58, p. 39 f., pls. LXXXV–XC, with additional fragments on pls.

XCI–XCII. The pieces were designated TELL TAYINAT III–VI and a large group of fragments VII.1–21. An additional group of fragments VIII.1–52 includes two pieces which have been joined and other pieces which may well belong. All regrouped here as TELL TAYINAT 2.

Discovery. (1) The group TELL TAYINAT VII was excavated “in the portico of the megaron one meter below the first floor” (Gelb, loc. cit.). (For a description of the megaron, Building II, see now Haines, *OIP* 95 (1971), pp. 53–55). The group was given the field no. T 3277 and the locus described in the excavation catalogue as “[Building] II [area] B”. Two fragments found elsewhere were joined: T 201, found in “I T, S[outh], in stone fill against wall” (excavation catalogue; i.e. Building I, area T), joined to VII.1; and T 398, found in “II B” (excavation catalogue: i.e. Building II, area B, the megaron portico itself), joined to VII.2.

(2) The fragments TELL TAYINAT III–VI (field nos. T 125, T 300, T 598, T 623) were found as follows: T 125, “[Building] I [area] R, S[outh] side of building” (excavation catalogue); T 300, “[Building] II [area] C” (excavation catalogue; i.e. megaron cella); T 598 and 623, “street east of Building I” (Gelb, loc. cit.) = “I T” (excavation catalogue).

(3) Along with TELL TAYINAT V and VI, the fragments VIII.1–20, 28–29, 31–37 and 51–52 were found in the street east of Building I (I T). VIII.1 has been joined to VII.21 (see below), and the following fragments by the size and style of script may well belong with TELL TAYINAT III–VII: TELL TAYINAT VIII.2, 6–15, 17–19, 28 and possibly 51–52.

(4) TELL TAYINAT VIII.26 and 27 come from Building XXV (Gelb) (= Haines, “Platform XV”: *OIP* 95, p. 43 f.), respectively 1 m. below surface and floors 2–3 (excavation catalogue). VIII.26 joins TELL TAYINAT VI (see below).

Description. (1) *Joins.* The following joins have been made by R. Dornemann:

TELL TAYINAT VII.21+VIII.1+V+VII.5+VII.20
VII.2+VII.14
VII.7+VII.10
VII.9+VII.8

and by J. D. Hawkins:

VIII.26+VI

It is thus clear that in spite of different find-spots, TELL TAYINAT III–VI and fragments from VIII belong with the group VII, now redesignated TELL TAYINAT 2.

(2) *Reconstruction.* Dornemann has proposed that these fragments form part of an original single flat-topped, four-sided block around which the inscription ran in several lines, beginning dextroverse. Nine pieces preserve parts of the upper edge, here redesignated *fragments 1–9*, and of these, 4 have two faces, thus forming the original corners, 1 a–b, 2 a–b, 5 a–b, 8 a–b,

respectively corners A, B, C, D. There is one major lower-corner piece, and two major lower pieces without corners, redesignated *fragments 10–12*. Thus:

frag. 1 a–b	= VII.21+VIII.1+ V+VII.5+VII.20	(corner A)
frag. 2 a–b	= VII.1	(corner B)
frag. 3	= VII.2+VII.14	
frag. 4	= VII.11	
frag. 5 a–b	= III	(corner C)
frag. 6	= VII.4	
frag. 7	= VII.7+VII.10	
frag. 8 a–b	= VII.8+VII.9	(corner D)
frag. 9	= VII.6	
frag. 10 a–b	= VIII.26+VI	(corner ?)
frag. 11	= IV	
frag. 12	= VII.3	

Dornemann's positioning of the corners in relation to each other and ordering of the intermediate pieces is largely hypothetical for lack of corroboratory evidence, but is accepted here provisionally with some minor modifications. His main starting point, probable but not completely certain, is the observation that two corner pieces, frags. 2 b and 5 a, and two other pieces, frags. 3 and 4, unlike all other pieces, show a raised band along their upper edge and that these pieces therefore all belong on one side, B–C. The position of corners A and D in relation to B+C could be as presented or could be reversed. Similarly the position of frags. 6, 7 and 9 on sides C–D and D–A is not assured, but they are less likely to have come from side A–B which already has a considerable preserved length.

To position the lower fragments 10–12 it is necessary to consider the number of preserved lines and their average heights. We should also note that none of the major fragments preserves a clear lower edge of the monument (VII.12 with an uninscribed space below its lower line may do so). The upper-edge fragments show the following maximum preserved line-count:

frag. 1 – 4 lines
frag. 2 – 3
frag. 3 – 5
frag. 4 – 2
frag. 5 – 1
frag. 6 – 2
frag. 7 – 3
frag. 8 – 5
frag. 9 – 1

Insofar as may be measured, ll. 1–4 seem to show a progressive diminution of height on all fragments. It is notable that on both frags. 10 and 12 the second lines (sinistroverse, therefore an even number) are somewhat lower than the third lines (dextroverse, therefore an odd number). This shows that the second and third lines of these fragments do not agree with the measurements of ll. 2–3 of the rest of the inscription, so they are best identified as belonging to ll. 4–5. They could of course belong to ll. 6–7, 8–9 etc. for which no other evidence exists, but this becomes progressively

less likely, as the further the theoretical line-count is extended the less of the inscription would have survived. It is therefore provisionally accepted that frags. 10 and 12 each preserve parts of ll. 3–6 of the original inscription. By the same criteria, frag. 11 seems to preserve parts of ll. 3–5.

As regards the positioning of corner-piece frag. 10, its four lines, if placed at corners A, B or D, would form ll. 5–8 of the inscription, which, as suggested above, unduly prolongs the line-count of the inscription. In addition the reading and division of the text down corner A (see below) apparently precludes its placing here. Only at corner C can its four lines form ll. 3–6 of the inscription as was suggested above to be most likely, so this placing is in its turn the most likely. Frags. 11 and 12 have been placed in the drawing on side D–A purely provisionally, since there is no supporting evidence. Indeed, there is a slight contextual indication that they may have stood to the left of frag. 10: see below, Commentary, l. 5.

(3) *Reading.* The reading of the various fragments provides almost no additional evidence for the arrangement of the pieces beyond the observation that similarities of context suggest that frags. 2 and 3 may belong closely together (l. 1), as may also frags. 6 and 7 (l. 2). A contextual indication that frags. 11 and 12 may have stood to the left of frag. 10 has also been mentioned, and is examined below in the Commentary, l. 5.

The hypothesis that the monument was a four-sided block encircled by lines of writing demands that one corner must serve as the division separating the beginnings/ends of the lines. This is not the case at corner B, where frag. 2 a, l. 1, continues on 2 b, nor at corner C, where 5 a, l. 1, continues on 5 b. Corner D is too fragmentary to determine. At corner A, however, frag. 1 a, l. 1 appears to continue on 1 a, l. 2 not 1 b, l. 1; and l. 3 can hardly continue on 1 b, l. 3. Further, on frag. 1 b, l. 2 certainly continues on l. 3. For detailed support of these observations see below, Commentary. Thus corner A seems certain to be the dividing line, and frag. 1 b, l. 1, is the beginning of the text as we have it. Since this is not even the beginning of a clause, let alone of a text, we must suppose that it is the continuation of a text from above, which further makes it likely that TELL TAYINAT 2 was in its complete form a base for some other inscribed monument, a stele or perhaps a statue (note: “this statue”, frag. 11 first line).

(4) *Dimensions:* hard to estimate. Sides probably not less than about 0.8 m. each; height, minimum of 6 lines, probably not less than 0.45 m.

Condition: fragments as preserved generally clear.

Script, line-dividers: relief, ornate, with much internal detail.

Sign-forms: mixed monumental, cursive (*pi*, *á*, *ta*, *mu*, *na*, *sà*); monumental only *tà*; cursive only *ma*.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: fairly frequent.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), nos. 295–300, pp. 227–237, Tav. XLI–XLII.

Excerpts.

l. 1, frag. 2,	§ iv	Bossert, <i>Gs Kretschmer</i> , p. 46 f.; Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 165.I.1(a); Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, <i>Hethitica</i> 8, p. 290 f. n. 24.
	§ v	Bossert, <i>Or.</i> NS 30, p. 201.
frag. 3,	§ i	Bossert, <i>JKF</i> 1, p. 281.
frag. 6		Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 29, p. 70 ff.
l. 2, frag. 6		Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 221.1.

Content. Too fragmentary for much to emerge, apparently royal, 1st person singular narrative of reign – favour of gods (frag. 2, l. 1, §§ iv–v; frag. 3, l. 1, § i); building (frag. 8, l. 2); roads (frags. 7 and 6, l. 2) etc. No name, titles or genealogy to identify ruler.

Date. The archaeological context points to the deliberate destruction and dispersal of the monument, with a group of the fragments being buried in the foundation fill for Building II. This is most likely to have happened at the Assyrian capture of the city in 738 B.C., which provides a plausible *terminus ante quem*. The generally cursive sign forms would point more to an 8th century B.C. date than a 9th.

Text. The new text here offered is based on the joins and restoration of Dornemann with modifications as detailed above, Description. It is taken from tracings of photographs collated against the stones in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the Spring of 1983. In order to demonstrate the likelihood that the corner (A) between frags. 1 a and b formed the edges of the inscription (thus that frag. 1 b, l. 1, formed the beginning of the text as preserved), frag. 1 a has been drawn at the beginning of the copy as well as at the end where it belongs.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Transliteration

Translation

(line 1)

frag. 1 b

(“SCALPRUM”) *tara/i-p[i-i] IUDEX-na/i-ni-zi-ba*
| (“LAPIS”) *zi-pa-ta-ni-i* | ...

frag. 2 a	§ i ...]i-zi[-i-x]	...]make/made,
	§ ii wa/i-t[ā] ā-pi-zi tā-tu-ma-sa-x]	the latter [will/did] TATUMASA,
	§ iii INFANS-n[i]-na-zi[a]-ba-wa/i-x](-)za-x] a-tā BRACCHIUM-[la/i/u]-sa-x]	and for the children ... [they(?) will/did] ...
	§ iv ā-ta ₅ -ba-wa/i-mu wa/i+ra/i-la-za (BONUS)sa-na- wa/i-sa i-zi-i-tā (DEUS)PES ₂ -sa REX-ti-i-sa	and for me ATA made good(ness) my own, the god Ea the King,
frag. 2 b	§ v wa/i-mu (DEUS)BONUS-ma-si-na (DEUS. "VITIS" ¹)ti-p[a+ra/i-ia-si(-na)-ba ...	and for me [abundance] of grain and wine (gods)[...]
frag. 3	§ i wa/i-t[ā] *460-t[i]-zi CORNU + RA/I-ti-zi i-zi-i-tā (DEUS)PES ₂ -sa REX-ti-sā	and he made ASATI(NZI) SUR- ITI(NZI), (did) Ea the King,
	§ ii ā-mu-p[a]-u[a/i] ...	but I myself [...
frag. 4	...]x[...]zi/a...](-)wa/i[...]REX-[t]u-t[ā]-za[...] x[...]	... to kings [...
frag. 5 a-b	a-mi-pa-wa/i REGIO-n[i] x x LOCUS-ta ₄ -[t]a ² -li[-x] ā[-...]	and in my country ... [...
frag. 6	... BRACCHIUM-li-zi [TER]RA-REL + ra/i-ti-i ARHLA (PES ₂)*501 + RA/I-ba *402 ² *371 ² (-)mi-ia[...]	... I expelled ...s from the land ...
frag. 7	[...]ā ² -[...]-ia-pa-wa/i-tā LIS-la/i/u-za-n[a ...] (-)wa/i[-...]x-mi[-...]	and ... law-suit(?) ...
frag. 8 b	...]x x x[-ni-na FRONS-la/i/u[...]	... first [...
frag. 9	§ i ...] REL[-i-sa ²] AR[HLA] "VAS + RA/I(-)[...]-si-i	... who ... away ...
	§ ii wa/i-ma-t[ā] ...	and it/they (to) me [...]
frag. 1 a (line 2)	§ i ...]-zi[i ²]-ba-wa/i-t[ā ²] LOCUS-ta ₄ -ti-i' pa-ti ARHLA ("LONGUS")ia + ra/i-i[-tā]	and the [...]s extended them to that place,
	§ ii [ā]-x[-x-...] -wa/i REL-i-x] DEUS-n[i]-sā [...]x[...]	... the god wh[o?][...]
frag. 8 b-a	...]AEDI[FICARE]-ma-ba "FX"[...]-su[...]-ma [x] x-ma[...]x[...] x [...] x [...]	... I built ...
frag. 7	REL-[...]-pa-wa/i-t[ā] MANUS(-)su-l[ā ²] + ra/i-za VIA-wa/i-ta-za [x-x]-t[ā] ...	... for (-)SULARA roads ...
frag. 6	u[a/i ² -...] ā-pi-s[a] VIA-wa/i-ta-zi[i ²] .AR[HLA] MANUS(-)la[-...]	and the latter wi[dened?] the roads ...
frag. 4	...]("MANUS")i[-sā]-tara/i[...] DEUS-n[a]-zi[a ...	...] hand[s to] the gods [...
frag. 3	...]x-za-ta na ² -ta-pi-zi BESTIA-sa-na-mi-zi PONERE-ba PANIS[...]x[...	... I put *HWISNAMI(NZI) NA- TAPI(NZI) ...
frag. 2 b-a	wa/i-[n]a ² ARHLA CAPERE-ba (PANIS)tu + ra/i- pi-zi ANNUS + ANNUS-la/i/u-zi ("VITIS" ¹) mi-t[u-...]x[...]x[...]	and I took it away – annual bread [and] wine [...]
frag. 1 b (line 3)	§ i ...]LOCUS-t[ā ₄ -t]i REL-i-zi DEUS-ni-zi ("LON- GUS")ia + ra/i-ta	... which the gods extended to the place,
	§ ii ā-mu-pa -wa/i-tā wa/i-mi-LITUUS-ba	I myself found(?) them,
	§ iii [pi]-ba-wa/i-t[ā] (DEUS)SOL[...	and there the Sun-God [...]
frag. 2 a-b	...]x-l[-x]-' MALUS ² [-x]-li-sā-li-zi x[-...]	...
frag. 3	§ i ...]ta-i	nor any[one?] ...
	§ ii wa/i- NEG ₂ -a-pa REL-i[...] x[...]	
frag. 10 a	...]ba[...]	...
frag. 8 a-b	...]za + ra/i-tu-na REX-ti-za MILLE ² -wa/i(-) x[...]	...]to desire the royal ... [...
frag. 11	§ i ...]-ba	
	§ ii [zi]a-ba-wa/i STATUA-ru-sā x-la/i/u[-...]	this statue ... [...

frag. 12	x x x	...
frag. 1 a (line 4)	...]x x x x (-)ta[...]sá ² EXERCITUS-la/i/u-n[i ² ...]- si[...] CUM-ni á- [...]	...]ma[de ²] for the army ...
frag. 12	§ i [...](-)wa/i-ta a-tá “MANUS”(-)kei-na-i “*257”(-) [(m)u ²]-zi-x-za-wa/i	... he shall A(N)TA KINA- ...
	§ ii wa/i-na ARHLA “LONGUS”-ti	and he shall <i>extend</i> it,
	§ iii [...]za[-...]-f[á ...]	
frag. 11	...]x x á-ta ₅ -ma-ni-i SUPER+ra/i ARHLA [PONERE ²]-wa/i- ...	...]put away the names ...
frag. 8 b	...]i[...]MANUS(-)x(-)keu-[x]-za-i X.BO[S ...]	...
frag. 10 b-a	...]x[...]ia[...]x á-pi-sa-ba x-la(-)[...]si-ta[ra/i ²]-ti- ba(-)[x]-sà STATUA-[ru ²]-sa-ba[...]	...
frag. 3	...](DEUS)ta-mu-kei-na-ba X.BOS MALUS ₂ ² [...]	...]and the god(dess)Tamukina ... [...]
frag. 1 b (line 5)	...]x[...]’[...]MANUS[...]’-na[... ...]	...
frag. 3	...]CAPUT[...]bi[...]	...]the head[...]
frag. 10 a-b	§ i ...](DEUS)TONITRUS-sa (DEUS)PES ₂ -i [a ² -sa] R[EX ² ...](DEUS)CERVUS ₂ +R.1/I-ti-ia-sa LIS-la/i/u-za-tu	... may Tarhunzas, Ea [the King], (and) Runtiyas litigate,
	§ ii wa/i-’ á-pi-na REX-ti-x[...]	and that king...
frag. 8 a-b	...] x x [...]	...
frag. 11	ni-[i ²]-pa-w[a/i ...] x[...]x[...]	or [...]
frag. 12	§ i ...]DEUS[...]’-zi[-ba REL-i-sà SUPER+ra/i A[R]HLA x[...]	(he) who [shall ...] away [...] and the gods,
(line 6)	§ ii ...]NEG ₂ -’ (LITUUS)ti-ia-ri+i-ia[-?]-i[...] ...]tu-[...] á-p[i...]ti-[...]x[...]	[and] does not <i>watch</i> [...] ...
frag. 10 b	...]x[...]p[i ...]x[...] a[...] zi/a[...] x[...]	...

Commentary

Line 1

frag. 1 b. This passage does not appear to continue from frag. 1 a, l. 1, which seems to continue on 1 a, l. 2. This, and other indications on this piece (see below, frag. 1 b, ll. 2+3; frag. 1 a, l. 3 [+4]), show that the division between the beginnings/ends of the lines of the inscription ran down corner A. Thus the present passage, which is not the beginning of a clause, must be the continuation from above of a lost element; cf. SULTANHAN stele, continuing on base.

(“SCALPRUM”) tara/i-p[i-i]: see the observations of A. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 129–145.

IUDEX-wa/i-ni-zi-ba: formally either nom./acc. plur. MF of *tarwani*-, “ruler” + copula -ba; or 1 sing. pret. of otherwise unattested verb *tarwanizi*-. The noun *tarwani*- is nowhere attested in the plur., and it is hard to see how “and the rulers” could fit a context here. A verb *tarwana*za-, “make ruler” is attested (MARAŞ 1,

§ 6), but the ending -ni-zi- of the present form cautions against identification, and a verbal suffix -zi- is unparalleled. The fragmentary context precludes a decision.

(“LAPIS”) zi-pa-ta-ni-i[...]: this word is likely to be the same as (“*256”) zi-pa-ta-na-ti (ISKENDERUN, § 4, where see Commentary suggesting comparison with Cun. Hitt. *zipattani*- measure). The logogram “LAPIS” is the sign STELE without SCALPRUM inside, and it recurs only on DARENDE, § 3. Since SCALPRUM seems to determine “dressed stone”, the transliteration LAPIS has been selected to distinguish the occurrences lacking it. The use of both LAPIS and *256 to determine *zipattani*- suggests that the latter is some variant of the former.

frag. 2, §§ i–iii. Understanding hampered by the loss of all verbal endings.

§ ii. á-pi-zi: the attestation of a clear á-pi-si-na, gen. adj., acc. sing. MF (HAMA 4, § 5), points to the existence

of *api-*, by-form of *apa-*, “that”, which appears several times in this inscription; see below, frag. 6, l. 2; frag. 10, ll. 4, 5 § ii. Thus *á-pi-zi* nom./acc. plur. MF, subject or object.

tá-tu-ma-sa-[x]: verb, *hapax legomenon*; most likely restoration of verb ending *-t[i]*, thus 3 (sing.) plur. pres.

§ iii. |INFANS-*n[i]-na-zi[a]*: apparently dat. plur., cf. |INFANS-*ni-na-ti-i*, abl. plur. (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 30).

-ha-wa/i-[x](-)za-[x]: traces suggest possible [*ma*] and [*ta*], which would give particle chain to be analysed *-ha + wa + ma(n)za + (a)ta*, but uncertainties on subject, verb and object preclude interpretation.

BRACCHIUM-*[la/i/u]-sa-[x]*: BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u*-elsewhere attested only as noun (adj.?) and onomastic element (KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 5; JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 3 // present inscription frag. 6, l. 1; CEKKE, § 14); here presumably denom. verb.

§ iv. Clause closely paralleled by TOPADA, § 32, which assists interpretation.

á-ta₅-ha-wa/i-mu (cf. TOPADA, § 32, *á-ta₄-ha-wa/i-mu*): *á-ta₄/ta₅-* seems in both examples to be the title of a god, as further in TOPADA, §§ 31, 33, and BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 10; 2, §§ 1, 8, 10, 20; ANCOZ 1, § 2.

|*wa/i + ra/i-la-za* |(BONUS)*sa-na-wa/i-sa*: cf. TOPADA, § 32, *wa/i + ra/i-li-na* MAGNUS + *ra/i-zi/a-na* *273 + *R-1/I*. *200-*na*, “(my) own great glory”.

wa/i + ra/i-la-za: most probably acc. sing. N (though dat. plur. would be formally possible). For the interpretation “own”, = Cun. Luw. *waralli-*, see KARATEPE, § LXIX, 366, and Commentary.

(BONUS)*sa-na-wa/i-sa*: both attestations of this are best taken as nom./acc. sing. N rather than the apparent nom. sing. MF; see also KARATEPE, 295. This could arise from the stem *sanawi-*, without nom./acc. sing. N ending *-an*, with nom./acc. sing. N particle *-sa*: cf. *ažalisa* (vs. *ažali(n)za*), KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 11// CEKKE, § 11, Commentary. Other attested forms of *sanawi-* include *sa-na-wi-ia-za* (SULTANHAN, § 18, context parallel to present), identified there as acc. sing. N, in which case *sanawi + an + sa* would stand in contrast to present *sanawi + sa*; but possible dat. plur. (see Commentary). KARATEPE, 193, *sa-na-wa/i-za-sa* gives the only clear nom. sing. MF attestation. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 242, identifies the present form as abstract noun, *sanawi(t)-*, “good”, which fits the present context, but is less easy to accommodate in KARATEPE. [Note: another form *sa-na-wa/i-sa₈* (KULULU 4, § 12) is probably a further nom./acc. sing. N.; see Commentary there].

(DEUS)PES₂-*sa* REX-*ti-i-sa*: recognizing the latter word as a well-established epithet of Ea, Meriggi ingeniously explained the use of PES₂ as derived from its association with *i(ya)-*, “go”. This is rendered even more probable by the proper recognition of the verb in Hier. as (PES₂)-*i* (see KARATEPE, 181, Comment-

ary), and also by the observation of the writing on frag. 10 a, l. 5 (see below). Thus PES₂ in these contexts is used as a rebus for *i(ya)*.

§ v. (DEUS)BONUS-*ma-si-na*: clearly acc. sing. MF of gen. adj. of name of grain-god (Kuparma, = Kumarbi: see TELL AHMAR 1, § 2, Commentary).

(DEUS.“VITIS”^[v])*ti-p[a + ra/i-ia-si(-na)-ha]*: for the wine-god Tipariyas, see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 7 // A11a, § 9, Commentary; the contexts are parallel to the present, where [the god brings forth the abundance] of the grain-god and wine-god.

frag. 3. Meriggi took this fragment next because of the similarity of context, which seems likely.

§ i. *460-*t[i]-zi* CORNU + *RA/I-ti-zi*: seem to associate with (*460)*á-sa-ta-ri + i ... su-ti-ri + i-ti* (ablatives – AS-SUR letter e, § 10, see Commentary). The latter shows *asat(i)-* to be the phonetic rendering of *460, and the word is now tentatively identified by Melchert as “hunger”, Hitt. *kašt-* (see *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 39 f.). If *su-ti-ri + i* and CORNU + *R-1/I-ti* are indeed the same, the writings combine to suggest a word **sudidi-* > *suriti-/sutiri-*. As creations of the god in the present context, they might be supposed to represent good things, though Melchert’s interpretation has them as evils. How then to understand the present context, especially beside the preceding two clauses?

frag. 4. REX-*[t]u-t[á]-za*: the presumed reading of REX is *bantawati-* (as in Cun. Luw., also Lyc. *χῆtawati-*; contra Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 77 and n. 15; see also now *Stammbildung*, § 99, and Anm. 569). Does the present writing point to *bantuta(n)za*, a contracted form, probably dat. plur.? Or should *[t]u*, contrary to appearance, be read with the previous word (such an order of reading would be unparalleled in this inscription)?

frag. 5 a + b. *a-mi||-pa-wa/i* REGIO-*n[i]*, “and in my country ...”: seems complete and continuous.

x x: do not look likely to be *zi-n[i]*, more probably SCALPRUM².STE[LE].

LOCUS-*ta₄-[t]a²-li-[x]*: LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-li-*, “precinct”, is now attested on MARAŞ 14, § 2, also § 12, (see Commentary).

frag. 6. Clause closely parallel to JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 3, and less closely to KARATEPE, §§ (XII +) XIII, as noted by Meriggi. The latter has: “The evils which were in the land, I re[move]d [Ho.: *ARH-1* *501-*ha-há*] out of the land”.

... BRACCHIUM-*li-zi*: JISR EL HADID frag. 3 has a complete context including a corresponding BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-zi* – see Commentary there.

ARH-1 (PES₂)*501 + *R-1/I-ha*: JISR EL HADID frag. 3 has a damaged form of what seems to be the same sign *501, with the determining PES₂, and KARATEPE, Ho. 68, a much less ornate, linear form, presumably also of the same sign without the *R-1/I*

(Hu., damaged traces only). The sign *501 remains otherwise unexplained, though the KARATEPE writing shows the stem of the word to end in *-ba-*; the sense however is apparent from the KARATEPE context.

*402². *371² (-) *mi-ia* [...: first two signs not definitely identified and the combination suggests no attested word.

frag. 7. *LIS-la/i/u-ṣa-n* a...: phonetic complements to the logogram indicate *LIS(-)ṣasali-* (noun), “prosecutor”; *LIS-la/i/u-sa/sá/ṣa-* (verb), “prosecute”; *LIS-la/i/u-bi-* (abstract noun), “prosecution”, see MEHARDE, § 6, Commentary. The present form, which does not coincide with any of these, could perhaps be noun, acc. sing. MF, “law-suit?”

frag. 9. *AR[HL4] “VAS+RA/I”(-)[...]-si-i*: probably verb, no parallels to suggest restoration.

wa/i-ma-t[á] (complete?): probably introductory particles to next clause.

frag. 1 a, ll. 1 + 2. While the context does not preclude the continuation of 1 a, l. 1, on 1 b, l. 1, other evidence for the break at this point makes its continuation on 1 a, l. 2, more probable, and this produces a clause similar to frag. 1 b, l. 2, § i, which tends to confirm the correctness of the sequence.

§ i. [...] *-ṣ[i²]-ba-wa/i-t[á²]*: [...] *-ṣ[i²]* probably remains of noun, nom./acc. plur. MF – subject or object? Cf. frag. 1 b, l. 2, § i, *REL-i-ṣi* (obj.?), *DEUS-mi-ṣi* (subj.?) *-wa/i-t[á²]*: probably *wa+ata*, “and they/them” (subject or object?), possibly *wa+ta* (*Ortspartikel* – found with one attestation of the verb).

Line 2

ARHL4 (“LONGUS”) *ia+ra/i-l[á]-tá*: now found two or three times in this inscription, providing parallels, albeit in fragmentary contexts, to KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 3, where see Commentary suggesting a general sense of “put forth, extend”.

§ ii. *[á]-[x]-x-[...]-wa/i*: restore some part of *apa-* before connective particles?

frag. 7. *VIA-wa/i-ta-ṣa*, cf. *VIA-wa/i-ta-ṣ[i²]*, frag. 6, l. 2, a common feature which suggests the association of the two fragments. The morphology of the Luw. word “road” and its derivatives is not entirely clear. The present attestations, together with the abstract (“VIA”) *ba+ra/i-wa/i-ta-bi-ta₅-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21), point to a form *harwa(n)t-*. *VIA-na* (KÖTÜKALE, § 3) is acc. sing. MF. “VIA”-*wa/i-na* (KARATEPE, 180, where see Commentary – note same form on IVRIZ frag. 3) could be the same, which would indicate the stem *harwa-*, but could also be dat. sing. of a stem *harwan-*. The verb *harwani-*, “send”, is a denominative, perhaps of an *-n*-stem (Oettinger, *Stamm-bildung*, p. 494). The Cun. Luw. evidence points to the

existence of *harwa-*, “road”, *harwanni-*, “little road” (Starke, personal communication). In the present case *VIA-wa/i-ta-ṣa* is likely to be dat. plur., especially if the following *VIA-wa/i-ta-ṣ[i²]* is accepted as acc. plur. MF.

frag. 6. *á-pi-s[a]*: apparently another example of *api-*, by-form of *apa-*, “that”, nom. sing. MF; cf. above frag. 2 a, l. 1, § ii, Commentary.

VIA-wa/i-ta-ṣ[i²]: probably dir. obj., acc. plur. MF in *-ṣ[i²]*, although acc. sing. N in *-ṣ[a]* is not excluded.

AR[HL4] MANUS(-)la [...: verb suggested to Laroche *MANUS(-)latara-*, “widen” (KARATEPE, 21), which seems plausible in the context.

frag. 4. The identification of the two fragmentary words suggests a context of prayer; cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 21.

frag. 3. [...] *x-ṣa-ta*: not likely to be part of connective particles unless we can restore [...] *-m]a-ṣa-ta*, analysed *-ma(n)ṣa+(a)ta*, but the traces hardly support this.

na²-ta-pi-ṣi: first sign sufficiently unlike the inscription's other *na*'s to raise query. The word seems to be a *hapax legomenon*, with no obvious etymological links in a context too uncertain to suggest any sense.

BESTIA-sa-na-mi-ṣi: acc. plur. MF of same word as (*BESTIA*) *HW7-sá-na-ma-ia*, acc. plur. N, participle of verb *hwisna-*, denom. of *hwisara*, “wild beasts”; see ASSUR letter *a*, § 10, and Commentary.

frag. 2 b–a. *wa/i-[n]a²*: looks certain to be *wa+an*, “and (him)/it”, in the context apparently an offering elaborated in the three words following the verb, in apposition, (*PANIS*) *turpi(n)ṣi*, etc.

ANNUS+ANNUS-la/i/u-ṣi: Laroche's suggestion that the sign *340 = *ANNUS+ANNUS* and serves to write the common *usali-*, “annual” is very plausible.

(“VITIS”) *mi-t[u-...]*: the proposed identification of (*VITIS*) *ma-tú-sá* as the Hier. word for “wine”, as against (“VITIS”) *wiyani-*, “vine” (see AKSARAY, § 4 c, Commentary), may lead to the identification of the present attestation as simply a variant spelling or dialect form, especially as the context seems to demand it: restore (“VITIS”) *mi-t[u-sa-ba]*, “[and] wine”?

frag. 1 b, § i. Clause noted as similar to frag. 1 a, ll. 1 + 2, § i above, perhaps referring back to that passage. Most likely sense seems to be, subject “gods”, object – “which”.

§ ii. *á-mu-pa||-wa/i-tá*: most conclusive evidence that frag. 1 b, l. 2, does not continue on 1 a, l. 2, but descends to 1 b, l. 3.

Line 3

wa/i-mi-LITUUS-ba: further attestation of this verb won by Dornemann's reconstitution of this fragment; for discussion, see KARABURUN, § 6, Commentary.

Object perhaps *-ata* in *-wa/i-tá*; may refer back to *REL-i-ṣi* of previous clause.

§ iii. *[pī]-ha-wa/i-i[ā]*: *pi-* seems likely to represent *pin*, deictic element parallel to *zin*. An alternative, the recognition of the root *piha-* here, is not so easy. This is attested in Hier. only in the form *pihasa* (KARATEPE, 299) and *pihami-* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 14): see Commentaries there.

frag. 2 a + b: MALUS₂ [-x]-*li-sà-li-zi*: uncertain identification of the sign as MALUS₂. It recurs on frag. 3, l. 4. MALUS₂ elsewhere is only attested determining (-)*haniyata-*, “bad”, and *ha(n)haniwa/i-*, “bad” (Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), p. 150, § 20).

frag. 3. *[wa/i-]*: for this connective, against the usual *a-wa/i*, cf. also frag. 10, l. 5, § ii (below); also JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 2; SHEIZAR, § 2 (where see Commentary); KIRÇOĞLU, § 2.

NEG₂-*a-pa*: probably disjunctive “or, nor” rather than negative.

[REL-i[...]]: restore ...[-*sa(-ha)*], “or who [...]”/“(n)or any[one...]”?

frag. 8. [...]*za + ra/i-tu-na*: infinitive, perhaps of the verb *zarti-*, “contrive, desire, intend” – or would this give *zartiuna*? See Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, p. 174 n. 12.

REX-*ti-za*: not dat. plur. of “king” (= REX-*ta(n)za*), but must be from derived adj. REX-*ti(ya)-*, “royal”, either nom./acc. sing. N or dat. plur.; cf. *tati(ya)nza*, “paternal”.

frag. 11. *[z]a-ha-wa/i* STATUA-*ru-sà*: only readily apparent place among the fragments which gives the expected reference to the monument itself. Does it imply that TELL TAYINAT 2 was originally a statue base?

frag. 1 a. This line clearly does not continue round the corner of frag. 1 b, l. 3, itself noted as a continuation of frag. 1 b, l. 2, since although this would give a recognized word, the verb *ā||-wa/i-tā*, “he/they came”, this would be immediately followed by another verb, *wa/i-mi-LITUUS-ha*, which is not acceptable. The line must thus have descended at this point to the lost l. 4.

CUM-*ni ā[...]*: looks like the verb CUM-*ni ā(-ia)-//i-zi-i(a)-*, “do (something) for (someone)”, for which see SULTANHAN, § 13; MARAŞ 2, § 3; KARATEPE, 79–80.

EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-n[i²...]-si[...]*: perhaps indirect obj., “for the army”; direct obj. [...]-*si[na²]*?

Line 4

frag. 12, § i. “MANUS”(-)*ki-na-i*: looks like verb, 3 sing. pres.

“*257”(-)*[(m)u²]-zi-x-za-wa/i*: word of indeterminate reading and grammatical status. The logogram may not be *257, normally a rectangular block marked with two horizontal lines only, and agreed to stand for “silver” (CEKKE, §§ 8, 9, 11, see Commentary). The sign x is of clear form but unidentified.

§ ii. “LONGUS”-*ti*: apparently short writing of (“LONGUS”) *ia + ra/i(-i(a))-*, “extend(?)”, for which see above, frag. 1 a, l. 2, 1 b, l. 2, and Commentary.

§ iii. [...]-*za[...]-t[ā...]*: looks like introduction to new clause.

frag. 11. *ā-ta₅-ma-ni-i*: perhaps nom./acc. plur. N in *-i*, or perhaps, as preferred by Starke, dat. sing. For a similar problem, cf. *ā-ta₅-ma-ni* (BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 19, see Commentary there for discussion). Here the fragmentary context precludes certain identification.

SUPER + *ra/i* ARHLA [PONERE²]-*wa/i[...]*: general sense likely to be “remove”; for *sari arha*, cf. frag. 12, l. 5 (below).

frag. 8. X.BOS: sign(s) also found on frag. 3, l. 4 (below).

frag. 10. Unidentified sign before *ā-pi-sa-ha*, perhaps only partially preserved, recurs on frag. VIII. 19 (see below, TELL TAYINAT fragments).

ā-pi-sa-ha: apparently another example of *api-*, by-form of *apa-*, nom. sing. MF + copula *-ha*; cf. frag. 2, l. 1, § ii and Commentary.

x-la(-)[...]-si-ta[ra/i²]-ti-ha(-)[x]-sà: first sign not certainly identifiable, perhaps *179?; following word divisions quite unclear and no identifiable words.

frag. 3. (DEUS)*ta-mu-ki-na-ha*: identification with the Mesopotamian goddess *Damqina*, wife of Ea, very probable; the goddess was well known to the Hurrians and Hittites as *Damqinna/Tap(a)kinna*, and appears at Yazılıkaya as no. 53 (Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 126; id., *Glossaire hurrite*, s.v. *Damkina*; Güterbock, *Yazılıkaya*, p. 181).

[X.BOS: the ox-head, here as in frag. 8, l. 4, has something damaged above it looking like the logogram markers on either side of a short vertical stroke; possibly read “1” BOS, “one ox”.

Line 5

CAPUT[...]*hi[...]*: suggests writing of *harmahi-*, “head” here.

Sequence: frag. 10, l. 5, §§ i–ii, seems to be the apodosis of a curse-formula, while frag. 12, l. 5, §§ i–ii, also perhaps frag. 11, l. 5, seems to be the protasis of the same. This would give some reason for placing frags. 12 and 11 to the left of frag. 10, thus probably on side B–C or possibly A–B.

frag. 10, § i. (DEUS)PES₂-*i[a²-sa]*: the traces offer some support for the identification of (DEUS)PES₂ as a writing of the name of the god Ea (cf. above, frag. 2, l. 1, § iv, Commentary).

§ ii. *wa/i-*, as against usual *a-wa/i*: cf. above frag. 3, l. 3, Commentary.

ā-pi-na: apparently another example of *api-*, by-form of *apa-*, acc. sing. MF; cf. frag. 2, l. 1, § ii, Commentary.

frag. 12, § i. SUPER+*ra/i* A[R]H-A x[...: cf. above frag. 11, l. 3, where the verb with these adverbs appears to be (PONERE)*muwa-*, “put”, giving the general sense of “remove”; the present traces however suggest a different verb.

§ ii. (LITUUS)*ti-ia-ri+i-ia[-?]-i*: verb *tiyari(ya)-*, “watch, guard”, now identified in a number of different writ-

ings, especially *ti-ia+ra/i-ti* (3 sing. pres., KULULU 5, § 13, where see Commentary for other attestations and discussion). The latter form of the 3 sing. pres. in *-ti*, if correctly identified, shows that the present form could not be the same form in *-i*. This would suggest a restoration *-[wa/i]-i*, 1 sing. pres., or perhaps more likely, *-[ti]-i*, 3 sing. pres.

VII.3. TELL TAYINAT 3 (plate 194)

Location. Fragment?, lost? When I was working in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the spring 1983, the piece could not be located.

Description. “Inscription on the base of an altar discovered near the double-lion column base in the megaron. The writing is very badly worn.” (Gelb, see below, Publication). From the published photographs of the “altar” and the inscription (detail), it is impossible to be certain where on the piece the inscription was placed. If it was indeed on the raised base of the altar it appears to be upside down, which would imply that the altar had been recut from an inscribed element, and that the inscription survives as an isolated fragment. It certainly does not seem likely that the altar, properly inscribed in Hieroglyphic, was set up at the entrance to Building II, the “megaron”, of which the latest building phase appears to belong to the period of Assyrian occupation: see Amuq, Historical Context, p. 364 f. and n. 58.

Dimensions: apparently ht., 0.18 m.; w., 0.28 m. (information from Publication statement that the photograph is reproduced at a scale of 1 : 2).

Condition: very poor.

Script: relief.

Sign-forms: hardly any recognizable.

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: one visible(?).

Discovery. Excavated *in situ* at right side of the entrance to Building II at the end of the 1936 season (excavation catalogue: “T. 1261 Altar, with Hitt. glyphs right side of porch [Building] II [area] A/⊥ [i.e. 1st level]”).

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 53, p. 39. pl. LXXXIV (photograph (detail) of inscription, photograph of entrance to Building II showing altar *in situ*). For the altar, see further Haines, *OIP* 95 (1971), p. 54, pls. 80A, 81A, 113].

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 294, p. 329 f., Tav. XVII (where, incorrectly, no. 234).

Content, Date. Unclear.

Text, Transliteration, Translation: not offered.

Photographs. Nothing available beyond the two published ones (see Publication), which are reproduced from prints provided by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Comment

Meriggi’s identification of the signs in his copy taken from the published photograph looks to be over-

optimistic: only the signs EXERCITUS and a word-divider look probable.

VII.4. TELL TAYINAT fragments (plates 195–198)

TELL TAYINAT VII: the still unattached pieces VII.12–13, 15–19 belong archaeologically with the rest of VII, which comprises the bulk of the fragments collected as TELL TAYINAT 2 (see there, Discovery (1)), so probably belong with the latter inscription.

TELL TAYINAT VIII: VIII.1–20, 28–29, 31–37 and 51–52 were found with TELL TAYINAT V and VI which are large fragments of TELL TAYINAT 2 (see there, Discovery (3)). Of these fragments, VIII.1 forms part of TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1. Of the others, VIII.2, 6–15, 17–19, 28, and perhaps 51–52, to

judge by their size and style of script, could also belong to TELL TAYINAT 2, and are thus treated together with the unattached pieces of VII.

VIII.3–5, 16, 20–21 are distinguished by a larger script and are treated separately (VIII.3 and 21 have been joined).

*VIII.25 and 38–50 all came from the same location (Building XV), and are stated to be parts of the same inscription, thus are here taken together (VIII.38 has no recognizable sign – omitted).

VIII.26 has been joined to VI to become part of TELL TAYINAT 2 (see there, Description (1)).

The miscellaneous pieces VIII.22, 23 (from East Gate), 24, 27 (from Building XXV), [29], 30 (from Building XIV), 31–[37] (from street east of Building I with TELL TAYINAT V and VI but distinguished from the TELL TAYINAT 2 fragments by size of script), and 53 (from Building XIV), are treated separately in order (VIII. 29, 37 missing).

All pieces are in the Oriental Institute, Chicago. All have relief script and line-dividers; sign forms are both monumental and cursive; occasional word-dividers appear.

In the catalogue below, the numbered entries represent the following:

(1) Excavation no.; (2) Description; (3) Discovery; (4) Publication; (5) Edition; (6) Content; (7) Date; (8) Text and Photographs (the latter supplied by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago); (9) Transliteration (+ translation if possible); (10) Comment.

VII.12

- (1) T 3277.
- (2) parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse; un-inscribed space below lower line.
- (3) "portico of the megaron, 1 meter below the first floor" (Gelb, see (4)).
- (4) Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 58, p. 39 f., pl. XC (upper), 12 (photograph only, incorrectly oriented).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 299, p. 236, Tav. XLI (redrawn from photograph).
- (6–7) as for TELL TAYINAT 2.
- (8) text traced from collated photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) only *tu*.
(l. 2) ...-*š*-*a-ti-mu-x*...
- (10) l. 2; traces reminiscent of Karkamiš ruler(s) name Astiru(wa)s.

VII.13, 15, 16, 17, 19 (note VII.14 and 20 joined to TELL TAYINAT 2, frags. 3 and 1).

- (1) as for VII.12 (only 13 available for inspection).
- (2) fragments with 0–2 recognizable signs only.
- (3) as for VII.12.
- (4) as for VII.12 – photographs only.
- (5) as for VII.12 – redrawn from photographs.
- ((6–7) as for TELL TAYINAT 2).
- (8) text of 13 traced from collated photograph; other pieces not identifiable, no photographs.
- (9) (13) parts of *-i-na* only.
(15, 16, 19) no recognizable sign.
(17) *a-* only.

VII.18

- (1) As for VII.12.
- (2) corner piece, parts of 2 lines on right face, sinistroverse-dextroverse, but not necessarily continuous (only if corner was left edge); ht., 0.12 m.; w., 0.06 m.; line ht., 0.06 m.
- (3) as for VII.2.
- (4) as for VII.2 – photograph only.
- (5) as for VII.2 – redrawn from photograph.
- ((6–7) as for TELL TAYINAT 2).
- (8) text traced from collated photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ... *-keš* [...] *x-i*||
(l. 2) *x-i-pa-wa/i-t*...
- (10) l. 1. Cf. TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 4, frag. 12, § i?

VIII.2

- (1) T 200.
- (2) parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse.
- (3) with TELL TAYINAT V and VI (see TELL TAYINAT 2, Discovery (2)).
- (4) Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 59, p. 40, pl. XCI (photograph only).
- (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 300, p. 236 f., Tav. XLII (redrawn from published photograph).
- ((6–7) with TELL TAYINAT 2?).
- (8) text traced from collated photograph.
- (9) (l. 1) ...*RJEL*-[*z*]*a*[...*z*]*a*[...]*i*²[...]
(l. 2) *wa/i* only.

VIII.6

- (1) T 550.
- (2) part of 1 line with traces above and below, sinistroverse; line ht., 0.06 m.
- (3–8) as for VIII.2.
- (9) (l. 1) *la* only.
(l. 2) ...-*i-sā* | "SCALPRUM" ...
(l. 3) *xx* only.

VIII.7

- (1) T 551.
- (2) part of 1 line, dextroverse.
- (3–8) as for VIII.2.
- (9) ...-*ta-š*[*i/a*²] *AR*[*HA*...

VIII.8–15, 17–18

- (1) T 553–556, 559, 577–579, 671:1–2.
- (2) fragments each with 0–2 signs recognizable.
- (3–8) as for VIII.2.
- (9) (8) no recognizable sign.
(9) *na* only (dextroverse).
- (10) ...*x* *x-ba-sā* *x* [...] (dextroverse).
- (11) ...*ba*[...] *wa/i* [...] (direction indeterminate).

- (12) ...](DEUS)TO[NITRUS² ... (direction indeterminable).
 (13) ...]i² [a x x [... (sinistroverse).
 (14) ...]x x-na[...] (sinistroverse); line below, word-divider.
 (15) ...]DEUS t[a... (sinistroverse?)
 (17) ...]ba x[...] (dextroverse?); line above, traces.
 (18) ...]l[...l[... (dextroverse); line below, traces.

VIII.19

- (1) T 690.
 (2) part of 1 line with traces above and below; line ht., 0.06 m. Note that this fragment has been incorrectly joined to the left side of the pieces making up TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 (it has been stuck on upside down).
 (3-8) as for VIII.2.
 (9) (l. 1) ...n]a[...x[...
 (l. 2) ...] [...]ta[...]na/i- [x...x[...x[...
 (l. 3) only word-divider recognizable.

VIII.28

- (1) T 2610.
 (2) parts of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse.
 (3-8) as for VIII.2 ((4) pl. XCII).
 (9) (l. 1) ...]x-ba[...tu+ra/i[-...
 (l. 2) ...TE]RRA[...tu[...

VIII.51, 52

- (1) T 2898, 2899.
 (2) part of 2 lines, sinistroverse-dextroverse (51); part of 1 line dextroverse (52).
 (3) as for VIII.2.
 (4) as for VIII.2 (pl. XCII).
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 302, p. 238, Tav. XLIII (redrawn from photographs).
 ((6-7) with TELL TAYINAT 2?).
 (8) as for VIII.2.
 (9) (51, l. 1) ...-]za-x[([BO]NUS)na/i-[-[ia/za]-ba[...
 (l. 2) ...]x LEP[US...
 (52) ...](DEUS)SOL a-ta]BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-li-x[...
 (10) (51, l. 1) ([BO]NUS)na/i-[-[ia/za]-ba: clearly verb; restore as na[l]yaha, "I exalted" (for which see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 3-5, with parallels); or na[sa]zaaha, "I was dear to" (for which see BULGARMADEN, § 2, with parallels).
 (l. 2) x part of unidentified sign.
 (52) BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-li-x[...: see TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1, frag. 2, § iii, with parallels. It is not clear what the present form could represent.

VIII.3+21

- (1) T 202 + 834.
 (2) part of 1 line sinistroverse, traces below; line ht., 0.08 m.
 (3) as for VIII.2 (3 only); "Trench E[ast] of [Building] I [area] T" - excavation catalogue.
 (4-5) as for VIII.2.
 (6-7) -
 (8) as for VIII.2.
 (9) (l. 1) ...]x-si-i]LITUU[S...]ta]za-sa]x x[...
 (l. 2) only word-divider recognizable.

VIII.4-5

- (1) T 203, 206.
 (2) part of 2 lines, traces below (4), and of 1 line (5).
 (3-5) as for VIII.2.
 (6-7) -
 (8) as for VIII.2.
 (9) no signs certainly identifiable on either piece (even orientation indeterminable).

VIII.16, 20

- (1) T 624, 693.
 (2) part of 1 line sinistroverse (both).
 (3-5) as for VIII.2.
 (6-7) -
 (8) as for VIII.2.
 (9) (16) ...u]a/i-sa sa² ...ti... na[...
 (20) ...]]-iR[HL-1]]x[...x[...
 (first x large unidentified sign).

VIII.25, 38-50

- (1) T 2347, T 2656:1-13.
 (2) fragments none of which have parts of more than 1 line, or more than 4 recognizable signs (except 41+42, parts of 2 lines dextroverse-sinistroverse, and traces below, from a left edge; line ht., 0.08 m.).
 (3) all from Building XV (Gelb, see (4)); excavation catalogue has entry for T 2347 dated 5 August 1937, and for T 2656 dated 4 August 1937 (between September and October entries).
 (4) Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 59, p. 40, pl. XCII.
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 301, p. 238, Tav. XLIII (except 25: as for VIII.2).
 ((6-7) -)
 (8) texts traced from collated photographs (except 38, which is missing, also no photograph).
 (9) (25) ...]i a-u[a/i ...: sinistroverse(?)
 (38) no recognizable sign.
 (39) ...]pa² +ra/i-ma-x[...: sinistroverse.

- (40) ...]i x[... traces below: direction indeterminable.
 (41 + 42, l. 1) || |ARHA[... (l. 2) ...]x-sa|| (l. 3) x x[...
 (43) ...t]u²-ta- '[...: sinistroverse.
 (44) ...]" [mu²] [...: sinistroverse.
 (45) part of sa and line-divider only.
 (46) ...]x-wa/i |PRAE[...: sinistroverse.
 (47) two large word-dividers only: dextroverse.
 (48) ...SU]PER+ra/i... |CAPERE[...]x[...: sinistroverse.
 (49) ...]tara/i-[u²]-na-la[...: sinistroverse.
 (50) ...]wa/i-t[a] REL-z[i/a ...: dextroverse.

VIII.22, 23

- (1) T 846, 1040.
 (2) fragments with no (22) and one (23) identifiable sign.
 (3) "from the East Gate" (22: Gelb, see (4)); but excavation catalogue, entry for 5 April 1936 has: "T 846 Trench E from megaron (surface)"; for T 1040, entry for 20 April 1936: "[Building] XVII [level] 2". (Building XVII, the Eastern Citadel Gate was renumbered Building VII in later publication). Probably Gelb has reversed the provenances.
 (4) as for VIII.2.

- (5) as for VIII.2.
 (6-7) -
 (8) -
 (9) only word-divider visible (23).

VIII.24, 27, [29], 30, 31-34, 35-[37], 53

- (1) T 2164, 2595, 2611, 2618, 2623-26, 2640-42, 2957.
 (2) fragments with very few recognizable signs (only 30, 34, 36 and 53).
 (3) 24, Building IX (excavation catalogue); 27, Building XXV (Gelb; renumbered XV); 29, 31-37, as for VIII.2; 30, 53, Building XIV (Gelb; renumbered IV).
 (4) Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 59, p. 40, pl. XCII.
 (5) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 300, p. 237 f., Tav. XLII (except 53 - no. 302, p. 238, Tav. XLIII).
 (6-7) -
 (8) texts of 24, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 53 traced from collated photographs; 29, 32, 33-35, 37 - no identifiable signs (29 and 37 are missing, no photographs).
 (9) (24, 27) signs not certainly identifiable.
 (30) ...]-a-ha[...
 (34) ...w}a/i[...]x[...]|PES[...
 (36) ...][u/mu]-[...]-ni-ta¹ku-[...
 (53, l. 1) only na ... x
 (l. 2) part of sa.

VII.5. JISR EL HADID frags. 1-3 (plate 199)

Location. Three fragments, Oriental Institute, Chicago, nos. A 23427-9.

Description. The three fragments, each inscribed on one face only, do not join, but the line heights and appearance of the stone are consistent with the view that they may all be parts of a single monument. Frag. 1 has a dressed right side, probably original, thus would come from the right side of a monument, while frags. 2 and 3 show similar left sides, thus would come from the left side. Line continuities tend to confirm the identification of the original edge: frag. 1, ll. 2+3 would show a sequence of gods' names; frag. 3, ll. 2+3 offers a plausible word (*bapax legomenon*) in context of a possible clause; frag. 2, l. 3 however is insufficiently preserved to establish continuity from l. 2.

Hypothetical Reconstruction. Frag. 1: upper right corner shows pair of feet standing on base-line lower than the upper line-divider, which stops to their left. These feet must have belonged to an introductory *amu*-figure from the top right corner of the inscription comparable to that on MARAŞ 4. The fragment's first line is sinistroverse (as would have been also the inscription's original first line), and is thus likely to have been l. 3 or l. 5 of

the original inscription, depending on the height of the *amu*-figure. This would have been rather short if measured against 2 lost lines, but a reconstruction of 4 lost lines would probably make the figure too tall. These considerations point to a minimum of 5, or less probably 7, lines on the right side of the original monument.

Frag. 2 and 3 from the left side of the monument each have 3 partially preserved lines, middle sinistroverse, top and bottom dextroverse. Frag. 2, l. 3' cannot = frag. 3, l. 1' because a join would be apparent, and in any case a combination of the two would produce too high a line. The lost frag. 3, l. 4' could not have formed the top of frag. 2 l. 1', since unlike it, it would have been sinistroverse. Thus these two fragments point to a minimum of 7 lines on the left side of the monument, but whichever were originally the upper, a minimum of one further sinistroverse line must be added above the first preserved (dextroverse) line of either, to correspond to the first (sinistroverse) line of the original inscription, thus indicating a minimum of 8 lines for the original monument. There is no evidence as to whether frags. 2 or 3 were uppermost on the left, and no observable contextual correlations between the lines of frags. 2 and 3 on the left and frag. 1 on the right.

The original form of the monument would have been that of a large stele or orthostat, not less than about 0.60 m. high and 0.70 m. wide, and about 0.17–0.21 m. thick, inscribed on one face only, introduced by a full length *amu*-figure.

The fragment TULEIL 1 resembles the JISR EL HADID fragments (see Description), and might also have been part of the same monument, a possibility not contradicted by its nearby provenance (see Discovery).

Preserved dimensions: (1) ht., 0.23 m.; w., 0.35 m.; th., 0.17 m.; (2) ht., 0.24 m.; w., 0.28 m.; th., 0.21 m.; (3) ht., 0.24 m.; w., 0.33 m.; th., 0.13 m.; line ht. consistently c. 0.08 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign-forms: mixed; monumental – *ta*, *mu*, *sà*; cur-sive – *ta*, *u*.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: occasional.

Discovery. Provenance: Jisr el Hadid (name now translated into Turkish as Demir Köprü), close to Tell Tayinat where Antakya-Aleppo road crosses Orontes; frags. 1 and 3 from wall of mill, frag. 2 said to have been found in the river. Frags. 1 and 2 were bought by members of the Oriental Institute's Syrian Expedition working at Tell Tayinat in summer, 1935, and sent to Chicago the same year. Frag. 3 was found in the wall in February, 1937, by a member of the Syrian Expedition, bought and sent to Chicago the same year. For possible original provenance, see TULEIL 1, Discovery.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), nos. 30–32, p. 31 and pls. XLVII–XLIX. Originally designated JISR EL HADID I–III, these fragments are assumed to have been parts of the same monument, so are here redesignated JISR EL HADID frags. 1–3.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), nos. 290–292, p. 223 f., Tav. XL.

Excerpts.

frag. 2, l. 2. Bossert, *Asia*, p. 151 f.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 30, p. 151; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 197.

frag. 3, l. 3. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 71 f.

Content. Remains of *amu*-figure, “I (am) ...”, and verbs and pronouns of 1st sing. point to the usual dynastic narrative. No name, titles or genealogy are preserved to indicate the person or country of the ruler, who was doubtless a king of Unqi. The few preserved contexts do not relate closely to well-known standard passages.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of photographs collated against the stones in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the spring 1983.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Transliteration

Translation

Fragment 1

- l. 1 ... || “*179”(-) *pa + ra/i-ia-si-i-na | sa₅-ba + ra/i-ṣā-ti-na* | x[... ||
- l. 2 ... | FORTIS(-) [*m*] *u⁷-ta tā-ti-sa a-mi-sa | FRATER-la-i-ṣi-ha a-mi-ṣi*
- l. 3 *wa/i-ti-i (DEUS) tu-ta-ia-sa || (DEUS)[...] ha[...] | FORTIS[...] | x*
DEUS[...] i...i | CAP[UT (?) ...

...] PARIYASIN SAHARZATIN
 (acc. sing. MF) [...
 ...] they were strong, my father
 and my brothers.
 Himself the god Tutayas, (l. 3) the
 god[...] strong [...] the god
 [...] ... [...

Fragment 2

- l. 1] *ṣā[... sà⁷[...] ta[... sà[... ta[... ha[... sa-ba [... x[... si [... ||*
- l. 2 ...] *wa/i⁷[...] “MANUS”-tara/i-na PUGNUS-ri + i-ta*
wa/i-mu-u-ta | a-mi-i tā-ti-i x x[... ||
- l. 3' ...] x x | x[...] *ba-li(-) ta₄ ... i(a) ... i(a)[...*

(no complete or identifiable word)
 ...] raised the hand,
 and me to my father's) [...]
 (no complete or identifiable word).

Fragment 3

- l. 1 ... x x *ṣi* CAPERE/ *tā-ti- [...] wa/i [...* ||
- l. 2 ...] LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-li-ṣi* LITUUS-*sā-ta*
- l. 3 | *wa/i- (“PES₂PES”) tara/i-pa-ma-ṣa | (LOQUI) pā² + ra/i-li-i || li-i-sā²-ṣi*
| BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-ṣi “TERRA”-REL + ra/i-ti-i
*| -ARH₁ | *501-ba [...*

...] s they take, and [...
 ...] governors (nom. or acc. ?) they
 kept seeing(?),
 and for TARPAMI's PARLILI-
 SANZI (l. 3) ... LINZI I
 ex[pell]ed from the land.

Commentary

Frag. 1

l. 1. *179(-)pa+ra/i-ia-si-i-na: acc. sing. MF, gen. adj., (-)pa+ra/i-ia-, otherwise unknown. Logogram *179 is argued to stand for “barley” (AKSARAY, § 4, Commentary with reference to Hawkins, *Essays Mellink*, p. 96), so could well determine other words for cereals.

|sa₅-ha+ra/i-ḫá-ti-na: *hapax legomenon*, no obvious etymology or connections.

l. 2. [FORTIS(-)[m]u²-ta (or (-)[u²]): apparently the verb, perhaps mu(wa)-, “be/make strong”, for which see SULTANHAN, § 44, Commentary.

tá-ti-sa a-mi-sa |FRATER-la-i-ḫi-ha a-mi-ḫi: comparatively rare to find possess. adj. following qualified noun, as clearly here; cf. also KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21; A21, §§ 4, 7, 13; KULULU 4, § 6.

wa/i-ti-i: implies subject of clause 3 sing. reflexive, thus (DEUS)tu-ta-ia-sa. The two DEUS signs visible in following line are thus unlikely to form part of the subject.

(DEUS)tu-ta-ia-sa: god’s name perhaps recurring in the name of *Tutammu*, King of Unqi, removed by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C.

l. 3. No complete words preserved; two god-names and epithets?

Frag. 2

l. 1. No word, grammatical form or clause division recognizable.

l. 2. “MANUS”-tara/i-na PUGNUS-ri+i-ta, “raised the hand”: see Hawkins, loc. cit.; and now Starke, loc. cit. The present context, by comparison with Cun. Luw. iṣ-ša-ra a-ri-it-t[a] (KBo VII, 68 ii 19’ – see StBoT 30, p. 362), permitted the identification of Hier. PUGNUS-ri+i- with Cun. Luw. *ariya-*, “raise”, Hitt. *arai-*, “rise”. The Cun. Luw. verb appears generally to be transitive, the Hitt., intransitive. The Hier. verb shows clear examples of both usages: *transitive* – KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 4 (// KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 2); also KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 4 [restored]; ASSUR letters b, § 9, and e, § 21; KÖTÜKALE, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3 // A11a, § 2; TOPADA, § 8(?); perhaps KARKAMIŠ A31, § 6 [restored]; TELL AHMAR 1, § 5 // TELL AHMAR 3, § 1 [restored]; *intransitive* – SULTANHAN, §§ 19, 23. For TELL AHMAR 1, § 13, interpretations as transitive and intransitive are both possible. For other more doubtful attestations see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 20; KARKAMIŠ A17b, § 5; KARKAMIŠ A12, § 7. Note also the personal name PUGNUS-ri+i-mi- (participle: KULULU lead strip 1, § 4. 15, 25; § 9. 58).

|a-mi-i tá-ti-i: either “to my father” or “to my paternal [throne], or the like).

Frag. 3

l. 1. No word or clause division certain but CAPERE-ti- [...]wa/i..., “they take, and ...”, possible.

l. 2. LEPUS+ra/i-ia-li-ḫi, “governors”: nom. or acc. plur. MF, thus subj./obj.?

LITUUS-sà-ta: the logogram LITUUS has been shown to determine verbs of perception *uni-*, “know”; *aḫa-*, “love”; **mana-*, “see”; (Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 123–142, present verb noted but not explained, p. 140). LITUUS.LITUUS-na- was suggested to represent a reduplicated **mamana-*, = Cun. Luw. *mamanna-* (ibid., p. 136 ff.) It may be that the present verb represents a -sa-suffixed form of **mana-/mamana-*: cf. perhaps Cun. Luw. *ma-ma-na-sa-ti* (KUB XXXVII, 1 i 16).

|wa/i-: for this connective, against the usual a-wa/i, cf. TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 3, l. 3; frag. 10, l. 5, § ii; SHEIZAR, § 2; KIRÇOĞLU, § 2.

(“PES₂.PES”)tara/i-pa-ma-ḫa: formally either nom./acc. sing. N, or dat. plur., participle of *tarpa/i-*, “?”. *Tarpami-* is found as PN in ASSUR letter a, § 6; KULULU lead strip 3 (+ frag. 2), side ii, register 1. Here dat. plur., indirect obj., is more probable, since there is already a clear direct obj. Could a sense “trampled, oppressed” be envisaged in this context and as PN? For the root(s) *tarpa/i-*, see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 11, Commentary; and A. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 129–145 (n. 20 for present attestation).

|(LOQUI)pá²+ra/i-li-i||li-i-sá²-ḫi: the probability that the left edge of the inscription is preserved here means that l. 2 runs on to l. 3 to form this *hapax* but plausible *legomenon*. The logogram LOQUI determines a number of words of “speaking”, including pá²+ra/i-ta-, “word(?), imprecation(?)”. Could the present stem be connected with the latter stem?

l. 3. |BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-ḫi: remainder of clause closely parallels TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 6, l. 1, and recalls less closely KARATEPE, §§(XII+) XIII. BRACCHIUM-la/i/u- is attested elsewhere as a noun (adj.?) and onomastic element (KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 5; CEKKE, § 14) and BRACCHIUM-la/i/u-sa- apparently as denom. verb (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2, l. 1, § iii). Here (LOQUI)partilisa(n)ḫi BRACCHIUM-li(n)ḫi must go together, and if the KARATEPE passage is indeed parallel, together they correspond to MALUS₂(-)haniya(n)ta(ya), the evils which are expelled from the land. The phrase would thus seem to have negative connotations, though one or other of the elements may well be a noun or adj. of neutral import.

ARH₄*501-ha: for the verb, see the TELL TAYINAT 2 parallel passage, Commentary.

VII.6. TULEIL 1 (plate 200)

Location. Fragment, Oriental Institute, Chicago, no. A 23430.

Description. Fragment of black basalt from monument of indeterminate form, bearing parts of 3 lines of inscription (only l. 2 preserved to full height), running dextroverse-sinistroverse-dextroverse. The sign-forms and line ht. resemble JISR EL HADID, and it is conceivable that it formed part of the same monument (note the proximity of Jisr el Hadid and Tuleil – Discovery).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.27 m.; preserved w., 0.35 m.; th., 0.18 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: apparently frequent.

Discovery. Bought from villagers of Tuleil (= Tulail al-Sharqī, 2.5 km. S.E. of Jisr el Hadid; see Braidwood, *OIP* 48, no. 135, p. 34, map VII) in summer 1935 by

the Oriental Institute's Syrian Expedition at Tell Tayinat, with a reported provenance of the adjoining *höyük*; shipped to Chicago the same year (see Gelb, Publication). If it indeed belongs with JISR EL HADID, the provenance of those pieces too from the *höyük* would be probable.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 60, p. 40, pl. XCIII (photograph and copy).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 303, p. 239, Tav. XLIII (redrawn from Gelb).

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a photograph collated against the stone in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the spring, 1983.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Transliteration

- l. 1 ...]x a-ta HWT²-ba “BESTIA”¹(-)x x x-ti-ha ARH¹ |PONERE-
w[a/i²]-ta[...
l. 2 ...]x-ti-x |AUDIRE²-wa/i-sà(-)za-pa-wa/i-ti-ta “LONGUS”²(-)ki-
[ta]ra/i²-za²-zi pa+ra/i-na-ha |CAPERE-ta
wa/i-tu-ta-[...
l. 3 ...] |[...]|i[...]|ADORARE[...]|sa[...]|wa/i[...]|[...]

Translation

- ...]... and from the beasts(?) he
put away [...
...]... KITARAZA(?) and houses(?)
he took,
and for him [...
(one word only identifiable: logogram
“worship”).

Commentary

l. 1. a-ta HWT²-ba: appears to be verb HWT(-ia)-, (= *hwiya*), “run”, 1 sing. pret., “I ran in”; but this recognition will depend on the possibility of identifying the beginning of a new clause in the next group of signs.

“BESTIA”¹: the presence of a fully drawn animal does occasionally occur; e.g. CANIS, LEPUS, CERVUS. The present animal appears to be the “lion”, usually represented by the roaring head BESTIA with phonetic writing HWT-sa₅//sà+ra/i//tara/i-, i.e. *hwisara-//hwi-tara-*, “wild animals” (see MARAŞ 1, § 11, and Commentary). This word could recur here, though the uncertainty of the following signs precludes a definite decision – some could be expected to provide connective particles.

(-)x x x-ti-ha: sign(s) above animal could possibly be word-divider with second logogram marker; sign after animal could be REL or HWT; if so, a *sara* or *tara* could

be restored, and -ti-ha would represent abl. sing. ending + copula -ha. This would eliminate the possibility of connective particles and include previous two words in this clause.

l. 2. |AUDIRE²-wa/i-sà(-)za-pa-wa/i-ti-ta: connective particles -pa+wa+ti+ta *Ortspartikel* clear. But are they suffixed to za-, “this”, or a word AUDIRE²-wa/i-sà-za? The latter would be unknown, with an additional doubt as to the identification of the sign AUDIRE, which elsewhere has complements ±*MI-ma-ti-*, = *tuma(n)ti-*, “hear” (see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 1, and Commentary); but to divide AUDIRE²-wa/i-sà (za-pa-wa/i-ti-ta) leaves also an unidentified grammatical form at the end of a clause.

“LONGUS”²(-)ki-[ta]ra/i²-za²-zi: all very uncertain including final -zi which could belong with the following word. An association with *ki-tara/i-sa*,

“donation(?)” (CEKKE, §§ 13, 16, and Commentary), is conceivable.

pa+ra/i-na-ba: possibly “and the houses” (so Meriggi), unusual phonetic writing of DOMUS-*na*-; but readings *pa+ra/i-zi-na*- and *pa+ra/i-na-zi*- are also possible.

l. 3. *[sa[...]] [wa/i[...]]*: probably (*a*)*sa*-, “be” [+ ending], followed by *wa*[+...], connective.

ADORARE: if context correctly identified, restore infinitive (cf. KARKAMIŠ A31, § 8), or perhaps nomen actoris; thus –

“... be [to] worship//worship[per], and...”

VII.7. TULEIL 2 (plates 201–202)

Location. Block, Oriental Institute, Chicago, no. A 23431.

Description. Building block bearing 4-line inscription, introduced by full-height ruler figure facing right, beardless, with hair falling in bunch on nape, wearing long, fringed garment, carrying staff in left hand and pointing towards face with right hand in gesture expressing “I am ...”. Of the inscription l. 1, somewhat higher than ll. 2–4, begins behind the figure’s head and runs sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon* along ll. 2–4, ending lower right behind the figure’s feet. L. 1 is very unusual, in that it consists mainly of a procession of animal and human figures. It is not clear whether these could represent writing and should be read. For the continuity of the text, see Commentary.

Dimensions: ht., 0.40 m.; w., 0.87 m.; th., 0.23 m.; line ht., 0.07–0.08 m.

Condition: poor, signs worn into unclarity.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: some visible.

Discovery. Found built into wall of mosque at Tuleil (for location see TULEIL 1, Discovery), by the Oriental Institute’s Syrian Expedition at Tell Tayinat in summer 1935. No information available as to provenance, which is likely to be the nearby *böyük*. Bought and taken to Chicago in 1935. See Gelb, Publication.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 61, p. 40, pl. XCIV (photographs, one with flash, one with chalk filling background).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 304, pp. 239–241, Tav. XLIII (drawing from Gelb’s photographs).

Excerpt.

ll. 2–3. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 280–282.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Tuleil 2), pp. 53, 288, 290, 292, 533, Taf. 54 f (detail from Gelb); attributed to style *Sph.* III?

Content. Unclear.

Date. Stylistic criteria only (see Sculpture).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made directly from the stone in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in the spring 1983, and has been checked repeatedly against photographs.

Photographs. Taken in the Oriental Institute in the spring 1983.

Transliteration, Translation. Not offered in connected form.

Commentary

l. 1. The line can be seen to be unique with its procession of figures. Some of it is unclear and the interpretation is in any case not obvious. Comment is restricted to an attempt to describe what can be seen.

Name of author: apparently CERVUS-*wa/i+ra/i*..., *Runti(ya)-uari*, or the like. Theophoric names DN-*wari* are relatively common. Following the name is an area unclear shapes.

The next clear group consists of a pair of right-facing human figures with a large donkey head between them, and over the latter an unclear shape, perhaps a bird. Both figures wear ankle-length garments; the front one

seems to be carrying something, the rear one holds a staff.

The upper part of the end of the line is occupied by a pair of antithetic bulls(?) with a clearish but unknown object behind the left hand animal. Below them are (right to left): (1) an unclear object; (2) a couchant goat with a bird on its back; (3) two signs, possibly Hieroglyphs *i-BRACCHIUM*, followed by REGIO. REX, thus “king of the country ...”; (4) a right-facing bird.

ll. 2–3. While occasional signs may be recognizable, nothing suggesting coherent sense emerges, which

alone could confirm identifications. Only at the run-over from ll. 2–3 does a clause emerge which has already been treated because of the interest of one word:

...-ti-ha [(“X”)]ma-tu-sà-pa-wa/i-tu-ta || | PRAE-na BIBERE-ha

“... I [...]ed, and wine before him I drank.”

See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., elucidating the word *matu(sa)*, “wine”. The determin-

ative of this word would be expected to be VITIS, but even with this in mind I could not positively identify its presence. For the word see further AKSARAY, § 3c, Commentary.

l. 4. Relatively better preserved: because of the clear final clause the context may be seen to be that of a protective curse. The following clauses may be provisionally identified.

§ a. TERRA-REL + ra/i ...

§ b. ... -ha²-wa/i-x-x REL-i-sa² “PES”-wa/i-ti

§ c. ... á-pa-sa-na

§ d. |á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (DEUS)ku + AVIS (DEUS) LUNA²-sa
|hara/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa[(URBS²)] LIS-li-sa |á-sà-tu

... earth ...

and (he) who comes ...

... for his own ...

against him may Kubaba (and) the Haranean Moon-God(?) be the prosecutor!

§ b. Connective particles provisionally identified do not leave much scope for restoration: something like “with badness(?) against him(?) (-ha²-wa/i-tu²-ta²) (he) who comes”.

§ c. No connective particles or verb visible.

á-pa-sa-na fairly clear, dat. sing. of *apasi-*, “his”, rather odd in context (as far as visible) and position.

§ d. LUNA² odd sign form, +MP? Identity of Moon-God likely because of the relatively clear *haranawanis*, “Haranean”.

LIS-li-sa: for reading LIS (for former IRA) and form of word see MEHARDE, § 6, and Commentary. It is somewhat strange to find the two gods with a singular predicate.

|á-sà-tu fairly clear, with oddly placed word divider.

VII.8. KIRÇOĞLU (plates 203–204)

Location. Statue, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, no. 3009.

Description. Lower part of small statue, head and shoulders and much of left side missing, upper right side appears to preserve traces of right arm held close to body. The figure wears a long belted skirt with 4 pleats at the back, below which protrude the sandalled feet; above the skirt the flap of a jacket-like garment falls over the belt on the right side and probably the left also. The left side, front and right side of the skirt bear a 3-line inscription beginning on left side, upper right and running sinistroverse round to right side, left edge, returning *boustrophedon* along l. 2 and concluding with 2 words on l. 3. Damage to left side has carried off 2–3 words at the beginning, including name (title?) and patronym of the author.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.38 m.; w., 0.25 m.; th., 0.17 m.; line ht., 0.06 m.

Condition: good, apart from destroyed section of l. 1.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive (monumental *tā*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *u*, *mu*.

Word-dividers: rare.

Discovery. Reported by Jensen as being in Berlin Museum (*Hittiter und Armenier* (Strassburg, 1898), p. 17

no. 3), having come “von einem grossen Schutthügel im *Amk* unweit von Kirtschoghlu ...”; cf. Braidwood, *OIP* 48 (1937), p. 25, where an alternative possible provenance from the nearby Tell al-Hammam is suggested. Bought by Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in 1901 (noted in register of Vorderasiatisches Museum).

Publication. Messerschmidt, *OLZ* 2 (1899), pp. 35–38 (drawing from squeeze); id., *CIH* (1900), p. 8, Taf. VII, 1–3 (copy improved by collation, sketches of statue, obverse and reverse); Müller, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 46 (1921), Tav. V.1 (photograph of reverse); id., *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* (Augsburg, 1929), Taf. XXXV, no. 367 (photograph of obverse).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 12, pp. 72–74; Bossert, *Or. Ex.* 6 (1959), p. 35 f., Abb. 2 (copy made in Berlin in 1932); Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 289, p. 222, Tav. XXXIX (redrawn from Messerschmidt without use of Bossert’s text).

Excerpt.

§ 2 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 126 cit. 11.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Kirçoğlu 1)*, pp. 84, 199, 518, Taf. 38c (= Müller, loc. cit. (1929)).

Content. Dedication of statue to “divine Queen of the Land”. § 1. [Name, title(?), patronym (lost)]; § 2, dedication to goddess; §§ 3–4, reciprocal favours(?).

Date. Orthmann dates sculpture *Spb.* III, i.e. 2nd half of 8th century B.C.; cursive style of inscription is consistent with this.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Berlin Museum in September 1985.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* [PN₁, (title ?), PN₂] |(INFANS)*ni-wa/i-za-sá*
 2. § 2 *wa/i-i' za-'* STATUA-*ru-sà* (DEUS) REGIO-*ni-sa-na* MAGNUS.
 FEMINA-*sa₅ + ra/i-i* || *ARHLA* (“PES”) *u-pa-ha*
 § 3 *wa/i-ma-sá* | (“FRONS”) *ba-ta* MILLE DOMUS-*sa-ha*
i-zi-i <-sa>-tá-ta-
 3. § 4 [*á-mi-za-pa-wa/i-mu* | FRATER-*la-za* || SUPER + *ra/i-la-ti²*
 | x x x-*tí²*

Translation

I (am) [PN₁ (title?), PN₂'s] son.
 This statue for the Divine Queen of
 the Land I produced,
 and for me she honoured(?) the
 face and 1000 PARNASA,
 and me above(?) my brothers she
 will(?) raise(?).

Commentary

§ 1. Loss: about 4–5 columns of signs to judge from line below; name and patronym could have occupied entire space, but could have left space for title(s).

|(INFANS)*ni-wa/i-za-sá* (last sign seems to have been omitted and inserted later): the writing appears to be simply an abbreviation of the usual (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-*, see CEKKE, § 8, Commentary.

§ 2. *wa/i-i'*: for this inversion of the usual *a-wa/i*, see SHEIZAR, § 2, Commentary, with other attestations.

STATUA-*ru-sà*: identified with full phonetic writing (“STATUA”) *ta-ru-sa/sá/sà* and Cun. Luw. *da-a-ru-uš-ša* = ALAM-*ša*, “image”, by Bossert, loc. cit.; for the form *taru(sa)*, nom./acc. sing. N, dat. sing. *taruti*, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 31, Commentary.

(DEUS) REGIO-*ni-sa-na* MAGNUS.FEMINA-*sa₅ + ra/i-i*, “(divine) Queen of the Land”: for the reading and interpretation of this phrase by Kalaç, see MEHARDE, § 1, Commentary. For REGIO-*ni-sa-na*, dat. sing. of gen. adj. in *-(a)san*, see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

(“PES”) *u-pa-*, “bring”: for consideration of this verb, see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4, Commentary; for present context cf. especially *ARHLA* (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-*, “bring forth (plenty in the land)”, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 7.

§ 3. *wa/i-ma-sá*, i.e. *wa + mu + as*, “and she for me”: already so recognized by Bossert.

(“FRONS”) *ba-ta* (reading considered by Meriggi (*Glossar*, p. 55, s.v. “23” *bata-*), established by collation): form appears to be acc. plur. N, as same form in

KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 23, thus “the face”, direct object of clause.

MILLE DOMUS-*sa-ha*: MILLE fairly well established as 1000 (see İSKENDERUN, § 4, Commentary). DOMUS-*sa(-ha)* seems to be acc. plur. N, gen. adj. *parnasi-*, “that of the house”, linked to preceding word by copula *-ha*. Cf. CENTUM (DOMUS) *ki-sà-tara/i-sa*, “of 100 KISTARA-houses”, epithet of Kubaba, KARKAMIŠ A31, § 15?

i-zi-i-tá-ta-: verb, if *izi(ya)-*, “make”, would have an inexplicable overhanging *-ta*, which can hardly be accommodated at beginning of following clause. Restoration *<-sa>* to give well attested verb *izista-*, “honour” or the like, seems to offer the easiest way out.

Sense remains unclear in spite of the apparent morphology: “(for) me she honoured the face” is tolerable; but “... and that of 1000 houses” awaits plausible interpretation.

§ 4. *á-mi-za* | FRATER-*la-za*, “to/for my brothers”: for the usual dat. plur. *amiyanza* > *aminza*, cf. HAMA 4, §§ 10, 12.

SUPER + *ra/i-la-ti²*: reading uncertain, but appears to be adj./adv. form, rather than verb (*sa*) *sarli-*, which is not written with logogram SUPER; for other such forms see ÇİFTLİK, § 7, Commentary.

| x x x-*tí²*: presumably verb, signs not unclear but not identified.

Sense: in spite of difficulties with identification of last two words, the sense “me above(?) my brothers she will(?) raise(??)” is highly likely; cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 16.

VII.9. 'AZAZ (plate 205)

Location. Fragment, National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, no number(?).

Description. Corner fragment of stone monument of indeterminate form bearing on 2 adjacent faces parts of 2 lines of inscription, l. 1 dextroverse, l. 2 sinistroverse.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.36 m.; preserved w.(A), 0.16 m.; (B), 0.34 m.; line ht., not fully preserved, c. 0.24 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: 3, perhaps 4, word beginnings preserved, each marked.

Discovery. Reported to have been found at 'Azaz in Syria in September 1955. Seen and photographed by Friedrich in Aleppo Museum in September 1959 (see Publication).

Publication. Meriggi, *Fs Friedrich* (1959), pp. 323–325, Abb. 1 (drawing from Friedrich's photographs);

Friedrich, *RHA XX/70* (1962), p. 66 f., Abb. 4–5 (photographs).

Edition. Meriggi, loc. cit.; id., *Manuale II/2* (1975), no. 286, p. 219, Tav. XL (redrawn).

Content, Date. Fragment insufficiently preserved for comment. In the reigns of Aššurnāširpal II and Shalmaneser III, Hazazu ('Azaz) belonged to the rulers of Unqi (see Amuq, Historical Context, p. 362 f. and nn. 16, 21, 23), but in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III to Bit-Agusi (Arpad) (ibid., p. 362 and n. 14). Since the Aramean state of Bit-Agusi would be expected to have written in Aramaic, it is likely that the 'AZAZ fragment belongs with those of Unqi and thus probably to the 9th century B.C.

Text. Traced from photographs.

Photographs. Supplied by courtesy of Professor Alfonso Archi. I am also much indebted to Dr. Ali Abu Assaf for a set of photographs of the same piece.

Transliteration

Translation

- l. 1 ...-li-sa RĒL-ti [x]-*311-i [a²]-tū [*112²]-[...] -tū [x]-ba[...]
 l. 2 ...|[x](-)pa-ha-[...] -pa-wa/i-na |(*187)s[ū]-mi-la-[x]
 |SUPER+ra/i[...] |tū[...]

None offered.

Commentary

l. 1. Subject: possibly [...] -li-sa; verb, possibly [*112²]-[...] -tū, 3 sing. imp.

l. 2. |(*187) s[ū]-mi-la-[x]: see ASSUR letter a, § 11, and Commentary.

VII.10. AIN DARA (plate 206)

Location. Sculptured block, remained *in situ* where found at Ain Dara; but present whereabouts uncertain (Zimansky, pers. comm., 1995).

Description. Lower part of sculptured block bearing on its long side the legs of a lion striding to the right and on the adjoining front narrow side the head of the animal as a protome (details destroyed). On the rear narrow side is the lower part of a male figure facing right, wearing a short bordered tunic and boots with upturned toes and a sword at the waist. This figure doubtless represented the Storm-God. Behind the figure, between it and the edge of the block, 6 signs of a Hier. inscription are preserved, sinistroverse, arranged according to space available in a vertical column,

broken at the top and bottom. How long the inscription may have been and where it could have begun cannot be guessed. It could have continued on a lost block adjoining the present one on the left. The block itself with its protome and profile lion must have originally formed the right-hand jamb of a monumental door.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.18 m.; w., 1.13 m.; th., 0.44 m.

Condition: fragment, as preserved, clear.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental? (none diagnostic).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Excavated in the 1981 season in the debris of the left-hand wing of the monumental entrance on the floor but clearly not in any original context.

Publication. Ali Abu Assaf, *Der Tempel von 'Ain Dara* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 61 and Taf. 51 (photograph). The piece has been given the catalogue no. G2, in which the G-series designates sculpture found out of context.

Transliteration

... w}a/i-wa/i+ra/i-tá REL-s{a₅...

Commentary

wa/i-wa/i+ra/i-tá: seems to be verb, 3 sing. pret. of *wawari-* for which cf. *wawarimis* (KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 3, and Commentary), and extended form *wawarita-* (AS-SUR letter e, § 10, and Commentary); both the latter contexts suggest a sense related to “die”. On the other

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. See Abu Assaf, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Paul Zimansky.

hand the form *wa/i-wa/i+ra/i-i(a)-tá-li*² (ALEPPO 1, l. 2), though not understood, does not seem to be a context where such a sense would be appropriate. In the present fragment “[...] who WAWARI-ed [...]” looks likely.

VII.11. AFRIN (plates 207–208)

Location. Fragment of stele, stored in Ain Dara excavation house.

Description. Fragment of stele, top and bottom destroyed, front, left side and reverse preserved, right side also destroyed, taking with it an indeterminable amount from the right edge of the obverse and left edge of the reverse. Obverse and reverse form the wide sides of the monument, and the left and missing right sides the narrow. The front (A) preserves remains of relief sculpture, apparently the short fringed kilt such as would be worn by a Storm-God figure. This indicates that the preserved fragment constitutes the middle section of the monument, which seems to have been an ordinary Storm-God stele with right-facing figure. *Inscription*: left side (B) and reverse (C) preserve parts of 3 lines of inscription (ll. 1 and 3 sinistroverse, l. 2 dextroverse), which no doubt also continued on the lost right side (D); only the lower part of l. 1 survives, but l. 2 is preserved to its full height for most of its surviving length, as is l. 3 on side B though on side C only the upper part of its right end survives.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.36 m.; preserved w., 0.61 m.; th., 0.25 m.; line ht., 0.27 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised (faint).

Sign forms: hardly diagnostic (monumental *mu*, *ta*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: a number visible.

Discovery. “The Afrin inscription had been found without archaeological associations, in a field northwest of the city of that name and was brought to the ‘Ain Dara dig house, where it remains”. (Dr. Paul Zimansky, personal communication, February 1982; the date of discovery was apparently 1981). The inscription was seen still in the excavation house in 1995 by Dr. Zimansky.

Publication, Edition. Here for the first time. Soon after its discovery, the piece was treated in a full edition by Dr. Paul Zimansky and Dr. Jeffrey Wills. This was submitted for publication in *AAAS*, but unfortunately has not yet appeared [1998]. I am much indebted to Dr. Wills for a copy of this edition, which I have found very useful in putting together the present entry. I have taken over the transliteration almost without alteration, and drawn freely on the comments.

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. Traced from a squeeze made by Dr. Elizabeth Stone.

Photographs. Supplied by courtesy of Dr. Paul Zimansky.

Transliteration

Translation

1. 1. (no identifiable word)
1. 2. § 1. ...] x x CUM[?] |ARHL4 *wa/i*-*336-x-tá ...] ... he/they ...ed away together (?),
 § 2. *wa/i-mu-ta'* |REX[?]-*ti-zi-i* |*523(-)*a+ra/i-ti-i* SUPER+*ra/i-*'[...]x-ta and kings(?) [...]ed me up with
1. 3. § 3. ... ||-*wa/i-*' (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti* |("MANUS")*i*-[*sà*[?]-*tara/i*]-*na* [...] raise[d] up the hand to Tar-
 |SUPER+*ra/i-*' | PUGNUS-[*ri+i*]-[...] hunzas,
 § 4. *wa/i*-[...]x[...] and [...]

Commentary

§ 1. *wa/i*-*336-x-tá: Wills discusses the identification and possible usage of *336.

§ 2. REX[?]-*ti-zi-i*: so Wills.

*523(-)*a+ra/i-ti-i*: logogram previously unknown (for number see Introduction, p. 24 Table 1); the word could be abl. (sing.).

§ 3. Interpretation follows Wills closely.

... ||-*wa/i-*': Wills notes that the edge of the stone does not permit the loss of more than a column of signs at the end of l. 2.

VII.12. ANTAKYA

Stele, unpublished.

VIII. ALEPPO

The Historical Context

Background: the IInd millennium B.C.

The Aramean state of Bit-Agusi: Assyrian sources

Archaeological Investigation

The Hieroglyphic monuments

The Inscriptions

1. BABYLON 1 (stele)

2. BABYLON 2 (stone bowl)

3. BABYLON 3 (stone bowl)

The Historical Context

Background: the IInd millennium B.C.

Most groups of Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age can be assembled and treated according to their cities or countries of provenance. Some however have been found far away from where they must have originated, particularly those found at Assur, the ASSUR letters, and at Babylon, the stele BABYLON 1 and the stone bowls, BABYLON 2 and BABYLON 3. The latter are identified explicitly as dedications to the Storm-God of Halpa (i.e. Halab, mod. Aleppo), and the presumption is that they originated in the temple of this famous god.

The city of Aleppo is of great antiquity but is probably not attested before the IInd millennium B.C. The place Arman(um) associated with Ebla by Naram-Sin, who claims to have destroyed both, has been identified as the name of Aleppo on very dubious grounds.¹ At this period political power in the area centred on Ebla (Tell Mardikh), and the extensive archives from the site have not yet attested the existence of Aleppo.²

In the Old Babylonian period when the city's name appears as Halab for the first time,³ it served as the capital of an important Amorite dynasty ruling the land Yamhad, alternatively known as the land Halab.⁴ This is comparatively well attested in the archives of Mari, and later of Alalah (level VII), where a cadet branch of its royal house ruled. The expansion of the power of Aleppo at this period culminated in a claim of "Great Kingship", recognized by the Hittites,⁵ who however under Hattusilis I defeated and under Mursilis I destroyed it. After the rapid disappearance of this evanescent Hittite ascendancy, Aleppo resumed a leading role in Syria, as illustrated by the Alalah tablets (level IV) and the Idrimi statue inscription. Subsequently it found itself in the front line of the struggles between Egypt and Mitanni at the time of Tuthmosis III, and between Hatti and Mitanni in the period before the reign of Suppiluliumas I.

With the settlement of Syria after his conquest, Suppiluliumas installed his son Telipinus the Priest as king of Aleppo. The latter was succeeded by his son Talmi-Šarruma, but the position of this Hittite dynasty in no

way equalled its cousin, the dynasty in Karkamiš, whose members clearly acted as the Hittite viceroys of Syria. Only one further Hittite king of Aleppo is attested, Halpazitis, whose relationship to Telipinus and Talmi-Šarruma is unknown. The importance of Aleppo to Hatti was doubtless cultic, depending on its status as the centre of the worship of the Storm-God, which assumed considerable prominence in Hatti.⁶ Members of the dynasty, following its founder, probably functioned primarily as priests. It is thus appropriate that we have from this period that rare item, a stone foundation document written in Hieroglyphic, ALEPPO 1, which records the building of the temple of Hebat and Šarruma by Talmi-Šarruma.⁷ This inscription, now incongruously built into the wall of an Aleppo mosque, provides almost the only evidence, apart from the seals of Ugarit and Meskene, for the use of the Hieroglyphic script in Syria during the period of the Empire.

The Aramean state of Bit-Agusi: Assyrian sources

No evidence, textual or archaeological, survives for events in Aleppo and its area in the period following

1 Solely based on the confusion in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III of the name of the city Halman/Arman (mod. Holwan lying east of the Tigris) with that of Aleppo: see below, p. 389 and nn. 14–15. For references to Arman(um), see Edzard, Farber and Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, s.v.; also Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, s.v., with bibliography.

2 The frequently attested city *Armi* has been suggested as identical with Arman(um): Sollberger, *ARET* VIII, p. 40, s.v. *ar-mi-ki*; cf. Archi, *ARET* III, p. 318; also Matthiae, *Ebla* (London, 1980), p. 176 f.

3 For Mari references see Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, s.v. Halab.

4 See Klengel, *RLA* IV/1 (1972), s.v. Halab; *RLA* V/3–4 (1977), s.v. Jamhad. For a detailed review of the sources, see id., *GS* I, chs. 7–10.

5 Aleppo Treaty, *KB* I, 6 obv. 11 = Weidner, *PD*, no. 6, p. 82; cf. the remarks of Klengel, *GS* I, p. 127.

6 H. Klengel, Der Wettergott von Halab (*JCS* 19 (1965), pp. 87–93).

7 Elucidated by F. Laroche, L'Inscription hittite d'Alep (*Syria* 33 (1956), pp. 131–141).

the fall of the Hittite Empire. When historical sources resume with the Syrian expeditions of Aššurnāširpal II and Shalmaneser III, the area of central north Syria between Karkamiš and Unqi is found to be occupied by a land Yahan and an Aramean tribe, Bit-Agusi.⁸ From c. 805, if not earlier, until 740 B.C., the political capital was the city of Arpad. Evidence for the association of Yahan and Bit-Agusi is provided by Aššurnāširpal, who c. 870 B.C., marched from Karkamiš to Unqi passing north of (Y)ahan, and later in the same campaign received tribute from Gusi “the Yahanite”, the eponymous founder of Bit-(A)gusi.⁹ Yet recent evidence shows that Yahan and Bit-Agusi are not so closely identified as had been supposed. Shalmaneser III in 858 B.C., after defeating Unqi and its north Syrian allies, received submission and tribute from Arame son of Agusi who is not recorded to have taken part in the fighting,¹⁰ and the same leader appears among the north Syrian kings submitting in 857 and 853 B.C.¹¹ In a new, more complete version of the 858 campaign there appears among the defeated allies of Unqi an “Adanu the Yahanite”.¹² In other words Aššurnāširpal’s contemporary Gusi the Yahanite seems to have been succeeded by Arame, his son, and by Adanu the Yahanite. No further evidence for this division is found however. The term “Yahan” does not recur, nor is there any further evidence that Bit-Agusi under Arame was not the sole power between Karkamiš and Unqi. This ruler was attacked again in 849, 848 and 834, losing the cities Arne (described as his “royal city”), Apparazu and Muru.¹³

At this period Aleppo clearly remained an important cult-centre of the Storm-God. On the 853 campaign Shalmaneser, passing from Pitru to Hamath, paused to visit “Halman” and sacrifice to its Storm-God.¹⁴ The identity of the city is not in doubt, though the form of the name is unexplained.¹⁵ The city now, as subsequently, seems to have lain within the territory of Bit-Agusi: Shalmaneser went from it to the cities of Hamath.

Arame, the opponent of Shalmaneser, had a minimum attested reign of 858–834 B.C. In the reign of Adad-nirari III we find Ataršumki, son of Adramu, the “Arpadite”, leading a north Syrian coalition against Assyria.¹⁶ It is likely that Adramu is to be identified with Arame, the names being simply variant forms.¹⁷ The term “Arpadite” applied to Ataršumki attests for the first time this city as capital of Bit-Agusi.¹⁸ In 805 B.C., Adad-nirari (and his mother Sammuramat!), crossing the Euphrates to support the land of Kummuh, fought Ataršumki and an alliance of eight kings in Paqirahubuni, and claimed a victory, which must have been less than complete. Ataršumki (alias Bar-Guš, i.e. of Bit-Agusi), incited by Bar-Hadad of Damascus, was later able to lead a similar alliance, including at least Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam’al, Melid and two or three other countries, against Zakur of Hamath.¹⁹ An Assyrian relief force led by Adad-nirari and Šamši-ilu, the *turtān*, effected a peace settlement in 796 B.C. whereby

Hamath was forced to cede a city and territory up to the River Orontes to Ataršumki.

A ruler of Karkamiš, Yariris, who must belong approximately to this period, describes in an inscription an action, apparently hostile, taken by an Assyrian king towards the Storm-God of Aleppo and probable retaliatory action on the part of the god – the interpretation of the text is unfortunately obscure.²⁰ The Assyrian king is most likely, on chronological grounds, to be Adad-nirari, the ruler most active in Syria between Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser III.²¹

In the middle of the 8th century B.C. Mati’ilu, son of Ataršumki, was the ruler of Bit-Agusi, and appears as a participant in two treaties: one preserved on a fragmentary Cuneiform tablet concluded with Aššurnirari V of Assyria, and dated to 754 B.C.²²; the other

8 For a survey of the sources on Yahan, Bit-Agusi and Arpad, see Hawkins, *RLA* V/3–4 (1977), s.v. Jahan.

9 Annals, *AK-1*, pp. 368–370 (= *RLM* 2, A.0.101.1), iii 71–78.

10 Kurkh Monolith, III R 7–8 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.2), ii 12; cf. Cameron Annals, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 458 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.6), i 47.

11 Ibid., ii 27, 83.

12 Mahmud and Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985–86), pp. 135–150, text 1, rev. 28 f. (now = *RLM* 3, A.0.102.3).

13 10th and 11th *palē*: see Cameron Annals, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 466, ii 58–60, 70 f.; Safar Annals, *WdO* II/1 (1954), p. 34 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.10), ii 48–50, 53; Black Obelisk, *WdO* II/2 (1955), p. 150 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.14), l. 86; Bull inscription, *ICC*, pl. 15 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.8), ll. 31 f., 39 f.; “25th” *palē*, Black Obelisk, *WdO* II/3 (1956), p. 221 (= *RLM* 3, A.0.102.14), l. 130 f. – for date see Reade, *Z* 1 68 (1978), pp. 251 ff. Representations on the Balawat Gates showing the capture of Arne and an otherwise unknown [...] jagda: King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. LXVI ff., band XII 1–6, = *RLM* 3, A.0.102.80, 81.

14 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8, ii 86 f.; also Cameron Annals, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 464, ii 25 f.

15 Written *ur-hal-man* in place of an expected *Hallab*. A confusion with the eastern Halman (mod. Holwan), also written *Arman*, and the ancient designation *Arman(um)* for Aleppo, seems to be behind the form. For Aleppo at this period, see Hawkins, *RLA* IV/1 (1972), s.v. Halab: the 1st millennium.

16 Pazarcik stele of Adad-nirari III: see Commagene, p. 331 f. and nn. 26–27; also the fragmentary Sheikh Hammad stele: see A. R. Millard and H. Tadmor, Adad-nirari III in Syria (*Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 57–64, = *RLM* 3, A.0.104.5).

17 A fragment published by Millard and Tadmor, loc. cit., p. 60 f. has *l. Atar[umki]* and *mār l. Arame* in a context fragmentary but sufficiently close to make it likely that the latter qualifies the former (*RLM* 3, A.0.104.4).

18 On the Pazarcik stele: *ur-pa-da-a-a*.

19 Combination of the information on the Antakya stele of Adad-nirari III with that on the Aramaic Zakur stele: see Hama, p. 400 f. and nn. 46–47.

20 See KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, §§ 6–7, and Commentary.

21 The associated fragment KARKAMIŠ A24a6 has been thought to name the Assyrian king, but the reading and interpretation remain problematic: see Commentary.

22 E. Weidner, Der Staatsvertrag Aššurnirāris VI. von Assyrien mit Mati’ilu von Bit-Agusi (*JTO* 8 (1932–33), pp. 17–26, = *ARAB* I, §§ 749–760). The date is allocated on the basis of the Eponym Chronicle’s entry “against Arpad” for 754 B.C. (*RLA* II, p. 430, C¹1, rev. 16). See now Parpola, *SLA* II (Helsinki, 1988), no. 2, pp. XXVII f., 8–13.

written on the Aramaic stelae of Sefire,²³ concluded at an uncertain date with the mysterious Bar-ga'ya of KTK, possibly a ruler of Hamath.²⁴ The Storm-God of Aleppo is invoked among the divine witnesses both in the Assyrian treaty,²⁵ and in the Aramaic,²⁶ and the latter in addition mentions Aleppo in the context of extradition, making clear that the city was under the authority of Arpad.²⁷ Although Matī'ilu appears as the subordinate partner in both treaties, it is clear that Bit-Agusi remained the leading power of north Syria, in that allied with Urartu it appears as the moving force behind the opposition to Assyria. The alliance, with the adherence of Melid, Kummuh and Gurgum, confronted Tiglath-pileser III in 743 B.C. and was severely defeated.²⁸ Arpad was treated as the ringleader, besieged for three years, and captured.²⁹ Thereupon it was constituted as the first full Assyrian province in Syria, designated as was usual by the name of its capital city, Arpad. Enough spirit of independence survived for Arpad to participate in the revolt of Yau-bi'di of Hamath against Sargon, 722–720 B.C.,³⁰ but thereafter it remained a submissive province for the duration of the Assyrian Empire, as a fair number of references attest.³¹ Aleppo is not further attested in Assyrian sources, but the very nearby Nerab is specifically described as "of the governor of Arpad".³²

Archaeological investigation

The site of Arpad has been identified at Tell Rifa'at, some 30 km. north-west of Aleppo, which has been the subject of three seasons of preliminary excavation in 1956, 1960 and 1964,³³ during which no very substantial remains of the period were uncovered. An archaeological survey of the area was conducted in 1977–79.³⁴ The site of ancient Aleppo is concealed under the modern city, either under the impressive citadel mound or elsewhere, and is unlikely to be accessible to archaeological investigation. [1998: Neo-Hittite sculptures excavated].

It is clear that the enduring primacy of Aleppo within its region was eclipsed during the period of the Aramean state of Bit-Agusi and the Assyrian province of Arpad. Yet sufficient evidence survives of the continued importance of Aleppo as a cult-centre throughout. The Aramean rulers of Bit-Agusi would doubtless have adopted the Alphabet for writing inscriptions in their own language some time in the 9th century B.C., though the sole representatives of such an inscription, apart from the Sefire stelae, may be a small ivory pyxis with a broken inscription on the rim.³⁵ The Hieroglyphic inscriptions associated with the Storm-God of Aleppo show that local or neighbouring Hittite peoples continued to write dedications in their own script and language during the period. The *terminus ante quem* for such monuments is presumably defined by the destruction and deportation of the surrounding Hittite states by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. It is interesting to note that the funerary stele of Si'-gabbari, a priest of Nerab (located only some 5 km. south-east of Aleppo)

can now be dated to the reign of Sargon.³⁶ Both the inscription in good Aramaic, and the scene showing the deceased seated at a funerary banquet, attended by a servant, are Aramaic adaptations of long-established Hittite prototypes.³⁷

23 Found at the village of that name c. 25 km. south-east of Aleppo; texts in Donner and Röllig, *KAI*², nos. 222–224; Gibson, *TSSI* II, nos. 7–9. For a recent treatment, see A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Les Inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu* (Geneva-Paris, 1984).

24 For a summary of the proposed identifications of KTK, see Hawkins, *RLA* VI/3–4 (1982), s.v. KTK. Since then Lemaire and Durand, loc. cit., have advanced further arguments in favour of identifying Bar-ga'ya with Šamsi-ilu, the Assyrian *turtān*, and KTK with the alleged toponym "Kitqa". The latter has now been conclusively shown not to exist (see Tell Ahmar p. 224 and n. 8). The identification of Bar-ga'ya remains open. Parpola (op. cit., n. 22) reiterates the identification of Bar-ga'ya and KTK with Aššur-nirari V and Assyria.

25 *IM ia* ^{uru}*hal-la-ba*: col. vi 18.

26 [*hdd h*] *lb*: stele I, A 10 f.

27 Stele III, 5.

28 For sources, see Maraš, p. 250 and n. 19. The Eponym Chronicle places the defeat of Urartu in Arpad: *ina* ^{uru}*arpadda diktu* KUR *ur-arti dikat* (C¹ I, rev. 30 f. – see Tadmor, *Azriyau*, pp. 252–254). The more circumstantial royal inscriptions place this or a further defeat in districts of Kummuh: see Commagene, p. 332 and nn. 30–31.

29 The passage of Tiglath-pileser's Annals, which would have described the siege and capture of Arpad, the fate of Matī'ilu and the establishment of the Assyrian province is not extant. The events are known only from the chronological outline in the Eponym Chronicle (*RLA* II, p. 430, C¹ I, rev. 32–34: see Tadmor, loc. cit. (preceding note)).

30 Display Inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 102 and pl. 31 no. 65, l. 33 f., = *AR-IB* II, § 55; Assur Charter, Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 14 and pl. IX, obv. 20, = *AR-IB* II, § 134. The corresponding Annals passage is hardly preserved: Lie, *Sargon*, p. 6, ll. 23–25, = *AR-IB* II, § 5.

31 Governor: Zazaya, eponym for 692 B.C. – *KAI*¹, no. 20, [iii+]iv 28 = *RLA* II, Eponymen, p. 427 (C⁴); also *ARU* 36, l. 31 f.; 173 l. 42 f.(?). Associated with the neighbouring province Kullani (= Unqi) in list of defaulting governors, also in the horse reports (*ABL* 372, rev. 13; 395, obv. 9; 601, obv. 10) – reign of Esarhaddon: see Amuq, p. 363 n. 36. Also late reference as Bit-Agusi on Borowski stele, see Amuq, *ibid*.

32 *ARU*, 167 obv. 6, 13 f., reign of Aššurbanipal. Cf. also the list of the cities of Bit-Ag[us]i, III R 10, no. 3 = *AR-IB* I, § 821, where Nerab appears, but Aleppo is not in the preserved parts.

33 M. V. Seton Williams, Preliminary Report on the excavations at Tell Rifa'at (*Iraq* 23 (1961), pp. 68–87); *ead.*, The excavations at Tell Rifa'at, 1964: second preliminary report (*Iraq* 29 (1967), pp. 16–33).

34 John Matthers *et al.*, Tell Rifa'at 1977: preliminary report of an archaeological survey (*Iraq* 40 (1978), pp. 119–162); *id.*, *The River Qoueiq, North Syria and its Catchment* (B.A.R., I. S. 98; Oxford, 1981).

35 E. Puech, Un ivoire de Bit-Guši (Arpad) à Nimrud (*Syria* 55 (1978), pp. 163–169). No Aramaic inscriptions earlier than c. 850 B.C. are known or likely to be found.

36 For the inscription see Donner and Röllig, *KAI*², no. 226; Gibson, *TSSI* II, no. 19. Si'-gabbari as priest of Nerab is now recognized in *ABL* 1227 + *CT* 53, 923 – see Parpola, *SLA* I, no. 189, ll. 7–9; *id.*, *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 16 (1985), pp. 273–275.

37 For this dependence of the Aramean forms, see Hawkins, in *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen, 1980), especially p. 215 f.

The Hieroglyphic monuments

Of the known dedications to the Storm-God of Aleppo, the stele BABYLON 1 records the presentation to the deity by Laparizitis(?) of his daughter and his possessions. Both the author's status and the reading of his name are somewhat uncertain.³⁸ The stele can only be dated by stylistic criteria of the sculpture, which associate it with the Suhis-Katuwas style of Karkamiš, i.e. c. 900 B.C., a date possibly preceding the establishment of Bit-Agusi.

BABYLON 3 is a big stone bowl decorated externally by flutings, and it bears on its raised rim a dedication to the Storm-God of Aleppo by an unknown, untitled Runtiyas. BABYLON 2, a smaller, footed stone bowl, with a longer inscription completely encircling its upper part, was dedicated by an untitled dedicant to the "Celestial Storm-God", i.e. not specifically the Aleppine. The bowl is however closely linked to BABYLON 3 both by the Babylonian provenance and by the self-

designation, *ṣaia* (SCALPRUM) *katina*, "these bowls". The date of the two would appear from the incised script and cursive sign forms to be 8th rather than 9th century B.C.

The discovery of these monuments in Babylon is curious.³⁹ The supposition that they were brought there among the booty of the west by Nebuchadrezzar, and displayed in the "Schloßmuseum" is a plausible explanation.⁴⁰ Such a transportation of ancient monuments is paralleled by the Elamite removal of the stelae of Hammurapi and other Mesopotamian works to Susa.

[Note: recently two metal bowls with Empire period inscriptions of comparable character have appeared: see Hawkins, *Studies Nimet Özgüç* (Ankara, 1993), pp. 715–717; id., *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1996 Yılı* (Ankara, 1997), pp. 7–24. Also a bronze sword now in Çorum Museum bears a dedicatory inscription referring to "these swords" (GİR^{HLA} *annūti*): see Ertekin and Ediz, *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, pp. 719–725; Ünal, *ibid.*, pp. 727–730].

The Inscriptions

VIII.1. BABYLON 1 (plates 209–210)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7816.

Description. Complete, round-topped stele, flat obverse, curved reverse. *Obverse*: standard Storm-God figure, facing right, bearded, with long, curled pigtail, wearing horned helmet, short, short-sleeved, belted, fringed tunic with sword at waist and boots with upturned toes, holding in left hand raised in front, a trident thunderbolt, and in right hand raised behind an axe. *Reverse*: 7-line inscription, beginning (unusually) upper left, running dextroverse across entire reverse, continuing *boustrophedon* and terminating just after beginning of l. 7.

Dimensions: (stele) ht., 1.28 m.; w., 0.53 m.; th., 0.35 m.; (inscription) l., 0.90 m.; line ht., 0.12 m.

Condition: good, completely preserved, small worn patches.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: more monumental (*mu*, *ta*, *tà*, *u*, *ma*, also *na*, *pi*) than cursive (*á*, *ara/i*).

Peculiarities: characteristic *ta*, *ma* forms; *ni* open-ended.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Excavated during Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft operations at Babylon on 22/8/1899, "im Mauerschutt innerhalb der Binnenschale der Ostmauer der Hauptburg, in dem von dieser Ost- und der an-

stoßenden Nordmauer gebildeten Winkel" (archaeological report, R. Koldewey, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon* (WDOG 56; Leipzig, 1932), p. 20). Provenance on the internal evidence of the inscription would seem to be the temple of the Storm God of Aleppo. The piece was perhaps booty taken by Nebuchadrezzar II for his "Schloßmuseum"; see Unger, *Babylon*, p. 226. Taken to Istanbul soon after discovery.

Publication. R. Koldewey, *Die hettitische Inschrift gefunden in der Königsburg von Babylon am 22. August 1899* (WDOG 1; Leipzig, 1900), Taf. 1–3 (photographs of obverse, part of reverse, copy of inscription); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 3 f., Taf. I.5 (sketch of obverse), II (copy collated from squeeze in Berlin Museum); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 10 (1938), pls. I–III (Istanbul Museum photographs of reverse).

Editions. Meriggi, *RHA* 11/11 (1933), p. 110 f.; id., *WZKM* 41 (1934), no. 8, pp. 2–12; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 255–261; Palmer, *TPS* 1958, pp. 57–67,

³⁸ See Commentary, § 1.

³⁹ And in the case of BABYLON 2, not completely certain: for a possible Sippar provenance, see *Discovery*.

⁴⁰ As suggested by Koldewey and Unger: see BABYLON 1 and 3, *Discovery*.

figs. 2 (Messerschmidt's copy), 3 (linear transcription of signs into clauses); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 13, pp. 37–41 (with redrawing of Messerschmidt's copy).

Excerpts.

- § 2 Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.1(a); Starke, *Stammбил-дунг*, § 223.
 §§ 2–3 Bossert, *Asia*, p. 121 f.
 § 3 Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.4(c); Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 602 f.
 § 4 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 96.
 §§ 5–7 Laroche, *HH* nos. 160.I.1; 216.I.2.
 § 7 Laroche, *HH* no. 244.
 § 9 Laroche, *HH* no. 14.I.(c).
 § 10 Laroche, *HH* no. 82.1.
 §§ 13–14 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 146 cit. 54.
 § 15 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 95; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 142 f. cit. 48.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Babylon 1)*, pp. 131, 148, 234, 239, 480, Taf. 5 b; Genge, *NSR*, Kap. III.

Content. Dedication to Storm-God of Aleppo by ruler Lapaizitis(?). § 1, name and titles; § 2, favour of Storm-God; §§ 3–9, dedication of daughter and all property to God; §§ 10–15, protective curse.

Date. Sculptural stylistic criteria only, which place it with Suhis-Katuwas style at Karkamiš (see KAR-KAMIŠ A1a, A11a, Dates); i.e. late 10th–early 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 1969, and has been repeatedly collated against the stone.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in 1974 and 1986.

Transliteration

1. § 1 |EGO-wa/i-mi-i¹ la-PRAE-VIR²/la²-sa |("IUDEX") tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa |CAPUT-ti-i-sa
 2. § 2 wa/i-mu-ta-³ TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-wa/i¹-ni-sa ||(DEUS) TONITRUS-sa |BONUS-ti-i |HW⁴T-ia-ta
 3. § 3 wa/i-tu-⁵ mi-i-na-⁶ FEMINA-ti-i-na |BONUS-mi-i-na |INFANS-ni-i-na⁷ a-na-si-na || pi-ia-ha
 § 4 |a-ma-za-pa-wa/i-⁸ REL-a-za |ta-ni-ma-za
 § 5 |ma-wa/i-sa |"TERRA"-si |"FINES"-sa
 § 6 |ma-pa-wa/i-sa |"VITIS"-si-i |"FINES"-sa
 4. § 7 |ma-pa-wa/i-sa |"AEDIFICIUM"-si-i |"FINES"-sa
 § 8 REL-a-za REL-i-ta PES-i
 § 9 wa/i-tu-ta-⁹ TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-wa/i-ni (DEUS) TONITRUS-ti-i |pa+ra/i-na-¹⁰ |PRAE-i pi-ia-ha
 5. § 10 |a-ta-pa-wa/i-ta REL-i-sa || CRUS-i |("471") a-za-i |pa-za-i
 § 11 |ma-pa-wa/i-sa a-ta-ti-li-i-sa |ta₄-la/i/u-ni-sa-¹¹
 § 12 |ma-pa-wa/i-sa |ARHA-ti-i-li-sa |ta₄-la/i/u-ni-sa-¹²
 6. § 13 |za-pa-wa/i-ta |("STELE") wa/i-ni-za |"LOCUS"-ta₅-za-¹³ |(SA₄) sa-ni-ti-i
 § 14 |NEG₂-pa-wa/i-ta |ARHA |MALLEUS-i
 § 15 |[pa]-ti-[pa]-wa/i-¹⁴ TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-wa/i-ni-sa (DEUS) TONITRUS-sa |ara/i-¹⁵ |pa-ta |NEG₃-sa |pi-ia-i ||
 7. ARHA |DELERE-nu-u-na

Translation

I (am) Lapaizitis(?) the Ruler-Prince.
 For me Halabean Tarhunzas ran with favour,
 (and) to him I gave my female dear child Anasis. (or: my 'Lady', the dear child of Anas).
 All that (is) mine,
 whether it (be) the limit of the land or it (be) the limit of a vineyard or it (be) the limit of a *building*(?), (that) which comes (any)where, before him, Halabean Tarhunzas, I gave (it) over.
 (He) who comes in, (and) eats(?) (and) drinks(?), whether he (be) an "internal" TALUNI-, or he (be) an "external" TALUNI-, and overturns this stele in the place(s), or erases it, for him may Halabean Tarhunzas not grant ARA PATA to destroy!

Commentary

§ 1. ¹la-PRAE-VIR²/la²-sa: reading of author's name problematic. Both apparent *la*'s have additional strokes, the first perhaps accidental damage, the second certainly purposive, which raises doubts as to the sign's identity. Meriggi's reading *la* (giving *Laparla*) and

Laroche's *nà* (i.e. *ni* – *Labarna*; see *HH* no. 14.II) are not acceptable. Perhaps identify, following Palmer, as archaic form of VIR (*HH* no. 312) reversed (for form and orientation cf. KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 1); Laroche's entry under *HH* no. 313.II ("Très obscur:

Babylone 1") seems to imply the possibility of this identification.

[("IUDEX") *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* | *CAPUT-ti-i-sa*: combination noted as "insolita" by Meriggi, rendered as "homme juge" by Laroche (*HH* no. 10.I(c)). Formally *tarwanis* can be gen. sing. (cf. MARAŠ 1, § 1 c; 4, § 1; TELL AHMAR 1, § 1; BOYBEYPINARI 1, §§ 1, 4, 2, § 1; BULGARMADEN, § 1; NIĞDE 2, § 1; KARKAMIŠ A7, § 14 ?), so a rendering "person of the ruler" is not excluded, but it seems preferable to follow Laroche's interpretation (easier if *tarwanis* is understood as an original adj.); cf. Pintore, *Studia Meriggi*, pp. 473–494, esp. 479. For a similar problem, cf. KARKAMIŠ A17b, § 1.

§ 2. TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-: traditional Hier. writing of the name of the city Halab attested as early as the inscription ALEPPO 1 of the king Talmi-Šarruma (c. 1300 B.C.). TONITRUS appears to be an omissible, non-phonetic element (see KÖRKÜN, § 5, and Commentary), the presence of which may be explained by the importance of the city as a cult-centre of the Storm-God. The sign transliterated H-ILP-1 may be seen in its more pictographic forms (all KARKAMIŠ) to represent a kneeling leg, and the possibility of its use as a rebus associated with Hitt. *balīya-*, "kneel", may be considered. Attested phonetic writings are: Old Babylonian, *ba-la-ab/ba^{ki}*, Hitt. (KUR^{URU}) *bal-ba/pa/pi/ab* // *ba-la-ap/pa*, Neo-Ass. ^{uru}*bal-la-ba*, Aram. *ḥlb* (for references, see Aleppo, Historical Context, p. 388 ff. and nn. 3, 5, 14–15, 25–27). Hier. however writes *i-la-pa*-(URBS) (see KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, §§ 6, 11, and Commentary).

BONUS-ti-i | *HWI-ta-ta*: phrase identified by Palmer; emendation by Laroche, loc. cit. ("BON-ti ¹la-i-a-ta₄") not acceptable. BONUS-ti-i presumably = *wasarati* (abl. sing.). For verb *buīya-*, "run", and its writing, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, Commentary.

§ 3. *mi-i-na*-¹FEMINA-ti-i-na | BONUS-mi-i-na | INFANS-ni-i-na¹ *ā-na-si-na*: string of accusatives has given difficulty; see Stefanini, loc. cit., with previous interpretations.

¹FEMINA-ti-i-na: can this really be a personal name, as implied by the undoubted presence of the personal determinative? – option 1, favoured by Stefanini and supported by use of Hier. *-Ana-*, Cun. *-Anna-/Anni-* as feminine names. Otherwise, option 2, one must ignore the determinative and translate as an adj. "female".

¹ā-na-si-na: also marked as personal name; under option 1, a "matronym", "Anas's (daughter)" (so Laroche, Stefanini); under option 2, simply the daughter's name *-Anasis*. Thus option 1 gives: "my 'Lady', the dear child (mine and) Anas's"; option 2: "my female dear child Anasis". The phrase "female (dear) child" could be explained as an expression likely in a language without grammatical gender (cf. Turkish *kız* *kardes*, "girl-

brother", i.e. "sister"), though Hier. does possess the inherited word for daughter; cf. particularly here *ā-mi-na* BONUS-mi-na FILIA-tara/i-na (KELEKLİ, § 2).

§ 4. Mittelberger's "was alles mein (ist)" (loc. cit.) is surely correct.

§§ 5–7. "TERRA"-*si*, "VITIS"-*si-i*, "AEDIFICIUM"-*si-i*: temptation to identify with usual Cun. tripartite definition of property as A.ŠA, KIRI₆ and É, "field", "orchard" and "house", is strong.

"TERRA"-*si*: most appropriate equivalent of logogram likely to be *tas(a)kwira/i-*, "earth, ground," especially if it is indeed a compound incorporating as its second element the cognate of Hitt. *kuera-*, "field" (see Neumann and Rasmussen *apud* Oettinger, KZ 92 (1978), p. 82 n. 36).

"VITIS"-*si-i*: most appropriate equivalent of logogram likely to be *tuwarsa-*, "vineyard" (so listed by Laroche).

"AEDIFICIUM"-*si-i*: logogram found by itself only here (alleged reversed form determining *karpatabisa* (*HH* no. 243) is in fact CUBITUM, see KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 17, and Commentary); most common in compound logogram +PONERE+MI- = *tama-*, "build", whence its possible identification as AEDIFICIUM; also now identified in the logogram AEDIFICIUM+MINUS (*HH* no. 245), = VACUUS, by Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 32–34. Cf. also URBS+MI.AEDIFICIUM-ta-na, (TOPADA, § 14)? In the context one might have expected Hier. DOMUS (*parna-*) as equivalent of Cun. É.

§ 8. Clause resumptive of § 4 after parenthetic §§ 5–7, as recognized by Palmer.

REL-i-ta: best so read and interpreted as "wherever"; see KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 2, and Commentary, with other attestations.

PES-i: better than reading *ta-ti-i* (with *ta-* from preceding word), as the latter would be an unlikely writing for *ta-*, "take" (*tā*), or *ta-*, "stand" (CRUS), also both these have 3 sing. pres. in -i (see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 577 ff., esp. 585). But what verb could PES-i represent? Not *awi-*, "come", which has 3 sing. pres. in -ti/ri (Morpurgo Davies, *ibid.*, p. 590 f.); only other known verbs determined by PES are *upa-* and *usa-*, both approximately "bring", which do not seem appropriate. Conceivably PES stands for PES₂ (reversed foot), determining several verbs of motion of which PES₂(.PES₂)(-)*tā-*, "walk" might be most appropriate here (cf. KARATEPE, 187, Commentary).

§ 9. *pa+ra/i-na*-PRAE-i: recognized by Meriggi, surely correctly, as pair of adverbs, as against Palmer's interpretation of *pa+ra/i-na* as "temple" (so also Laroche, loc. cit., who does not however list the form under *HH* no. 247, DOMUS). There is nothing in this inscription to lead one to expect a purely phonetic writing of

parna-, “house”; for another purely phonetic writing of *paran*, see BULGARMADEN, § 4, and for similar writings of *pari*, KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 7, 10, 16. Zuntz, *Ortsadv.*, pp. 82 f., 104, examines Hitt. *piran para* and *para piran*. She distinguishes an adverbial compound usage, “beforehand, ahead”, from a coincidental juxtaposition of *piran* (postposition) with *para* (preverb). We seem to have the latter here: *Tarhunti paran*, “before Tarhunzas”; *pari piyaba*, “I handed over” (as Hitt. *para pai-*).

§ 10. |CRUS-*i* | (“*471”) *á-za-i* | *pa-za-i*: interpretation of three verbs in asyndeton was proposed by Palmer and accepted by Meriggi.

|*a-tá* |CRUS-*i*: for verb see also KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 18; KULULU 2, § 6.

| (“*471”) *á-za-i*: logogram found elsewhere only determining (*m*) *u-ru-wa/i-tá-za*, some form of beneficial vegetation (ALEPPO 2, § 16, see Commentary). Two known verbs *á-za-* are (1) (LITUUS) *á-za-*, “love”, and (2) *á-za-*, = Cun. Luw. *azza-*, iter. (or assibilated form) of *ata-*, “eat”; the former hardly fits the context, the latter could.

|*pa-za-i*: a verb (PES₂) *pa-za-*, identified as verb of motion, “pass” (of time)(?), is attested (KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 1, see Commentary with other attestations and paradigm), apparently iterative of (PES₂) *pa-* (ASSUR letter *e*, § 24). The present verb, and a caus. *pa-nu-wa/i-* (SULTANHAN, § 36), could be associated with this (see Hawkins, *Mélanges Laroche*, p. 153 f.). Alternatively it might be preferable to link the pair *pa-za-* and *panuwa-* with the Hitt.-Luw. root *paš-/pašē-*, “swallow” (for

which see Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, p. 435 f.), which here would provide a plausible pair to the tentative *aza-*, “eat”.

§§ 11–12. *a-tá-ti-li-i-sa*, “internal”: cf. noun *a-ta-ti-*, “interior?” (ASSUR letter *f+g*, §§ 37–38, and Commentary).

ARHA-ti-i-li-sa: cf. CEKKE, § 15, Commentary for associated forms.

ta₄-la/i/u-ni-sa-: first sign (*Glossar*, no. 248; *HH*, no. 455, both in association with a logogram from KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 25) is uncertain, but may be identified as syllabogram *ta₄*, though a word *taluni-* or the like suggests no obvious associations. Interpretation is therefore dependent on the context: “offender, enemy, wrong-doer” is implicit in the sense, but the actual meaning may be less strongly coloured.

§ 13. |“LOCUS”-*ta₅-za-* | (SA₄) *sá-ni-ti-i*, “overturn in (its) place(s)”: see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary.

§ 14. |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá*: see Hawkins, loc. cit., for reading and elucidation of disjunctive NEG₂-*pa* (**napa*).

§ 15. NEG₃-*sa*: see Hawkins, loc. cit., for reading and identification of NEG₃-*sa* as prohib. *ni(š)*.

|*ara/i-* | *pa-ta*: still unexplained, apparently the direct object(s), and from the context (“let the god not give to him ARA PATA to get rid of”) something nasty.

DELERF-*nu-u-na*: for Melchert’s elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

VIII.2. BABYLON 2 (plate 211)

Location. Stone bowl, British Museum, London, no. 125004.

Description. Stone (basalt) bowl with pedestal base, and deep groove cut around circumference of outer rim. Below this a 1-line sinistroverse inscription completely encircles the outer body of the bowl. The starting point of this circular inscription is not obvious and must be determined on contextual and epigraphic grounds.

Dimensions: ht. (with pedestal), 0.23 m.; external diam., 0.33 m.; external circumference, 1.03 m.

Condition: good.

Script: linear incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: *sa* plain arch; *u*, *mu* very reduced.

Word-dividers: several.

Discovery. Stated by Wright to have been found at Babylon and offered for sale to the British Museum, repeated by Messerschmidt (1900); but Messerschmidt

(1902) corrected this to Abu Habbah (Sippar) on the basis of the British Museum’s *Guide* (1st ed., 1900), p. 27 (= 3rd ed. 1922, p. 7). The British Museum preserves no records of provenance or accession. See Gelb, *HHM*, p. 10. [See Addendum, p. 397]

Publication. Rylands, *PSBA* 7 (1885), p. 154 f., and pl. (sketch of bowl, drawing of inscription in circular form), = Wright, *EH²* (1886), p. 161 f., pl. XXV; Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 3, Taf. I, 3 (drawing of inscription extended, collated from cast in Berlin Museum), 4 (sketch of bowl with segment of inscription); id., *CIH¹* (1902), p. 8 f., Taf. XV, 1–5 (collations made from autopsy); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 968 (photograph of Berlin Museum cast).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 7, p. 89 f.; Neumann, *Gs Bossert* (1965), pp. 333–342 (p. 335, copy from British Museum photographs; dextroverse linear arrangement of text divided into clauses); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), nos. 1a and 12, pp. 10, 36 f. (with text redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 267; Laroche, *HH* nos. 182.11; 268.2; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 90; Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 125 cit. 8.
 § 3 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 174 cit. 31 a.

Content. Dedication of bowl to celestial Storm-God by an unknown individual. § 1, Statement of dedication; §§ 2–3, plea and answer to god; § 4, further presentations; § 4 a (perhaps at beginning?) “Kubaba-Karhuhas”.

Date. Unclear, probably 8th century B.C. rather than 9th (general epigraphic impression; note late form of *sa*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A18e, Date).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a paper squeeze made in the British Museum, and has been collated against the stone.

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Transliteration**Translation**

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>§ 1 <i>ṣa-ia-wa/i</i> (“SCALPRUM”) <i>ka-ti-na</i> SERVUS-<i>ta₅-a-sa</i> LITUUS
 + CAELUM-<i>na</i> (DEUS) TONITRUS-<i>ti-i i-ṣi-i-tà</i></p> <p>§ 2 <i>wa/i-tu-u</i> <i>wa/i-i</i> REL-<i>ṣa</i> <i>sa-há</i></p> <p>§ 3 <i>wa/i-mu</i> AUDIRE-<i>ti-ta</i></p> <p>§ 4 <i>á-mu-pa-wa/i-tu</i> (“*419”) <i>wa/i-sa-ha-i-ṣa ku+ra/i-i-sà(-)</i> <i>ka-tara/i-hi²-ha</i>
 <i>i-ṣi-i-ha</i></p> <p>§ 4 a (DEUS) <i>ku</i> + AVIS-<i>pa-pa-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>kar-hu-ha-sa</i></p> | <p>These bowls ...-tas made for celestial Tarhunzas.
 Because I was woeful(?) to him,
 he heard me,
 and for him I made WASHAI(N)ZA
 and KURISKATARAHI,
 (and) of Kubaba (and) Karhuhas(?).</p> |
|--|---|

Commentary

Beginning of text: Neumann argues for beginning the completely circular text with the gods' names *Kubabas Karhuhas* on epigraphic grounds; the two preceding words look as if they were crushed in (i.e. last engraved), as does the curious word-divider immediately before with the second element reversed. The epigraphic argument for *i-ṣi-i-ha* being the last engraved word is strong. The gods' names however, being of uncertain grammatical form (-*sa*, nom./gen. sing.), stand apart from the context either at the beginning or the end. In the transliteration they have been left at the end; in the copy they have been placed at the beginning and repeated at the end to frame the inscription and to illustrate the epigraphic argument.

§ 1. |*ṣa-ia(-wa/i)* (“SCALPRUM”) *ka-ti-na* (also BABYLON 3, § 1): the demonstr. *ṣaia* indicates clearly acc. plur. N, thus same case for *katina* (i.e. -*na* is not acc. sing. MF ending; so Gelb, *HH* III, p. 51; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 285, also loc. cit.). It does not seem likely that *katina* is plur. tantum, and the reason for the use of the plur. to designate a single bowl is not clear. Could it have been one of a pair or a multiple dedication? [cf. GİR^{HLA} *annūti* on a single sword: above, p. 391, Note].

SERVUS-*ta₅-a-sa*: apparently common noun “servant” used as personal name, formerly read *Midas* by Bossert (loc. cit.) and identified as Midas of Phrygia; cf. *JKF* 2 (1953), p. 238. But the reading as *mita* has been given up because of doubt of the phonetic value of first syllable (see KARATEPE, 6, Commentary).

LITUUS+CAELUM-*na*: interpreted by Bossert as apposition to *katina*, “(as) a bowl” (with further specu-

lation on Hitt. ^{DUG} *tapišana*- and Luw. *tappaš*/Hier. *tipas*, “heaven”); he was followed, with varying degrees of reservation, by Neumann, Laroche and Meriggi. It seems preferable to compare LITUUS+CAELUM-*na* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i* with *ṣa-[a]-ti-i* “CAELUM”-*sa-na* [(DEUS)] TONITRUS-*hu-ti*, “to this Tarhunzas of Heaven” (TELL AHMAR 1, § 21); i.e. LITUUS as alternative of DEUS, -*na* representing -(a)*san*, gen. adj., dat. sing. See Mittelberger, *Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 285, also loc. cit.; Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 141. Cf. also TONITRUS-*HALP:4-pa-ni* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu-ti* (BABYLON 3, § 1).

§ 2. Structure clear: “Because (REL-*ṣa*) I was (|*sa-há*) WAI (|*wa/i-i*) to him (-*tu-u*)”.

|*wa/i-i*: this may plausibly be associated with Hitt. *uwai*, “woe”, attested in phrases *uwai tiya-//uda-//peda-*, for which see Goetze, *NBr*, p. 6 f.; Kühne-Otten, *StBoT* 16, p. 40; cf. Otten-Souček, *StBoT* 8, p. 93. With the intrans. *tiya-*, Goetze identified *uwai*, surely correctly, as dat. sing., comparing such phrases as *hanti tiya-*, “oppose”, but with the transitive verbs *uda-*, *peda-*, he identified the same word as acc. sing. N; though since the OH attestations (Otten-Souček) show the word with acc. sing. MF (*ú*-)*wa-a-i-in*, it may be that *uwai uda-//peda-* should be understood as “bring (matters) to grief (for someone),” i.e. *uwai* again dat. sing. (It should be noted that Otten later, in the phrase *uwai tiške-*, identified the verb, surely incorrectly, as iter. of *dai-*, “put”, rather than *tiya-*, “stand” (*StBoT* 24, pp. 6 (i 34), 100 s.v. *dai-*)). The present Hier. *wa/i-i* then may be seen in a phrase comparable to those with Hitt. *uwai*, namely *wai (a)sa-*, “be for grief”, i.e. “be (an object) for pity”;

cf. cognate Hitt. verb. *uwaia-* (med.), “grieve” (Neu, *StBoT* 5, p. 185 f.). Starke now (*Stammbildung*, § 107) identifies *uwai* as a Luwism in Hitt. and postulates the stem as *uwayit-* on the basis of a reinterpretation of the above cited *uwai tišk-* as the iterative of a verb stem *uwayitai-*. If correct, this would lead one to expect a dat. sing. Hitt.-Luw. *uwayiti*, Hier. *waiti*, which are not found, and would demand the recognition of Hitt.-Luw. *uwai-*, and the present Hier. *wai* as nom./acc. sing. N. This seems on the available evidence doubtful, but if the present *wai* is accepted as acc. sing. N, it might be preferable to identify the verb not as the intrans. “be”, giving “be for grief”, but the trans. *sa-*, “let, allow”, for which see MARAŞ 4, §§ 9–10, and Commentary; compared with (*69)*sa-* (ASSUR letters, General Commentary D; also letter *b*, § 5, Commentary).

§ 3. AUDIRE-*ti-ta*: first sign tentatively but correctly identified by Meriggi; for a similar context see TELL AHMAR 1, § 25.

§ 4. (“*419”) *wa/i-sa-ha-i-za*: final *-za* certain, given by Rylands; read *-zi* by Messerschmidt (1900), but corrected to *-za* after collation (1902); unfortunately Meriggi and Neumann followed the earlier reading. The corrected form appears to be acc. sing. N, *washai(n)za*, which shows a different stem from the other 3 Hier.

attestations ending *-ha-sa/sá* (see KARKAMIŞ A4a, § 11, Commentary). Cun. Luw. also shows this alternation; cf. particularly here *wa-as-ha-i-ia-an-za* (nom./acc. sing. N). The sense is quite obscure; the present word denotes something made or done for a god as against the other Hier. attestations, which occur in apparently commercial contexts.

ku+ra/i-i-sa(-)ka-tara/i-hi²-ha: collation shows the penultimate sign to have curled ends, thus probably to be *hi* not *sa* (here regularly a plain arch), as identified by Meriggi and Neumann, also Hawkins, loc. cit. This would rule out Neumann’s interpretation (followed by Hawkins, loc. cit.) of identifying two words, nom. sing. MF in *-s(a)*, joined by copula *-ha*. Instead we seem to have a word *kuriskatarahi-ha*, joined by the copula to *washai(n)za* and thus second object of verb. The form looks like an abstract in *-ahi* (for lack of neuter particle *-sa*, cf. Hier. *taparahi*, MARAŞ 4, § 8; Cun. Luw. *annarum-ahi*, KUB XXXV, 133 ii 30); of the remaining *kuriska-tara-*, if a *-tara-* suffix is identified, which could correspond to Hitt. *-talla-*, the root *kurisk-* looks disturbingly Hittite. Could we have a Luw. abstract suffix on a surviving Hitt. loan **kuriskatalla-*?

Sense: it remains unclear exactly what things, concrete or more probably abstract, are being made or done for the god.

VIII.3. BABYLON 3 (plate 212)

Location. Stone bowl, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, no. VA Bab. 1507.

Description. Two rim and two base fragments of large stone bowl. The body of the bowl was fluted all round and the rim plain with a more prominent band surmounting a recessed band. A 1-line sinistroverser inscription is placed around a stretch of the vertical face of the rim so that the upper row of signs is on the prominent band and the lower on the recessed. Between the first (Andrae) and second (Koldewey) publications the bowl was restored and, in particular, the two inscribed rim fragments joined (contrary to the statement in first publication), so the inscription is almost complete.

Dimensions: (bowl) diam., 0.66 m.; depth (internal), 0.67 m.; (inscription), ht. 0.07 m.; l. 0.41 m.

Condition: good.

Script: linear incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Excavated by Koldewey at Babylon “... bei der Straßengrabung (Merkens 31/52 bei + 6,50 m Tiefe) dicht unter der Oberfläche ... und zwar an der Kreuzung des ‘Ostweges’ und der ‘Altarstraße’”; found

with other stone objects suggesting the collection of a street stoneworker, who had removed the pieces for reuse. Originally from “Museum der Kasr”? See Andrae, below, Publication; Unger, *Babylon die heilige Stadt* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1931), p. 226, no. 27.

Publication. Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (WVDOG 46; Leipzig, 1924), Anhang, p. 11 f., Taf. 8 a–d (inscription, photographs), e (bowl fragments, photographs); Koldewey, *WDOG* 55 (Leipzig, 1932), p. 24, Abb. 3 (photograph showing bowl restored).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 2, p. 10 f. (with drawing from original publication, thus not indicating join of the two parts, reversed).

Content. Dedication of object by certain Runtiyas to Storm God of Aleppo.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th century range, appears later rather than early.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made directly from the stone in Berlin Museum in September 1985.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration, translation

ṣa-ia-wa/i' ("SCALPRUM") ka-ti-na CERVUS₂-ti-ia-sa TONITRUS. HALPA-pa-ni (DEUS) TONITRUS-hu-ti
PRAE-na [PON]ERE-wa/i-ta

These bowls Runtiyas placed before Halabean Tarhunzas.

Commentary

ṣa-ia ("SCALPRUM") ka-ti-na: acc. plur. N of *katina*-
(see BABYLON 2, § 1, Commentary).

HALPA-pa-ni: probably supply -pa<-wa/i>-ni, rather
than assume a contraction -awa- > -a- or an otherwise
unattested ethnic suffix in -ni-.

Addendum to p. 394, BABYLON 2, Discovery

On the provenance of the Babylon bowl (BABY-
LON 2), Dr. Julian Reade kindly drew my attention to
his note in his Introduction to E. Leichty, *Catalogue of
the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, volume VI: Tab-
lets from Sippar 1* (British Museum Publications, 1986),
p. xxv. He records that Rassam himself believed that it
had been found in 1883–1884 in the village of Quair-
ich on the west side of the Babylon Kasr, where he had
previously been digging. The bowl is recorded in the

Trustees' Minutes, 14 May 1887, f. 2084, as having been
found at Babylon, and the following July was bought
from a dealer, Mr. Cutter, entering the B. M. collection
with the date no. 88-8-1,1. The attributed provenance
of Abu Habbah (Sippar) was later added by Budge, ap-
parently under a misapprehension. It thus appears that
Wright's original information on the provenance was
correct, and if so, this bowl has a closely similar prove-
nance to the Berlin stone bowl, BABYLON 3.

IX. HAMA

The Historical Context

The state, its name and extent in the Iron Age
 Background: the IIIrd and early Ist millennia B.C.
 Hamath in the Assyrian sources
 Archaeological investigation
 The Hieroglyphic monuments

The Inscriptions

*House of Urhilina**Urbilina*

1. HAMA 4 (door jamb)
2. HAMA 5 (fragment)
3. RESTAN (stele)
4. QAL'AT EL MUDIQ (stele)
5. HINES (fragment)
6. HAMA 8 (stele)
7. HAMA 9 (inscribed shells)

Uratamis

8. HAMA 1 (building block)
9. HAMA 2 (building block)
10. HAMA 3 (building block)
11. HAMA 6 (building block)
12. HAMA 7 (building block)

Other

13. MEHARDE (stele)
14. SHEIZAR (stele)

Epigraphic material from excavations ("fragments")

15. HAMA fragment 1 (stone fragment)
16. HAMA fragment 2 (stone fragment)
17. HAMA fragment 3 (stone fragment)
18. HAMA fragment 4 (seal impression)
19. HAMA fragment 5 (shell fragment)
20. HAMA fragment 6 (ostrakon)
- 21a-d. HAMA fragments 7-10 (bullae)

The Historical Context

The state, its name and extent
in the Iron Age

The modern city of Hama with its ancient tell at the centre has always been recognized as the site of ancient Hamath known from the Old Testament as a Syrian city lying beyond Damascus, for which intermittent contact with kings of Israel and Judah is attested.¹ With the discovery of the Assyrian historical records, the country and its city were easily recognizable as KUR Amat or Ham(m)at, and an outline of its relations with Assyria in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. became known.² The site was the earliest of the Syro-Hittite states in which indigenous inscriptions, in the form of the "Hamathite stones", were discovered; they were observed as early as 1812 and recovered in 1872 (HAMA 1-4).³ Hier. Luwian inscriptions have continued to appear in the country by chance find (RESTAN), excavation (QAL'AT EL MUDIQ), or in unknown circumstances (HAMA 5, MEHARDE, SHEIZAR, HAMA 6 and 7, HAMA 8). Besides these, a notable Aramaic inscription, that of Zakur, was also found.⁴

By contrast the regular excavations of the tell of Hama by the Danish Carlsberg Foundation, 1931-38,⁵ discovered very few, mostly fragmentary Hieroglyphic inscriptions,⁶ although they did find a series of contemporary sculptures.⁷ About 20 Cuneiform tablets were found,⁸ and Aramaic was attested in a number of graf-

3 See HAMA 4, Discovery; especially now P. J. Riis, loc. cit.

4 See below, p. 401 and n. 47.

5 Still only partially published: two preliminary reports, H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne des fouilles de Hama* (Copenhagen, 1934); id., *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Copenhagen, 1940). Of the projected final reports there have appeared to date (1993): Hama II. *Les premiers habitants et la ville préhellénistique de Hamath*, 1, E. Fugmann, *L'Architecture* (Copenhagen, 1958); 3, P. J. Riis, *Les cimetières à crémation* (Copenhagen, 1948). Hama III/1 (1985) and III/2 (1971) cover the classical period and Hama IV/2 (1957) and IV/3 (1969) the medieval objects. Most recently there has appeared Hama II/2, P. J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Les Objets de la période dite Syro-Hittite (Age du Fer)* (Copenhagen, 1990). For a list of planned publications, see Fugmann, op. cit., p. iv.

6 See below, p. 403. I am very grateful to the Danish Carlsberg Foundation, and particularly to Professor P. J. Riis, for making this material freely available to me, and for every assistance.

7 The projected volume on the sculpture, Hama II/2, has just appeared (see above, n. 5). Enough of the sculpture was however presented in Fugmann's volume on the architecture to permit earlier stylistic analysis: see Orthmann, below, p. 402 and n. 64.

8 One published: Laessoe, *Iraq* 18 (1956), pp. 60-67. For the others see Ingholt, op. cit. (1940), p. 115 f.; Laessoe, *apud* Fugmann, op. cit., p. 190. For the Rudamu letter, see Parpola, *apud* Riis and Buhl, op. cit. above, n. 5, Appendix 1, pp. 257-265.

1 For a survey of the Old Testament references, see Haldar, in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Hamath.

2 For a general survey of the sources, see Hawkins, *RIA* IV/1 (1972), s.v. Hamath; also V/3-4 (1977), s.v. Irhuleni, Izrijau, Jau-bi'di. For representations of the people, see Wäfler, *AOAT* 6 (1975), pp. 125-143.

fiti.⁹ In general the excavations revealed a long sequence of settlement in 12 main levels (M–A) stretching from the Neolithic to the Islamic periods.¹⁰ Architecturally the best represented were the Iron Age levels F and E, the so-called “Aramean citadel” with its gatehouse, courtyard and monumental buildings, which in fact would be better termed “Hitite”.¹¹

Assyrian sources almost always refer to Hamath as a land (KUR);¹² references to a city are very doubtful.¹³ Similarly Hieroglyphic references, always found in the kings’ titularies, are to the “land Imatu”.¹⁴ Aramaic and Hebrew agree in writing the toponym *hmt*.¹⁵ In the south, the territory of Hamath extended to Labwe between the Lebanon and Antilebanon,¹⁶ and to the city Šubutu (Hebrew Zobah), which lay in the border area with Damascus.¹⁷ In the north already by the mid-9th century B.C., Hamath controlled the land of Luhuti (Aramaic *l’š*) and its capital Hatarikka (Aramaic *hṣrk*),¹⁸ and its border with the land of Arpad must have been drawn not far south of Halab (Aleppo).¹⁹ It must also have controlled the middle Orontes valley and the passes to the coast to the north and south of Mount Saue (Jebel Ansariya).²⁰ Of the towns of Hamath named by Shalmaneser III, Adennu, Barga, Argana, Qarqar and Aštamaku, only Qarqar is located with a degree of certainty.²¹ The Zakur stele found at modern Afis gives the ancient form of the name as *ḥs*.²² The cession of the city Nahlasi and a corridor to the Orontes river to Arpad in 796 B.C.²³ must have weakened Hamath. The list of the “nineteen districts of Hamath” which revolted with Azriyau in 739–738 B.C., as given by Tiglath-pileser III,²⁴ show the kingdom at what was probably its largest extent. The cities named here include: Usnu, Siannu, Šimirra and [Kaš]-puna, in the coastal plain; Kar-Adad, Hatarikka, Nuqudina, Ara, Ašhani, Yadabi, [...],ri, Ellitarbi, Zitanu, Atinnu, [...], Bumame; also a number of mountains: Saue, Ba’li-Šapuna, Hasu, Sarbua, Yaraq. A broken Annals list of cities of various countries adds: Gu[bla], Arqa, Ri’sišu and Tu[...]nu, also Laba’u.²⁵ Most of these places cannot be located exactly, though occasionally the ancient name seems to have survived.²⁶

Background: the IIIrd and early Ist millennia B.C.

The name of Hamath is not found in the historical sources of the IIrd millennium B.C.,²⁷ which suggests that at this period it was not one of the main urban centres but rather lay in the territory of another state, perhaps that of Tunip.²⁸ By contrast the name has been identified in the Ebla archives of the mid-IIIrd millennium B.C., though not apparently in contexts which

9 Included in the preliminary report, Ingholt, op. cit. (1940), pp. 115–117 and pl. XXXIX (nos. 203, 204, 205, 213); edited in Donner and Röllig, *KAI²*, nos. 203–213; Gibson, *TSS* II, p. 17 f. See now also Otzen, *apud* Riis and Buhl, op. cit. above, n. 5, Appendix 2, pp. 267–318.

10 Ingholt, op. cit. (1940); cf. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée de l’Asie orientale* (London, 1948), pp. 108–116.

11 See below, p. 402 and nn. 63–65.

12 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. AMATTU and HAMAT. The toponym is most frequently mentioned by Shalmaneser III, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. The first and the last use forms with initial *a-* and *ha-* indiscriminately; Tiglath-pileser only forms in *ha-*. The alternation shows typical Akkadian doubt on the rendering of W. Semitic *h*.

13 The only supposed attestations are two from Tiglath-pileser III, Annals, ll. 131 and 152, both restored texts and quite unreliable (see below, n. 24; and Cilicia, n. 49); and a Sargonid geographical list, II R, 53.1, rev. ii 8, a text of very dubious value.

14 *i-ma-tu-wa/i-ni*(REGIO) REX : HAMA 4, QAL’AT EL MUDIQ, RESTAN, HINES, HAMA 8 (all Urhilina); HAMA 1–3 and 6–7 (Uratamis). The toponym, early recognized in the inscriptions, was instrumental in the decipherment of Hieroglyphic. The first syllable was read *a-*, but re-read *i-* in 1974: see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [15] f.

15 Aramaic: Zakur stele (below, n. 47) A ll. 1, 2; B l. 17; graffiti from Hama (*KAI²*, no. 212) and Nimrud (Millard, *Iraq* 24 (1962), p. 42 f.); Hebrew: Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, s.v. *hmt*. The toponym may well be associated with a semitic root, Arabic “surround, guard”, Hebrew “wall” etc.

16 Assyrian Laba’u: see Röllig, *RLA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. Cf. the list of Hamathite cities, below with n. 25.

17 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. ŠUPITI. For the location, see Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 62 f.; Malamat, *Encyclopedia Miqrat* I (1950), p. 582 f., s.v. Aram-Šobah (in Hebrew).

18 For a survey of the sources for Luhuti-Hatarikka, see Hawkins, *RLA* VII/1–2 (1987), s.v. Luhuti; for a location of *hṣrk* (thus Hatarikka) to the south of Hamath, see Parpola, *SLA* I, p. 134 n. 171, but this is difficult to reconcile with other sources.

19 See Aleppo, p. 389 and nn. 14–15.

20 Located in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III, l. 126 f. (see below, n. 24), by the information that it was a “mountain which abutted on Mt. Lebanon”.

21 Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. QARQAR. On the location, see W. T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (Eisenbrauns, 1987), p. 126 and n. 79, where however the identification with Tell Qarqur is doubted. Excavations at the site have begun: see Lundqvist, Tell Qarqur – the 1983 season (*ALAS* 33/2 (1983), pp. 273–278). For possible locations for Adennu and Aštamaku, see Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), pp. 220 ff., nos. 61, 87, 135; for Barga, see id., *Or* NS 38 (1969), pp. 410–414.

22 B l. 11; see Donner and Röllig, *KAI²* II, p. 210 n. to l. 11.

23 Antakya stele of Adad-nirari III, ll. 6–8; see below, p. 400 f. and n. 46.

24 Annals, ll. 126–132 = *ARAB* I, § 770. The text given by Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, pl. XXI, was based on III R 9, 3, a composite text made up by George Smith from a number of paper squeezes; see Tadmor, *Introductory Remarks*, p. 177. The readings cannot be checked, and are not reliable. See also Weippert, *ZDPT* 89 (1973), p. 42 f.; Na’aman, *WdO* IX/2 (1978), pp. 229–235.

25 Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, pl. XXVII, ii 16–24 = *ARAB* I, § 821; cf. the list, *ibid.*, pl. XXV ll. 1–5 = *ARAB* I, § 815. Also a new list of conquered cities including those of Hamath on a new fragment of the Iran stele, frag. II B, right side, ll. 9’–13’ (see Levine and Tadmor, in Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III*, [1994, pp. 102–104]). Cf. Na’aman, op. cit., p. 232 f., who suggests that at this date, Labwe was held by Damascus.

26 Cf. e.g., Weippert, *ZDPT* 89 (1973), p. 43; also Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), pp. 220 ff., nos. 9, 17, 46, 48, 61, 79, 87, 142.

27 The Egyptian attested *ḥmt* has been so identified, but this is improbable: see Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 308; Klengel, *GS* III, p. 55 f.

28 M. Astour, Tunip-Hamath and its region (*Or* NS 46 (1977), pp. 51–64).

provide information beyond the existence of the place at the period.²⁹

Hamath appears as the centre of a significant kingdom in the Old Testament as early as the reign of David, who c. 980 B.C. had an alliance with its king To'i, a name best identified as Hurrian.³⁰ To'i's son however, perhaps as a result of the alliance, bore the Hebrew name Joram.³¹ At times of weakness of Damascus, Israelite power stretched as far as the southern border of Hamath at Labwe,³² and indeed Hamath itself seems to have been strongly under the influence of Solomon.³³

Hamath in the Assyrian sources

The Assyrian historical record attests the name of Hamath from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.), who encountered on his Euphrates-Habur expedition in 885 B.C. a Laqean sheikh who bore the personal name "the Hamathite".³⁴ This ruler of the city Suru of Bit-Halupe was murdered by his subjects³⁵ and replaced by a usurper from Bit-Adini, which provoked the vengeance of Aššurnāširpal II in 883 B.C. This king did not specifically mention Hamath on his western campaign c. 870 B.C., but while passing from Unqi to Mount Lebanon along the Orontes he raided the land of Luhuti which must have formed part of Hamathite territory already at this date.³⁶ Luhuti is identified with the Aramaic /ʾḥ/,³⁷ and the kingdom of Nuhaše of the Hittite Empire period,³⁸ and at this period the combined kingdom of Hamath and Luhuti formed the main power of central Syria, controlling the Orontes valley and perhaps, as later, also the coastal plain west of the mountains.³⁹

After Shalmaneser III had seized the Euphrates crossing at Til-Barsip and cowed the north Syrian states, he directly confronted Hamath, then ruled by Irhuleni.⁴⁰ In 853 B.C. he attacked Hamath, which was supported by an alliance with Adad-idri of Damascus, Ahab of Israel, Egypt, the Phoenician coastal cities, the Arabs and the Ammonites.⁴¹ He entered Hamathite territory not far south of Aleppo, and claimed the capture of three "royal cities", Adennu, Barga and Argana. He then fell upon the allies at Qarqar on the Orontes, but clearly failed to win the decisive victory which his gory rhetoric suggests, since he had to fight the same Hamath-Damascus alliance repeatedly in 849, 848, when another Hamathite city Aštamaku was captured, and 845 B.C.⁴² Only after the murder of Adad-idri by Hazael was the alliance apparently dissolved, since in 841 B.C. Shalmaneser attacked Hazael alone and makes no further reference to Hamath.⁴³

Irhuleni is thus attested with a minimum reign of 853–845 B.C. He is identified with Urhilina, author of some of the Hamath inscriptions; the others are the work of his son Uratamis. Their inscriptions thus date to the early and later reign of Shalmaneser III, and the dynasty is clearly Hittite in the general sense, i.e. the father bears a name recognizably Hurrian and the son

Luwian. Sargon II more than a century later claimed that his predecessors had imposed tribute on Irhuleni,⁴⁴ but since Shalmaneser himself never claimed this, it seems more likely that he brought Hamath over to an Assyrian alliance by diplomatic means.

Certainly at the beginning of the 8th century, Hamath under a different dynasty is found as an Assyrian client. Probably in 796 B.C. on the Manšuate campaign,⁴⁵ Adad-nirari III and the *turtān* Šamši-ilu established the boundary between Ataršumki of Arpad and Zakur of Hamath in favour of the former, conceding to him the city Nahlasi and its territory up to the Or-

29 Written *é-ma-du/at^{ki}*, especially mentioned as the seat of the deity ⁹Ni-da-kul: see the toponymic indices of *ARET* I, II, III (p. 316 with n.), IV, VIII (p. 44 with n.); *MEE* I, II (p. 159 with n.); cf. also Archi, *SEb* I/7–8 (1979), p. 109; II/1 (1980), p. 2 f.

30 = Hurr. *tab'e*, "man", attested as personal name at Meskene: see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981), p. 11, no. 48; id., in *Meskene-Emar*, (ed. D. Beyer; Paris, 1982), p. 57, no. 9. For Hamath's relations with Israel, see Malamat, *JNES* 22 (1963), pp. 6–8.

31 Or Aram. *Hadoram*: see Malamat, loc. cit., p. 6 f.

32 Hebrew Lebo-Hamath: II Kings 14: 25; cf. above, p. 399 and n. 16.

33 II Chronicles 8: 4. Cf. M. Noth, *PJB* 33 (1937), pp. 36 ff.

34 Schramm, *Tukulti-Ninurta II*, p. 152 f. and pl. IV, ll. 5, 19 (damaged) = *RLM* 1 2, A.O.100.5, ll. 87, 101. The name is written (KUR) *hamataya*, qualified (KUR) *laqaya*. In parallel clauses, ll. 3, 6 f., and again ll. 10, 11, it is persons who are so qualified, and it should be expected that *Hamataya* was a personal name, which is indeed established by the narrative of Aššurnāširpal two years later (see following n.). Grayson's translation in *ARI* II, § 473 f., "Hamateans (and) Laqueans", which in the context must be meaningless, should be emended to "Hamataya the Laqean", as has been done in *RLM* 1. Cf. Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 120, 125, n. 1 (citing Lewy). For Laqe, see Postgate, *RI* 1 VI/7–8 (1983), s.v.

35 *Annals*, *AK* 1, p. 280 (= *RLM* 1 2, A.O.101.1), i 75. Here the name is written ¹(var. KUR) *hamataya*, where it is unquestionably a personal name, doubtless the same individual as paid tribute to Tukulti-Ninurta II. The determinative KUR, here and in the earlier passage, was presumably used because the personal name was recognized as ethnicon of Hamath.

36 *Annals*, *AK* 1, pp. 370 ff., iii 78–84. For the itinerary, see especially Lewy, *Or* NS 21 (1952), pp. 397–425. Cf. above, p. 399 and n. 18.

37 See Hawkins, *RI* 1 VII/1–2 (1987), s.v. Luḥuti, with earlier bibliography.

38 Originally by Dhorme, *RB* (1908), p. 503; cf. Klengel, *GS* II, p. 18 and n. 4.

39 See below, p. 401 and n. 52.

40 See Hawkins, *RI* 1 V/3–4 (1977), s.v. Irhuleni.

41 Kurkh Monolith, III R 8 (= *RLM* 1 3, A.O.102.2), ii 78–102.

42 Cameron *Annals*, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), pp. 466 ff. (= *RLM* 1 3, A.O.102.6), ii 55–iii 10 and 24–33; Safar *Annals*, *WdO* II/1 (1954), pp. 34 ff. (= *RLM* 1 3, A.O.102.10), ii 51–iii 5 and 14–24. The Hamathite campaigns and the capture of Barga, Ada (= Adennu) and Qarqar (853 B.C.) and of Aštamaku (848 B.C.) are depicted on the Balawat bronze gates: King, *Bronze Reliefs*, Bands IXa, b, XIIIa (= *RLM* 1 3, A.O.102.74–76, 82).

43 Safar *Annals*, iii 45–iv 7.

44 Sargon stele from Hama, now in the Borowski Collection: see Lambert in Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven*, p. 125.

45 Eponym Chronicle, *RI* 1 II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 429, C^b1, obv. 21. Manšuate is thought to have lain within the territory of Hamath: see Hawkins, *RI* 1 VII/5–6 (1989), s.v. Manšuate; also below, p. 401 and n. 58.

ontes.⁴⁶ This event may be linked to those narrated on Zakur's own Aramaic stele inscription found at Afis, which entitles him king of *hmt* and *l's* (Hamath and Luhuti), and tells how, on the instigation of Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram (Damascus), he was attacked by an alliance of northern kings led by Bar-Guš (= Ataršumki of Bit-Agusi), including the kings of Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Melid and others.⁴⁷ He was besieged in Hatarikka (*hṣrk*), the main city of Luhuti, and rescued by divine intervention, doubtless supported by the muscle-power of the Assyrian army. We thus find that by this date the old Hittite dynasty ruling in Hamath had been replaced by an Aramean usurper ruling primarily from Hatarikka. The rest of the known history of independent Hamath shows the continuation of Aramean rulers, although no details are preserved of the campaigns against Hatarikka recorded by the Eponym Chronicle for the years 772, 765, and 755 B.C.⁴⁸

The mysterious Bar-ga'ya of KTK, who imposed a treaty on Maṭi'ilu of Arpad, son of Ataršumki, has been seen as an Aramean successor of Zakur, although other interpretations have been offered.⁴⁹ An otherwise unknown Azriyau, no longer to be mistaken for Azariah of Judah,⁵⁰ was involved in the revolt of Unqi suppressed in 738 B.C.,⁵¹ when he was said to have taken away 19 districts of Hamath. He too may have been a ruler of the country. The result of this unsuccessful attempt, besides the annexation of Unqi, was the dismemberment of Hamath by the annexation of two provinces, Hatarikka and Šimirra,⁵² that is the northern part of the kingdom and the western coastal plain. Tiglath-pileser records the settlement of captives from the east in cities of the latter province.⁵³ Hamath itself continued a tributary independence, as is shown by the appearance of a king Eni-ilu among the tributaries of 738 and 732.⁵⁴

The last independent king of Hamath, Yau-bi'di, although bearing an Aramean or even a Hebrew name, is called an "evil Hittite" by Sargon II.⁵⁵ He headed a revolt against Sargon at his accession, including Arpad, Šimirra, Damascus and Samaria, which was suppressed in 720 B.C. Yau-bi'di was removed and flayed, and Hamath was settled with Assyrian⁵⁶ and other colonists, and annexed. It is not certain that the seat of the province was at the city Hamath itself, for no governor is attested.⁵⁷ It may have been incorporated in Maṣuate, for which a governor is attested in 680 B.C.⁵⁸

46 Antakya stele, found in the Orontes valley below Antakya, now in Antakya Museum. "The boundary (*taḥumu*), which between Zakuri the Hamathite [and between] Ataršumki son of Adramu Adad-nirari king of Aššur and Šamsi-ilu the *tartān* [established]. The city Nahlaši together with its fields, its orchards and all its [...], they (are) of Ataršumki. The river Orontes between them they equalized and divided. This(?) frontier Adad-nirari king of Aššur and Šamsi-ilu the *tartān* freed, and to Ataršumki, to his sons, to his future sons' sons as a gift they gave. His city and its boundaries [...] to the frontier of his land one(?) established. (Protective curses)" (ll. 4–11). The stele has recently been published by Veyzel Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990), pp. 6–7, 11–14 figs. 3–6; see also now *RI/II* 3, A.0.104.2.

47 Zakur stele, A1–9; the number of kings in the alliance is uncertain because of damage to the text. The list is introduced with "ten kings", followed by a list of seven, including Bar-Hadad and Bar-Guš, and the kings of Que (*qub*), Unqi (*mq*), Gurgum (*grg[m]*), Sam'al (*sm'ʾ*), Melid (*mlz*), followed by a damaged line reading "[...] seven [...] them and their armies". The damage is variously restored to make up the numbers, but in any case it seems that kings of two or three named places may be missing. See Donner and Röllig, *KH*², no. 202, pp. 204–208; Gibson, *TSSI* II, pp. 6–17.

48 See *RI/II* II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 430, C¹ l. obv. 46, rev. 5, 15.

49 See Aleppo, p. 390 and n. 24.

50 See Hawkins, *RI/IV* 3–4 (1977), s.v. Izriyau. Na'aman has demonstrated that "Izriyau" never existed, and that Azriyau was not called "the Judean" (*BASOR* 214 (1974), pp. 25–39). Azriyau is thus only attested in one passage of the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III: III R 9 no. 3 = Rost, *Tiglathpilesers*, pl. XXI, l. 131. Unfortunately this text is a composite work, unreliable but uncheckable: see Tadmor, *Introductory Remarks*, p. 177; cf. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 42 n. 62.

51 See Amuq, p. 363 and n. 34.

52 K. Kessler, Die Anzahl der assyrischen Provinzen des Jahres 738 v. Chr. in Nordsyrien (*WdO* VIII/1 (1975), pp. 49–63). Besides the composite Annals text with the account of this settlement (ll. 130–132), a summary account on a broken Nimrud tablet is important (*ibid.*, pp. 56–59).

53 Annals, l. 145 f. = *AR-IB* I, § 772.

54 For the sources, see Cilicia, p. 41 f. and nn. 49–50. It is interesting to note that the earliest version of the text of 738 B.C., that on the Iran stele set up in 737 B.C., Hamath is missing, possibly because at the time of the composition of the text, the outcome of the revolt was still uncertain. Weippert however attributes the omission solely to scribal error (*ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 44 f.).

55 See Hawkins, *RI/IV* 3–4 (1977), s.v. Yau-bi'di, with sources, which render the king's name differently: ¹*ia-ū-bi'-di*, Display Inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 102 f. and pl. 31 no. 65, l. 33 = *AR-IB* II, § 55; Cyprus stele, Messerschmidt, *VSI* no. 71 right side l. 53 = *AR-IB* II, § 183; Iran stele, Levine, *TN-VI*, pp. 34, 68, ii 4; also short inscriptions, Nimrud slab, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 168 and pl. 48 l. 8 = *AR-IB* II, § 137; Khorsabad relief epigraph, Winckler, *Sargon*, pl. 49, 2 k = *AR-IB* II, § 125. As against these, a writing ¹*i-lu-ū-bi'-di* is not well attested: mainly Cylinder inscriptions, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 4, l. 25 (4 exemplars, var. ¹*i-lu-bi-*) = *AR-IB* II, § 118; Annals, Lie, *Sargon*, p. 6, l. 23 (fragmentary, apparently has ¹*i-lu-x*[...] (x being *ū* or *bi*). Other texts ambiguous because of damage: Assur Charter, Saggs, *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 14 and pl. IX, l. 17 (¹*id*[...]) = *AR-IB* II, § 134; Nineveh cylinder, Thompson, *Iraq* 7 (1940), p. 87 f. and fig. 2 l. 18 ([...] ¹*ū-bi'-di*). A Nimrud letter (XVIII) has a writing ¹*DINGIR-bi'-di*, identified as king of Hamath: see Saggs, *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 137 f., and pl. XXXI, l. 23. Other sources do not preserve the king's name: Asharné stele, Thureau Dangin, *RA* 30 (1933), pp. 53–56 and pl. I; Borowski stele, see above, n. 44. For an analysis of the name, see Lipinski, *VT* 21 (1971), pp. 371–373.

56 See especially Borowski stele, above n. 44, which alone preserves the information that the Assyrian settlers were "guilty" (*bel hiṭṭi*).

57 There are occasional references to Hamath and Hamathites in Sargonid letters: *ABL* 225 (l. 6); 331 (rev. 5); 1232 (l. 5); 1346 (obv. 2, rev. 8). Except for the last, registered as of uncertain attribution, these are all attributed to Sargon by Parpola, *N-AT*, s.v. HAMAT, as is also Nimrud letter LXXXVIII, *Iraq* 28 (1966), pp. 183 ff. (l. 16).

58 Hawkins, *RI/IV* VII/5–6 (1989), s.v. Maṣuate § 2 (with other references pointing to provincial status). Cf. above n. 45. In view of the curious absence of Hamath as an attested province, and of the recognition that by "Hamath" the Assyrians referred to a country not a city (see above p. 399 and nn. 12–13), one might wonder whether at this date Maṣuate might not be the name of the city Hama itself. Further evidence would be needed to pursue this.

Archaeological investigation

The *terminus ante quem* for native Hier. Luwian inscriptions at Hamath might be expected to be the replacement of the Hittite dynasty by the Aramean, some time before c. 800 B.C., and indeed as has been noted, all inscriptions recovered from the kingdom are the work of Urhilina and his son Uratamis, except the pair MEHARDE-SHEIZAR, which are the work of a subordinate ruler and his wife. In the citadel excavations, the archaeological levels F and E, with no very clear break between them, are closely linked to the cremation cemeteries.⁵⁹ The south end of the citadel revealed a monumental gate-complex leading into an open court area flanked by monumental buildings of the palace type.⁶⁰ Construction methods were recognizably "Hittite", as found at e.g. Karkamiš and Tell Tayinat: mud-brick walls with wooden beams running length- and crossways on rubble foundations, and the wall footings masked by stone orthostats.⁶¹ The monumental doorways and staircases were extensively flanked with portal lions of the Hittite type, both relief with frontal protomes against the jambs and free-standing ones.⁶² The excavators dated the construction to the 10th–9th centuries B.C., and indeed associated the work with the name of Irhuleni.⁶³ This is supported by the dating of the sculpture, attributed by Orthmann to his styles *Spätheth.* I and II, i.e. early 9th century B.C. and earlier.⁶⁴ The excavators also considered that the 8th century Aramean dynasty had its main seat elsewhere, i.e. at Hatarikka, and confined itself at Hamath simply to maintenance of the citadel structures.⁶⁵ For these reasons the term "Hittite" for the citadel seems more appropriate than "Aramean".

The citadel level E was destroyed by a fierce fire identified as the sack of the city by the Assyrians in 720 B.C. The apparent lack of reoccupation of the citadel until the refoundation of the Hellenistic level D may support the view that the Assyrian provincial capital was elsewhere.

The Hieroglyphic monuments

Unlike the portal lion sculpture which was excavated largely *in situ* though badly damaged by the destruction, very little in the way of inscriptions was recovered by the excavations. The main known inscriptions, which all come from irregular digging, are the work of Urhilina, the son of Paritas, and his son Uratamis, both being entitled "Hamathite king".⁶⁶ HAMA 4 of Urhilina and HAMA 1–3 of Uratamis were seen in secondary use around the city of Hama as early as 1812 and are thus without identifiable provenance. Similarly nothing is recorded of the provenance of HAMA 5 and 8, also of Urhilina. Of his two foundation stelae of cities out-

side Hamath, RESTAN was a chance find, and QAL'AT EL MUDIQ excavated apparently *in situ* but in a deep sondage, and thus without surrounding context. HINES, a curious copy of an Urhilina inscription found in northern Iraq, is an epigraphic enigma. HAMA 6 and 7, inscriptions of Uratamis and near duplicates of HAMA 1–3, were reported to have been discovered at a depth of 2 m. between the Orthodox Cathedral and the Great Mosque.⁶⁷ There is no evidence that they were *in situ*, though if they were, this would have implications for the origin of HAMA 1–3. It may well be however that all five came originally from the citadel.

All these HAMA inscriptions are essentially building inscriptions, so it may be correct to see in Urhilina and Uratamis major builders of the city, although none of the structures mentioned in the texts can be identified with any confidence with the excavated buildings. HAMA 4 describes the building and endowment of the temple of Pahalatis (Ba'alat) by Urhilina, and it would appear that it formed a right-hand door jamb of the temple. HAMA 5 is a fragment of a similar jamb, apparently describing a similar foundation for the Storm God. HAMA 8, an unfinished stele, records the building of a granary of Ba'alat by Urhilina. The duplicates RESTAN and QAL'AT EL MUDIQ record his buildings of unnamed cities, the latter the predecessor of classical Apamea, and the former of some site near Restan. The mysterious HINES fragment seems to duplicate these two.

Urhilina's name with the title "king" is further found on a series of curious shell objects excavated at Nimrud (HAMA 9), and a similar object was also excavated at Hama (HAMA fragment 5).

Uratamis a generation later than his father, thus c. 840–820 B.C., left the five nearly duplicate inscriptions HAMA 1–3, and 6–7, which all record his building of "this fortification"⁶⁸ with the assistance of various "riverlands". The original form of these inscribed elements is preserved only by the recently discovered pair: the inscriptions are placed across one end of L-shaped blocks, which look as if they formed part of the masonry of a rebated portal or gate. What the "fortification" in question consisted of can only be guessed:

59 Riis, *Hama* II/3, esp. pp. 37–45 and ch. VI.

60 Fugmann, *Hama* II/1, chs. VIII and IX. Cf. Ussishkin, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 104–110.

61 Fugmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–152.

62 Orthmann, *USK*, p. 484 ff. with references to Fugmann. See now Riis and Buhl, *op. cit.* (note 5 above), ch. II.

63 Fugmann, *Hama* II/1, pp. 171 f., 189 f., 232–236, 244 f., 257 f., 267 f.

64 *USK*, pp. 102 f., 484 ff.

65 See n. 63.

66 See above, n. 14.

67 Information from P. J. Riis: see HAMA 6 and 7. Discovery.

68 *za harnisanza*, which according to our interpretation based on KARATEPE equivalents can mean "fortress" or "wall"; see HAMA 1–3, § 2, Commentary.

either the citadel or the lower town wall? In any case it seems to have been built in sections by "river-lands" (areas of the Orontes) under Hamathite control. The additional observation to three of the five inscriptions that various peoples "(are) in (it)", suggests perhaps towers or gate-houses linked by curtain walls and garrisoned by those named.

Uratamis may well be identified as the Rudamu (¹*ru-da-mu*), recipient of a letter on a Cuneiform tablet excavated at Hama,⁶⁹ written by Marduk-apla-ušur, probably to be identified with the ruler of Suhi named on the Black Obelisk,⁷⁰ thus also probably dating to late in the reign of Shalmaneser III.

Geographically included in historical Hamath, but quite distinct from the Urhilina-Uratamis group of inscriptions, are the pair of stelae MEHARDE-SHEIZAR of unknown exact provenance, but associated with their eponymous places, a village and a nearby castle close to the crossing of the Orontes by the Hama – Qal'at el Mudiq road. The pair bear inscriptions of a certain Taitas, entitled "Wadasatinean king" (MEHARDE), and his wife Kupapiyas (SHEIZAR). The former monument is formally a stele dedicated by Taitas to the (divine) "Queen of the Land" (presumably represented by the figure on the front), but perhaps actually Taitas's funerary stele, as SHEIZAR is explicitly that of his wife. This pair of stelae, of which the inscriptions are executed in a curious, idiosyncratic style, apparently archaic but possibly archaizing, lack links with other Hier. Luwian monuments. Orthmann

dubiously attributes MEHARDE's sculpture to *Spätheth.* III, i.e. 8th century B.C.,⁷¹ but epigraphically this would seem too late. A fragment of a stele in the hands of a Beirut antiquities dealer may be identified as the bottom part of the MEHARDE stele (see MEHARDE, Discovery).

The epigraphic material recovered by the Danish excavations⁷² was regrettably meagre, being fragmentary, illegible, or both. HAMA fragments 1–3 do however suffice to show that inscriptions did originally accompany the monumental sculpture of the citadel. They presumably belong to the period of Urhilina and Uratamis. HAMA fragment 4, a unique document in the form of a clay tablet with a cylinder seal impression showing a scene with human figures and an inscribed background, is unfortunately illegible but likely to belong to the same period. Other discoveries amount to little more than graffiti. A piece of shell, HAMA fragment 5, bears the name of Urhilina, as mentioned above. A potsherd, HAMA fragment 6, inscribed on both sides represents an unusual Hieroglyphic document, an ostrakon. The bullae HAMA fragments 7–9 belong also to an unusual type, documents with seal impressions and notes of transactions including numerals, and probably names. The only legible one seems to concern sheep, recognizable in the logogram (cf. KULULU lead strip 2). The seals themselves show Hieroglyphic and Aramaic inscriptions. There is nothing which definitively links most of these documents to the period of the Hittite rather than the Aramean dynasty.

The Inscriptions

IX.1. HAMA 4 (plate 213)

Location. Istanbul, Ancient Oriental Museum, no. 7692.

Description. Orthostat block from portal, bearing on wide face (A) a 5-line inscription, the top 4 lines of which align with a 4-line inscription on its narrow face (B). The sequence of reading is peculiar (see Fig., p. 404): beginning in the top right corner of A, l. 1 ran *sinistroverse*, continuing directly on an element now lost, returning *boustrophedon* along ll. 2–3, and again continuing on the missing element. Instead of returning along A l. 4 (*sinistroverse* like l. 3), the text recommenced on B, top left corner, and ran *dextroverse*, continuing *boustrophedon* down B ll. 1–4, from which it continued directly along A l. 4, which presumably continued on the missing element and returned *boustrophedon* along A l. 5. The first half of the latter has however been erased at an unknown date and the last half terminates the inscription just before the end of the line.

There is a blank space below. Thus the text sequence may be summarized:

- (1) A1 beginning – [end + A2 beginning] – end + A3 beginning – [end].
- (2) B1+B2+B3+B4+A4 beginning – [end + A5 beginning] – (erasure) – end.

Dimensions: ht., 0.73 m.; w. (side A), 0.90 m.; th. (side B), 0.37 m.; line ht., 0.10 m.

Condition: somewhat worn, especially A, which also has part of l. 5 and perhaps of l. 1 deliberately erased.

⁶⁹ 6A 334: Ingholt, op. cit. (1940) (above n. 5), p. 115 n. 10; Laessle, *Iraq* 18 (1956), p. 60 and n. 3. Republished by Parpola, loc. cit. above, n. 8.

⁷⁰ Michel, *WAO II/2* (1955), p. 142 D = *RLM* 13, A.0.102.90.

⁷¹ *USK*, pp. 104 f., 519 (*Mahrada* 1).

⁷² Most of this material is now treated in the recent publication of Riis and Buhl (op. cit. above, n. 5). See the details in the bibliographies of the individual items listed below.

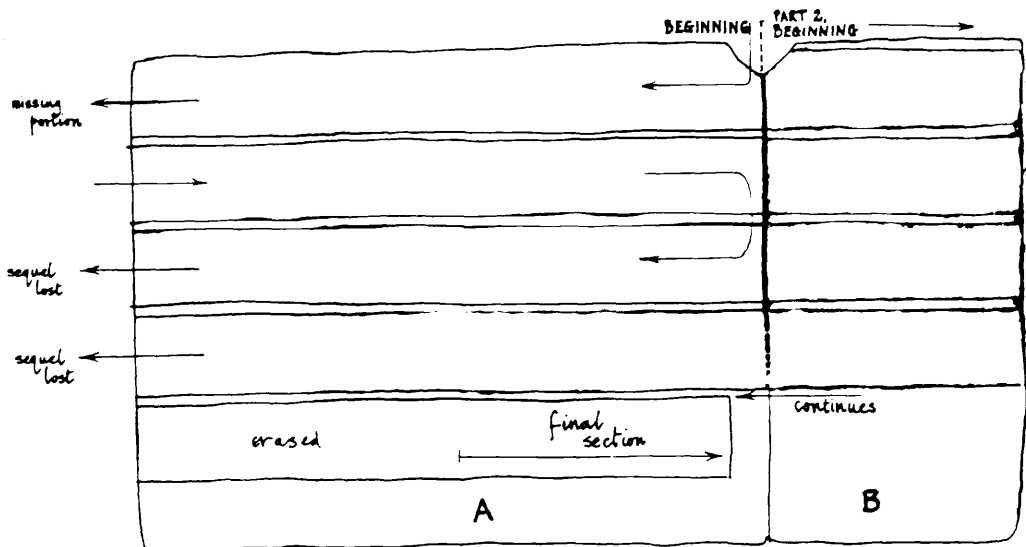


Fig. Door-jamb orthostat HAMA 4 with its two faces, A and B. Diagram showing order of reading (from *An.St.* 25 (1975), p. 137 fig. 2).

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: largely cursive, esp. *ara/i*, *ma*, *mu*, *pi*, *sà*, *ta*, *tà*, *u*; but *ma*, *sà* and *ta* also monumental.

Peculiarities: sign forms *na*, *pa*, *i*, *a*, *la*.

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Seen by Burckhardt in 1812 (*Travels in Syria* (1822), p. 146 f.); and (with the other stones) by Johnson and Jessup in 1870 (Ward, loc. cit. below, Publication); and by Burton in 1871 (Burton and Drake, loc. cit. below, Publication, with sketches and secondary locations); removed from locations in 1872 by Wright, who took the stones to the *saray*, where plaster casts were made for the British Museum and Palestine Exploration Fund (Wright, loc. cit. below, Publication; cf. id., *PEFQ* (1873) pp. 74–76). The inscriptions had reached Istanbul Museum by 1877 (Sayce, *TSBA* 5 (1877), p. 23). Riis proposes an original provenance from Bâtiment III on the Citadel identified as the Temple of Ba'alat: see his article, *Les provenances des "pierres de Hama" à Istanbul* (*Anatolia* 21 (1978/80; Ankara, 1987), pp. 47–54, esp. p. 49 f., and pl. II). See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), p. 28, no. 4.

Publication. Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* I (1872), pp. 333–360 and pls. (illegible traced squeezes: A, ll. 1–2, "page 10"; ll. 3–4, "page 9"; l. 5, "page 8"; B, ll. 1–2, "page 7"; ll. 3–4, "page 6" – all upside down except "page 7"); Ward, *APES* 2 (1873), p. 19 (copies from squeezes and casts); Rylands, *TSB-I* 7 (1882), following p. 442 (sketches from casts, designated H V, H III, = Wright, *EH* (1884, 1886), pls. III–IV (reengraved), designated H IV and H V; cf. *ibid.*, ch. I); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 7 f., Taf. V–VI (drawings from squeezes in Berlin Museum); Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 302–310 and pls. XV–

XVI (Istanbul Museum photographs); Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (Discovery), photographs.

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), pp. 264–269 + id., *MitAG* 39/1 (1934), pp. 37, 49–50; Hrozný, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 312, p. 245–249, Tav. XLV (redrawn).

Excerpts.

- § 4 Laroche, *HHI*, no. 17 (b).
- §§ 5–6 Bossert, *Asia*, p. 140; Laroche, *HHI*, no. 299.Ia.
- § 6 Laroche, *HHI*, no. 246; Hawkins, *RHLA* 29, pp. 123/130 cit. (vii).
- §§ 6–7 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 286 f.
- §§ 10–13 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 137 f., cit. 33.
- §§ 11, 14 Poetto, *Fs Szemerényi*, pp. 670–674.

Content. Building inscription of Urhilina, king of Hamath, recording the construction and endowment of the temple of the goddess Ba'alat (*Pahalatis*). § 1, Name, patronym, title; §§ 2–3, unclear [lacuna]; § 4, unclear; §§ 5–7, buildings and inscription; §§ 8–9, protective curse [lacuna]; §§ 10–14, endowment of temple [lacuna, erasure]; § 14, endowment.

Date. Urhilina king of Hamath was correctly identified by Thompson (*Archaeologia* 64 (1912), p. 11 f.) with Irhuleni the Hamathite named by Shalmaneser III in the years 853, 849, 848 and 845 B.C.; see Hama, Historical Context, p. 400 and nn. 40–44.

Text. The new text here offered is traced from the photographs and collated.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in the summer 1974.

Transliteration	Translation
A 1. § 1 EGO- <i>mi</i> u + ra/i-hi-li-na PRAE- <i>tā-sa</i> (INFANS)ni-[<i>mu</i>]-wa/i- <i>za-sa i-ma-tu-wa/i-ni</i> (REGIO) REX § 2 a-wa/i FRONS-la/i/u “X”(-)x-x-sa ² NEG ₂ x x x § 3 a-wa/i VIR-ti- <i>zi</i> FEMINA-ti- <i>zi</i> -ha <i>zi-la-ta</i> PES ₂ (-)tā-ta [...	I (am) Urhilina, Paritas’s son, Hamathite king. The first ... not ... and men and women walked ZILATA.
A 2. § 4 ...] á-mi- <i>za</i> á-mu-ha *273.REX[-?]-wa/i-ha á-mi *336-na-na § 5 a-wa/i DEUS-ni DEUS-ni REL-ti-ha á-pi-si-na “SOLIUM”-sa-na <i>i-zi-i-ha</i> § 6 <i>za-pa-wa/i</i> “SOLIUM”-sa-na (DEUS) <i>pa-ha-la-ti-ia</i> AEDIFI- CARE + <i>MI-ha</i>	... I myself was king ..., and for every single god I made his own <i>seat</i> , but this <i>seat</i> for Ba’alatis I built,
A 3. § 7 wa/i-ta (DEUS) <i>pa-ha-la-ti-i-sā</i> á-ma- <i>za</i> -ha-’ á-ta ₅ -ma- <i>za</i> PON- ERE-ha § 8 <i>za-ti-pa-wa/i-ta</i> SOLIUM-sa-’ REL-i-sā (DEUS) <i>pa-ha-la-ti-sā</i> <i>á-ma-za-ha á-ta₅-ma-za wa/i-na-ha</i> “CAPERE”-ia § 9 á-pi-pa-wa/i (DEUS.TONITRUS) <i>tara/i-hu-za-sa</i> [...	and I put Ba’alatis’s and my name (on it). From this <i>seat</i> (he) who shall take WANAHA Ba’alatis’s and my name, but after(?), Tarhunzas [... ...
B 1. § 10 (DEUS) <i>pa-ha-la-ti-sā-pa-wa/i</i> DEUS.DOMUS + <i>MI-za</i> á-mi- <i>za</i> B 2. <i>tā-ti-za</i> AVUS-ha -tā- <i>za-ha-wa/i</i> ara/i- <i>za</i> a + ra/i-tā a-tā (“*218”)ta + ra/i-pa-ri + i-ta B 3. § 11 (“BOS”)u-su-pa -tā-tā-ha-wa/i (“FLAMMAE(?)”)la/i/u- <i>za-li-na</i> B 4. NEG ₂ -’ (“FLAMMAE(?)”)la/i/u-sā-la/i/u-sā -ta DEUS-ni-i SUPER + ra/i-’ INFRA-ta A 4. § 12 EGO-pa-wa/i á-mi- <i>za</i> ara/i- <i>za</i> NEG ₂ a-tā (“*218”)ta + ra/i- <i>pa-ri + i-ti ara/i-tā</i> § 13 wa/i-tū-ta (“*163”)mu-ha-na (VITIS)sa ₅ + ra/i<-la>-ta- <i>za-ha</i> PONERE-ha ara/i-na ara/i-na § 14 (“FLAMMAE(?) + L ₄ /I/U”)la/i/u- <i>za-li-ha-wa/i</i> “BOS”-su-pa- <i>ti-na</i> “BOS”-na [... (erasure)	Ba’alatis’s temple in my father’s and also grandfather’s times <i>lacked</i> <i>income</i> , and they did not LUSLUS the LU- ZALI USUPATATA(-ox) to the god up and down, but (as for) myself, in my times, it shall not <i>lack income</i> , I offered to it MUHA and offer- ing(s) time (upon) time, and the LUZALI USUPATI ox (acc.) [...
A 5. § 15 ... ara/i-la (“PANIS”)tū + ra/i-pi-na (“VITIS”)sa ₅ + ra/i-la-ta- <i>za-ha-wa/i</i> (“*163”)mu-ha-ha-’	... bread and also offering(s) and MUHA. (or: “I MUHA-ed”.)

Commentary

§ 1. PRAE-*tā-sa*: this and the RESTAN and QAL’AT EL MUDIQ attestations of the name are listed incorrectly by Laroche; they should be under HH, no. 14, but are instead under no. 13, the (mainly) Empire period form of the same sign, which does not have the characteristic long neck. The phonetic value of no. 14 is *pari(ya)*, as writings of the adverb *pari(ya)* (PRAE-*i/ia*) and phonetic complements to the syllabogram (PRAE-*i/ia/ri+i*) indicate; thus read the name *Paritas*.

i-ma-tu-wa/i-ni(REGIO) REX: identically formulated in all HAMA inscriptions (except the newly discovered HAMA 8), omitting nom. sing. MF -*sa* in first word, and without phonetic complement to REX.

§ 2. Erased part almost legible, further collation may suggest plausible sense.

FRONS-la/i/u: read *hantila*, nom./acc. plur. N? Cf. KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 17.

“X”(-)x-x-sa²: one word?

NEG₂: sufficiently clear.

x x x: one/two words? Last sign expected to be verbal ending, -*ta*?

§ 3. Reading fairly assured by collation; also sense, “Men and women walked...”, sounds likely.

zi-la-ta: interpretation necessary to complete understanding of clause. In addition to the present attestation, the new reading *zi* has produced *zi-la* (KARKAMIŠ A6, §§ 15, 17; TELL AHMAR 1, § 13; KÖRKÜN, § 3; cf. Hawkins *et al.*, HHL, p. [47] (i); the new Empire Period inscription BOGAZKÖY-SÜDBURG has produced three more examples of *zila*, written *zi/a-la*, §§ 6, 7, 11; see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, commentary, p. 37), and *zi/a-la-tu-wa/i* (EMIRGAZI A, l. 2; see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 128 f. cit. 9(i)). The latter two find their correspondence in Cun. Luw. (-Hitt.) *zila*, *zila-du-wa/zilatiya*, and the present form should be connected. The general range seems to be “(t)hereafter, future”, yet the connection of *zila*

and *ziladiwa/zilatiya* remains problematic (see now Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 802–803). It may be that *zi-la-ta* will provide an important link when elucidated, but a plausible interpretation in the present context remains elusive.

PES₂(-)*tā* : to be added to the paradigm of (PES₂)PES₂(-)*tā*, “walk”, for which see KARA-TEPE, 187, and Commentary.

§ 4. *ā-mi-za* : presumably dat. plur. (< *amiyanza*) following qualified noun now lost; cf. below, §§ 10, 12, where *ā-mi-za* precedes qualified noun, as is usual.

*273.REX[-?]-*wa/i-ha* : *273 mistaken for -*a* by Laroche and Meriggi, but cf. *273.REX (title of god Saruma, SUVASA, B, and Commentary). For the denominative verb *273.REX[-?]-*wa/i*-, cf. REX-*wa/i-ta-ha-wa/i* (BOR, § 8, and Commentary).

ā-mi *336-*na-na* : *336-*na-na* identified as postposition by Meriggi and Laroche (reading †*i-n-n* / *i₅-na-n*) from occurrence in KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 24 (see Commentary; also now ADIYAMAN 1, § 8). Here the analysis of *ami* and the phrase itself remain obscure.

§ 5. *ā-pi-si-na* : unusual variant of well attested (*a*)*pasi*-, “his, their”, but contextually clear enough; cf. TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1 frag. 2, § ii, Commentary.

§ 6. “SOLIUM”-*sa-na* (also SOLIUM-*sa*-, § 8) : for this type of building, read *asa*-, see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 8, and Commentary.

§ 7. (DEUS)*pa-ha-la-ti-i-sā* : necessary to read last two signs in this awkward (reverse) order to obtain intelligible form (gen. sing.).

§ 8. SOLIUM-*sa*- REL-*i-sā* : probable readings after collation, give good sense; cf. HAMA 5, l. 4.

wa/i-na-ha “CAPERE”-*ia* : correct reading of phrase confirmed by comparison with *|wa/i-na-ha|la-si* (ISKENDERUN, § 6, see Commentary). In the verb CAPERE/*tā*-, “take”, the “taking hand” is occasionally marked as a logogram, as here : see MARAŞ 1, § 10, Commentary; and cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Studia Meriggi*, pp. 395–398. The word *wa/i-na-ha* must be regarded as established by its two attestations, but is otherwise quite obscure. In this context we might expect *ARFLA* instead.

§§ 10–13. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating in particular the negatives in §§ 11, 12, and *ara/i*- (= KARA-

TEPE, 404, *ara/i*-, Phoen. *ʾlm*, “generation, time”; also Cun. Luw. *ari*-, “time”).

§ 10. DEUS.DOMUS+*MI-za* : for phonetic rendering, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11, Commentary. The function of +*MI* here is uncertain.

a+ra/i-tā, = *ara/i-tā* (§ 12) : the contextually based interpretation “resources, income” may be supported by taking this as *ara(n)ta*, participle in -*ant*- from verb (PES₂)*a+ra/i*-, “come(?)” (for which see ASSUR letters *a*, § 6, and Commentary; *f+g*, § 24). A comparable formation may be noted in Lyc. *abñta*, “property” (Laroche, *FdY VI*, p. 68).

a-tā (“*218”) *ta+ra/i-pa-ri+i* : contextual interpretation “lack” remains to be substantiated by the identification of the verbal stem.

§ 11. See most recently Poetto, loc. cit., with discussion of *u-su-pa-ti/ta-tā*-, (“FLAMMAE(?)”) *la/i/u-za-li*-, and SUPER+*ra/i*- INFRA-*ta*.

(“FLAMMAE(?)”) *la/i/u-sā-la/i/u-sā* : contextually clearly “offer (animal) to deity”, to which the pictographic character of the logogram, identified also from other attestations, suggests “by burning”, i.e. presumably “burn”. Cf. (“FLAMMAE(?)”) *kinu(wa)*-, also “burn” (CEKKE, § 4, Commentary); and (“FLAMMAE(?)”) *la_x-hā-nū-wa/i*- (TOPADA, §§ 14, 24, and Commentary). The last attestation may perhaps represent the causative of the same stem as the present -*sa*-suffixed, reduplicated form. We may interpret the writings as representing *lulus*- and *luhanuwa*-, which might reflect Hitt. *luk(k)*-(B) and *lukki/a*-, “set fire to” (see now *CHD* 3/1, s.v.).

(“FLAMMAE(?)”) *la/i/u-za-li* : it is clearly impossible to dissociate this adjective from the adjacent verb, yet the formation is not immediately obvious : interpret *luṣali* < **lus-tali* ?

§ 15. *ara/i-la* : unclear whether complete, following erased section; perhaps compare *ara/i-la* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 19, and Commentary), possibly = *ara/i*-, “time”, + -*ali*- suffix, nom./acc. plur. N, adverbial.

(“*163”) *mu-ha-ha* : *mu-ha-na* (§ 13) clearly acc. sing. MF, speculatively associated with Hitt. *mugai*-, “conduct ritual”. Here *mu-ha-ha* could represent the verbal stem, 1 sing. pret. But it could also repeat the noun from § 13, i.e. *muha(n)-ha*, thus “... bread, and also offering(s) and MUHA” (all acc. sing.).

IX.2. HAMA 5 (plates 215–216)

Location. Orthostat fragment. Seen by Friedrich in Hama Museum (see below, Discovery), but not seen by me on visits there. Professor Alfonso Archi has however seen it recently exhibited in the courtyard and photographed it.

Description. Left side of stele or orthostat bearing on upper part remains of 4-line inscription, alternately

sinistroverse-dextroverse, thus preserving l. 1 end + l. 2 beginning [...], l. 3 end + l. 4 beginning [...].

Dimensions (Friedrich, loc. cit. below, Publication):

ht., 1.35 m.; preserved w., 0.40 m.; th. 0.60 m.;

inscription, ht. 0.55 m., preserved w., c. 0.20 m.

Condition : poor.

Script, line-dividers: relief.
 Sign forms: mixed monumental/cursive.
 Peculiarities: not clear.
 Word-dividers: one(?) visible.

Discovery. In river Orontes in 1958 near the Al-Ma'moriah *noria*; seen in September 1959 by Friedrich "unbeachtet in einer Ecke des Schloßhofes". Not located by Hawkins on visits to Museum in summer 1974 and spring 1976. Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), pp. 28, 30–32, no. 5, note erroneously that the piece is located in the National Museum, Aleppo.

Publication. Friedrich, *RHA* XX/70 (1962), pp. 63–67, Abb. 1 (poor photograph), 2 (sketch showing shape of stone), 3 (copy by Meriggi from photograph).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 313, pp. 249–251, Tav. XLV (new drawing, collated?).

Content. Unclear, but ll. 3–4 suggest parallel text to HAMA 4 (§§ 7–8) with the god Tarhunzas instead of Ba'alat; attribute to Urhilina?

Date. Reign of Urhilina, c. 860–840 B.C.? (see HAMA 4).

Text. Reconstructed from photographs, partially following Friedrich and Meriggi.

Photographs. Supplied by courtesy of Professor Alfonso Archi, who took them in Hama Museum in 1992.

Transliteration

- ...
 1. § 1 ...] *ARHLA* CAPERE-*ia*(?)
 2. § 2 x x x *nu*² ... || *ba-wa/i-tá-za-ti*(?)
 3. § 3 *a-tá-ba-wa/i* x x LOCUS-*ta*₄-*za*² ... || ...]
 4. § 4 *wa/i-ta*² (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa á-ma-za-ba* |*á*||-*ta*₅-*ma-za*
 PONERE²-*ba*
 § 5 *za-ti-pa-wa/i*- "SOLIUM"¹-*sa* REL ... [...

Translation

...]shall take away,
 ...
 ...
 and I put Tarhunzas's and my name
 (on it).
 From this *seat* (he) who{ ...

Commentary

The text of ll. 1–2 is highly uncertain, and presents no obvious sense; though ll. 3–4 do offer a good parallel to HAMA 4, §§ 7–8, and as rendered by Meriggi appear reliable.

§ 4. PONERE is definitely preferable to SOLIUM, both because of the HAMA 4 parallel, and because

SOLIUM without causative -*nu*- is likely to represent the intransitive "sit" rather than transitive "seat"; cf. IZGIN 1, § 2, and Commentary.

§ 5. What remains combines usefully with HAMA 4, § 8.

IX.3. RESTAN (plate 217) (with duplicates (4) QAL'AT EL MUDIQ and (5) HINES)

Location. Paris, Louvre AO 4539A.

Description. Originally a round-topped stele bearing on upper part of front a 2-line inscription in incised panel. When found, the stele had been split vertically into 2 halves and the round top broken away. The entire uninscribed lower part of the stele has since been trimmed off. The inscription begins in top right corner, and runs ll. 1–2, sinistroverse continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending l. 2, right end.

Dimensions: orig. ht., 2.0 m.; total w., 0.59 m.; th., 0.28 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Conditions: fair, damaged by split.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: inclined to cursive (*u*, *mu*); *ma* monumental.
 Peculiarities: sign forms *a*, *i/ia*, *na*; use of *á*- for ' (*a*)
 as word-ender/space filler at end of last word.
 Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Reported by A. Garcia to Ronzevalle in 1902, and located shortly after: left half "situé à environ 4 kilometres en aval du Restan... et à 1 kilometre à l'est du village circassien de Nahr el Asy"; right half found in nearby dam. Provenance suggested to have been small *tell* near the bank to the south. See Ronzevalle, loc. cit. below, Publication.

Publication. Ronzevalle, *MFO* 3/2 (1909), pp. 794–796, pls. XII–XIV (photographs and drawing); Sayce,

PSBA 31 (1909), pp. 259–261; Cavaignac, *PH* (1936), p. 158 (copy by Ducoloner); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 47, p. 37 and pl. LXVII (photograph and copy, Paris, 1931).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), no. 4, pp. 255–258; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), p. 301; Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1952), p. 111; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 5, p. 13 f., fig. (redrawn).

Excerpts.

§ 2 Laroche, *HH*, nos. 225.I(a); 246.

§ 3 Laroche, *HH*, nos. 82.2; 267.

Content. Building inscription of Urhilina, king of Hamath (§ 1), recording construction of “this city” (near find-spot?) (§ 2), and erection of stele to Ba’alat (§ 3). Duplicate of QAL’AT EL MUDIQ.

Date. Reign of Urhilina, c. 860–840 B.C.: see HAMA 4. Date.

Text. The new text here offered is traced from the photograph.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by the Louvre Museum.

(Transliteration, Translation: follow IX.5. HINES).

IX.4. QAL’AT EL MUDIQ (APAMEA) (plate 218)

Location. National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, no. M 6526.

Description. Round-topped stele bearing on upper part of front a 2-line inscription in an incised panel. The inscription, like RESTAN, begins in upper right corner, running sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending on l. 2, right end.

Dimensions: ht., 1.17 m.; w, 0.71 m.; th., 0.38 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: as for RESTAN.

Peculiarities: as for RESTAN.

Word-dividers: not used; but small vertical stroke, dependent from upper edge of inscription, occurring twice (before (INFANS) *nimuniyas. awa*) is otherwise unexplained and might have been intended to serve as divider. These are not found on RESTAN.

Discovery. Excavated in autumn 1937 in a sondage in a classical building at Apamea (Qal’at el Mudiq), apparently *in situ*: see Mayence, loc. cit. below, Publication.

Publication. Mayence, *BMR* II/10 (1938), p. 103 f., fig. 9; Hrozný, *Syria* 20 (1939), pp. 134–135 (with

photograph); Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1952), pp. 110–112, Taf. XVI(a) (inked squeeze).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 6, pp. 13–15, fig. (drawn from original photograph).

Excerpts. See RESTAN.

Content. Building inscription of Urhilina, king of Hamath (§ 1), recording construction of “this city” (Hittite predecessor of Apamea?) (§ 2), and erection of stele to Ba’alat (§ 3). Exact duplicate of RESTAN.

Date. Reign of Urhilina, c. 860–840 B.C.: see HAMA 4. Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a photograph collated against the stone in Aleppo Museum.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

(Transliteration, Translation: follow IX.5. HINES).

IX.5. HINES (plate 218)

Location. Unknown – still in Iraq?

Description. “... building stone... cut to a regular shape and has on one side a square hole for a dowel” (Jacobsen). One face bears remains of right side of 2-line inscription, l. 1 running sinistroversely, l. 2 continuing dextroversely.

Dimensions: c. 40 cm. wide (Jacobsen).

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Script, line-dividers: linear incised.

Sign forms: *mu* monumental, *ma* cursive.

Peculiarities: sign forms *i* and *a*.

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Seen by Jacobsen and Lloyd in spring 1924 in *muhtar*’s house in Hines village, nr. Bavian, N. Iraq; reported recently dug from *tell* of Hines near house, just below surface. See Jacobsen, loc. cit. below, Publication.

Publication. Jacobsen, *OIC* 19 (1935), pp. 101–103, fig. 107 (photograph); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 25, p. 29, pl. XL (Jacobsen's photograph + copy).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 320, p. 254, Tav. XLVI (redrawn).

Content. Preserved words exactly duplicate RESTAN/QAL'AT EL MUDIQ (§ 1 end–§ 2 beginning), though it divides the text ll. 1–2 at a different point, and if like them its lines were of equal length, it would have been shorter. The text thus represents a building inscription of Urhilina, king of Hamath, and its discovery in Assyria is extremely puzzling. Both the stone and

the incised style of the inscription differ markedly from the basalt and relief script of its duplicates and the other HAMA inscriptions, and the direction of l. 1 (dextroverse) is also unusual. Conceivably it is a copy made in antiquity of an original inscription taken to Assyria by Shalmaneser III, Urhilina's contemporary, or Sargon II, the conqueror of Hamath.

Date. Cf. RESTAN and QAL'AT EL MUDIQ.

Text. The text here offered is traced from the published photograph.

Photograph. Oriental Institute, Chicago, print from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb.

Transliteration

Translation

(RESTAN)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. § 1 EGO- <i>mi u + ra/i-bi-li-na</i> PRAE- <i>tá-sa</i> ([INF]ANS) [<i>ni</i>]- <i>mu-wa/i-za-sa</i>
<i>i-ma-tú-wa/i-ni</i> (REGIO) REX | I (am) Urhilina, Paritas's son,
Hamathite King. |
| 2. § 2 <i>a-wa/i</i> <i>za-na</i> "URBS+MI"- <i>ni-na</i> EGO AEDIFICARE+ <i>MI-ba</i>
§ 3 <i>za-pa-wa/i</i> ("STELE") <i>wa/i-ni-za</i> (DEUS) <i>pa-ba-la-ti-ia</i> CRUS- <i>nu-ha-á</i> | This city I built,
and this stele I set up to Ba'alatis. |

(QAL'AT EL MUDIQ)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. § 1 EGO- <i>mi u + ra/i-bi-li-na</i> PRAE- <i>tá-sa</i> (x)(INFANS) <i>ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa</i>
<i>i-ma-tú-wa/i-ni</i> (REGIO) REX (x) | I (am) Urhilina, Paritas's son,
Hamathite King. |
| 2. § 2 <i>a-wa/i</i> <i>za-na</i> "URBS+MI"- <i>ni-i-na</i> EGO AEDIFICARE+ <i>MI-ba</i>
§ 3 <i>za-pa-wa/i</i> ("STELE") <i>wa/i-ni-za</i> (DEUS) <i>pa-ba-la-ti-ia</i> CRUS- <i>nu-ha</i> | This city I built,
and this stele I set up to Ba'alatis. |

(HINES)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1–2. § 1 [...] (INFANS) <i>ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa</i> <i>i-ma-tu-wa/ni</i> (REGIO) REX | [I (am) Urhilina, Paritas's] son,
Hamathite king. |
| § 2 <i>a-wa/i za</i> [...] | This [...] |

IX.6. HAMA 8 (plate 214)

Location. Stele, whereabouts unknown.

Description. Stele apparently unfinished, known from photograph only, details of execution lacking. The stele has a 3-line inscription breaking off unfinished in the middle of the 3rd line, with the space for the rest of that and a further line demarcated in outline. It begins upper right, running sinistroverse and continuing *boustrophedon*.

Dimensions: unknown.

Condition: good.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (*u*, *ma*).

Peculiarities: *na* (with terminating hands);
MANUS+MANUS substituted for usual DEUS;
final sign(s) unknown.

Word-divider: only one.

Discovery. Known to me from photograph circulated by a Beirut antiquities dealer in 1985. First glance at the photograph suggested that it was a fake, on account of its unusual appearance, including the unknown final sign(s) (see Commentary). The following points however indicate that it must be genuine: (1) It is an inscription of Urhilina of Hamath, but very different in style and content from his other inscriptions, and thus not copied by a forger – note in particular the monumental *u*(+*ra/i*) used to write his name, elsewhere always cursive, and the peculiar *na* form unknown elsewhere; (2) the text makes perfect sense, so could hardly be the work of a forger; (3) the writing ("*255")*ka-la/i/u-na*-, "granary", for the usual *karuna*-, is in fact paralleled on MARAŞ 8, § 7 (see Commentary), but this fact is not likely to have been known to a forger; (4) the substitution of MANUS+MANUS

for DEUS, while unparalleled, is ideographically intelligible (see Commentary). It thus seems inescapable that the piece is genuine.

Publication, Edition. For the first time, here.

Content. Unfinished dedication by Urhilina king of Hamath of a granary to the goddess Ba'alat (cf. HAMA

4, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, HINES). § 1, Name, genealogy, title; § 2, dedication.

Date. Mid-9th century B.C.; see HAMA 4, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is traced from the photograph.

Photograph. That of the antiquities dealer.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* ¹*u+ra/i-hi-li-na* ¹PRAE-*tá-sa* [(INFANS)]*ni-mu-*
2. *wa/i-za-sa i*||*ma-tu-wa/i-ni-i-sa*(REGIO) REX-*ti-sa*
3. § 2 *a-wa/i za-a-na* ("*255")*ka-la/i/u-na-na*|| EGO [(MANUS+
MANUS)]*pa-ha-la-x-x* ...

Translation

I (am) Urhilina, Paritas's son,
Hamathite king.
This granary I myself for Ba'alatis
...

Commentary

§ 1. ¹*urhilina*, ¹*paritas*: writings with personal determinatives differ from the practice of the other Urhilina inscriptions.

imatuwanis(REGIO) REX-*ti-sa*: again this inscription differs from all other HAMA inscriptions in writing the *-i-sa* of the first word and the *-ti-sa* of the second.

§ 2. Note the parallel beginnings of RESTAN//QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, § 2.

("*255")*ka-la/i/u-na*: this writing with *-la/i/u-* agrees with MARAŞ 8, § 7 (twice), against the *-ru-* of KARATEPE, 40, and İSKENDERUN, § 3. The recognition of this writing with *-la/i/u-* also provides a possible key for explaining the writing in KARKAMIŞ A30b, § 1. [For *kaluna-*, see now also TELL AHMAR 5, §§ 2, 5, 14].

[(MANUS+MANUS) for usual determinative DEUS: the sign DEUS has been recognized by Laroche as a stylized rendering of a pair of eyes, thus ideographically expressing "god" from the attribute of "all-seeing" (*Fs Bittel*, pp. 310–312). The present unparalleled variant may be easily understood to represent ideographically the protective character of gods; cf. Hitt. *keššaruš arah-za-da hark-*, "hold the hands around", i.e. "protect" (Friedrich, *SV* II, pp. 108, l. 23, 140).

pa-ha-la-x-x: all parallel passages have *pa-ha-la-ti-ia*, "to Ba'alatis" (HAMA 4, § 6; RESTAN//QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, § 3). It is not evident how the one or two unparalleled signs might have been intended to render this.

IX.7. HAMA 9 (NIMRUD) (plates 219–220)

Location. Group of seven inscribed shell fragments and one complete example (castanets?), British Museum nos. 133016, 133018, 133011, 133015, 133021, 133014, 133023 (accession nos. 1962-12-8:9, 11, 4, 8, 14, 7, 16); and no. 134325 (accession no. 1963-12-14:11).

Description. Fragments of shell (designations *b–l* from Publication): *b*, rim fragment, inscription on right side of convex face; *c*, rim fragment, inscription on concave face; *d*, complete left end of piece, inscription on broken right edge of convex face; *f*, fragment, inscription on concave face; *h*, rim fragment, inscription on concave face; *i*, rim fragment, inscription on concave face; *l*, fragment, inscription on concave face.

Complete example (BM 134325): shell carved into hemispherical cup, ledge at upper inner end, perfor-

ation drilled through top of dome; inscription placed on concave face near upper right edge.

Dimensions: *b*, 6.2 × 2.8 cm.; *c*, 4.8 × 1.6 cm.; *d*, 6.5 × 4.7 cm.; *f*, 5.3 × 2.7 cm.; *h*, 3.3 × 1.9 cm.; *i*, 6.5 × 2.4 cm.; *l*, 2.2 × 2.5 cm.; BM 134325, 7.0 × 5.8 cm.

Condition: clear where preserved.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Excavated in 1962, "at Fort Shalmaneser in the East end of the fill in room T.10" (Barnett, see Publication). The British Museum accession no. gives the date of entry to the Museum, namely 8/12/1962.

This group was registered with the excavation no. ND 11225. A further group numbered ND 11224 was apparently assigned to Iraq, and should be in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. The following year, 1963, two further examples were recovered from the same provenance, ND 12518, assigned to Iraq (see Mallowan, below, Publication), and ND 12519 assigned to the British Museum (no. 134325), of which the accession no. gives its date of entry into the Museum as 14/12/1963. The latter two pieces are the only complete examples.

Publication. Barnett, *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 82, 85, pl. XV *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *i*, *l*, photographs only (along with uninscribed shells *e* and *g*, and fragments *j*, *k* and *n*, also shell *a*, and fragments *m* and *o* bearing a drawing

of a crested eagle-head surmounting a feather(?)); cf. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* II (1966), p. 451 f. with fig. 372 (photograph of ND 12518). BM 134325 previously unpublished.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 314, p. 251.

Content. Epigraphs, royal name (Urhilana).

Date. Reign of Urhilina, c. 860–840 B.C. (see HAMA 4, Date).

Text. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the photographs.

Photographs. Taken in the British Museum.

Transliteration

b. [u+ra/i]-hi-la-na REX
c. u+ra/i-hi-l[a]-n[a ...]
d. [u][+ra/i-hi-l]-a-[n]a REX
f. u+ra/i-hi-la-na REX
h. u+ra/i-[hi]-la[...]
i. u+ra/i-hi-l[a]-n[a ...]
l. [...-n]a REX
 BM 134325. u+ra/i-hi-la-na REX

Translation

Urhilana the King.

Comment

A similar shell inscribed with the same name was excavated at Hama itself: see below IX.19, HAMA fragment 5.

Meriggi, Edition, comments on the consistent use of -la-, in place of the usual -li-, in the spelling of the name.

IX.8–10. HAMA 1–3 (plates 221–222)

Location. Near-duplicate building block inscriptions, Istanbul, Ancient Oriental Museum, nos. 7688, 7690, 7689.

Description. HAMA 1: fragment of building block bearing 3-line inscription, beginning upper right corner and running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*. Left side of inscription lost, 6 words missing from ll. 1–2, l. 3 ends at break; blank space below l. 3. HAMA 2: face split from oblong building block, bearing 3-line inscription, beginning upper right corner and running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending l. 3 middle; blank space below l. 3. HAMA 3: face split from oblong building block (for original form without dimensions, see Wright, loc. cit. below, Publication, pl. II), bearing 2-line inscription beginning in top right

corner, running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, ending at left edge; large blank space below l. 2.

Dimensions: (1) ht. of inscription, 0.36 m.; preserved w., 0.31 m.; (2) ht. of inscription, 0.37 m.; max. w., 0.48 m.; (3) ht. of inscription, 0.27 m.; max. w., 0.48 m.; (all) line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: good (apart from loss to HAMA 1).

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive – *tà*, *u*, *sà*, *ma*, *mu*.

Peculiarities: sign forms as for HAMA 4 (also REL).

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Burton and Drake, Wright, Sayce, and especially Riis, as for HAMA 4 (Discovery). When Wright moved the stones, he split off the inscribed

faces of the blocks HAMA 2 and 3. See now also Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), pp. 27–30, nos. 1–3.

Publication. Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* I (1872), pp. 333–360 and pls. (illegible traced squeezes: 1, ll. 1–2, “page 1”; 1. 3, “page 2”; 2, ll. 1–2, “page 3”; 1. 3, “page 4”; 3, “page 5” – upside down); Ward, *APES* 2 (1873), p. 19 (copies from squeezes and casts); Rylands, *TSBA* 7 (1882), following p. 442 (sketches from casts, designated H I, H II, H IV, = Wright, *EH* (1884, 1886), pls. I–II (reengraved), designated H I, H II, H III; cf. *ibid.*, ch. I); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), pp. 5–8, Taf. IIIB–IV (drawings from squeezes); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 10 (1938), pls. IV–VI (Istanbul Museum photographs); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 994 (photograph of cast, HAMA 2 only); Riis and Buhl, *op. cit.* (Discovery), photographs.

Editions. Gelb, *HH* I (1931), p. 68 f.; Bossert, *ŠuK* (1932), pp. 61–63; Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), pp. 261–264; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 297–300; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 8, pp. 17–19.

IX.11–12. HAMA 6 and 7 (plates 223–224)

Location. Near-duplicate building block inscriptions, Hama Museum, no number. The Museum was damaged in the 1982 fighting, but the inscriptions are intact (information, courtesy of Professor Alfonso Archi).

Description. Two oblong building blocks bearing on their ends a 2-line (HAMA 6) and a 3-line inscription (HAMA 7), both fully preserved. Both begin in the top right corner and run sinistrowise, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending 1. 2 right end (HAMA 6) and 1. 3 ½ distance along line (HAMA 7). The blocks preserve the original form of HAMA 2–3 before they were trimmed, and their inscriptions are closely parallel.

Dimensions (inscriptions only): (6) ht., 0.24 m.; w., 0.52 m.; line ht., 0.10–0.12 m.; (7) ht., 0.41 m.; w., 0.56 m.; line ht., 0.10–0.11 m.

Conditions: good.

Script, sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: as for HAMA 1–3.

Discovery. Letter from P. J. Riis to J. D. Hawkins, 20/1/76:

“... two recently discovered basalt blocks with hieroglyphic inscriptions kept in the back yard of the Museum at Hama. The latter pieces were found in one of the years about 1970, at about 2 m. depth, about 100 m. west of the Orthodox Cathedral at Hama, about 50 m. north of the Great Mosque.”

Excerpts.

- § 1 Laroche, *HH*, no. 17 (a).
 § 2 Laroche, *HH*, nos. 231, 246.
 §§ 2–3 Laroche, *HH*, no. 329.I.1; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 95.

Content. Building inscriptions of Uratamis son of Urhilina, king of Hamath (§ 1), recording building of “this fortress/wall” (*barnisanza*) (§ 2), i.e. walls of Hamath?, with the help of the river-lands Hurpata, Laka and Musanipa (§ 3); also presence of Halabeans and Nikimaland (§ 4, HAMA 1 and 2 only).

Date. Generation after Urhilina (see HAMA 4), i.e. c. 830 B.C.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of photographs collated against the stone in Istanbul Museum.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in the summer, 1971.

(Transliteration, Translation, Commentary: follow IX.11–12. HAMA 6 and 7).

Seen by Hawkins in the Museum, spring 1976, photographed and traced.

See now also Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), pp. 30–32, nos. 6–7.

Publication. See Riis and Buhl, *op. cit.* (photographs).

Edition. For the first time here.

Content. As for HAMA 1–3, building inscriptions of Uratamis, son of Urhilina, king of Hamath (§ 1), recording building of “this fortress/wall” (*barnisanza*) (§ 2), i.e. walls of Hamath?, with the help of the land Kusuna and the river-land of Mt. Labarna and the land Tuhayata (§ 3); also presence of the land Hamayara (§ 4, HAMA 7 only).

Date. As for HAMA 1–3, generation after Urhilina, i.e. c. 830 B.C.

Texts. The texts here offered are taken from tracings made direct from the stones in Hama Museum in the spring 1976.

Photographs. Those of the stones *in situ* were supplied by the courtesy of Professor P. J. Riis; those of the inscribed faces were taken by myself at the same time as the tracings.

Transliteration

Translation

(HAMA 1)

1. § 1 EGO-*mi* MAGNUS + *ra/i-tà-mi-sa u + ra/i-bi-li-na-sa*
|(INFANS) *ni-za-sa* [*i-ma-tù-wa/i-ni* REGIO REX]||
2. § 2 [*a-wa/i á-mu* AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha za-*] (“CASTRUM”)
ha + ra/i-ni-sà-za
§ 3 *bu + ra/i-pa-tà-wa/i-ni-sa*(REGIO) FLUMEN.REGIO-*tà-i-sà* ||
3. REL-*za i-zi-i-tà*
§ 4 *a-tà-ha-wa/i* TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-wa/i-ni-zi*(REGIO)

I (am) Uratamis, Urhilina's son,
[Hamathite king].
[I myself built this] fortress,
which the Hurpata river-land made,
and therein (are) Halabeans.

(HAMA 2)

1. § 1 EGO-*mi* MAGNUS + *ra/i-tà-mi-sa u + ra/i-bi-li-na-sa*
|(INFANS) *ni-za-sa i-ma-tù-wa/i-ni*(REGIO) REX ||
2. § 2 *a-wa/i á-mu* AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha za-* (“CASTRUM”)
ha + ra/i-ni-sà-za
§ 3 *la-ka-wa/i-ni-sà-ha-wa/i*(REGIO) FLUMEN.REGIO-*tà-i-sà* ||
3. REL-*za i-zi-i-tà*
§ 4 *a-tà-ha-wa/i ni-ki-ma-sa*(REGIO)

I (am) Uratamis, Urhilina's son,
Hamathite king.
I myself built this fortress,
which the Laka river-land made,
and therein (is) the land Nikima.

(HAMA 3)

1. § 1 EGO-*mi* MAGNUS + *ra/i-tà-mi-sa u + ra/i-bi-li-na-sa*
|(INFANS) *ni-za-sa i-ma-tù-wa/i-ni*(REGIO) REX
2. § 2 *a-wa/i á-mu* AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha za-* (“CASTRUM”)
ha + ra/i-ni-sà-za
§ 3 *mu-sa-ni-pa-wa/i-ni-sà*(REGIO) FLUMEN.REGIO-*sà REL-za*
i-zi-i-tà

I (am) Uratamis, Urhilina's son,
Hamathite king.
I myself built this fortress,
which the Musanipa river-land
made.

(HAMA 6)

1. § 1 EGO-*mi* MAGNUS + *ra/i-tà-mi-sa u + ra/i-bi-li-na-sa*
|(INFANS) *ni-za-sa i-ma-tù-wa/i-ni*(REGIO) REX
2. § 2 *a-wa/i á-mu* AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha za-* (“CASTRUM”)
ha + ra/i-ni-sà-za
§ 3 (“*218”) *ku-su-na-la-zi*(REGIO) REL-*za i-zi-ia-ta*

I (am) Uratamis, Urhilina's son,
Hamathite king.
I myself built this fortress,
which the Kusunites made.

(HAMA 7)

1. § 1 EGO-*mi* MAGNUS + *ra/i-tà-mi-sa u + ra/i-bi-li-na-sa*
|(INFANS) *ni-za-sa i-ma-tu-wa/i-ni*(REGIO) REX
2. § 2 *a-wa/i á-mu* AEDIFICARE + *MI-ha za-* (“CASTRUM”)
ha + ra/i-ni-sà-za
§ 3 (“MONS”) *la-pa + ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa* FLUMEN.REGIO-*tà-i-sà*
REL¹²-*za i-zi-i-tà tú-ha-ia-ta-sa-ha*(REGIO)||
3. § 4 *a-tà-ha'-wa/i ha'-ma-ia + ra/i-sa*(REGIO)

I (am) Uratamis, Urhilina's son,
Hamathite king.
I myself built this fortress,
which the river-land of Mount
Labarna (Lebanon?) made, and
the land Tuhayata,
and therein (is) the land Hamayara.

Commentary

§ 1. Formula repeated without variant throughout all five inscriptions.

(INFANS) *ni-za-sa*: appears to be mere graphic abbreviation of (INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (see KAR-KAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary). HAMA 4, also RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ and HINES, § 1 (all inscriptions of Urhilina) use *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*.

i-ma-tu-wa/i-ni(REGIO) REX: identically formulated as in inscriptions of Urhilina (see HAMA 4, § 1, Commentary), except the newly found HAMA 8.

§ 2. Again formula repeated through all five without variant.

(“CASTRUM”) *ha + ra/i-ni-sà-za*: this word in KARATEPE is translated by Phoen. *qrt*, “city” (203, 288,

305), *hmyt*, “walls” (95, 122), and *’ryst*, “lands” (130). In the context of Hama, one must suppose that these inscriptions were placed at various points, probably gateways, of the fortifications of the ancient city, to commemorate the construction of the respective sectors.

§ 3. The formulation here varies only in the place names, which are different in each.

-ha-wa/i (HAMA 2): connective particles, which would perhaps be expected, are found only in this inscription.

REL-*ṣa i-ṣi-i-tà*(//*-ia-ta*, HAMA 6): Uratamis states that he himself “built” the fortification which the various countries “made”. The sense intended by the contrast of the two activities is not completely clear: overall design vs. actual execution?

FLUMEN.REGIO(-*tà-i*)-*sà/sa* (all except HAMA 6): the phonetic rendering *hapata-* was pointed out by Mittelberger (*Sprache* 8 (1962), p. 285) by comparison with (FLUMEN.REGIO)*ha-pa-tà-si* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 25) and (“FLUMEN”) *hā-pa+ra/i//pari-i-sā* (KARATEPE, 264); and Laroche made the link with Hitt. ID = *hapi-*, “river”; KUR ID = *hapati-*, “river-land” (*Fs Otten* (1), pp. 179–184). The present attestations give a form *hapatai-*, of which *hapatasi* (above) is the gen. adj. In contrast the KARATEPE writings indicate *hapari-*, which associates with FLUMEN-*pa-ti-* (= *hapati-*; KARKAMIŠ A12, § 6). Cf. also IZGIN 1, § 5; MARAŞ 8, §§ 2–3. See Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), pp. 270–272. Note that Starke, finding the HAMA forms in *-tā-i* anomalous, proposes a reading *-ti_x-i-* (*Stammbildung*, § 84 and Anm. 473; § 299 and Anm. 1898). The value *ti_x* for *tā* hardly seems justified in the present state of knowledge of the script.

All the river-lands are qualified by ethnic adjectives in *-wani-* formed from country-names (i.e. determined REGIO) including one mountain-name (determined MONS): for these names see below. HAMA 7 adds a further place-name after *i-ṣi-i-tà*, GN-*ha*(REGIO).

§ 4. HAMA 3 and 6 end with § 3. HAMA 1, 2 and 7 add a further formula, *a-tā-ha-wa/i* GN(REGIO), varying only in the country-names (see also below).

a-tā-ha-wa/i: understanding verb “be”, literally “and therein (is) the country...”. The places named, i.e. their people, could be understood to “be in” the fortification, perhaps stationed in the designated sector; or possibly to “be in(cluded)” among those named as making the fortification.

Place-names

From the view point of Hama, one would expect the “river-lands” to be districts of the Orontes river under Hamathite sway, such territories as those controlled from the two unnamed cities whose building by Ura-

tamis’s father is recorded on the stelae RESTAN and QAL’AT EL MUDIQ. It is perhaps not surprising that the names are largely unfamiliar to us.

HAMA 1. *hu+ra/i-pa-tā-wa/i-ni-sa*(REGIO): possible comparison with (HUR.SAG)*hu-ur-pa-an-ta* (KUB XVIII, 24 10’; Gonnet, *RHA* XXVI/83 (1968), p. 108), the location of which is completely unknown.

TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-wa/i-ni-ṣi*(REGIO), “Halab-eans”. At least by c. 750 B.C. Halab belonged to the territory of Arpad (see Aleppo, Historical Context, p. 389), but earlier it could have belonged to Hamath. If the “river-land of the land Hurpata” is to be associated with Halab, possibly it lay on the Quweiq river rather than the Orontes.

HAMA 2. *la-ka-wa/i-ni-sā*(REGIO): associated by Meriggi with the land *Laqe* on the middle-Euphrates known from the Late Assyrian sources (*WZKM* 58 (1962), p. 96 f.). In the context this seems improbably distant, but is perhaps not impossible; for a possible link between Hamath and Laqe, note the name *Hamataya* (“the Hamathite”) borne by a Laqean sheikh (Hamath, The Historical Context, p. 400 and n. 34). The ethnicon *Lakawanis* (“the Laqean”) appears as a personal name on ADIYAMAN 2, § 3.

ni-ki-ma-sa(REGIO): Laroche’s identification of second sign (*ki*) as *HH*, no. 24 (LIS), and his attribution of a value *har*, and his ensuing recognition of the place-name *Naharaim* should all be discarded. The sign is certainly *ki*, as seen by Meriggi, but as a place-name *Nikima* suggests no parallels.

HAMA 3. *mu-sa-ni-pa-wa/i-ni-sā*(REGIO): plausibly identified by Laroche with Hitt. (URU)*mu-su(-un)-ni-pa/ba*, which seems to belong to the right area (for latter see now del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Musunipa). An Assyrian contract has (URU)*mu-si-na-a-pa*²¹ in Arpad, which might also be the same place (*ARU*, no. 167 obv. 12).

HAMA 6. (“*218”) *ku-su-na-li-ṣi*(REGIO): presumably full phonetic writing, ethnic adj. of place-name *Kusuna* formed with *-li-* suffix, for which cf. KULULU lead strip 1, § 5 entry 34, 6c, *á-la/i/u-wa/i-na-li*(URBS), and Commentary there.

HAMA 7. (“MONS”) *la-pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*: already identified as “Mt. Labarna”, otherwise unknown; cf. writing of PN *la-pa+ra/i-na-ia*, “to Labarna” (CEKKE, § 9). See *RIA* VI, s.v. Labarna, § 3. Alternatively one might perhaps speculate on a connection with Mt. Lebanon, Cun. Hitt. *Lablana* (Gonnet, *RHA* XXVI/83 (1968), p. 129). The present writing could represent besides *Labarna* also *Labrana*, which given the common *l/r* interchange in Hier. is very close to the Cuneiform writing. Contextually the “river-land of Mount Lebanon” seems very likely in the context of Hamathite territory.

tu-ha-ia-ta-sa(REGIO), *ha-ma-ia+ra/i-sa*(REGIO): no parallels to these place-names suggest themselves.

IX.13. MEHARDE (plates 225–226)

Location. Stele, Aleppo Museum, no. 5051. The lower part of this stele has now been identified as a piece recently appeared on the antiquities market.

Description. *Obverse (side B), upper fragment:* female figure, facing front, preserved to shins, face destroyed, hair dressed in Hathor volute, wearing long dress, holding up in either hand a conical object. On her left is a small figure facing right, also clad in long dress; and above, an indistinct object, perhaps a winged disc as identified by Orthmann. *Lower fragment:* at bottom of frame, a couchant lion facing right, in the middle of his back a pair of human feet, frontally rendered, protrude from the hem of an ankle-length robe, and on his head stand another smaller pair, facing right. The space below the sculpture is occupied by 2 lines of inscription, sinistroverse-dextroverse; from the bottom of the piece protrudes the tenon to fix it in a morticed base. The lower right corner of the piece is lost. *Right side (A), upper and lower fragments:* inscription begins in upper right corner running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon* for 7 complete lines and beginning of an 8th, dextroverse (upper fragment), of which the lower, dextroverse, part is preserved at the top of the lower fragment, continuing *boustrophedon* for a complete 9th line, and breaking off with the upper part of 10th, dextroverse, line, aligned with the bottom of the sculptured panel on the obverse. The loss of the lower right corner has carried away an area which could have held 2 further lines corresponding to the 2 at the bottom of the obverse. It seems likely that a lost, sinistroverse l. 11 continued directly round the corner on the 1st line of the obverse, but this is not directly demonstrable, especially in view of the obscurity of that line. Similarly it is uncertain whether the dextroverse l. 2 of the obverse continued round the corner back on to a lost l. 12 of the right side, or stopped at its own right end to continue on the upper left side (see Commentary for further consideration). *Left side (C), upper and lower fragments:* the text begins at the upper right corner in mid-sentence (thus continued from previous text), and runs sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon* for 9 almost completely preserved lines (the break between the upper and lower fragment has destroyed only the lower part of l. 6). Below the sinistroverse l. 9, there is space for a further line which could have been lost by flaking of the surface, but the sense continues satisfactorily on the reverse, suggesting that this area was never inscribed (see further, Commentary). *Reverse (side D):* 3 lines of inscription, aligned with side C ll. 1–3, apparently continuing directly from side C l. 9, beginning upper right and running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon* to end 3rd line, lower left; remainder of side D uninscribed.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.20 m. (upper fragment) + 0.76 m. (lower fragment), total, c. 2.00 m. without the base tenon; w., 0.73 m.; th., 0.33 m.; line ht., 0.10–0.15 m.

Condition: fair, signs somewhat worn and indistinct.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: *i* without central division; very characteristic *ta*.

Word-dividers: consistently used as far as can be seen.

Discovery. Upper fragment registered by Aleppo Museum as coming from Meharde (Mahrada) village on the Hama–Qal'at el Mudiq road at its crossing of the river Orontes; cf. Bossert, *Or.* NS 29 (1960), pp. 220–222. Lower fragment: no details available. Following a view of a photograph shown by a Lebanese antiquities dealer, I visited the piece in customs bond in Basle in the summer 1988.

Publication. (Upper fragment only). Meriggi, *Fs Friedrich* (1959), Abb. 2 (drawing only); Bossert, loc. cit., Tav. LI–LIII (photographs of all sides); Hawkins, *Mélanges Laroche* (1979), p. 146 f. fig. 1 (copy from traced squeeze, photographs of sides A, D, C – as here designated); also id., *Mesopotamia* 8 (1980), pl. IX a (photograph of obverse). (Lower fragment). Hawkins, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 187–190, with Figs. 1 (copy), 2 (photographs of sides C, B, A).

Editions. (Upper fragment only). Meriggi, loc. cit., pp. 325–334; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 316, pp. 251–254, Tav. XLVI (redrawn); Hawkins, *Mélanges Laroche*, pp. 150–153. (Lower fragment). Hawkins, loc. cit. (1988).

Excerpts.

§ 6 Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 438 + Abb. 10.

§ 9 Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 222 + Tab. L Abb. 6.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Mahrada 1)*, pp. 104 f., 285 ff., 519, Taf. 38 g (photograph, upper fragment only).

Content. Dedication of stele to goddess “Queen of the Land” by Taitas “Wadasatinean king”. §§ 1–2, dedication; §§ 3–4, [blessing for respecter] of stele(?); §§ 5–8, pair of protective curses; § 9, scribal signature.

Date. Uncertain within period 900–700 B.C.; script appears archaic but may be archaizing.

Text. The text here offered is taken from tracings from latex squeezes (upper fragment), and from the stone itself (lower fragment).

Photographs. Upper fragment, taken in Aleppo Museum in 1978 by the late Peter Dorrell; lower fragment, taken in Basle in the summer 1988.

(Transliteration, Translation, Commentary: follow SHEIZAR).

IX.14. SHEIZAR (plates 227–228)

Location. Stele broken in two; upper part, Beirut Museum, lower part, Hama Museum. Hama Museum was damaged in 1982, and Beirut Museum has been closed during the civil war and its antiquities moved. The Hama piece has survived intact (information, courtesy of Professor Alfonso Archi), but I have no information as to the whereabouts of the Beirut piece.

Description. Round-topped stele broken in two; the lower part still has the tenon by which it would have been fixed in a lost base. *Obverse*: plain, undecorated, in contrast to MEHARDE. *Reverse and sides*: 7-line inscription, beginning on side A (left, as viewed from front), upper right, running sinistaverse across sides A, B (reverse) and C (right side), continuing *boustrophedon* down stele, ending l. 7, reverse, lower left (side C l. 7 is uninscribed as is the remainder of side B; side A has two further lines (8 and 9) delineated but not inscribed). The break runs across the lower part of l. 5, leaving the top of the line on the upper part, the bottom on the lower part.

Dimensions: total ht. (without tenon), 1.35 m.; w., 0.46 m.; th., 0.23 m.; line ht., 0.10 m.

Condition: fair, poor in parts.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: as MEHARDE, *ta* very characteristic; *i* without central division but also archaic form with “*mi*” attachments; forms of *ia*, *za* and NEG₂ (single stroke across base); use of *ha_x* (HH, no. 300).

Word-dividers: fairly consistently used.

Discovery. Hama Museum register recorded without comment the provenance of the lower half from

Sheizar, a castle on the Orontes at the road’s river crossing below Meharde. It seems likely that the stele came originally from the same place as MEHARDE, and survey might yet locate the provenance before it is forgotten. The upper part was presented to Beirut Museum by a Lebanese antiquities dealer. I myself saw the pieces on visits to Hama and Beirut Museums in July 1974.

Publication. Hawkins, *Mélanges Laroche* (1979), p. 148 f. fig. 2 (copy from tracing of both parts, composite photograph of sides and reverse of both parts).

Edition. Hawkins, *ibid.*, pp. 150 f., 153–156; *id.*, *Mesopotamia* 8 (1980), p. 219 f.

Excerpts.

§§ 4–5 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 126 cit. 1 b.

§ 5 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 282.

Content. Funerary inscription on stele of Kupapiyas, wife of Taitas. § 1, name and title; § 2, life; §§ 3–4, obsequies; §§ 5–7, protective curse; §§ 8–9, scribal signature.

Date. Doubtful, as for MEHARDE; content suggests that it might be as much as a generation later.

Text. The text here offered is that given in the original publication, traced directly from the stones.

Photographs. Also those of the original publication, the antiquities dealer’s photographs (upper), and lower taken in Hama Museum in July 1974.

Transliteration

Translation

(MEHARDE)

A 1. § 1 |*za-a-ua/i* |(STELE)*ta-ni²*-(2)*sà-za* |DEUS.REGIO-*ni-sa* (3)
|(MAGNUS.DOMINA)*ba-su-sa₅ + ra/i-sa*

§ 2 |(4) *i-zi-i-tà-pa-ua/i-tú ta*-(5) *i-ta-sa* |HEROS-(6) *li-sa* |*ua/i-ta₄-sà*-(7) *ti-ni-za-sa* (REGIO) (8) [REX-*ti²*]-*sa*

§ 3 |[*a*]-*ua/i* (9) |*za-a-ti* |(STELE)*ta*-(10) *ni-si* |REL-*i-sà* (11)[...

This stele (is) (of?) the divine
Queen of the Land.

Taitas the Hero, Wadasatenean king,
made (it) for her.

(He) who to this stele [...],

- B 1. § 4 ...|*xi* x x |*za-a-si-na* x x x(-)|*za-*|REL²-*a*²-*ba* (2) |FORTIS-*si-i*² (*uncertain*)
 § 5 |PUGNUS(-)|*wa/i+ra/i-ma-a-ti-pa-wa/i-t*[*i*²]|[A12? ...] But (he) who shall ... [...?] for himself,
- C 1. REL-*i-sà*
 § 6 |*pa-ti*-(2)-*pa-wa/i* |DEUS.REGIO-(3)*ni-si* |(MAGNUS. DOMINA)*ba-su*-(4)*sa*₅ + *ra/i-sa* |LIS-*za*-(5)|*sa-lì-sà* |*sà-tù-*
 § 7 (6) |*z[a]*-*pa-wa/i* |(STELE)(7)*ta-ni-sà-za* (8) |REL-*i-sa* |LOCUS-*ta*₄-(9)*za* |*SA*₄-*ni-ti* against him may the divine Queen of the Land be the prosecutor!
 And this stele (he) who shall overturn in (its) place(s),
 may the divine Queen of the Land destroy his ... !
 Ahu(?)zas the Good Scribe carved (it).
- D 1. § 8 |*pa-sa-pa-wa/i* x-x-x-*za* |DEUS.REGIO-(2)*ni-si* |(MAGNUS. DOMINA)*ba-su-sa*₅ + *ra/i-sa* |ARFLA |DELERE-*nu-tu*
 § 9 (3) |CAPERE + MALLEUS ¹*á*-SCALPRUM-*za-sa* |BONUS₂.SCRIBA-*la/i/u-sa*
- (SHEIZAR)
1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi ku-pa-pi-ia-sa* ¹*ta-i-ta-si* FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* HEROS-*sa wa/i-ta*₄-*sà-ti*-[*ni-si*](REGIO)
 2. § 2 |*wa/i-* [*mi-ia+ra/i*]|-|(IUSTITIA)*tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* |CENTUM-*ni* |ANNUS-*si-na* |(PES₂)*pa-za-ha*_x
 § 3 |*wa/i-mu-ta-* [*mi-zi-*]|INFANS-*ni-zi* |“LONGUS”-*zi* |FLAM-
 3. MAE(?)(-)*ba*_x|-*si* |PONERE²-*wa/i-ta*
 § 4 |*za-pa-wa/i-mu* |(STELE)*ta-ni*-*sà* |*mi-i-zi-* |INFANS.NEPOS-*zi* |INFANS.NEPOS-*ka-la-zi* |(INFANS)NEG₂-*wa/i-zi*||
 4. x-x(-)|*za-wa/i-nu-wa/i-ta*
 § 5 *a*²-*mi-wa/i-tà* |*wa/i-*[...]- [*mi-sa-*] |REL-*i-sa* |INFANS.NEPOS-
 5. *si-sa* |INFANS.NEPOS|-*ka-la-sa* | |(INFANS)NEG₂-*wa/i-sa* | |(INFANS)NEG₂-[*wa/i*]-[NEG₂]-*wa/i-sa* [...]
 § 6 [RE]L-*s*[*a*² ...]-*i*
 6. § 7 |*pa-ti*-[*pa-wa/i-*]|DEUS.REGIO-*ni-si-i* (DOMINA)*ba-su-sa*₅ + *ra/i-sa* |LIS-*li-sa* |*sa-tu-*
 7. § 8 MALLEUS.CAPERE-*pa-wa/i-na* ¹LOCUS-*ti*||*273-*wa/i-sa* |BONUS₂.SCRIBA-*la-sa*
 § 9 SERVUS-*ta*₅-*sa-pa-wa/i-tu*(-)|*mi* [...]-*sa pa+ra/i-na* x-x
 and (as) servant to him [So-and-so] [was(?)] present(?) .

Commentary

Some of the problems arising from the pair of stelae MEHARDE (below, M) and SHEIZAR (below, S) were dealt with in my *Edition (Mélanges Laroche)*; others call for further comment, especially since the addition of MEHARDE lower fragment.

M, lower fragment

§ 3. [A l. 11, sinistroversel]: must have contained verb; epigraphically likely to have continued round the corner on the sinistroversel l. 1 of the inscription on the obverse. The action towards the stele envisaged in this clause was probably favourable, followed by a blessing, since two unfavourable actions accompanied by curses follow.

B, l. 1. Broken right edge of panel likely to be very close to, or even coincident with, the original right edge of inscription: note the alignment of left side of panel with inside edge of left-hand frame of panel of sculpture.

Readings, words and syntax uncertain; clause divisions, if any, not discernible.

B, l. 2. |FORTIS-*si-i*²: appears to be last word of clause, probably § 4. FORTIS normally used to determine adj. *muwatali*, “potent”, also verb *muwa-*, for which see SULTANHAN, § 44, Commentary. Morphology of present form quite unclear.

§ 5. PUGNUS(-)|*wa/i+ra/i-ma-a-ti-pa-wa/i-t*[*i*²]: appears to be first word of new clause + connective particles, although other interpretations may be possible. The clause could either have continued round corner on a lost side A l. 12, or gone up directly to side C l. 1. In the former case the verb could have stood in the lost line, in the latter the verb would have to be recognized in PUGNUS(-)|*wa/i+ra/i-ma-a-ti*. The latter seems most likely because of the final position of the relative: i.e. a 2-word relative clause, verb + particles – relative (cf. KULULU 2, § 5 a; İSKENDERUN, § 5).

PUGNUS(-) *wa/i+ra/i-ma-a-ti*: thus provisionally identified as verb, 3 sing. pres., expressing action of malefactor, the object of the curse in § 6. The word is likely to be identified with PUGNUS(-) *wa/i+ra/i-mi-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 11), though if the present form is indeed the verb, the morphology of the latter form is hard to identify, indeed impossible in its broken context.

§ 7. For this common topos, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, and Commentary.

§§ 7–8, continuity: the sense seems to run on without a break, C l. 9–D l. 1, and this makes unlikely the possibility that the damaged area at the bottom of side C ever contained a lost l. 10.

The following words may be considered jointly from their attestations in each inscription.

M, §§ 1, 3, 7//S, § 4. (STELE) *ta-ni-sà*: the two new attestations on M, lower fragment, demand the re-reading of the two earlier attestations M, § 1, and S, § 4, where the *-ni-* was not recognized. In M, § 1, the *-ni-* is probably to be sought in the area previously drawn as the neck of the donkey-head *ta* (the sign does not have a neck elsewhere in MEHARDE–SHEIZAR); in S, § 4, the *-ni-* can be recognized immediately below the donkey's muzzle (sign previously taken as left-hand logogram marker). The paradigm is now:

(STELE) *ta-ni-sà-za* (nom./acc. sing. N; M, §§ 1, 7).

(STELE) *ta-ni-sà* < > (acc. sing. N; S, § 4).

(STELE) *ta-ni-si* (dat. sing.; M, § 3).

The recognition of *-ni-* presumably now separates this word from the word *tasa-*, also designating similar monuments, attested as follows:

(“*256”) *tà-sà-za* (acc. sing. N; KULULU 2, § 6).

ta-sà (acc. sing./plur. (?) N; KARKAMIŠ A6, § 28).

ta-si (dat. sing.; *ibid.*)

ta-sa (acc. plur. N; CEKKE, § 15).

The logograms STELE (i.e. LAPIS+SCALPRUM) and LAPIS (without SCALPRUM) both determine *waniša*, “stone; stele”, and the latter also *ziḫatani*, where it alternates with *256 (for which see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 b, l. 1, Commentary). The word *tasa-* has been compared with *Lyd. tašēv*: see Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, p. 47; cf. Hawkins, *Mesopotamia* 8, p. 222 f.; Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 610 n. 41; Carruba, *Gs Kronasser*, pp. 7, 13. It would seem that the new recognition of M/S *ta-ni-sà* must subtract this word from the equation.

M, §§ 1, 6, 8//S, § 7. (DEUS)REGIO-*ni(-i)-sa/si* ((MAGNUS).DOMINA) *ha-su-sa₅+ra/i-sa*, “(divine) Queen of the Land”: for correction of the readings in *Edition*, see Hawkins, *Mesopotamia* 8, p. 219, following Kalaç (*Or. NS* 34 (1965), p. 414), to whom the reading and identification of the same goddess on

KIRÇOĞLU, § 2, is due. The use of REGIO (= **utni-(ya)s(i)*) “of the land” in the epithet does not point unequivocally to the presence here of a chthonic goddess, although this might be expected; cf. TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA, “(divine) Lady of the Earth” (KARKAMIŠ A5a, §§ 9, 13), who more obviously belongs to the underworld.

M, § 6//S, § 7: LIS((-) *za-sa*)-*li*-, “prosecutor”: the logogram, two profiles confronting each other across a seal (*HH* no. 24), has long been interpreted as “anger”, hence previous transcription IRA. However, the recent interpretation of a cursive sign, *HH* no. 344, as “agree, contract”, determining the verbs *iyasa-*, “buy”, and *arba piya-*, “sell”, and the recognition that it consists of two profiles joined by a line at the bottom facing each other over a seal (see TÜNP 1, § 1, Commentary), permits the identification of the unjoined profiles across the seal as its opposite, i.e. “litigate”, thus now transcribe LIS. This more exact sense fits the contexts well: the sign normally writes a verb, complemented (-*sa*)-*la/i/u-sa/sá/za-*, in curse formulae, i.e. “may the gods prosecute the malefactor” (KARKAMIŠ A14b, § 4; A14a, § 9; A11a, § 26; A11b+c, § 25; A31, § 15; A4a, § 13; A27ff1; A27u, 1(?); A28i, 2; A18b, § 5//TİLSEVET, § 7; ALEPPO 2, § 21; TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 5, frag. 10, § i; KÖRKÜN, § 9; İSKENDERUN, § 7; GÜRÜN, § 7. This may be compared with the frequent Neo-Assyrian curse formula *lū bēl dīnišu* (see C-ID, D, p. 155, s.v. *bēl dīni* (f)); the concept is already found in Hitt., see KBo I, 28 rev. 12: ... ANA DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*ia humandaš* LÚ.DI-ŠU *ešdu*, “... and to all the gods let him be adversary at law!”. The present (-) *za-sa-li* seems to give the noun, perhaps not fully phonetically written, from which the denom. verb is formed; cf. TULEIL 2, l. 4 § d. Other forms include: LIS-*la/i/u-bi-ri+i-*, “litigation” (KARKAMIŠ A25b, § 3) = LIS-*tà-(?)* (BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 10; 2, § 21); LIS-*la/i/u-si-*, “of the law-suit” (MARAŞ 1, § 6); LIS-*za-*, “?” (MARAŞ 6, l. 1; LIS-, “dispute” (KARKAMIŠ A4b, §§ 2, 5); LIS-*la/i/u-za-*, “?” (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 7, l. 1).

M, § 2//S, § 1. *wa/i-ta₄-sà-ti-ni-za/si*-(REGIO): the place from which Taitas took his title has also been recognized on TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 3, l. 1, see Commentary.

M, § 9//S, § 8. CAPERE+MALLEUS//MALLEUS. CAPERE: clear writings of the logogram found in “scribal signatures” showing different tool from the SCALPRUM found elsewhere; writing of verb is REL-*za-* (= *kuwa(n)za-*?). See KARATEPE 4, § 2, Commentary.

BONUS₂.SCRIBA-*la/i/u//la-sa*: curious usage elsewhere paralleled only on IInd mill. seals.

Points from each inscription dealt with in *Edition* are the following:

M, § 1. *ba-su-sa₅ + ra/i-sa*: probably nom. sing. not gen.; the *tanisanza* actually is the Queen, not simply of the Queen.

M, § 8. *x-x-x-za*: *atamanza*, “name”, expected, but hardly restorable from traces.

DELERE-*nu*–: for Melchert’s elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KAR-KAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

M, § 9. ¹*a*-SCALPRUM-*za-sa*: SCALPRUM must here have a syllabic value otherwise not certainly established but perhaps *hu_x*.

S, § 1. FEMINA-*na-ti-sa*: writing can stand for “mother” (cf. KARATEPE, 15), probable reading *an-a(n)ti*s; but presumably also “woman”, by comparison with Cun. Luw. *wana(tti)*-//*una(tti)*–, “woman” (Starke, KZ 94 (1980), pp. 74–86). Contextually the latter interpretation seems likelier.

S, § 2. *wa/i*–: curious inversion of the expected *a-wa/i*, paralleled by KIRÇOĞLU, § 2; TÜNP 1, § 6; KAR-KAMIŠ A24a, frags. 14+15; TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 2, l. 3; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 3, l. 3; JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 2; PALANGA, §§ 2, 7, 10.

(PES₂)*pa-za-ha_x*: cf. ... (DIES)*ba-li* (PES₂)*pa-za-ha*, “I lived/passed (my) days” (KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 1, and Commentary). No good parallel for syllabic value

HH.no. 300 = *ha_x* exists except in following clause, but the context firmly indicates it.

S, § 3. Difficulties noted in *Edition*:

PONERE²-*wa/i-ta*: order of reading and identity of PONERE uncertain.

[FLAMMAE(?)(-)*ha_x-si*: order and value of signs uncertain, also case.

LONGUS-*zi*: identity of sign, case and function of word uncertain.

S, §§ 4–5. Hawkins, loc. cit.; it was the word (INFANS) *nawa*–, “great-great-grandson”, written with the sign *ná* (i.e. NEG₂), which permitted the inference of the phonetic value of the sign and its main usage as the factual negative.

S, § 8. ¹LOCUS-*ti*-*273-*wa/i-sa*: cf. scribe’s name BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 11, ¹LOCUS-*ta₄-ti-mu-wa/i-sa*; we seem to have the same name here, LOCUS(-*ta₄*)-*ti* = **pita(n)ti*–; *273 used to write *warpi*– and perhaps *pihas*– (see TOPADA, §§ 28, 30), concepts parallel to *muwa*–, so perhaps here *muwa*–. This suggestion is now supported by the identification of the verb (*273)*muwa*– on YALBURT, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b (where see Commentary), and KARADAĞ 1, § 2.

S, § 9. Curious clause appended to “scribal signature”, apparently giving name of scribe’s assistant.

IX.15. HAMA fragment 1 (plate 229)

Location. Basalt fragment 7A 373, present whereabouts uncertain.

Description. Corner fragment of base, showing plinth surmounted by corner column, possibly chair leg or the like. The two recessed faces, A and B, on either side of the column at right angles to each other bear traces of inscription. Possibly parts of the 3 lowest lines are preserved in each. The inscription is sufficiently poorly preserved to leave doubt as to whether it is sinistaverse or dextroverse.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.49 m.; preserved w. (A), 0.58 m., (B), 0.48 m.

Script: relief but unfinished(?).

Sign forms, peculiarities, word-dividers: not recognizable.

Discovery. Excavated in the Central Square N.E. of basin: see Fugmann, *Hama* II/1, p. 192 fig. 244, grid N14 no. 5. Surrounding basalt fragments may have been part of the same monument. See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), p. 32 f., no. 9.

Publication. (Ingholt, *Rapport* (1940), p. 115 and n. 3); Fugmann, *Hama* II/1 (1958), pp. 193 fig. 245 no. 5, 198, 201 fig. 254 a, b (photographs). Now also Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (Discovery), photographs.

Content. Unclear.

Date. Presumably 9th century B.C.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Text, Transliteration, Translation. Not offered.

Commentary

Side B, last line appears to be sinistaverse; possible reading of left half –

x-pa-wa/i (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu²-za²-sa* (DEUS)
pa-ha-la²-ti²-sa-ha.

“... Tarhunzas and Ba’alatis (nom.) ...”

Immediately to the right, MANUS.SCALPRUM² suggests a scribal signature, but to the right of this is a roundish sign and apparently a dextroverse quadruped.

Side A. Almost no signs identifiable; possibly *sa* at top, *wa/i* in last line.

IX.16. HAMA fragment 2 (plate 230)

Location. Basalt fragment 7A 526, National Museum, Copenhagen.

Description. Stele fragment bearing on either face part of 1 line of inscription with traces of other line above; both sides dextroverse.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.16 m.; preserved w., 0.14 m.; th., 0.15 m.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: ?

Peculiarities: idiosyncratic *pi*.

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Excavated in the Central Square near HAMA fragment 1. See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), p. 31 f., no. 8.

Publication. (Ingholt, *Rapport* (1940), p. 115 and n. 2); Fugmann, *Hama* II/1 (1958), pp. 198, 202 fig. 255 (photographs). Now also Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (Discovery), photographs.

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. Presumably 9th century B.C.

Text. The text offered here is traced from the photographs.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Transliteration

Side A

... CA]PERE²-tú a-w[a/i²] pi-[...]pi[...

Side B

... n]a² MALUS₂[...

Translation

"... let him/them take(?), and ..."

IX.17. HAMA fragment 3 (plate 230)

Location. Basalt fragment 7A 525, present whereabouts uncertain.

Description. Fragment with traces of 3–4 signs.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.06 m.; preserved w., 0.09 m.; th., 0.02 m.

Script: relief (other features unclear).

Discovery. Excavated in Central Square, belongs with HAMA fragment 2? See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), p. 32 f., no. 10.

Publication. (Ingholt, *Rapport* (1940), p. 115 and n. 2). Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (Discovery), photograph, drawing.

Content. No sign definitely recognizable (probable *zi/a*).

Text, photograph. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

IX.18. HAMA fragment 4 (plate 231)

Location. Clay tablet 5A 496, National Museum, Copenhagen.

Description. Rectangular clay tablet bearing on face the impression of a cylinder seal with 4 human figures and a 3-line Hier. inscription on its background, and on narrow side, an impression of another cylinder with a double row of bucrania. On the main seal the figures form 2 groups: (1) a bearded(?) figure in ¾-length robe facing right raises the hands towards a beardless figure in full-length robe facing left with right arm

raised in front of it; (2) a beardless figure wearing a short tunic with scabbard at waist, facing right, grasps by the hair with the left hand a naked beardless bowing figure facing left, while with the right hand he points a sword to the figure's throat. *Inscription*: unfortunately not enough signs are recognizable to indicate where the text began, continued and finished.

This complete object is classified as a fragment because of the state of preservation of the text. It is particularly regrettable that such a unique inscription should be so unintelligible.

Dimensions: ht., 2.9 cm.; w., 5.2 cm.; th., 1.5 cm.

Preservation (inscription): very poor.

Script, line-dividers: relief (impression).

Sign forms, peculiarities: unclear.

Word-dividers: not visible.

Discovery. Excavated on Citadel, Building II, room Z, “entre les pierres du socle du mur donnant vers la pièce S” (Fugmann, see Publication). See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama II/2* (1990), pp. 86–88, no. 144.

Publication. Ingholt, *Rapport* (1940), p. 101 f., pl. XXXIII.1 (photograph); Fugmann, *Hama II/1* (1958), pp. 212 fig. 268, 222, 233 (cf. plan, fig. 265); O. E. Ravn, *A Catalogue of Oriental Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions in the Danish National Museum* (Copenhagen, 1960), no. 160. Now also Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (Discovery), photographs and drawing.

Content. Unclear. It would seem likely to have identified the figures and perhaps explained the scene. The piece was identified by the excavators as a “foundation tablet” from its find-spot below a wall.

Date. Presumably 9th century B.C. The excavator dates it hardly before 800 B.C., for reasons not given.

Text, photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Transliteration etc.: not offered.

IX.19. HAMA fragment 5 (plate 232)

Location. Inscribed shell fragment, 5B 132, whereabouts unknown, probably in Syria.

Description. “Domed circular piece of shell with central perforation” (catalogue entry). An inscription of 4 linear incised signs, sinistrovers, is visible on a broken edge, and reading indicates that 1 sign more was lost.

Dimensions: l., 7.7 cm.; w. 6.3 cm.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. “From Building I, probably room C” (catalogue entry); cf. Fugmann, *Hama II/1* (1958), p. 167,

where it is not mentioned. See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama II/2* (1990), pp. 213, 215, no. 800.

Publication. Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (photograph).

Content. Epigraph: royal name (Urhilana).

Date. Reign of Urhilina, c. 860–840 B.C. (see HAMA 4).

Text. The text here offered is traced from the photograph.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Transliteration, translation

u + ra/i-[bi]-la-na REX
Ur[hil]ana the King

Comment

The shell is very similar to seven fragments found at Nimrud, bearing the same king's name written in the same way: see above, IX.7, HAMA 9.

IX.20. HAMA fragment 6 (plate 232)

Location. Inscribed sherd, 6A 77, present whereabouts uncertain.

Description. Ostrakon bearing fragment of inscription on either side (A, dextrovers; B, sinistrovers).

Dimensions: ht., 3.0 cm.; w., 2.2 cm.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive (sa, ma).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: 1 visible.

Discovery. “From Building II, room E, F, I or K” (catalogue entry). See now Riis and Buhl, *Hama II/2* (1990), pp. 157, 159, no. 508.

Publication. Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (photographs).

Edition. Here for first time.

Content. Insufficiently preserved, perhaps letter.

Date. Probably 8th century rather than 9th (cursive signs).

Text. The text here offered is traced from the photographs.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Transliteration

Side A. ...]REX-*ti-sà* |x[...
Side B. ...*ā*]-*ta₅-ma-za-*'REL-*sà na-b*[*a²*...

Translation

"..." king (nom. sing.) [...
...] name who ... [...]"

Comment

For a comparable ostrakon, see KARKAMIŠ sherd (II.73).

IX.21a-d. HAMA fragments 7-10 (plates 233-235)

Group of bullae with seal impressions and Hieroglyphic inscriptions.

a. HAMA fragment 7 (plate 233)

Location. Bulla with seal impressions and inscriptions, 8A 198, National Museum, Copenhagen.

Description. Bulla, *side i*: impressions of 2 circular stamp seals, one decorated with two pairs of opposed animal heads (cows, sheep with long curled horns) and filling motifs including another animal head in the gaps between; the other showing cow with suckling calf with a 4-letter Aramaic inscription in the field above (reading 'l'n). *Side ii*: sinistroverse inscription.

Dimensions: l., 2.6 cm.; w., 1.6 cm., th., 1.5 cm.
Condition: fair.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: -

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. Building V, room J. See Riis and Buhl, *Hama* II/2 (1990), pp. 90, 94 no. 159.

Publication. (Ingholt, *Rapport* (1940), p. 101 n. 5; cf. Fugmann, *Hama* II/1 (1958), p. 256 and n. 2). Now Riis and Buhl, *op. cit.* (photographs and drawings).

Content. Apparently tally of sheep.

Date. 8th century B.C.?

Text, photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Transliteration

ā-la²-ni² SCR[IBA²] *i+ra/i-hwi*[...]OVIS x 8+4 x x.

Comment

OVIS appears to be the key word characterizing the docket as a tally of sheep.

8+4: the punched holes may be assumed to represent numerals, presumably units, which are elsewhere (e.g. KULULU lead strips) rendered by vertical strokes.

ā-la²-ni² SCR[IBA²]: could represent personal name and title, "Alani the Scribe". If the signs and name are correctly identified, the person in question might be the owner of the second seal, where the Aramaic 'l'n could represent the same name.

i+ra/i-hwi[...]: second personal name?

x x: signs not identifiable.

b. HAMA fragment 8 (plate 234)

Location. Bulla with seal impression and inscription, 8A 436, National Museum, Copenhagen.

Description. Bulla, *front*: impression of circular stamp seal, upper left segment lost, showing two-headed spread-eagle clutching in either foot a serpent with curved-horned ram's head; background shows traces of Hieroglyphs (below head, ...*sa*; below wing, *su x mi sa*; between legs, *x ti x*). Sections of impressions from the same seal appear on HAMA fragment 10. *Side*: perforation for string; several unrecognizable Hieroglyphs (one DOMINUS², "lord"), and 3 numeral marks.

Dimensions: l., 2.6 cm.; w., 1.9 cm.; th., 1.2 cm.
Other details as for HAMA frag. 7.

Discovery. Building V, room C, A or P. See Riis and Buhl, *Hama II/2* (1990), pp. 89–91 no. 154.

Publication. Ingholt, *Rapport* (1940), p. 101 n. 6, pl. 33.2 (photograph, front only); Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (photographs, drawings).

Content, date. Unclear.

Text, photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Inscription. No word certainly identifiable.

c. HAMA fragment 9 (plate 235)

Location. Bulla with seal impression and inscription, 6A 383, present whereabouts uncertain.

Description. Bulla, bearing on two faces parts of impressions of two circular stamp seals; one showing frontal, bearded, horned(?) figure with outstretched arms, below which a bearded, long-haired human bust facing away from the figure can be seen on each side; the other shows a cow with calf, with an Aramaic

inscription in the field above. On another face are traces of Hieroglyphs.

Dimensions: See drawing.
No other details discernible.

Discovery. Building III, room A. See Riis and Buhl, *Hama II/2* (1990), pp. 90, 93 no. 158.

Publication. Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (photographs, drawings).

Content, date. Unclear.

Text, photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

Inscription. No identifiable sign.

d. HAMA fragment 10 (plate 234)

Location. Bulla fragments 8A 4a–c, National Museum, Copenhagen.

Description. Apparently 3 fragments; *a* showing part of impression of circular stamp-seal, *b* part of the same and numeral marks, *c* showing unidentifiable Hieroglyphs. The seal was the same as that impressed on HAMA fragment 8.

Details: none available.

Discovery. Found along with frag. 8 (no. 154). See Riis and Buhl, *Hama II/2* (1990), pp. 90, 92 nos. 155, 156, 95 f. no. 161.

Publication. Riis and Buhl, op. cit. (photographs).

Content, date. Unclear.

Text. –

Photographs. Kindly supplied by P. J. Riis.

X. TABAL

The Historical Context

- The area, name and extent in the Iron Age
- Archaeological Investigation
- Background: the Hittite Empire
- Tabal in the Assyrian sources
- The Hieroglyphic monuments
 - The western group
 - The northern group
 - The southern (Tuwana) group
 - Dating and end of the tradition

The Inscriptions

Western (Hartapus) group

1. KIZILDAĞ 1 (epigraph to rock sculpture)
2. KIZILDAĞ 2 (rock inscription)
3. KIZILDAĞ 3 (rock inscription)
4. KIZILDAĞ 5 (stele)
5. KIZILDAĞ 4 (rock inscription)
6. KARADAĞ 1 (rock inscription)
7. KARADAĞ 2 (rock inscription)
8. BURUNKAYA (rock inscription)

*Northern group**Rulers' and their servants' inscriptions**Tuwatis*

9. KULULU 1 (stele)
10. KULULU 4 (stele)
11. ÇİFTLİK (stele)

Wasusarmas

12. TOPADA (rock inscription)
13. SUVASA (rock inscription)
14. SULTANHAN (stele and base)
15. KAYSERİ (stele)

Kiyakiyas

16. AKSARAY (stele)

Kurtis

17. BOHÇA (stele)

Sipis

18. KARABURUN (rock inscription)

Non-royal inscriptions

19. HİSARCIK 1 (stele)
20. KULULU 5 (stele)

21. KULULU 2 (stele)

22. KULULU 3 (stele)

23. EĞREK (funerary stele)

24. ERKİLET 1 (funerary stele)

25. ERKİLET 2 (funerary stele)

Miscellaneous and uncertain

26. EĞRİKOY (fragment)

27. HİSARCIK 2 (rock inscription)

28. ÇALAPVERDİ 1 (block)

29. ÇALAPVERDİ 2 (block)

30. TEKİRDARBENT 1 (block)

31. TEKİRDARBENT 2 (block)

32. KURUBEL (base)

33. KULULU 6 (stele fragment)

34. KULULU 8 (fragment)

35. KULULU 7 (fragment)

Lead strips

36. KULULU lead strip 1

37. KULULU lead strip 2

38. KULULU lead fragment 1

39. KULULU lead fragment 3

40. KULULU lead strip 3 + lead fragment 2

*Southern (Tuwana) group**Rulers' and their servants' inscriptions**Saruwanis*

41. NİĞDE 1 (column base)

42. ANDAVAL (stele fragment)

Warpalawas

43. İVRİZ 1 (rock inscriptions)

44. BOR (stele)

45. BULGARMADEN (rock inscription)

46. İVRİZ 2 (bilingual stele)

Muwaharanis

47. NİĞDE 2 (stele)

Non-royal and unattributable

48. PORSUK (building block)

49. VELİİSA (stele fragment)

50. İVRİZ fragments 1–3

51. KEŞLİK YAYLA (stele)

52. EREĞLİ 1 (unpublished)

The Historical Context

The area, name and extent in the Iron Age

The land of Tabal is the designation by which the Neo-Assyrian kings referred to the Anatolian plateau, specifically its south-east corner accessible to them by the comparatively few routes crossing the Taurus mountains.¹ The name appears in the Old Testament as Tubal,² and survived in classical sources as the name of the people Tibarenoi.³ Direct Assyrian power, and thus knowledge, does not appear to have penetrated beyond the area delimited by a line drawn approximately through Kayseri, Nevşehir, Aksaray, Ereğli, which also happens to coincide with the distribution of the indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age, apart from a probably early western group, that of KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ. Reference shows this to have been an area of a number of city states ruled by independent kings, which can only be partially located on the map. In the later 8th century B.C. at least, two larger units had coalesced from these city states: Tabal proper, known in the reign of Sargon II as Bit-Burutaš, embracing much of the Kayseri and Nevşehir provinces; and Tuwana, the classical Tyannis.

The south-east boundaries of Tabal are the natural features of the mountains of the Taurus range, and it is clear from Assyrian sources that the land abutted in the east on Melid and Til-garimmu, and in the south on Hilakku and Que.⁴ To the north-west lay the territory of the Phrygians, the Muski, which by the mid-8th century B.C. had grown to a great power as threatening to the Neo-Hittite states as Urartu in the north-east, and Assyria in the south-east.

Archaeological Investigation

Archaeologically the Iron Age in this area is not well known. The main excavated sites, Kültepe and Acem Höyük, have not produced substantial contemporary remains; and conversely the identified main sites of the period have been investigated only cursorily or not at all, while other historically attested cities have not been located. Thus of the sites of the largest kingdom, Tabal proper, the important sites of Kululu and Sultanhan, sources of Hieroglyphic inscriptions, have only received preliminary investigations,⁵ and another source, Eğriköy, none at all.⁶ South of this area, the kingdom of Tuwana (classical Tyana) at least late in the period included several cities, Kemer Hisar (Tuwana itself),⁷ and probably Niğde (Hier. Nahitiya),⁸ and sites at which some work has been done, Tepebağları⁹ and the mountain-top site of Göllüdağ.¹⁰ An important excavated site, at one time at least under control of Tuwana, is Zeyve Höyük on the road running down through the Cilician Gates.¹¹ Identification with an attested

name remains elusive.¹² States with independent rulers are probably located at Karahöyük near Ereğli (= classical Kybistra, Assyrian Hubušna/Hubišna),¹³ and

- 1 Attestations listed by Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. TABĀL. The toponym is normally determined KUR ("land"), though the ethnicon may be determined ^l, ^{lu}, or ^m. The use of the determinative ^{uru} is rare and apparently without special significance. For a recent review of the sources, see M. Wäfler, *Zu Status und Lage von Tabāl* (*Or* NS 52 (1983), pp. 181–193).
- 2 Always linked with Meshech (= Muski, the Phrygians), also Jawan (Ionia). See Mellink, *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Tubal.
- 3 Still associated with the Moschoi (= Muski) by Herodotus. For sources see Herrmann, P-W *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Tibarenoi.
- 4 Shalmaneser III passed from Melid to Tabal (below, p. 427 and n. 31); Sennacherib referred to Til-garimmu as "of the border of Tabal" (Malatya, p. 285 and n. 51); Esarhaddon characterized the men of Hilakku as "mountaineers, dwelling in difficult mountains of the vicinity of Tabal" (Cilicia, p. 43 and n. 68). Note also Sargon's letter to his governor of Que (Cilicia, p. 42 and n. 58).
- 5 Kululu: Tahsin Özgüç, *Kültepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age* (Ankara, 1971); id., *New observations on Kululu (Anadolu 17 (1973 [1975]), pp. 2–30, Turkish and English)*. Sultanhan: Özgüç, *op. cit.* (1971), p. 65 f. and fig. 160 (Turkish), 117 f. (English); Kutlu Emre, *The Excavations 1971 and 1972 at Sultanhan Höyük (Anadolu 15 (1971 [1973]), pp. 87–138, Turkish and English)*.
- 6 Cf. the note by Özgüç, *op. cit.* (1971), pp. 69 f./119. Besides yielding the fragment named EĞRIKÖY, this site is clearly also the site of provenance of the ÇİFTLİK stele (see ÇİFTLİK, *Discovery*).
- 7 Hittite ^(URU) *Tuwannuwa* (see del Monte and Tischler *RGTC* 6, s.v.), Hier. *Tuwana* (URBS) (BOR, § 1), Assyrian (KUR/URU) *Tuhana* (Parpola *NAT*, s.v. TUHAN), Classical *Tyana* (Ruge, P-W *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Tyana).
- 8 See below, p. 515, ANDAVAL stele, § 1, and Commentary.
- 9 Excavated 1972–76 by N. Özgüç: short reports by M. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor (AJA 77 (1973), p. 179; 78 (1974), p. 116; 79 (1975), p. 209; 80 (1976), p. 271; 82 (1978), p. 322)*.
- 10 Excavated 1968–69 by B. Tezcan: *IAJ 17/2 (1969), pp. 211–235*. Cf. M. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor (AJA 73 (1969), p. 213 f.; 74 (1970), 167)*. [Current excavations by W. Schirmer].
- 11 Otherwise known as Porsuk. The site was excavated from 1968–1977 by O. Pelon. For the pottery, see S. Dupré, *Porsuk I* (Paris, 1983) (note pp. 13–15, 127 f. for bibliography and references). For a recent summary of excavations, see Pelon and Dupré, *Archéologia* 221 (Feb. 1987), pp. 14–25, with reference to earlier reports. Excavations were resumed in 1986 and continue: see Mellink, *AJA* 93 (1989), p. 112, and subsequent reports in *Archaeology in Anatolia*.
- 12 A combination of the classical Tynna, located from an inscription CIL VI 5076 in the Cilician Gates, with the Hittite city, Dunna, has been considered to establish the ancient name, with which the Assyrian KUR Tunni the silver mountain has been connected. See del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Tuna, with earlier literature. Into this equation Assyrian *(A)tan(n)a* and Hier. *Tuna* intrude: see below, p. 432 and n. 75.
- 13 Also well known as Hittite Hupišna: see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v., with earlier literature. For an archaeologically identifiable site, Karahöyük, 9 miles east of Ereğli, has been proposed by Mellaart (*apud* Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, p. 72, n. 1). See also Kessler and Levine, *RLA IV/6–7 (1975), s.v. Hupišna A. and B.* Various confusions have crept into the literature: a misreading *Hušimna* (for *-pi-iš-*) – Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. HUŠ-IMNA, cf. HUBUŠNU; also Levine, *TN-ASI*, p. 18 f., l. 14; also confusion with the distant Hubuškia as a result of an ancient error – see below, n. 32.

Aksaray (= Assyrian Šinuhtu).¹⁴ Unlocated are the city-states known to the Assyrians, Artulu (Shalmaneser III), Ištu(a)nda and (A)tun(n)a¹⁵ (Tiglath-pileser III). The indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions name and identify very few places: beyond Tuwana and Nahitiya, only the city Parzuta (TOPADA, *passim*), for which an identification with Hittite Parsuhanda has been considered;¹⁶ and two mountains, Harhara (= Erciyes Dağ)¹⁷ and Muti (part of) Bolkar Dağ.¹⁸ The KULULU lead strips, on the other hand, attest a score of local place names, of which only Tuna, distinguished as "Upper" and "Lower", seems of importance.¹⁹ Of other known sites with Hieroglyphic inscriptions, Karaburun²⁰ seems to have been an independent city, and Çalapverdi, the furthest north-west of all, is of unknown status and links.²¹

Background: the Hittite Empire

During the period of the Hittite Empire, the position of this south-east corner of the plateau was radically different. It was clearly one of the first directions of Hittite expansion from Hattusa.²² Indeed it seems to have been an earlier centre of the Hittite people, if one may judge from their own designation of their language as that of Nesa or the Nesians, i.e. of Kaneš (Kültepe).²³ It was probably thus a natural area of Hittite domination, and would have been of the greatest importance to Hattusa in controlling the north-western ends of the Taurus passes leading to the land of Kizzuwatna, and, after the annexation of that land to Hittite territory, to Syria. Though vulnerable in time of crisis,²⁴ during the heyday of Hittite power it would have enjoyed a central and protected position. Its geography of the period is only partially known, with the location of Kaneš/Nesa and Purushanda/Parsuhanda, sites not important in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., at Kültepe and Acem Höyük or Karahöyük (Konya); and the identification of the predecessors of the Iron Age sites, Tuwana (Hitt. Tuwanuwa), Hubušna (Hitt. Hubišna), Nahitiya (Hitt. Nahita), and Dunna (= classical Tynna). Empire period Hieroglyphic inscriptions are known from this area, principally the EMIRGAZI altars from the site of that name between Ereğli and Aksaray, the KARAKUYU dam inscription from the Uzun Yayla on the route through to Malatya, and recently the YALBURT inscription from north of Iğın. All these are the work of Tudhaliyas IV.²⁵ The KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA base from between Iğın and Kadınhanı is of unknown attribution.²⁶ There is also the line of inscriptions leading through a south-eastern pass into Kizzuwatna.²⁷ Hittite sources provide no specific evidence for the ethnic character of the population at this period, but given the position between the Lower Land in the west and Kizzuwatna to the south and east, Luwian and Hurrian elements might be expected to have met here. Certainly here a Hittite, or perhaps

specifically Luwian, population survived the general collapse at the end of the Bronze Age when Hattusa was destroyed and Hatti lost. Perhaps they were already settled here, perhaps also they were dislodged from the west by the entry of other peoples into Anatolia, in particular by the Phrygians.

Tabal in the Assyrian sources

With the probable exception of the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group of inscriptions,²⁸ no information, archaeological, historical or epigraphic is available for the three centuries following the fall of the Hittite Empire, c. 1200–900 B.C., and indeed the obscurity of the 9th century B.C. is illuminated only by a single report, that of Shalmaneser III, who in 836 B.C. mounted an expedition to Tabal.²⁹ His summary accounts record only the submission of twenty-four kings of the land and a visit to Mount Tunni, the silver mountain, and Mount Muli, the alabaster mountain, where he set up a stele and took much alabaster.³⁰ A

14 Located by a recently published stele: see below p. 431 and nn. 71, 72.

15 But cf. n. 12.

16 For attestations with various spellings, see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Purushanta. Note also Old Assyrian Purushattum. Since possible locations of this place are at Acem Höyük (so Kempinski and Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), p. 99 f.; Forlanini, *Atlante Storico* (1986), s.v.), or at Karahöyük-Konya, the identification with Hier. Parzuta will depend on the interpretation of the historical information on the TOPADA inscription (see Commentary).

17 HISARCIK 1, § 2 (see Commentary), also HISARCIK 2 and TEKİRDARBENT.

18 BULGARMADEN, §§ 3, 10, 12, see Commentary, also below p. 432 and n. 80, for an identification with Assyrian KUR Muli the "alabaster mountain".

19 Cf. n. 12.

20 Preliminary archaeological investigations by Gelb: *HHM*, p. 32.

21 Cf. Özgüç, *op. cit.* (1971) (n. 5 above), pp. 67 f./118; also Gelb, *HHM*, p. 26; Bittel, *It. Mitt.* 8 (1958), pp. 132–136.

22 So presented in the historical preamble of the Telipinus Edict (see now I. Hoffmann, *TdH* 11 (Heidelberg, 1984), § 4; cf. Garsang and Gurney, *Geography*, p. 63 f.).

23 See e.g. Kammenhuber, *Hb. Or.* (1969), pp. 120–122; del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Kaniš, Niša; Singer, *JIES* 9 (1981), p. 124 ff.

24 E.g. during the "concentric invasions" in the reign of Suppiluliumas's father, the Arzawan enemy from the Lower Land penetrated as far as Tuwanuwa and Uda (*KBo* VI, 28 i 8–9).

25 See above, Introduction, p. 18 f. and nn. 190, 193, 197.

26 See above, Introduction, p. 19 and n. 199.

27 See Cilicia, p. 39 and nn. 12–16.

28 See below, p. 429 and n. 60.

29 Eponym Chronicle, "against Tabal"; C^b4, see *RLA* II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 433, obv. 5'; also *STT* no. 46, obv. 5'. For the chronological discrepancy between the Eponym Canon and the Annals accounts, see Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 251–254.

30 Black Obelisk, *WZO* II/2 (1955), p. 154 (= *RLMA* 3, A.0.102.14), ll. 104–107, 22nd *palū*, actually 23rd regnal year; Assur statue, *WZO* I/2 (1947), p. 58 (= *RLMA* 3, A.0.102.40), iii 2–6.

more detailed account is partially preserved,³¹ showing that he came from Melid, crossing Mount Timur *en route*, and descended on the cities of Tuatti of Tabal, doubtless in the area Kululu-Sultanhan-Kültepe. After besieging the capital Artulu, Shalmaneser received submission of Tuatti's son Kikki and of twenty Tabalian kings. Then after climbing Mount Tunni, he proceeded against Puhamme of Hubušni,³² so he had clearly passed from north Tabal near Kayseri to south Tabal near Ereğli. The account breaks off here, though Shalmaneser may well have returned home through the Cilician Gates and Que, an obvious route from the point which he had reached.

This information on Anatolian conditions is tantalizingly suggestive. The passage of his itinerary through the land from north to south is clear, and the silver and alabaster mountains are recognized as parts of the Bolkar Dağ. The large number of Tabalian kings indicates fragmentation into city states, and the named dynasts Tuatti, Kikki and Puhamme bear recognizably Anatolian names, the first two of which recur later. In particular Tuatti may have ruled a prominent kingdom at the west end of the route from Malatya, centring on Artulu, not located, and controlling a number of cities. Argišti I of Urartu on an expedition against Melid c. 780 B.C. passed the "land of the sons of Tuatte",³³ apparently named from this Tuatti or a homonymous member of his line.

While Urartian power was doubtless felt in Tabal, it was not for a century after Shalmaneser III that Assyrian pressure returned to the plateau. After the victories of Tiglath-pileser III over Unqi in 738 and Damascus in 732 B.C., kings of known Tabalian cities are listed as tributary: thus in 738 B.C., besides Dadilu the Kaskean, who is of uncertain affiliations,³⁴ there are listed Wassurme the Tabalian, Ušhitti the Atunian, Urballa the Tuhanean, Tuhamme the Ištundean, and U(i)rimme the Hubišnean.³⁵ In the list of 732 B.C., which is mutilated at either end, Wassurme, Ušhitti, Urballa and Tuhamme reappear, and the ruler of Hubišna was doubtless originally present.³⁶ No actual campaign of Tiglath-pileser to Anatolia before 732 B.C. is recorded, so the extent and degree of Assyrian pressure which brought about these submissions is uncertain. Between 732 and 729 B.C. however, Wassurme of Tabal failed to keep up with Assyrian demands, and Tiglath-pileser sent the *rab ša rēši* to replace him with Hulli, a "son of a nobody".³⁷

This Hulli was subsequently removed to Assyria along with his son Ambaris, apparently by Shalmaneser V, and restored at an uncertain date by Sargon II, who later placed Ambaris on the throne, giving him his daughter in marriage and Hilakku as a dowry.³⁸ Sargon calls Ambaris "the Tabalian",³⁹ but refers to his kingdom specifically as the "land of Bit-Burutaš" (or Burutiš),⁴⁰ a term of uncertain reference used only in Sargon's inscriptions.

Sargon clearly pursued a policy of direct intervention in Tabal, where he encountered the power of Mita of

Muski (Midas of Phrygia) bearing down on the Neo-Hittite states. In 718 B.C., accusing Kiakki of Šinuhtu of breaking his oaths and withholding tribute, he removed him, his family and army to Assyria,⁴¹ and gave his city Šinuhtu, now located at Aksaray,⁴² to Kurti of Atuna (alias Tunna),⁴³ a successor of Ušhitti named by Tiglath-pileser III. It seems that Midas was to blame for Kiakki's defection.⁴⁴

31 Nimrud statue, Laessle *Iraq* 21 (1959), pp. 153 f., 155, frag. E ll. 19–34 [= *RLMA* 3, A.0.102.16 ll. 162'–181' – this new edition includes the somewhat damaged end of the campaign].

32 Text has the geographically nonsensical ethnicon (KUR) *Hu-buškaya* but since this is immediately followed by ^{uru}*Hubušni* it is clear that we must emend to (KUR) *Hubušnaya*.

33 See below, p. 430 and n. 62; also Malatya, p. 285 and n. 39.

34 See von Schuler, *Die Kaikäer*, pp. 68, 93. The king's name seems to have been written ¹*da-di-i-lu* (Annals, l. 152: reconstruction from a lost and uncheckable source) and ¹*da-di-AN* (Iran stela, see following note).

35 For the sources, see Cilicia, p. 41 f. and n. 49. The new version of the list gives as variant for ^{kur}*tunaya* the form ^{kur}*atunaya* found elsewhere only in the inscriptions of Sargon.

36 See Cilicia, *ibid.* and n. 50. A recently reconstructed Nineveh tablet, basically ADD 908, twice lists nine tributary Tabalian kings, who are probably to be dated early in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III: see Postgate and Hawkins, *Tribute from Tabal* (*JALAB* 2/1 (1988), pp. 31–40).

37 Nimrud tablet, rev. 14'–15' = *ARAB* I, § 802.

38 Annals, *Lie*, *Sargon*, p. 32, ll. 194–198 = *ARAB* II, § 25 f.; Display inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 102 and pl. 31 no. 65, ll. 29–32 = *ARAB* II, § 55; Nimrud cylinders, Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 182 and pl. XLVII, v 16–19. The Annals account is the only one to preserve, albeit in damaged form, an account of the vicissitudes of the family before the enthronement of Ambaris. See Hawkins, *RLA* IV/6–7 (1975), s.v. Hulli.

39 Annals, l. 194, restored from Display inscription, l. 29 f.

40 Annals, ll. 197 (*bu-ru-ta-āš*), 194, 201 (*bu-ri-ti-iš*), 202 (*bu-ru-taš*); Nimrud cylinders ll. 25, 29 (*bu-ru-ti-iš*, also *bur-ta-āš*, ND 3411, Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 199 and pl. LI, l. 20); cf. also Khorsabad cylinder inscription, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 41. 23 (*bu-ru-ta-āš*) = *ARAB* II, § 118; and Bull inscription, *ibid.*, p. 14 l. 22 (¹*bu-ru-ta-āš*) = *ARAB* II, § 92. The last attestation is the only one showing the personal determinative ¹. Cf. also the writing ¹*pa-ru-ta* in Sargon's letter to his governor of Que (below, p. 428 and n. 48). Nothing corresponding to this name has been found in the Hier. monuments.

41 Annals, *Lie*, *Sargon*, p. 10 ll. 68–71 = *ARAB* II, § 7 (4th *palū*); Levine, *TN-ASL*, pp. 36, 69, ll. 17–19 (for KUR *tū-šā-a-a* etc., read: KUR-ud *šā a-a-um-mi* [...]), "I conquered, which [no] one [...]"; Display inscription, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 102 and pl. 31 no. 65, ll. 28 f. = *ARAB* II, § 55. Nimrud cylinders, Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 180 and pl. XLVI, iv 50–58. Several of the summary inscriptions refer to this event: Nimrud slab, Layard, *ICC* pl. 33, l. 11 = *ARAB* II, § 137; Khorsabad cylinder, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 4 l. 22 = *ARAB* II, § 118; Pavement slab 4, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 148 and pl. 38, l. 33 = *ARAB* II, § 99; Bull inscription, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 14 l. 24 = *ARAB* II, § 92; Display inscription of room XIV, Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72 (1918), p. 178, l. 15 = *ARAB* II, § 80.

42 See below p. 431 and n. 71.

43 Name Kurti previously read *Matti*, but the present reading gives a name commonly attested in Anatolia on the KULULU lead strips, also on BOHÇA, where the author may be the same individual as this ruler of Atuna (see below p. 431). For the location of Atuna/Tunna, see below, p. 432 and n. 75.

44 To judge from the fragmentary Nimrud cylinders notice: see Gadd, *loc. cit.*, n. 41.

Sargon did not reap much gratitude from his favoured Anatolian princes. In 713 B.C. he accused Ambaris of intriguing with Midas, the Urartian king Rusa, and the Tabalian kings, and removed him with his family and chariotry to Assyria.⁴⁵ He settled Assyrians and other peoples in Tabal, and constituted Bit-Burutaš with Hilakku as a province under an Assyrian governor. It is possible that Sargon's daughter, the disgraced ruler's wife, retained authority in the province.⁴⁶ Ambaris's fall did at least have the effect of recalling Kurti of Atuna, who had been flirting with Midas, to his allegiance, and he hastily sent an envoy to Sargon in Media.⁴⁷

Sargon's long letter to Aššur-šarra-ušur, his governor of Que, dating to 710–09 B.C., is very informative on Tabalian as well as Cilician affairs.⁴⁸ Urballa, presumably the same king of Tuhana as submitted to Tiglath-pileser III, was in correspondence with the governor of Que, complaining that the rulers (or possibly just the people) of Atuna and Ištuanda had seized towns of Bit-Paruta (Burutaš). Sargon refers to "all these kings of Tabal" in slighting tones,⁴⁹ and clearly expects them to be powerless as a result of the Assyrian entente with Phrygia. This indicates that other independent Anatolian rulers besides Urballa survived to this date, perhaps including those of Atuna with Šinuhtu, Ištu(a)nda, Hubišna, and possibly Kaska.

It would seem that Sargon met his death in battle in 705 B.C. actually in Tabal, probably supporting Midas against the Cimmerians,⁵⁰ and it is safe to assume that the Assyrian hold on the province of Bit-Burutaš was swept away in the disaster. Certainly there is little evidence for subsequent Assyrian involvement on the plateau. Sennacherib seems to have approached no closer than Que and Til-garimmu in 696 and 695 B.C. respectively.⁵¹ Esarhaddon was able to fight a battle against the Cimmerians in 679 B.C. at Hubušna in Tabal,⁵² presumably from a secure base in the province of Que. At the same time he claimed a successful punitive campaign against the unruly people of Hilakku,⁵³ described as "of the vicinity of Tabal". He does not however appear to have maintained a presence on the plateau. Indeed his questions to the Šamaš oracle concerning the troublesome Mugallu of Melid linked with him on occasion Iškalu the Tabalian, otherwise unknown, who, perhaps in conjunction with Hilakku, was threatening Que.⁵⁴ Aššurbanipal's contact with Tabal was confined to his relations with its king Mugallu, who, according to him, had conducted hostilities against his predecessors, but now, impelled by fear, offered voluntary submission and a yearly horse tribute,⁵⁵ also his daughter.⁵⁶ There is no reason to doubt that this Mugallu was the same as Esarhaddon's enemy in Melid. His reappearance as king of Tabal may indicate a unification of Tabal and Melid. Mugallu's initial submission dates to c. 663 B.C.,⁵⁷ and is likely to have been prompted by fear of the Cimmerians, like similar

actions by Gyges of Lydia and Sandasarme of Hilakku. Mugallu was still sending horses in 651 B.C.⁵⁸ Later, c. 640, Mugallu's son [...]jussi, who had continued the horse tribute, defected and joined with Dugdamme (Lygdamis), a Cimmerian leader, for which disloyalty he was visited with divine wrath.⁵⁹ At this point Tabal disappears from view of the failing Assyrian sources, to reappear in subsequent centuries as Cappadocia under its own dynasty.

45 Sources as cited in n. 38: i.e. *Annals*, ll. 198–204; Display inscription, ll. 29–32; Nimrud cylinders, v 20–33. See also Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 95.

46 Thureau-Dangin, *VIII campagne de Sargon*, p. xiv f., identified her as Ahat-abiša appearing in *ABL* 197, rev. 27; cf. also Postgate, *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 31 and n. 19.

47 Prism fragment, Winckler, *Sargon*, pl. 45 (S. 2022), ll. 3'–10' = *AR-AB* II, § 214 (8th *palū*); for the chronological discrepancy, see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 79 (and n. 206), 95.

48 Nimrud letter XXXIX: see Cilicia, p. 42 and n. 58.

49 "All these kings" (l. 29); "all the kings of Tabal" (l. 48).

50 Babylonian Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 76, ii 6 and commentary; Eponym Chronicle, C^b6, *RL-1* II, s.v. Eponymen, p. 435, rev. 9 f. "against Ešpai the Kulummean [...], king slain, royal camp [taken?]" ; see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 85 and n. 267, 97 and nn. 311–315. Parpola now, following Millard, reads the name "Ešpai" as Gurdi (¹*gūr*-¹*di*-¹*i* for ¹*ēš-pa-i*), which in view of Gurdi of Til-garimmu, strengthens the Anatolian connection (see Malatya, p. 285 and n. 51). He maintains however the identification of the ethnicon ¹*kulummaya* with the city Kuluman, which would place the action in western Iran. See Parpola, *SLA* I, p. 70 f. with n. 7. On this last point, there is insufficient evidence finally to decide the question of the location of Sargon's death.

51 See Cilicia, p. 43 and nn. 64–65; Malatya, p. 285 and n. 51.

52 Esarhaddon Chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 125, obv. 9 (the toponym, apparently reading KUR *iu-bu-ub-nu*, is presumably to be understood as a garbled form of *Hubušnu* (transposition of *b* and *š*); Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 51, (Thompson cylinder "Nin. A"), iii 43–46, cf. *AR-1B* II, § 516; p. 100, *Mnm.B*, ll. 23–4 (Til-Barsip stele, on which collation should confirm the restoration of KUR *ta-bal-a* proposed by Naster).

53 See Cilicia, p. 43 and n. 68.

54 Knudtzon, *AGS* nos. 56, 57 (these two only name Iškalu, and link him with Mugallu of Melid); 60 (expecting an attack from Tabal and others on Que); 61 (associating Tabal and Hilakku). See now Starr, *SLA* IV (Helsinki, 1990), pp. LVII–LIX, nos. 9–11, 14–16.

55 See Hawkins, *RL-1* VIII/5–6 (1995), s.v. Mugallu. Primary source, giving *terminus ante quem*, Harran tablets (HT), rev. 22–26 = *AR-1B* II, § 911 (dating c. 663/2: see Cogan and Tadmor, *Or.* NS 46 (1977), p. 81 and n. 28; Grayson, *Z-1* 70 (1980), p. 245).

56 Later account, fairly standardized from Cylinder B (649/48 B.C.) onwards: Cyl. B., Piepkorn, *Ashurbanipal*, p. 44, ii 71–79 = *AR-1B* II, § 848; Cyl. F., Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre*, pp. 34, 71, i 71–77; Cyl. A, V R 2, ii 68–74 = *AR-1B* II, § 781.

57 I.e. the estimated date of the Harran tablets: see n. 55.

58 *ADD* 698, dated to *limmu* Sagab, 651 B.C.: see Fales, *Assur* 1/3 (1974), p. 14 f.

59 Ištar Temple inscriptions, Campbell Thompson, *LAA-1* 20 (1933), p. 88 and pls. XCV–XCVI, ll. 138–145. This inscription dates to c. 640 B.C. (see Tadmor, *Proceedings of XXV International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow 1960* (Moscow, 1962), p. 240), certainly before 639 B.C., the date of Edition H according to a colophon (Aššurbanipal, year 30 – see Nassouhi, *AK* 2 (1924–25), p. 104). Cf. Kuhrt, *RL-1* VII/3–4 (1988), s.v. Lygdamis.

The Hieroglyphic monuments

There is no very clear *terminus ante quem* for the indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions of Tabal, for though Sargon did apparently create an Assyrian province of the usual kind in the midst of the land, it would seem that some Tabalian rulers survived his death and the subsequent loss of Assyrian control. The end of the Hieroglyphic tradition can hardly be attributed here as elsewhere to destruction by the Assyrians. Other causes should be sought.

The western group. None of the Tabal inscriptions appears to be earlier than the 8th century B.C., with the probable exception of the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group, the date of which is however controversial.⁶⁰ This group is the work of a king Hartapus and his father Mursilis, both of whom bear titles "Great King, Hero", a fact which now appears to have considerable significance. Also the father's name seems to link the dynasty to the Hittite Empire, and more specifically to the dynasty of Kurunta of Tarhuntassa. The most recently discovered inscription of the group, BURUNKAYA, extends the known sphere of Hartapus's activities from the Konya plain substantially to the north-east, to the area north-west of Ihlara, perhaps 30 km. south-west of the TOPADA inscription. Indeed this geographical extension now draws attention to the links between Hartapus's inscriptions and TOPADA itself (with its adjunct SUVASA), notably the recurrence of the titles "Great King, Hero," found elsewhere only at Karkamiš, applied to the author Wasusarmas and his father Tuwatis; also the palaeography of the two groups, where the peculiar archaizing style of TOPADA and SUVASA can be seen to echo the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ style.

This Hartapus group thus shows both early and late links, in that in its titulary and onomastics it harks back to the Hittite Empire, yet itself stands as ancestral to the very late TOPADA (+ SUVASA). How far back towards the Hittite Empire it can be placed remains uncertain. The evidence of the sculptured likeness of Hartapus must be evaluated, and is generally supposed to show later traits, but the links of the inscriptions with the Empire Period inscription of YALBURT, the work of Tudhaliyas IV, are so close that it is difficult to contemplate a date later than the 12th century for them. It may be necessary to accept different dates for the figure of Hartapus and his inscriptions. In any case it would seem that the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group are uniquely early among the Tabal inscriptions. The existence of this archaic group stemming ultimately perhaps from the tradition of Tarhuntassa, suggests the possibility that the stele KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan), set up under the auspices of a Great King visiting that country, could be associated with the Tabal "Great Kings" rather than those of Karkamiš.

The other Tabal inscriptions are all relatively late. None can be confidently dated to the 9th century B.C.,

and indeed they appear to cluster in the second half of the 8th century. They divide naturally between the two main areas of Tabal of this date, Tuwana (the Tyanitis) in the south, and a more diverse group from Tabal proper, the northern part. It is noteworthy that while the Tuwana group preserves clear geographical self-designations "of the city Tuwana" and "of the city Nah-iya" (above, p. 425), the Tabal group completely fails, perhaps purely by chance, to have preserved any such self-reference. The rather numerous town names of the area survive almost exclusively in the listings of the KULULU lead strips.

As elsewhere, the inscriptions divide also between those which can be associated with rulers, which provide external evidence for dating, and those associated with other persons, which are dated only by internal and comparative criteria. The 9th century rulers named by Shalmaneser III, Tuatti, Kikki, and Puhamme, have left no known inscription. A number of inscriptions, on the other hand, may be associated with rulers named by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon:⁶¹

Wasusarmas (SULTANHAN, KAYSERİ, TOPADA, SUVASA) = Wassurme (Tiglath-pileser III, c. 738–730)

Kiyakiyas (AKSARAY) = Kiakki (Sargon II, 718)

Kurtis (BOHÇA) = Kurti ? (Sargon II, 718, 713)

Warpalawas (İVRİZ 1, BOR, BULGARMADEN)

= Urballa (Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, c. 738–709)

Attaching to Wasusarmas are inscriptions associated with his father Tuwatis (KULULU 1 and 4, ÇİFT-

⁶⁰ For the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ inscriptions of the king Hartapus, with the addition of the new BURUNKAYA inscription see S. Alp, Eine neue hieroglyphenhethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kizıldag-Karadağ aus der Nähe von Aksaray und die früher publizierten Inschriften derselben Gruppe (*Anatolian Studies Güterbock* (1974), pp. 17–27 with pls. I–X); also H. Gonnet, L'inscription no. 2 de Kizıldag (*Helthica V* (1983), pp. 21–28). For recent reviews of the dating, see H. Gonnet, Nouvelles données archéologiques relatives aux inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Hartapusa à Kizıldag (in Lebrun and Donceel (ed.), *Studia Naster* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984), pp. 119–125); K. Bittel, Hartapus and Kizıldag (in Canby et al. (ed.), *Essays Melink*, pp. 103–111). For the archaeology, see Bittel, *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt A.M.* 1976, p. 51 f.; also id., *Sitzungsberichte, Ost. Ak. Wiss.* 418 (1983), p. 39 f. For the historical context, especially the claims to the titles "Great King, Hero", see Hawkins, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 99–108, where the relationship of the Great King of the KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan) stele to the Karkamiš and Tabal "Great Kings" is considered. For this, see further Karkamiš, p. 77 and n. 55; Malatya, p. 283, and nn. 13–15. For the palaeography of the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, and the links with Empire Period YALBURT, see there, Commentary, general observations; and for the comparison of KARAHÖYÜK, see KARAHÖYÜK, Description. Most recently, see Hawkins, *Fs Sedat Alp* (1992), pp. 259–275.

⁶¹ Cf. Hawkins, The kings of Tabal in the later 8th century B.C. (*An. St.* 29 (1979), pp. 162–167). Two of these Hieroglyphic-Assyrian identifications have long been recognized: Warpalawas-Urballa (Bossert, *MOG VI/3* (1932), p. 27 f. – instrumental in the decipherment); Wasusarmas-Wassurme (Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29 (1951), p. 44 n. 3). For Kurtis-Kurti, see Meriggi, *Glossar*, p. 76.

LĪK),⁶² thus a generation earlier than the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. In Tuwana, a ruler Saruwanis, author of the inscriptions NĪĞDE 1 and ANDAVAL, appears to be a predecessor of Warpalawas, though not, as has been previously supposed, his father. The new stele of Warpalawas, IVRIZ 2, names as his father Muwaharanis, who thus bore the same name as Warpalawas's own son, now known from his stele NĪĞDE 2.⁶³

No inscriptions as yet can be associated with the other Assyrian-attested rulers Dadilu of Kaska, Ušhitti of Atuna, Tuhamme of Istunda, Uirimme of Hubišna (Tiglath-pileser III, 738–732); Hulli and Ambaris of Tabal (Tiglath-pileser – Sargon, c. 730–713); Iškalu of Tabal (Esarhaddon).

The northern group. Wasusarmas is identified as son of Tuwatis on TOPADA (§ 1), where both are entitled “Great King, Hero,” titles recently argued to descend *via* the titles of Hartapus in the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group ultimately from the kings of Tarhuntassa under the late Hittite Empire, and both are otherwise known only from inscriptions of persons styling themselves their servants.⁶⁴ The style of the inscriptions associated with Tuwatis (KULULU 1, also KULULU 4 by the same author, ÇİFTLİK) agrees closely with the longest of those associated with Wasusarmas (SULTANHAN). These stelae generally commemorate the public works of the rulers' servants: the dedication of “houses” (estates) by Ruwas (KULULU 1); of temples by the author of ÇİFTLİK (name lost), presumably at the site of Eğriköy; and of a vineyard with tutelary Storm-God by Sarwatiwaras (SULTANHAN). Only KULULU 4 differs, in that it is Ruwas's funerary stele set up by his nephew, and it provides unusual information on contemporary concepts of the soul and afterlife.

The common style of these inscriptions consists of a linear incised form of Hieroglyphic, very neatly executed with cursive sign forms, employing a generally restricted syllabary and characterized by a large number of full phonetic writings, sometimes accompanied also by determining logograms. Other Tabal inscriptions are executed in a similar style, particularly KARABURUN, KULULU 2 and 5, ERKİLET 1 and 2, EGREK, and notably the KULULU lead strips. This could tentatively be termed the “KULULU style”, though the fact that it is found also on the ASSUR letters as well as the KULULU lead strips may suggest rather that it was the general cursive style of the Late Period, which happened also to be used in Tabal for monumental purposes.

Other inscriptions of Wasusarmas show markedly different styles: a very ornate relief style characterized by otherwise unattested syllabic values (KAYSERİ); and a rather crude linear incised style with unparalleled sign forms and even more bizarre syllabic values often difficult to penetrate (TOPADA, SUVASA). Yet in spite of these apparent discrepancies, these inscriptions show enough features linking them with the main Tuwatis-Wasusarmas group to obviate the necessity to

seek a different, earlier, date for them. Thus KAYSERİ is closely linked by format, content and phraseology (particularly curse formulae) to SULTANHAN; it is a dedication by the author (name lost, possibly another Tuwatis⁶⁵) of houses, apparently also under a tutelary Storm-God “of the Precinct”. TOPADA (with SUVASA), besides historical connections with the period,⁶⁶ does find some of its unusual syllabic values paralleled in some of the inscriptions of the regular KULULU style.⁶⁷ Furthermore, outside Tabal these odd usages are best paralleled on KARATEPE, and should be recognized as criteria of late date.⁶⁸ It is easier therefore to recognize the existence of different styles within contemporary Tabal.

In content, TOPADA is unusual, being an inscription of a servant of Wasusarmas, or possibly Wasusarmas himself,⁶⁹ giving an account of a long war against

62 The name has been identified with that of Tuatti of Tabal encountered by Shalmaneser III in 836 B.C. (Kennedy *apud* Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 19 n. 5; also Meriggi, *Glossar*, p. 136); and with the Urartian *Tuatchi*, “the Tuatid(s)” (Bossert, *MIO* 2 (1954), p. 83) mentioned by Argišti c. 780 (see Malatya, p. 285 and n. 39). Since this Tuwatis is identified as father of Wasusarmas, and his associated inscriptions belong closely with those of his son, he should be dated to the earlier 8th century B.C., and seems unlikely to be identified with the person(s) named by Shalmaneser and Argišti.

63 The appearance of the new IVRIZ 2 stele was announced at the XXXIV R.A.I. in Istanbul in 1987 by Professor Ali Dinçol. I am much indebted to Professor Ali and Dr. Belkis Dinçol and to Professor Massimo Poetto, who are preparing the publication jointly, for information on this stele. [See now B. Dinçol, *Tel Aviv* 21 (1994), pp. 117–128.] Restoration of Warpalawas's father's name on BÖR, § 1, as [Sa]r[uwanis], suggested by Meriggi (commentary *ad loc.*), and followed by Hawkins (*An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 164) is thus disproved. The information that Warpalawas was son of Muwaharanis (IVRIZ 2), and that Muwaharanis was son of Warpalawas could of course lead to alternative reconstructions:

A	B
Warpalawas I	Muwaharanis I
Muwaharanis	Warpalawas
Warpalawas II	Muwaharanis II

In fact the inscriptions and sculpture of Warpalawas are so homogeneous that option B seems most likely, with one Warpalawas, to be identified with the Assyrian-attested Urballa. Saruwanis then has to be pushed back to being a predecessor of Muwaharanis I, some time in the earlier 8th century B.C.

64 It is probable but uncertain that TOPADA too is the work of a servant of Wasusarmas: see below, with n. 69. For the titles “Great King, Hero”, see above, n. 60.

65 See § 19, Commentary.

66 See below: the identification of the known rulers Warpalawas and Kiyakiyas.

67 See TOPADA: the Signary (at end of Commentary), 3. Rare but attested syllabograms, *mi*, *sa*₄ and *sa*₈.

68 Ibid., *mi*, *sa*₄, *li*, *ti*.

69 The import of § 2, which may be interpreted as introducing a servant's name as author, the 1st person of the narrative, is uncertain: see Commentary. The titles “Great King, Hero” attributed both to Wasusarmas and his father may be significant. Four claimants of the title in the east were all kings of Karkamiš (see Karkamiš, pp. 73, 76 f. and nn. 12, 13, 52–55). The Tabalian pretenders could perhaps have derived their claim through the “Great King, Hero” Hartapus of KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ, ultimately from the dynasty of Kurunta of Tarhuntassa.

the city Parzuta⁷⁰ and its ruler, fought over frontiers and apparently conducted by cavalry engagements. The author was opposed by seven kings and supported by three named ones, of whom Warpalawas and Kiyakiyas may be identified with the rulers of Tuwana and Šinuhtu-Aksaray (see below). SUVASA, closely related stylistically, consists only of graffiti identifying servants of Wasusarmas.

The AKSARAY stele is the only other north Tabal inscription besides KAYSERİ executed in relief Hieroglyphic, though it does not share the latter's peculiar syllabic values. Its author Kiyakiyas is best identified with Kiakki of Šinuhtu, removed by Sargon in 718 B.C., rather than the earlier Kikki named by Shalmaneser III in 836 B.C. The surviving text agrees closely with much of SULTANHAN, and another criterion of late date is provided by the surviving details of the sculpture on the obverse, particularly the rendering of the Storm-God's boots. This identification entails the probable location of Šinuhtu at Aksaray, which is generally appropriate.⁷¹ The text as preserved celebrates the prosperity of Kiyakiyas's reign,⁷² and his building of the city, presumably Šinuhtu, though the name is lost.

The BOHÇA stele was the work of a king Kurtis, son of Ashwis(is), who does not name his country. The monument, found on a hillside above the River Halys near Bohça village, seems specifically to commemorate hunting exploits, and perhaps marks a claim to the local hunting rights. In spite of the rather crude execution of the signs on the coarse stone, the graphic usage (full phonetic writings with or without determining logograms) agrees well with the KULULU style, and there is little doubt that it dates to the later 8th century B.C. An identification with Kurti of (A)tun(n)a named by Sargon in 718 and 713 B.C. looks very possible, but has to be judged mainly in the context of the location of (A)tun(n)a, and the implications that BOHÇA would have for this.⁷³

The KARABURUN rock inscription written on a natural bluff surrounding a hill-top, surmounted by traces of a fortress, names an unidentified king Sipis who built the unnamed fortress in collaboration with another Sipis, Nis's son. The text is a mutual pact between the two. The carefully executed inscription agrees with the KULULU style and doubtless belongs to the same date, later 8th century B.C.

Other north Tabal inscriptions set up by unknown individuals at Kululu and other sites belong epigraphically to the same style and date. HİSARCIK 1, a rather faintly inscribed boulder found on the slopes of Erciyes Dağ, records offerings to the mountain, appearing in the form "Harhara", by a certain Warpiris(?). The text mentions in an obscure context "Kurtis's servant", possibly the same Kurtis as the author of BOHÇA. KULULU 5 records another dedication of houses apparently by a Hulasayas. The stele lists almost the same deities as ÇİFTLİK, and the houses were perhaps their temples.

A number of personal memorial stelae also to be dated to this period have been found. Besides KULULU 4, the memorial of Ruwas already mentioned, the two stelae KULULU 2, of Panunis, and KULULU 3, of Ilalis(?), belong to this type of text. The former is in good KULULU style, though the latter is very rough. The two undressed boulders ERKİLET 1 and 2 may be likewise classified, and also the curious stele EĞREK, reworked in Christian times without destroying the inscription. The latter is linked by its phraseology to the series of KARKAMIŞ tombstones and also MARAŞ 2.

Other inscriptions of the area are of uncertain character: either just obscure, ÇALAPVERDİ 1 and 2, HİSARCIK 2; or completely illegible, TEKİRDARBENT 1 and 2, KURUBEL; or mere fragments, KULULU 6 and 7 fragments, EĞRİKÖY.

The KULULU lead strips are, as noted above, closely linked by graphic style to the largest group of stone inscriptions of this area, especially with KULULU 1, SULTANHAN, KARABURUN and ERKİLET 1 and 2. They include issues of barley(?)⁷⁴ (lead strip 1), and of sheep to statues (lead strip 2), receipts of sheep (lead fragment 1), uncertain content (lead fragment 2), and a census of households (lead fragment 2 + strip 3). Being by their nature lists of personal names, a total of some 68 different ones, they provide useful onomastic evidence for the nature of the population at that date, and show recognizably Anatolian types with a strong preponderance of monosyllabic and reduplicated stems. They also give 18 place names, determined "city" (URBS). The great majority of these are quite unknown and presumably represent small local settlements, but the most common (lead strip 1 only) seems to be significant, the city Tuna, sometimes distinguished as "Upper" and "Lower" Tuna. It is uncertain whether this would refer to different parts of the same town, or to different towns, perhaps widely separated. Lead strip 1 is clearly mainly concerned with Tuna, both Upper and Lower, thus linking the two closely. One would suppose that Tuna was the place of issue of the document, and thus that Tuna should be considered as a possible designation of Kululu itself, the name of which

⁷⁰ See above, p. 426 and n. 16.

⁷¹ Probably to be identified with Old Assyrian Šinahuddum: see Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 165 and n. 91, following Lewy, *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* (Ankara, 1947), p. 16; Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), p. 123 f.

⁷² See Hawkins, *Royal Statements of Ideal Prices: Assyrian, Babylonian and Hittite (Essays Mellink)*, pp. 93–102). AKSARAY provided the key to the identification of a series of Hieroglyphic passages with a recurring literary topos in Assyrian and Babylonian texts.

⁷³ See below, p. 432 and n. 75.

⁷⁴ Previously unelucidated logogram, Laroche *HH*, no. 179, Meriggi, *Glossar*, nos. 152–153, now argued on the basis of other contexts to stand for "barley": see KULULU lead strip 1, element 3, Commentary.

is otherwise unknown. This however becomes entangled with the Assyrian-attested land of Atuna, also written Tuna or Tunna, and Mount Tunni the silver-mountain, also with Hittite Dunna, classical Tynna, located at Zeyve Höyük. There is hardly sufficient evidence at present to resolve this uncertainty satisfactorily.⁷⁵

The southern (Tuwana) group. The Tuwana group of inscriptions seems to begin with Saruwanis who dedicated the base NİĞDE 1, found in the citadel mound at Niğde. The stele fragment ANDAVAL, found reused in the church at that site, also bears the dedication of Saruwanis, entitled "ruler, lord of the city Nahitiya". Under the circumstances it is impossible not to see in this toponym the origin of the name Niğde, and it is also likely that the name should be identified with Hittite Nahita. The text of ANDAVAL as preserved deals with the summer-pasturing of horses, and may mention in a fragmentary context Warpalawas (see Commentary).

Warpalawas is the best known of all the Tabalian rulers. As Urballa he is attested as tributary to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 and 732 B.C.,⁷⁶ and he survived to reappear as still active in Sargon's letter to the governor of Que, 710–09 B.C.⁷⁷ His own inscriptions İVRİZ 1 and BOR are associated with notable sculpture. The İVRİZ inscriptions, the only Tuwana inscriptions in relief Hieroglyphic, serve simply as short epigraphs to the magnificent rock relief, which shows Warpalawas, elaborately attired, worshipping the Storm-God, giver of fertility, who is represented in a theophany with corn and vines springing up at his feet.⁷⁸ BOR, with another elaborate figure of the king as its introductory *amu*-figure, is also closely associated with SULTANHAN in content and phraseology, relating Warpalawas's planting of a vineyard under the tutelary Tarhunzas of the Vineyard, and the rich yield expected from the plot. The new stele from Ivriz, İVRİZ 2, was also Warpalawas's work.⁷⁹

Warpalawas is further known from inscriptions of his servant (BULGARMADEN) and of his son (NİĞDE 2). BULGARMADEN on a rocky outcrop in a valley of the Bolkar Dağ near the well known silver-mine was set up by the ruler Tarhunzas, servant of Warpalawas, who may be assumed to have had his seat in the nearby Zeyve Höyük. He records Warpalawas's donation to him of Mount Muti, clearly part of the Bolkar Dağ, which is difficult to dissociate from the "Mount Muli the alabaster-mountain", visited by Shalmaneser III in 837 B.C.⁸⁰ The inscription may also mention the silver-mine.⁸¹

The stele NİĞDE 2 recently found on the citadel-mound of Niğde is a fine piece showing a Storm-God of fertility like that of İVRİZ 1, dedicated by Muwaharanis son of Warpalawas when he had succeeded his father as king of Tuwana. This is probably one of the latest pieces of the whole Hier. corpus, dating as it must do to some time after 709 B.C.⁸²

Of the other Tuwana inscriptions, VELİİSA is a fragment of a once very fine stele, doubtless that of one of the kings of the Tuwana dynasty. An inscribed building block PORSUK, found in Zeyve Höyük, bears a personal memorial of an army commander Parhwiras, who names a king Masaurhisas as his benefactor. The latter was presumably one of the local rulers of Zeyve Höyük, a predecessor or successor of Tarhunzas of BULGARMADEN. The style of PORSUK agrees generally with the other Tuwana inscriptions but provides no special criteria for dating it early or late within the group.

Dating and end of the tradition. Among the Tabal inscriptions, the north Tabal group dates to before Tiglath-pileser III (the Tuwatis inscriptions), reign of Tiglath-pileser III (the Wasusarmas inscriptions), and reign of Sargon (AKSARAY, BOHÇA?). Those without external criteria of date seem to belong to the same span, including the KULULU lead strips. The Tuwana group divide similarly: Saruwanis before Tiglath-pileser III, Warpalawas contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon. The Muwaharanis stele could date as late as after Sargon, the latest of all except possibly KARATEPE (reign of Sennacherib?). Tabal has not produced a large corpus of sculpture. The palace on Göllüdağ had a notable pair of lions and some unfinished pieces, mainly column-bases with couchant lions.⁸³ The survey

75 See Parpola, *NAT*, s.v. ATÜNU, TÜNU, TUNNI. Shalmaneser III refers only to "Mount Tunni the silver-mountain" associated with "Mount Muli the alabaster-mountain" (see above p. 426 f. and nn. 29–31, also to the "stone of Mount Tunu, alabaster", the material of his inscribed throne base (Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 55 f. (l. 50), 66 f.). The itinerary, the silver and the alabaster combine to locate Mounts Tunni-Muli as (part of) the Bolkar Dağ with the silver mines at Bulgarmaden and alabaster quarry at nearby Zeyve Höyük. Tiglath-pileser III received tribute from Ushitti the (A)tunean (^{kur/uru}tunaya, *Annals*, l. 153; Nimrud tablet, rev. 9'; with new variant ^{kur}a-tu-na-a-[a], Levine, *TNASI*, pp. 18, 65, ii 11; see above, p. 427 and nn. 35–36). Sargon dealt with Kurti the Atunean or Tunnean in 718–13 B.C. (^{kur}atunaya/tunnaya, above p. 427 f. and nn. 41, 43, 47), and received a report of an attack by the Atunean(s) and Istuandean(s) on Bit-Paruta (Burutaš) in 710–09 B.C. (above p. 428 and n. 48). Can Atuna/Tuna/Tunna really be kept apart from Mount Tunni/Tunu and its geographical identification with Hittite Dunna, Classical Tynna at Zeyve höyük? Gurney considers that the two can be separated: *Jn. St.* 29 (1979), p. 167. And where does Hier. Tuna, Upper and Lower, join the equations? And the possible identification of Kurti of Atuna with Kurtis author of BOHÇA?

76 Above, p. 427 and nn. 35–36.

77 Above, p. 428 and n. 48.

78 This matches a textual description on SULTANHAN, §§ 5–7, see Commentary.

79 See above, p. 430 and n. 63.

80 Above, p. 426 f. and nn. 29–31; see also Hawkins, *RLA* VIII/5–6 (1995), s.v. Muli.

81 The obscure § 6 has a word determined by the logograms "SCALPRUM + *257", which separately can be seen to signify "stone" and "silver"; see Commentary.

82 Warpalawas was still king at this date: see above, p. 428 and n. 48.

83 See above, p. 425 and n. 10.

of Kululu collected fragments of sculpture and particularly a mutilated colossal statue.⁸⁴ None of this was evaluated by Orthmann, who was only able to include some individual pieces associated with inscriptions: ÇİFTLİK from Tabal proper, and ANDAVAL, BOR (*Kemerhisar*), and İVRİZ 1 from Tuwana.⁸⁵ The fine stele NİĞDE 2 also appeared too late for him. The information from the inscriptions, as presented here, was largely available to him,⁸⁶ and his general date of *Spätheth.* III for all pieces does not disagree with the reconstructable dynastic information.

The Neo-Hittite tradition of sculpture and Hieroglyphic inscriptions, extinguished elsewhere by Assyrian conquest and destruction, must have succumbed in Tabal to other forces. The havoc wrought by the Cimmer-

ians from c. 714 onwards⁸⁷ for more than a century may be sufficient to explain the apparent end of the architectural and sculptural tradition, along with that of monumental inscriptions. It does not seem likely that the plateau lapsed into total illiteracy. During the heyday of Neo-Hittite civilization, the existence of the lead letters and economic texts from ASSUR and KULULU suggest the widespread use of Hieroglyphic writing, normally executed on perishable material, and it may well be that this continued in south-east Anatolia down into the 7th century B.C. Alphabetic writing however had appeared already in the 8th century, notably in Phrygia in the period of Midas,⁸⁸ and one must suppose that sometime in the 7th century, suddenly or gradually, the old Hieroglyphic script gave way to this new form of writing.

The Inscriptions

X.1–3. KIZILDAĞ 1–3 (plates 236–237)

Location. Rock inscriptions, until recently *in situ*, but KIZILDAĞ 2 and 3 now dislodged and partially destroyed. The hill known as Kızıldağ (or Kızılkale/Kızılkule) stands on the south-east edge of a seasonal salt-lake east of the Konya-Karaman road and railway. Kızıldağ is some 12 km. north-west of the Karadağ, which has related inscriptions. On the west slope of Kızıldağ, about half-way up, is a prominent, pointed outcrop of reddish trachyte, which is usually referred to, after Ramsay, as the “Throne”; it offers a number of smooth vertical and horizontal surfaces, either natural or artificial, on three of which were found the inscriptions KIZILDAĞ 1–3. For the placing of the inscriptions in relation to each other, see the sketch plan in Güterbock, loc. cit. (Publication), pl. V, res. 10. Remains of upper and lower circuit walls surrounding the summit are still evident: see Bittel, *Essays Mellink*, p. 106 f., with n. 21 and figs. 10.8–9, ill. 10.1. For the destruction of KIZILDAĞ 2 and 3, see Gonnet, loc. cit. (Publication), p. 25 f. and fig. 4; and cf. Bittel, loc. cit., n. 11, though this observation must be incorrect, since Alp’s photograph was taken before the destruction. Casts of KIZILDAĞ 1 and 3, presumably those made by Gertrude Bell, are preserved in the British Museum. Similar casts are mentioned as having existed in Berlin and Istanbul Museums (see Bossert and Hrozný, loc. cit. below; Publication and Editions), but may not still be preserved. For the monuments and topography, see now Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 90–96.

Description. KIZILDAĞ 1: vertical panel on west face of high back of “Throne”, on which is carved in engraved lines the figure of the king, seated on a high-

backed throne with footstool, facing right. He is bearded, with long hair bunched on the nape, wearing a pointed cap, long robe fringed on the lower hem, and

84 See Özgüç, op. cit. (n. 5), pp. 45–58 and figs. 144–159 (Turkish)/pp. 102–109 (English), pls. XXXV–XLIV. The colossal statue, to be dated late from the elaborate style of its garment’s drapery, is likely to represent a king of Tabal in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II.

85 *USK*, p. 113 f.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 217–220. Corrections: spelling of Uassurme-Wasusar-mas; inference from TOPADA (for *Parwita* read *Parzuta*, and see above pp. 430 f. and 426, and nn. 70, 16); spelling of name of the father of Tarhunazi of BULGARMADEN (see § 1, Commentary); author of ÇİFTLİK is a servant of Tuwatis.

87 The Cimmerians, whose migration is narrated in Herodotus, first impinge on the Assyrian world with a severe defeat inflicted by them on the Urartian king Rusa, probably in 714 B.C., reported in a number of letters to Sargon from officers on the northern frontier including the Crown Prince Sennacherib. Sargon’s own death in Anatolia in 705 B.C. probably occurred in an encounter with them, as traditionally did that of his ally Midas c. 695 B.C. Esarhaddon was able to win a battle against them on the same ground, Hubuşna, in 679 B.C., but he and Assurbanipal continued to feel their menace. In Anatolia, it was Gyges of Lydia, who was explicitly threatened by them, both in Assyrian and Classical tradition, but we may well suppose that the other Anatolian princes who sought Assyrian help, both Mugallu of Tabal and Sandasarme of Hilakku, did so as a result of their pressure. For a general survey, see Kammenhuber, *RLA* V/7–8 (1980), s.v. Kimmerier.

88 The Old Phrygian alphabet was certainly in use in the time of Midas, as graffiti and epigraphs from Gordion, particularly those associated with the Great Tumulus, establish: see Young, *Hesperia* 38 (1969), pp. 252–296. Some stone inscriptions in this script may also date back to the 8th century B.C., notably those associated with the name of Midas: see Hawkins, *RLA* VIII/3–4 (1994), s.v. Mita, § 3, with references.

shoes with curled toes, and he holds in his left hand before him a long staff, and in his right a shallow bowl. *Inscription*: a 6-sign relief epigraph in the form of a cartouche (without winged disc; signs sinistroversive, *tá* and *pu*) is placed in the ground in front of the figure's face.

KIZILDAĞ 2: on the horizontal surface in front of the king's figure, a short distance to its half-left, was a second cartouche, linear incised, placed at the outer edge of the surface with its top towards that edge.

KIZILDAĞ 3: on the vertical surface immediately adjacent to the horizontal KIZILDAĞ 2, was a 3-line inscription, also linear incised; l. 1 had a 9-sign cartouche with sinistroversive signs, continued on ll. 2–3 (dextroversive-sinistroversive).

Dimensions: (1) (inscription) ht., 0.28 m.; w., 0.33 m.; (2) no longer recoverable; (3) ht., 0.40 m.; w., 0.80 m.; line ht., 0.33 m.

Condition: good (until recent destruction).

Script: (1) relief; (2) and (3) incised (latter also with line-dividers).

Sign forms: nothing clearly diagnostic.

Peculiarities. *sa* as simple arch (probably archaic), as also INFANS without upper "crampon"; see Commentary, general observations.

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. By Ramsay on 8 June 1907: see *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, vol. I (London, 1927), p. 242; Ramsay, *Luke the Physician* (1908), p. 160 f., pl. XVI (photograph of "Throne"). Gertrude Bell apparently made the surviving casts shortly after: see *Letters*, loc. cit. Ramsay visited the inscriptions again in 1908 and 1909 (see his remarks, loc. cit., Publication). Other visits leading to publications: Güterbock (23/8/39); Meriggi (June, 1963); Alp (summer, 1965); Hawkins (summer, 1967); Gonnet (1971, 1981); Hawkins and Gonnet (18/9/89).

Publication. Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (1909), pp. 505–512, 515, figs. 371A–B (KIZILDAĞ 1, photograph, drawing), 372 ("Throne", general photograph), 374 (KIZILDAĞ 2, drawing), 375 (KIZILDAĞ 3, photograph); Sayce, *PSBA* 31 (1909), pp. 83–87, pls. VII 1, 2, 3 (copies based on Ramsay's squeezes); Meyer, *RKC* (1914), pp. 32–34, 140, figs. 20–22 (Sayce's copies); Garstang, *HE* (1929), pp. 155–158, 341, pl. XXXII(b) ("Throne", general photograph) (also earlier, *LH* (1910), p. 177 f.); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), p. 69 and Abb. 761 (photograph of Berlin Museum cast of KIZILDAĞ 1); Güterbock, *Halil Edbem Hâtıra Kitabı* I (1947), p. 63 f., pls. Güterbock V, res. 9–10 ("Throne", photograph and sketch plan); Meriggi, *Q4* 4 (1965), pp. 310–315, Tav. LVIII figs. 80–81 (Kizildağ, general views), LXIX figs. 82–84 ("Throne", general photographs); Alp, *Anatolian Studies Güterbock* (1974), pp. 22 f., pls. III Abb. 5–6 ("Throne", photograph,

Güterbock's sketch plan), IV Abb. 7–8 (KIZILDAĞ 1, photograph and copy), V Abb. 9–10 (KIZILDAĞ 2, photograph and copy), VI Abb. 11–12 (KIZILDAĞ 3, photograph and copy); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), p. 238 f. and Abb. 270 (KIZILDAĞ 1, photograph); Börker Klähn, *ZA* 67 (1977), pp. 260–266, Abb. 1 and 5 (KIZILDAĞ 2, following Alp), Abb. 4 (KIZILDAĞ 2, detail, reconstruction); Gonnet, *Hethitica* 5 (1983), pp. 21–28, figs. 1–2 (KIZILDAĞ 2, photograph and copy); Bittel, *Essays Mellink* (1986), pp. 103–111, figs. 10.2–4 ("Throne", general photographs), 10.1, 5–6 (KIZILDAĞ 1, photograph, details). Cf. also S. Eyice, op. cit. KARADAĞ 1, Publication, res. 8 (drawing of KIZILDAĞ 1, photograph of KIZILDAĞ 3).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 8 (1936), pp. 207–209, pls. XXVIII–XXIX, = *IHH* III (1937), pp. 439–441, pls. XCIII–XCIV (photographs of Istanbul Museum casts of KIZILDAĞ 1 and 3); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), nos. 14–16, pp. 268–270, Tav. I, II; Hawkins, *Fs Sedat Alp* (1992), pp. 259–275.

Sculpture. Akurgal, *SBK*, pp. 13 n. 102, 137; Orthmann, *USK*, p. 115 n. 5; Bittel, loc. cit. above, Publication, p. 105 f.

Content. KIZILDAĞ 1, epigraph to sculpture, identifying figure as "Great King Hartapus"; KIZILDAĞ 2, further epigraph, combining cartouche of Hartapus with name of Storm-God; KIZILDAĞ 3, name, titles and genealogy of Hartapus, with statement of building of city.

Date. Very problematic. Stylistic considerations of the figure of Hartapus (KIZILDAĞ 1) have tended to recognize Assyrianizing features which would require a late date, probably 8th century B.C.: see Akurgal, Orthmann and Bittel, loc. cit. (Sculpture). Bittel earlier followed others (Meriggi, Laroche and Alp) in assigning the monument to the "dark age", c. 1200–1000 B.C., following the fall of the Hittite Empire: see Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 42 (1964), p. 52 ff.; cf. id., *Q4* 4 (1965), p. 314; Laroche, *HH*, p. 262; Alp, loc. cit. (Publication), p. 20; Bittel, *Sitzungsberichte, Ost. Ak. Wiss.* 418 (1983), p. 42. H. Gonnet has also argued (see KIZILDAĞ 4, Sculpture) that the constructions around KIZILDAĞ 4, the rock-cut throne, altar and "cupule" belong to a Hittite Empire tradition and favour an early dating. The palaeography of the inscriptions, which shows only archaic features with no traces of innovations, and especially the close links now revealed with the YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscriptions, must reinforce the arguments for a high dating, probably to the period shortly after the fall of the Hittite Empire. It may be necessary to assign the inscriptions and the figure to the two widely differing dates, which they appear to require. Cf. also Tabal, Historical

Context, p. 429 and n. 60; and below, Commentary, general observations.

Text. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the casts in the British Museum (KIZILDAĞ 1 and 3), and from tracing of photograph (KIZILDAĞ 2).

Photographs. KIZILDAĞ 1, kindly supplied by Dr. Michael Ballance; KIZILDAĞ 2 and 3, taken on my visit in the summer 1967.

Transliteration, translation: see following (X. 8) BURUNKAYA.

X.4. KIZILDAĞ 5 (plate 239)

Location. Stele, somewhere on the east side of the Kizildağ.

Description. Fallen stele, apparently preserving original round-topped, straight-sided shape, but all the lower surface of the obverse has flaked away, so that only the top line of inscription survives (5 signs, sinistroverse).

Dimensions: not given.

Script: incised.

Other details unclear.

Discovery. By Meriggi and his party on their visit in June 1963. It is not reported as having been seen since then.

Publication. Meriggi, *O.1* 4 (1965), p. 312 f., Tav. XXXV cartina V (copy), Tav. LX Fig. 85 (photo-

graph of stele *in situ*); cf. Alp, *Anatolian Studies Güterbock* (1974), p. 25 and pl. VIII Abb. 15–16 (Meriggi's photograph and copy reproduced).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 18, p. 271, Tav. II.

Content. Stele of Mursilis, father of Hartapus (introduction only preserved).

Date. See KIZILDAĞ 1–3 (but one generation earlier than the Hartapus inscriptions).

Text, photograph. No further evidence is available than that presented by Meriggi and reproduced by Alp, and further reproduced here.

Transliteration, translation: see following (X. 8) BURUNKAYA.

X.5. KIZILDAĞ 4 (plates 238–239, 242)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. For location of Kizildağ, see KIZILDAĞ 1–3, Location. The rock bearing the inscription KIZILDAĞ 4 is located on the south slope of the hill to the south-east of the "Throne", and it is approached by a flight of rock-cut steps, which terminate immediately to the left of the inscription in "einer Art Postament" (Güterbock, see below, Publication). Ramsay identified the work as a gate, and Güterbock, noting that the steps led from the outer (lower) circuit wall to the inner (upper), named it "the Staircase" (die Treppe), as it is now usually designated. For an identification of the character of the structure by H. Gonnet, see below, Sculpture. Cf. also the sketch plan in Bittel, *Essays Mellink*, p. 107, ill. 10.1; and Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 94–96.

Description. A vertical rock face bears a 2-line inscription, beginning on l. 1, left half with a cartouche part dextroverse (HEROS), part sinistroverse (*tá²*, *pu*), running sinistroverse, with epithet and genealogy, to left edge; continuing l. 1, right half, dextroverse, and returning sinistroverse along l. 2, terminating before left edge.

Dimensions: ht., 0.48 m.; max. w. (l. 1), 1.37 m.

Condition: generally good, l. 2 somewhat obscured by lichen.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: monumental *sà*, *mu(wa)*, *tà*; *ma* cursive/ archaic.

Peculiarities: archaic signs – see Commentary, general observations (*sa*, CAELUM, *430, *416, *235, REL).

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Ramsay in June, 1907: see KIZILDAĞ 1–3, Discovery.

Publication (see KIZILDAĞ 1–3, Publication). Ramsay and Bell, loc. cit. (1909), figs. 373 (photograph); 376.3 (copy); Sayce, loc. cit. (1909), pl. VIII.4 (copy based on Ramsay's squeeze); Güterbock, loc. cit. (1947), p. 64 f., pl. Güterbock VI res. 11 (photograph), 12 (copy); Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 42 (1964), pp. 52–58, Tav. I (photograph); id., loc. cit. (1965), Tav. XXXV (copy), LX, LXI (figs. 86, 90, photographs); Alp, loc. cit. (1974), pp. 23–25, pl. VII Abb. 13 (photograph), 14 (copy).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 17, p. 270 f., Tav. II; Hawkins, *Fs Sedat Alp* (1992) pp. 264–267, 274 – here referred to as *Edition*.

Excerpt.

Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), p. 113 fig. 6 (name, titulary and genealogy).

Sculpture. For the identification of the constructions around KIZILDAĞ 4 as a typical Anatolian combination of rock-cut throne, altar and “cupule”, see H. Gonnet, *Nouvelles données archéologiques relatives aux inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Hartapusa à Kızıldağ* (*Studia Naster* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984), pp. 119–125, pls. VI–VII).

Content. § 1, name, titles and genealogy of Hartapus; § 2 a–c, divine favour, conquest of every country and the country Masa ...; § 3, [interpretation by Poetto: see Commentary].

Date. See KIZILDAĞ 1–3 for discussion.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made in 1989.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by Professor Massimo Poetto.

Transliteration, translation: see following (X. 8) BURUNKAYA.

X.6. KARADAĞ 1 (plates 240–242)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. The Karadağ massif rises some 20 km. north-north-west of Karaman to a height of 2,271 m. At the highest peak (north), known as Mihaliç Tepesi, are the remains of a Byzantine church, clearly built on a more ancient sacred site. The area was originally approached from the north through a rock-cut corridor, on the north-west side of which is found KARADAĞ 1, and on the south-east KARADAĞ 2. The sacred precinct reached through this entrance has disappeared beneath the foundations and fallen ruins of the church. If one stands at the inscription KARADAĞ 1 and raises one's head above the level of the rock, one looks down directly at Kızıldağ. A cast of KARADAĞ 1, presumably made by Gertrude Bell, is preserved in the British Museum. For a recent guide to the monument and its topography, see Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 82–85. The summit may now be reached by a road running up to a television mast on a south peak.

Description. A 1-line sinistroverse inscription running along the top edge of a dressed face of rock-outcrop. The inscription breaks off on the left with a short stretch of damaged surface before the left edge of the outcrop. Below this, a shorter damaged area and traces of signs show that the inscription ended with a brief run-over on to l. 2.

Dimensions: ht., 0.35 m.; preserved w., 1.90 m.

Condition: good, apart from loss of end.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: archaic – TERRA, *i(a)*.

Peculiarities: archaic signs – see KIZILDAĞ 4, Peculiarities; also *468, *zi/a* for *za*.

Word-dividers: none used.

Discovery. By Gertrude Bell in May 1907: see Ramsay, *Luke the Physician* (1908), p. 159. Further visited by Cor-

nell Expedition in 1907; Güterbock (24/8/39); Alp (3/8/72); Gonnet and Hawkins (1989). [Poetto, 1995].

Publication. Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (1909), pp. 505–512, 515, fig. 376 (1 a, copy); Sayce, *PSB* 4 31 (1909), pp. 83–87, pl. VIII.6 (copy based on Ramsay's squeeze); Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 3 f., pl. I (copy), figs. 1–2 (photographs of inscription covered with squeeze paper), 3 (photograph of rock-cut corridor, showing KARADAĞ 2 and 1 covered with squeeze paper); S. Eyice, *Karadağ (Binbirkilise) ve Karaman çevresinde arkeolojik incelemeler* (Istanbul, 1971), res. 8 (photograph); Alp, *Anatolian Studies Güterbock* (1974), p. 25 f., pl. IX Abb. 17 (photograph), 18 (copy). Cf. also Rossner, loc. cit. (Location), (photograph).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 8 (1936), p. 205 f., pl. XXVIII (photograph of Istanbul Museum cast), = *IHH* III (1937), p. 438 f., pl. XCIII; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 12, pp. 266–268, Tav. I; Hawkins, *Fs Sedat Alp* (1992) pp. 265, 268, 275 – here referred to as *Edition*.

Content. § 1, “In this precinct”, to the gods, name and titles of Hartapus ...; § 2, conquest of every country (cf. KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b); § 3, to the gods [...]

Date. See KIZILDAĞ 1–3 for discussion.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the cast in the British Museum, collated from rock in summer 1989.

Photographs. Taken at same time.

Transliteration, translation: see following (X. 8) BURUNKAYA.

X.7. KARADAĞ 2 (plate 241)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*: see KARADAĞ 1, Location.

Description. A 6-sign cartouche placed on an artificially dressed(?) rock face opposite KARADAĞ 1.

Dimensions: ht., 0.26 m.; w., 0.44 m.

Other details: as for KARADAĞ 1.

Discovery. See KARADAĞ 1, Discovery.

Publication (see KARADAĞ 1, Discovery). Ramsay and Bell, loc. cit. (1909), fig. 376 (1 b, copy); Sayce, loc. cit. (1909), pl. VII.5 (copy based on Ramsay's squeeze); Charles, loc. cit. (1911), fig. 3 (photograph showing position of inscription covered with squeeze paper); Meyer, *RKC* (1914), p. 34, fig. 23 (Sayce's copy); Alp, loc. cit. (1974), pl. X Abb. 19, 20 (photograph, copy).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 8 (1936), p. 207 (inscription typeset only) = *IHH* III (1937), p. 439; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 13, p. 268, Tav. I.

Content. Cartouche with name and title only.

Date. See KIZILDAĞ 1–3 for discussion.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a free-hand sketch made at the site in 1989.

Photograph. Difficult to take, since the sun leaves the inscription early in the day: result, poor.

Transliteration, translation: see following (X. 8) BURUNKAYA.

X.8. BURUNKAYA (plate 243)

Location. Rock inscription on block fallen from position (upside down). From the Aksaray-Nevşehir road, some 8 km. from Aksaray, the road south to Ihlara passes the Mamasın Barrage. About 7 km. towards Ihlara, a track leaves the road on the left to the village of Gücünkaya, where 1 km. from the main road a track on the right runs across country to the rocky cliff of Burunkaya. For the itinerary, see now Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, p. 96 f.

Description. Placed on the large block fallen to an upside-down position from the bluff above is 1 line of sinistroverse inscription, broken off at left end, but apparently returning along a second line, traces of the final signs of which are preserved on the left side.

Dimensions: ht. (l. 1), 0.30–0.37 m.; preserved w., 1.59 m. Condition: fair – good.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: archaic, as for KARADAĞ 1.

Peculiarities: *zi/a* for *za*.

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Reported to General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums in 1971 by Oğuz Demir Tüzün, president of the local Association for Museums, History and Monuments. A letter dated 3/8/71 from the General Directorate to Ankara University was forwarded to Pro-

fessor Sedat Alp, who, with his assistants, visited the site on 22 August 1971, and again on 27 August 1972.

Publication. S. Alp, Eine Neue Hieroglyphenhethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kızıldağ-Karadağ aus der Nähe von Aksaray und die früher publizierten Inschriften derselben Gruppe (*Anatolian Studies Güterbock* (1974), pp. 17–21, pls. I Abb. 1–2 (photographs, cliff and block), II Abb. 3–4 (inscription: photograph and copy)). The copy, made by Sedat Alp in 1971 and collated in 1972, was redrawn by Dr. Burhan Balçioğlu.

Edition. Alp, loc. cit., p. 19 f.

Content. § 1, “this precinct”, name, titles and genealogy of Hartapus [...; § 2 ...; § 3(?) ...] “he did/will smite”.

Date. See KIZILDAĞ 1–3 for discussion.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made in 1989.

Photographs. Taken at same time.

Transliteration, translation: for the entire KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ-BURUNKAYA group follows.

Transliteration

Translation

KIZILDAĞ 1

MAGNUS.REX ¹*há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX

Great King Hartapus

KIZILDAĞ 2

(DEUS)TONITRUS FORTIS X SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX
há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa MAGNUS.REX

Beloved (??) (of) the mighty
Storm-God, the Sun, Great King
Hartapus

KIZILDAĞ 3

(DEUS)TONITRUS SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX há+ra/i-tá-*430-sa
MAGNUS.REX URBS+li MAGNUS.REX HEROS
INFANS URBS+MI xi/a AEDIFICARE

⟨Beloved (??) (of)⟩ the Storm-God,
the Sun, Great King Hartapus,
son of Mursilis, Great King,
Hero, built this city.

KIZILDAĞ 5

URBS[+li] MAGNUS.REX HEROS [...

Mursi[li], Great King, Hero[...]

KIZILDAĞ 4

§ 1 SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa MAGNUS.REX HEROS
(DEUS)TONITRUS AMPLECTI URBS-li MAGNUS.REX
HEROS INFANS

The Sun, Great King, Hartapus,
Hero, beloved of the Storm-God,
son of Mursilis, Great King,
Hero :

§ 2a (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM DEUS-na *430
(BONUS₂)wa/i-sà-ti

by the goodness (of) the celestial
Storm-God (and of) every god,

§ 2b REGIO *430 (*273)mu(wa)-tá REL

(he) who conquered every country,
(and) conquered the country ...

§ 2c ma-sà(REGIO) AQUILA-na mu(wa)-tá-

[For new readings and interpreta-
tion by Poetto, see Commentary,
§§ 2c-3]

§ 3 TERRA ... *430 VIR MAGNUS.REX *416-wa/i-ni
VITELLUS.*285 CAPERE ...

KARADAĞ 1

§ 1 xi/a-ti TERRA-i(a) (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM (DEUS)
MAGNUS.MONS DEUS-ni *430 SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX
há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa MAGNUS.REX *468

In this place (to/for?) the celestial
Storm-God, the divine Great
Mountain (and) every god, the
Sun, Great King, Hartapus ...,
(he) who conquered every country,
(to/for?) the celestial Storm-God
and every god [...]

§ 2 REGIO *430 REL-sa (*273)FORTIS-tá

§ 3 (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM [DEUS]-ni-ha [...

KARADAĞ 2

MAGNUS.REX há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa MAGNUS.REX

Great King Hartapus

BURUNKAYA

§ 1 xi/a[-ti?] TERRA-i(a) MAGNUS.REX há[+ra/i]-tá-pu-sa
MAGNUS.REX (DEUS)TONITRUS x-xi/a URBS-li
MAGNUS.REX HE[ROS ...

[In] this place Great King Hartapus
belov(ed)(?) of the Storm-God,
[son] of Mursilis Great King,
He[ro ...

§ 2 ... (§ 3?) ... t]u-pi+ra/i

(§ 3?) ...] he did/will smite.

Commentary

General observations. It has been stated above that the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions (which are taken to include BURUNKAYA) show exclusively archaic characteristics and notably fail to show any of the innovations connected with Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Late Period. Inscriptions of the group are both in relief (KIZILDAĞ 1 and 4, KARADAĞ 2) and incised (KIZILDAĞ 2, 3, 5; KARADAĞ 1; BURUNKAYA). Incised inscriptions of the Empire Period are much less common than relief ones, but include KARGA, one of the SIPYLOS epigraphs, and TAŞCI, and there is a series of BOGAZKÖY epigraphs executed by “pecking”.

KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ show links especially with the Empire Period YALBURT and BOGAZKÖY-SÜDBURG (also other Empire Period inscriptions, EMIRGAZI, KARAKUYU and KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA); also with the archaic, post-Empire KARA-HÖYÜK (Elbistan); and with the very late archaizing TOPADA (+ SUVASA).

(1) Links with YALBURT etc. (a) signs attested elsewhere only in the Empire Period: *430, *416, *285; (b) sign forms close to Empire forms: INFANS (without upper crampon), (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM (as on EMIRGAZI), AEDIFICARE (as on BOGAZKÖY-SÜDBURG – see KIZILDAĞ 3, Com-

mentary), TERRA (with lower element – see KARADAĞ 1, § 1, Commentary), REL, *ma*, *ní*, *i(a)*? (as a counter-example, however, the sign *mu(wa)* on KIZILDAĞ 4 is not of the Empire Period form); (c) graphic usage: *273 as determinative for *muwa-* (but cf. SHEIZAR, § 8, Commentary); failure to write connective particles; failure to distinguish the *a*-vocalized form of *zi/a*; occasional omission to write case-ending after phonetic element (URBS-*li* (gen. sing.); other possible but doubtful examples discussed in Commentary); (d) content: close verbal correspondence of KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 a–b//KARADAĞ 1, § 2, with YALBURT block 16 §§ 1 b–2a.

(2) Links with KARAHÖYÜK. (a) otherwise unattested sign *HH* no. 468/9 (see KARADAĞ 1, § 1, and KARAHÖYÜK, § 21, Commentaries); (b) the sign *sa* written with simple arch (see KARAHÖYÜK, Commentary, general observations); (c) sign forms and graphic usages, where KARAHÖYÜK also resembles Empire Period usage.

(3) Links with TOPADA. (a) use of royal cartouche; (b) sign form *sa*, the simple arch; (c) graphic usage *zi/a*, (i.e., adherence to the undifferentiated form, though TOPADA does differentiate *i* and *ia*). TOPADA is very definitely late (period of Tiglath-pileser III), and features (b) and (c) may be recognized as deliberate archaisms (note that they are also found on the late, archaizing KARKAMIŞ A21).

It could be argued that KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ shows a late but archaizing style in the same manner as TOPADA and that the inscriptions are simply not extensive enough to betray diagnostic late characteristics as TOPADA does. The clear links which it shows with Empire Period YALBURT and Late TOPADA certainly serve to place it between the two chronologically, as it is located geographically. But the links with YALBURT seem stronger, especially the remarkable parallels of content, and these in my opinion suggest an earlier rather than later date, probably to the period immediately following the fall of the Hittite Empire. As it seems impossible to reconcile the figure of Hartapus (with KIZILDAĞ 1) to such a high date, it may be necessary to explain this as an addition of a later epoch.

KIZILDAĞ 1

Of the seven examples of the royal cartouche found in this group of inscriptions, the present one agrees with KARADAĞ 2 and BURUNKAYA in not topping it with the Winged Disc (SOL₂). KIZILDAĞ 4 alone adds the title HEROS. KIZILDAĞ 2 and 3 write the name of the Storm-God over the Winged Disc, as an element possibly corresponding to the epithet “beloved of the Storm-God” used in KIZILDAĞ 4 and BURUNKAYA. KIZILDAĞ 3 and 4 and BURUNKAYA add the genealogy “son of Mursilis, Great King, Hero”. Taking the present form as the basic cartouche, we may tabulate the presence of the additional elements as follows:

	basic	sun-disc	hero	epithet	genealogy
KIZILDAĞ 1	x	—	—	—	—
2	x	x	—	?	—
3	x	x	—	?	x
4	x	x	x	x	x
KARADAĞ 1	x	x	—	—	—
2	x	—	—	—	—
BURUNKAYA	x	—	—	x	x

The employment of the royal titulary of the Hittite kings of the Empire Period, “The Sun, Great King, Hero” is to be seen as significant: see above, Historical Context, p. 429 and n. 60. On the Anatolian plateau the titulary recurs only on the late TOPADA (+ SUVASA).

KIZILDAĞ 2

(DEUS)TONITRUS FORTIS X: Gonnet, loc. cit. (Publication), is unquestionably correct in rejecting the readings and interpretation of Börker Klähn, loc. cit., and establishing the reading FORTIS to be interpreted as the well established epithet of the Storm-God, *muwatali-*.

X: two small circles, previously interpreted with varying degrees of implausibility, regarded by Gonnet as simply elements additional to the disc of the sun-disc (thus not contributing any extra sense). We may note that KIZILDAĞ 3, which has (DEUS) TONITRUS in the same position, does not apparently have either FORTIS or X, thus leaving the relationship of the god's name to the royal cartouche unexpressed. It is perhaps worth considering, however, that the god's name in both KIZILDAĞ 2 and 3 may indicate the epithet “beloved by the Storm-God”, found in the longer inscriptions arranged in linear order, KIZILDAĞ 4 and BURUNKAYA. If this is so, it is possible that X, the two circles, stands for the AMPLECTI of KIZILDAĞ 4, where indeed in unclear photographs the heads of the two embracing figures are the most visible part of the sign and do appear as two circles in the same position as those on KIZILDAĞ 2. The apparent absence of this element on KIZILDAĞ 3 may however work against this explanation.

KIZILDAĞ 3

*há+ra/i-tá*430-sa*: in comparing this writing with the six attestations of *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa*, Meriggi felt constrained to suppose that the present name was different, designating a different individual, who, as son of Mursilis, would be the brother of Hartapus, also a reigning king. Conversely, on general and contextual grounds, following Alp, I cannot believe that this name does in fact refer to anyone other than Hartapus. A possible explanation of the alternation *430//*pu* is suggested below: see KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b, Commentary.

The name *Hartapu(sa)* is always written in a “cartouche”, always flanked by “Great King” signs, and often topped with the winged disc (see above). It has been suggested that the final *-sa* represents part of the stem, not the ending nom. sing. MF which should not appear in the cartouche: see H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* 5 (1983), p. 21 and n. 5 — this observation should have been attributed to Güterbock, not to me. While this observation is undoubtedly valid for the Empire Period, and indeed could also be correct in the case of *Hartapu(sa)*, we should note that TOPADA (closely related to the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, as noted above), § 1, writes the *-sa* of *Wasusarmas* within the cartouche. It thus seems most likely that in the present cases the *-sa* is indeed, as has always been assumed in the past, the ending of the nom. sing. MF. In the present inscription *Hartapus* is clearly to be understood as the subject of the verb.

URBS + *li*: the logographic writings of the names of Hittite kings of the Empire Period all recur in the post-imperial period: *Suppiluliumas* and *Hattusilis* (BOYBEY-PINARI 1 and 2, also ANCOZ 4), *Tudhaliyas* (KAR-KAMIŠ A16c, KELEKLİ), and *Arnuwandas* (DARENDE; also phonetically, İSPEKÇÜR, IZGIN 1). The name *Mursilis* in the Empire Period is well established as being written URBS + *R-1/I-li*, although the reason behind the use of the first sign is not known. The present writings lack the appendage + *R-1/I*, but there is no reason to doubt the reading of the name here too as *Mursilis*. A genuine descent of Hartapus and his father from Mursilis II of Hattusa through Muwatallis and Kuruntas of Tarhuntassa has been plausibly inferred. [Note: among the new Boğazköy seal impressions found in 1990–91 the name of Mursili (III) is found written with URBS only, without *R-1/I*].

zi/a: identified as the demonstrative pronoun *za-*, qualifying URBS + *MI*, the pair probably to be understood as acc. sing. with omission to write the case endings, which is typical of archaic style. Its position following its noun is unusual, and might indicate an alternative identification.

AEDIFICARE: sign correctly recognized by Hrozný as form of hand with additional element. The recent discovery of the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription offers three clear examples of forms of the sign AEDIFICARE (*HH*.no. 246), which are so similar to the present form as to guarantee its identification; see Hawkins, *Edition*.

Note: the present interpretation of this clause supersedes that of Laroche (*Ugaritica* III, p. 107 f.). With this, the evidence for URBS = *mi* disappears.

KIZILDAĞ 5

Correctly identified by Meriggi from the genealogy which occurs on KIZILDAĞ 3 and 4, and BURUN-

KAYA, as name and titles of Mursilis, father of Hartapus, apparently introducing his own stele inscription, the rest of which is destroyed.

KIZILDAĞ 4

§ 1. (DEUS)TONITRUS AMPLECTI: sign AMPLECTI correctly identified as *HH*.no. 9 originally by Güterbock, then by Meriggi, loc. cit., (1964, 1965), but in place of the latter's interpretation (“Tarhui del Patto”), the interpretation “beloved (by the Storm-God)” is to be preferred; see Hawkins, loc. cit.; also (independently) Alp, loc. cit., pp. 24 f., 27. It is not certain whether this logographic writing corresponds to the well attested *wasami-* or *azami-*, or to another word; cf. BEIRUT bowl, § 1, and Commentary.

§ 2a–b. The close similarity of this to YALBURT, 16 §§ 1b–2a, was noted in my *Edition*; also the similarity of § 2b to KARADAĞ 1, § 2. These passages were used to elucidate each other.

§ 2a. (BONUS₂)*wa/i-sà-ti*: identification as a verb, 3 plur. pres., by Starke following Masson (see *Stamm-bildung*, § 224), and appearance as *wa/i-sà-ti* in the YALBURT parallel were noted in my *Edition*. The question was further raised whether in fact this should not rather be identified as a noun, abl. sing. The following observation appears to support this.

DEUS-*na* *430: sign *430 explained contextually as “all, every”, and its alternation with *pu* (KIZILDAĞ 3, see above) explained by the supposition that it represents *punati-*, “all” (for which see Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 197 with Anm. 1034), from which an acrophonic syllabic value *pu* was extracted. DEUS-*na* was compared with DEUS-*ni* (KARADAĞ 1, §§ 1, 3); *-na* and *-ni* were identified as phonetic complements to DEUS (*masani-*), the *ni* probably indicating one of the forms where *-i* would be expected in the stem (nom., acc., dat. sing., nom., acc. plur.) and *-na* one of the forms where *-i* would be deleted by *-a-* in the ending (gen., abl. sing./plur., dat. plur.). If this is correct, DEUS-*na* here should not represent a nom. case, thus (DEUS)-TONITRUS CAELUM DEUS-*na* *430 should not be subjects of a verb. It is then easiest to suppose that they represent genitives qualifying a noun (BONUS₂)*wasati*, abl. sing., thus “by the goodness of the celestial Storm-God (and) of all the gods”. The same explanation should apply to the YALBURT parallels (16 § 1b, (16 § 2b+)10 § 1).

§ 2b. Virtually identical with KARADAĞ 1, § 2, and closely paralleled by YALBURT, 16 § 2a.

REGIO *430, “all the lands”: only other usage of *430 so far attested besides “all the gods” (for which see above). Both “all the lands” and “all the gods” recur on BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG (§§ 1a, 5, 6; 3).

(*273)*mu(wa)-ta*: the parallel writings (*273) FORTIS-*tā* (KARADAĞ 1, § 2) and (*273)[*m*]*u-wa/i-*

ha (YALBURT, 16 § 2 a) provide mutual confirmation. YALBURT attestations show that (*273)*muwa-* is always written with the reflexive pronoun *-mi* (cf. also KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, l. 2, *wa/i-ti-* (*273)*mu-wa/i-ti-*), and further provide contextual evidence to identify *-mi ... muwa-* with Hitt. *-za ... tarh-*, “conquer”, since it twice follows, as the Hitt. verb regularly does, the clause “the gods ran before me”. We should note that this definition of the Hier. verb *muwa-* by association with Hitt. *tarh-*, “conquer”, strongly supports the interpretation of the Cun. Luw. (-Hitt.) noun *muwa-*, as given in the *CHD* 3/3 (1986), s.v., and the amplification by Starke in his review (*Bi. Or.* 46 (1989), pp. 667–669), translating “Mut, Beherztheit, Unerschrockenheit, Wehrhaftigkeit”.

REL: parallel KARADAĞ 1, § 2, has REL-*sa* before instead of after the verb, making a clear relative clause, “who conquered all the lands”. The present REL probably belongs at the end of § 2 b (though a position as first word of § 2 c is not impossible). It is not marked as nom. sing. MF as in the parallel clause, and its final position may also point to an interpretation different from the parallel, perhaps “when” or “as”.

[§ 2 c. Poetto’s new reading and interpretation: “... (and) conquered the country Masa *forever*”, seem very probable. His proposal was made at the IIrd International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum in September 1996, and will be published in the Proceedings of that meeting. I am much indebted to him for permission to quote this.]

§ 3. This clause shows close links with YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG in the titles occurring; also close links with YALBURT and a number of other inscriptions of the Empire Period with the obscure group VITELLUS.*285. [Poetto’s new readings and interpretation (see note to previous clause) seem very probable: “All the territories ... the Great King, (titles), took (by favour of) the celestial Storm-God”.]

*416-*wa/i-ni*: found repeatedly on YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG referring to the authors of the inscriptions Tudhaliyas IV and Suppiluliumas II. The identification and reading of the first sign was discussed in my preliminary report on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription (see *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 307, nn. 17–18), and this is further reviewed in the context of the identification of the title in my publication of the latter inscription: see *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 5.

VITELLUS.*285: occurrence in the parallel contexts YALBURT, 10 § 2, and EMİRGAZI fragment (Alp, *F3 Otten* (1), p. 11–13, Abb. 1 a–c), noted in my *Edition*; also other occurrences on KARAKUYU, l. 2, EMİRGAZI altars, § 32 (see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, pp. 88, 101, and 78). The group appears from its occurrence on a seal to be a title.

KARADAĞ 1

§ 1. *zi/a-ti*: clearly writes *zati*, dat. sing. of demonstrative *za-*.

TERRA-*i(a)*: first sign correctly identified by Alp, after a similar attestation in the same context on BURUNKAYA. The form is a linear rendering of the archaic relief form as seen on e.g. KARAHÖYÜK, § 12. Curiously, the form recurs on KARATEPE, 23 (Hu. only) – see Commentary there. The sign *i(a)* is to be so identified, as envisaged dubiously by Alp and more confidently by Meriggi; the YALBURT form of *i(a)* shows a pronounced pair of “lugs” on each side of the “arch”, which are imitated in the present form. The sign presumably expresses the ending of dat. sing. *-ia*; it does not reveal which word lies behind the logogram TERRA (or LOCUS), *taskwari-* (or **pita(nt)-*), or another word, but “place, precinct” is perhaps the most likely in the context.

(DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS: “the divine Great Mountain” is in the context doubtless the Karadağ itself.

DEUS-*ni* *430: as argued in my *Edition*, and in KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 a, Commentary, *-ni* here, as against *-na* there, should indicate a form of DEUS (*masani-*) where the *-i-* of the stem would appear, nom., acc. sing./plur., or dat. sing. In the clause, *Hartapus* appears to be marked as the subject by the *-sa*, nom. sing. MF. The case of the celestial Storm-God, the divine Great Mountain and all/every god(s) should be acc., direct object, or dat., indirect, as will depend on the verb. Since “all the gods” (plur.) is more probable than “every god” (sing.), the case-ending indicated by *-ni* is most likely to be acc. plur.

*468: in the structure of the clause as analysed, this has to be the verb, for which a positive sense is required (what Hartapus did to the gods). The logogram occurs elsewhere only on KARAHÖYÜK, §§ 21, 23, where it represents a noun in a negative, hostile context. A reconciliation of the two usages is perhaps not impossible, but is not immediately apparent. KARADAĞ 1 is an inscription on a rock-cut corridor leading presumably into a mountain-top sanctuary now covered or destroyed by the foundations and ruins of the Byzantine church. The sense required of the verb is “established” or “worshipped”, or the like.

§ 2. See above, KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b, Commentary.

§ 3. (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM DEUS-*ni-ha*[...]: this repetition indicates that *430 is detachable from DEUS-*ni/na*, and if the interpretation “all, every” is correct, it should be restored as the first word in the break.

Space: damaged stretch to end of first line could have contained 3–4 columns of signs, and the damaged space at the beginning of l. 2 does appear to show traces of signs which would indicate that the inscription did continue that far; thus perhaps 1–2 clauses lost.

BURUNKAYA

§ 1. $\text{zi/a}[-ti^2]$ TERRA- $i(a)$: restoration following KARADAĞ 1, § 1, likely, especially if $-i(a)$ representing dat. sing. ending correctly identified there.

(DEUS)TONITRUS x- zi/a : clearly by comparison with KIZILDAĞ 4, § 1, (DEUS)TONITRUS AM- PLECTI, must represent “beloved of the Storm-God”; cf. DEUS $\acute{a}\text{-zi/a-mi}$ (FRAKTIN: see Güterbock, *Fs Matouš*, pp. 127–136). First sign is unidentified, must represent logogram “love”, or syllabogram $\acute{a}$ -. Collation

seems to show that the expected participle ending $-mi$ was not written, thus presumably to be understood, in the archaic style.

§ 3?. [...t]u-pi+ra/i: apparently rhotacized form, surprising at this probably early date; may represent *tupira* < *tupita*, “he (Hartapus?) smote”, or perhaps *tupiri* < *tupiti*, “he (Storm-God?) will smite” (apodosis of curse formula, which would postulate the existence of a protasis in the lacuna).

KULULU inscriptions: numbering

Meriggi numbered the KULULU inscriptions including fragments and the lead strips in a single series as they became known to him. This is unsatisfactory since the number of lead strips has fluctuated, and it is preferable to keep them separate (see KULULU lead strips, Description, below, p. 503). Kalaç followed the system of Meriggi in numbering the two major new KULULU stelae: see *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 9 (1983), p. 167. The opportunity is taken here to renumber the most recently discovered KULULU stelae and fragments.

The following system is adopted:

(KULULU 1, 2 unchanged)
KULULU 3 = Meriggi/Kalaç KULULU XI
KULULU 4 = Kalaç KULULU XII
KULULU 5 = Kalaç KULULU XIII

KULULU 6 = Meriggi KULULU IV + IX
KULULU 7 = Meriggi KULULU X
(KULULU 8 = unpublished)
(KULULU lead strips = Meriggi KULULU V-VIII)

Meriggi's KULULU III was taken from Bossert, *JKF* 1 (1950), p. 224 and Taf. XXXI (unwarranted reconstruction of inscription; photograph), and included in *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 87, p. 29, Tav. V. It was a painted sherd, present location unknown, allegedly bearing the signs LITUUS zi/a LITUUS[$\acute{a}$], but these identifications, and the status of the object as a Hier. inscription, are entirely doubtful. It has not therefore been included in the present work.

X.9. KULULU 1 (plates 244–245)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 2241.

Description. Small, straight-sided, round-topped stele, broken in two but restored, bearing 6-line inscription written round three sides, fourth side (back) uninscribed. The inscription begins on right side (A), l. 1, upper right, and runs sinistrovers round front (B) and left side (C), returning *boustrophedon* along l. 2, and so continuing, ending with l. 6, right end, on side (A), apparently complete.

Dimensions: ht. (inscribed area), 0.54 m.; w. (narrow sides), 0.16 m., (front), 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.08–0.09 m.

Condition: very fair, slight damage and wear.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: characteristic *pa*; the inscription is also notable for strong tendency towards full phonetic spellings (*tama*-, “build”; *tanuwa*-, “set up”; *usi*-, “year”; *wawi*-, “ox”; *hawi*-, “sheep”; *sasarla*-, “offer”; *suwani*-, “dog”; *aqa*-, “eat”; *atri*-, “form”; *awi*-, “come”; *tawiyān*-, “before”; *i*-, “go”; *taruna*-, “justice”).

Word-dividers: consistently used, 5 omissions only – *i-zi-ia-tu* (§ 11); *wa/i-tā* (§ 14); *REL-i* (§ 15); *DO-MUS-na*, *zi-ti* (§ 16).

Discovery. Found by *kaymakam* of Bünyan in house in Alevkışla, where it was brought c. 1935, as the Kayseri Museum Director ascertained; taken to Kayseri Museum in 1940. See Bossert, *HKS*, p. 210; Kemal-eddin Karamete, *TTAED* 5 (1949), pp. 71 (Turkish), 75 (French); cf. Bossert, *AJO* 17 (1956), p. 350.

Publication. Karamete, loc. cit., pp. 71–73 (Turkish), 75 (French), res. 26, 26 a (photographs of sides A+B, C+D); Bossert, *JKF* 1 (1950/51), Taf. XXIV–XXVI (photographs of sides A–C and bottom of stele), XXVIII (photograph of inked squeeze).

Editions. Meriggi, *RSO* 27 (1952), pp. 1–7, Tav. 1 (redrawn following Bossert); id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 18, pp. 48–52 (with previous drawing).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 87 f.
§§ 2–4 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 123/129 cit. iii; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 191.
§ 5 Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 430 and Abb. 4.
§§ 5–6 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 317.
§ 6 Laroche, *HH* nos. 27 (b); 105.II; 336.I(a).
§ 7 Melchert, *Studies Congill*, p. 198, § 2.3.4.
§ 9 Laroche, *HH* no. 329.1.3.

- §§ 10–12 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 172 cit. 28.
 § 12 Poetto, *KZ* 95, p. 275.
 § 13 Bossert, *MIO* 2 p. 87 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.3; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115/127 cit. ii.
 §§ 13–14 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 589.
 §§ 15–16 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanišnuwar*, p. 80 f.; Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç*, p. 189 cit. 1.

Content. Building inscription and dedication of Ruwas, servant of Tuwatis. § 1, name and title; §§ 2–4, building of “these houses”; §§ 5–6, establishment and offerings to Tarhunzas of the ARATALI; §§ 7–12, curse against despoiler of the houses; §§ 13–14, blessing on Tuwatis; §§ 15–16, houses to last after Ruwas’s death.

Date. Reign of Tuwatis, identified as father of Wasusar-mas (c. 740–730 B.C.; see TOPADA, Date); thus mid-8th century B.C. For a probable reference on a cuneiform tablet to be attributed to Tiglath-pileser III, see above, The Historical Context, p. 427, 429 f., and nn. 36, 62.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze, and has been collated.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1986.

Transliteration

1. § 1 | EGO-wa/i-mi¹ ru-wa/i-sá¹ tu-wa/i-ti-i-sá SERVUS-ta₄-sa
 § 2 | a-wa/i | za-ia || DOMUS-na-’ [ʔ s] a-bi-zi-i | á-sá-ta | ha-ta-ma
 § 3 | wa/i-tà | ta-ma-ha
 § 4 | wa/i-tà | DOMUS-na-’ | i-zi-a-ha ||
 2. § 5 | za-ha-wa/i | a+ra/i-ta-la-si-na | (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-u-za-na-’
 | á-mu | ta-nu-wa/i-ha-’
 § 6 | wa/i-na | (“ANNUS”)u-si-na | (“ANNUS”)u-si-na 1 (“BOS.
 ANIMAL”)wa/i-wa/i-ti-i 3 (“OVIS.ANIMAL”)ha-wa/i-ti
 | sa-sa₅+ra/i-la-wa/i
 3. § 7 | wa/i-ti || | za-ia | DOMUS-na-’ | REL-sá | tu-wa/i-ti-ia | wa/i-zi-ti-[i]
 § 8 | ni-pa-wa/i | á-ma-ta-’
 | ni-pa-wa/i | la-bi²-zi-i
 | ni-pa-wa/i | wa/i-ia-ni-[si²]-i | tu-wa/i[+ra/i]-sà-za-’
 § 9 | REL-sà-ha-wa/i-sa | REL-sa-pa
 4. § 10 | á-pa||-ti-pa-wa/i | a+ra/i-ta-la-si-sá | (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-u-za-sa
 | á-pa-si-na | a+ra/i-ta-li-na | SUB-ni²-na | ha-pa-za-nu-wa/i-tu-u
 § 11 | tu-wa/i-ti-sà-pa-wa/i-tu-u-ta | á-mu+ra/i-sa | (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-
 5. | pa-sa | ha-sa-mi-sa su-wa/i-ni-i-sá | á-pa-na-’ || i-zi-ia-tu
 § 12 | a-wa/i | á-pa-si-na | ha-sa-mi-na | pá²+ra/i-ta-mi-i-na | ARHLA
 | á-za-tu | á-pa-si-ha | á-tara/i-i-na
 § 13 | tu-wa/i-ti-ia-pa-wa/i-ta | za-zi | DEUS-ni-zi-i | wa/i-su | á-wa/i-i-tu
 6. § 14 | wa/i-tà || | ni-i | REL-ti-i-ha | pi-i[a]-a-i
 § 15 | á-mu-pa-wa/i | REL-[i] | DEUS-[n]a-za | ta-wa/i-ia-na | ARHLA
 | i-wa/i | tu-wa/i-ti-sa-ti | tara/i-u-na-ti
 § 16 | za-ia-pa-wa/i | DOMUS-na | zi-ti

Translation

I (am) Ruwas, Tuwatis’s servant.
 These houses were *demolished* for
 (by?) SAHIZI (PN?).
 I built them,
 and I made them houses.
 Also I myself set up this Tarhunzas
 of the ARATALI-
 and I shall offer him every year
 with one ox (and) three sheep.
 (He) who shall *demand* these houses
 from Tuwatis,
 or the AMATA
 or the LAHI(ZI)(?)
 or the vineyard of vine(s),
 whosoever he (be),
 for him may Tarhunzas of the
 ARATALI- cause to his
 ARATALI- !
 May the HASAMI- dog of Kubaba,
 the AMURA- of Tuwatis, “make
 after” him,
 may it eat up his HASAMI- PAR-
 ATAMI- and his (own) person!
 But for Tuwatis may these gods
 come well,
 and let him not give it to anyone
 (else) !
 But when I myself shall go away
 into the presence of the gods by
 the justice of Tuwatis,
 these houses (shall be) here.

Commentary

§§ 2–4. Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating verb *tama-*, “build”, and noting close parallel with KARABURUN, §§ 1 and 4, which must be included in attempted interpretation; Starke, loc. cit., explores the sense of *ha-ta-ma*.

§ 2. [ʔ s]a-bi-zi-i: obscure, unless it can be recognized as a personal name, preceded by personal determinative, dat. sing. (thus Hawkins, loc. cit., followed by Starke, loc. cit.).

|á-sá-ta|*ha-ta-ma*, “were HATA-ed” (participle, nom. plur. N?)// *ha-ta+ra/i* (obscure form, KARABURUN, § 1): as noted, the verb *hata-* in both contexts expresses an action towards a building preceding that of “building” (*tama-*). As such, it might be expected to mean “plan, design, found”, or possibly in the other direction, “ruin, demolish”. The stem may be the same as that seen in (*464)*hatama/harama* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 11, see Commentary; A16a, §§ 6 and 7; ŠIRZI, § 6; also fragmentary KARKAMIŠ A13b; ANKARA, § 11); if so, the rhotacizing form suggests a stem **hada-* rather than **hata-*. In preference to recognizing a participle in *hatama*, Starke identifies a nominal form and translates: “Dieses Haus hatte Sahiza, und zwar als *hataman-*”.

§§ 5, 10. *a+ra/i-ta-la-si-//a+ra/i-ta-li-*: contexts merely indicate that men have an *a+ra/i-ta-li-* which is under control of Tarhunzas of the *a+ra/i-ta-li-*. Cun. Luw.-Hitt. *ariyaddali-* is found as an epithet of the Storm-God in a Luw. incantation, Tunlawi: KUB XII, 58 i 58–59; cf. KUB IX, 34 i 11//IBOT III, 99 l. 10; see Goetze, *Tunn.*, p. 76; and now Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 46. It is associated by Starke with Luw. **ariyatti-*, “mountain” (KZ 93 (1979), p. 253 n. 27). The present Hier. word interpreted as *aritali-* < *ariyatali-* could be formally compared with Cun. Luw.-Hitt. *ariyaddalli-*, but no obvious sense in § 10 would arise from the comparison.

§ 7. *wa/i-zi-ti-i*: now identified by Melchert, loc. cit., with (“*69”) *wa-zi-* (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 18), and interpreted by a combination of contextual and etymological argument as “demand”, = Hitt. *wēk-*.

|*tu-wa/i-ti-ia*: the personal names in this inscription, mainly Tuwatis, are elsewhere marked by the personal determinative not the word divider (§§ 1, 11, 13, 15), but it still seems best to take this form too as the personal name, dat. sing.

§ 8. This seems to enumerate component elements of the “houses”.

|*wa/i-ia-ni[-si²]-i* |*tu-wa/i[+ra/i]-sà-za-*, “vineyard of vines(?)”: provisional restoration gives good contextual sense and grammar, whereas Meriggi’s |*tu-wa/i-[ta]-sà-za-* (our readings), “(that) of Tuwatis” (acc. sing. N of *-asi-* adjective), could hardly agree with the previous word however restored. If the restoration is accepted, it would point to an interpretation of *á-ma-ta* (acc. plur. N) and *la-bi²-zi-i* also as agricultural components of the houses, but there are no obvious stems with which to compare these *hapax legomena*.

§ 10. SUB-*ni²-na*: *ni* uncertain, and in any case does not bring preverb into line with the well attested SUB-*na-na*, = *anan*, “under”.

ha-pa-za-nu-wa/i-tu-u: general sense “damage, destroy” required by context. Could we associate the

simple stem *hapa-za-* with Hitt. *hapatiya-*, attested only in the participle *hapatiant-*, and verbal noun *hapatiyawar* (voc., = GÜ.GILIM//MU-TI-IK-KU-Ú; see *StBoT* 9, p. 65 f. for negative sense of verb)? Luw. *-tiya-* > *-za-* is observed by Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [39] f. Against such an association, cf. now Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 237 f. See now also Puhvel, *HED* 3 (1991), s.v. *hapatiya-*.

§§ 11–12. See Hawkins, loc. cit., with following provisional interpretations:

¹*tu-wa/i-ti-sa* |*á-mu+ra/i-sa*, “Tuwatis’s AMURA”: latter word gen. sing. in apposition to *Kupapas* or nom. sing. MF in apposition to *suwanis*? Cf. *á-mu+ra/i(-)la/i/u+ra/i-*, ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 33?

|*(DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa* |*ba-sa-mi-sa su-wa/i-ni-i-sá*, “Kubaba’s HASA-ed dog”: latter word nom. sing. MF, subject; cf. “Nikarawas’s dogs” (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 31, in closely similar context).

|*ba-sa-mi-sa*: participle of *hasa-*, = *hasa-*, “beget, bear” (KARATEPE, 321)? Thus “begotten, born”?

|*á-pa-si-na* |*ba-sa-mi-na* |*pá²+ra/i-ta-mi-i-na*, “his begotten, the pronounced(?)”: last word associated with the common *pá²+ra/i-ta-*, “word/curse(?)” (for which see KARKAMIŠ A31, § 14, Commentary), thus participle of denom. verb (so Meriggi)? Cf. now Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 37. For the reading of *pá²*, see Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 36 f.).

á-tara/i-i-na: “form, figure, image,” see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary, for interpretation and other attestations.

§ 13. *á-wa/i-i-tu*: see Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating word as *awi-*, “come” (also Cun. Luw.), by comparison with (“PES”) *á-wa/i-* (ISKENDERUN, § 2), against the usual (“PES”) *-wa/i-*, not to be read *tiwa-*. SULTANHAN, § 5 (new fragment), subsequently produced another example of full phonetic writing.

For phrase *wasu awi-*, “come well (for) ...”, subject normally god(s), see also BULGARMADEN, § 12; ÇİFTLİK, § 15; ÇALAPVERDİ 1, § 4; KULULU 5, § 15; PORSUK, § 4; VELİİSA, § 1 (all Tabalian inscriptions).

§§ 13–14. See Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 589, examining form *pi-i[a]-a-i*. The literary topos represented by these two clauses is of the type found on AKSARAY, §§ 7–9; SULTANHAN, §§ 43–45; TOPADA, §§ 28–30 etc.

§§ 15–16. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., elucidating *arha i-*, “go forth” (cf. Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, p. [47]); phrase “go forth into the presence of the gods” as euphemism for “die”; and nominal sentence *zaya parna ziti* (for *zati*?), “these houses (will be) here”.

X.10. KULULU 4 (plates 246–247)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 76/248 (note the designation by Kalaç (Publication) as KULULU XII. For the renumbering of the KULULU stelae, see above, p. 442).

Description. Upper part of round-topped, 4-sided, tapering stele, inscribed across both broad sides (A, C) and narrow sides (B, D), with an independent, short inscription across the top (E). The inscription, of which 3 lines and part of the 4th are preserved, begins on side A, l. 1, right side, and runs sinistaverse round sides B, C, D, continuing *boustrophedon* along ll. 2, 3 and 4, of which the end can be seen not to have been the end of the inscription. Thus the corner between sides A and D formed the right and left edge of the inscription. The 2-line inscription on the top (E) begins after a vertical line in the middle of l. 1 and runs sinistaverse, descending to l. 2 dextroverse, then ascends to l. 1, right half, sinistaverse, where it ends. It is complete in itself.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.5 m.; w. (broad sides), 0.45 m., (narrow sides), 0.2 m.; line ht. (sides), 0.13 m., (top), 0.09 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: largely cursive (monumental *ara/i*).

Peculiarities: frequent use of *sa*₄, once *zi*; and especially *sa*₈ (6 times).

Word-dividers: not frequent.

Discovery. West foot of Kululu *höyük* (Kalaç).

Publication. M. Kalaç, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 9 (1983), Lev. I facing p. 170 (copy from latex squeeze, no photographs).

Edition. Kalaç, loc. cit., pp. 167–170 (Turkish only).

Excerpts.

- §§ 3–4, 9 Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç*, p. 190 cit. 2.
 § 5 Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 112.
 § 6 Poetto, *Fs Neumann*, p. 284.
 §§ 15–16 Kalaç, IX *TTK*, p. 256.

Content. Funerary inscription of Ruwas. § 1, name and title; § 2, ?; §§ 3–4, favour of gods; §§ 5–8, favour of “my lords”; § 9, author’s death; §§ 10–14, author’s good life; [lacuna]. (Top inscription) §§ 14–15, stele set up by author’s nephew.

Date. By identification of Ruwas with Ruwas servant of Tuwatis, author of KULULU 1, reign of Tuwatis or after, i.e. c. 750–740 B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Kayseri Museum in August 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*wa/i-mi ru-wa/i-sa*₄ IUDEX-*ni-sa á-sá-ha* SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa*₈
- § 2 NEPOS-*ta-ha-wa/i-mu* SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa*₈
- § 3 AQUILA-*wa/i-mu* DEUS-*ni-i-zi* (LITUUS) *á-za-ta*
- § 4 *wa/i-mu-ta* (LITUUS) *á-za-mi-na* VAS-*tara/i-na a-ta tu-tá*
2. § 5 |*a-wa/i á-mi-ia-za* || DOMINUS-*na-za* ¹IUDEX-*la* VAS-*la-ti-i-*
SUB-*na-na* SARMA + *R-4/I+MI-ia-za-ha*
- § 6 *wa/i-ta* DOMINUS-*na-za-’ á-mi-ia-za* BONUS-*si-ia-za-ha*
- § 7 |*wa/i-mu* LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-la-ta*
- § 8 DOMINUS-*ni-ha-wa/i-mu* DOMUS-*ni-i* DOMUS-*ni(-)* DOMI-
NUS-*ni-i-sa*₄ |*á-sá-ha*
3. § 9 *wa/i-mu-ta* DEUS-*ni-zi-i* (LITUUS) *á-za-mi-na* || VAS-*ni-na a-ta*
tu-wa/i-mi-na-’ la-ta |*wa/i-li²-ia-wa/i-ti-na*
- § 10 |*wa/i-ta á-mi-zi-i* DOMINUS-*ni-zi* |*wa/i-su u-sa*₄-*nú-wa/i-ha*
- § 11 OMNIS-*ma-si-sa*₄-*ha-wa/i-mi tá-ti-sa*₄ *á-sa*₈-*ha*
- § 12 *a-wa/i* OMNIS-*mi sa-na-wa/i-sa*₈ CUM-*ni i-zi-i-sa-ta-ha*

Translation

I was Ruwas the Ruler, the sun-blessed (man).
 Also my posterity(?) (is) sun-blessed (?).
 The gods loved my time(s)(?), and they put into me a beloved soul.
 Under my lords (and)(the) Labarna(?) with (my) soul I ...ed, and I *was dear* to my lords, and they made me governor (?), and I was house-lord in the lord’s house.
 For me the gods received the beloved soul put in (as) a WALIYA-WA(N)TI-
 I blessed my lords well, and I was every man’s father, and for every (man) I honoured the good.

4. § 13 $\dot{a}$ -mi-sa||-ba-wa/i-[mu] |*274-ti-sa x-la-x-i |x [... and for me my ... [...,
 § 14 $\dot{a}$ -mi-[ia-za]-ba-[wa/i ...] |u-[si]-na-s[a]-za |ba+ra/i-[... and for my eunuchs ...[...],
 top
 § 15 |za-wa/i STELE ¹hu-li-sa₄ || PONERE-ta ¹ru-wa/i-sa₈ This stele Hulis placed, Ruwas's
 |FRATER-la-sa₈ |INFANS-ni-sa₈ brother's son,
 § 16 PRAE-sa₈-pa-wa/i || "476"(-)TERRA-li-ia-ta and he ...

Commentary

This inscription is clearly a funerary stele: note the unique "I was Ruwas ..." (in place of the usual "I (am) ..."). Some of the statements throw remarkable light on contemporary beliefs concerning life and death, notably §§ 4 and 9. For an examination of some of these concepts, see Hawkins, *More Late Hittite Funerary Monuments* (*Studies Tahsin Özgüç* (Ankara, 1989), pp. 189–197). The text is also graphically interesting, especially with its abundant confirmation of the values *sa* for the single vertical stroke (= *sa₈*), for which see Bossert, *WdO* 2/4 (1957), p. 358; Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), p. 121 n. 5.

§ 2. Structure of clause unclear, especially whether it is to be understood as a nominal clause, or whether a verb can be identified.

NEPOS-ta-: the compound logogram NEPOS, preceded by INFANS except on KÖRKÜN, §§ 6 and 11, is used to determine the words *hamsi-*, "grandson", and *hamsukala-*, "great-grandson"; also (again without INFANS) *basu-*, "family" (KARATEPE, 76). Here the phonetic complement -ta- is unparalleled, nor can we discern the case of the word. It is thus impossible to determine its relationship to the apparently nom. sing. MF SOL-wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa₈ and the -mu of uncertain case (nom., acc. or dat.?). Unless NEPOS-ta(-) were a verb, the clause is probably to be taken as a nominal sentence, verb "(is)" understood, though it might also be possible to find a verb in AQUILA, perhaps representing *ara/i*. Provisionally, however, this word is taken with the following clause.

§ 3. AQUILA: sign *HH* no. 133, and its cursive form no. 134, elsewhere always has +*R-A/I*, and its only known usage is as the syllabogram *ara/i*. Presumably it is so used here, in spite of the absence of +*R-A/I*. This *ara/i-*, if taken at the beginning of § 3 and not as verb of § 2, would suggest in the context, as it did to Kalaç, the occurrence of the word *ara/i-zi* in several apparently related contexts, KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 2//TILSEVET, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 7; A5b, § 2. There it was identified by Meriggi as the same word as KARATEPE, 404, = Phoen. *lm*, "age, time", and translated "descendenti", whence Kalaç's transliteration PROGENIES. Here I follow Kalaç up to the interpretation, where I would discard Meriggi's "descendant(s)" in favour of "time(s)", paralleled by "days",

i.e. "life-time"; see KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 2, Commentary.

§ 4. This extraordinary clause finds an interesting conceptual parallel in Hitt. CTH 372A (//F, G), iv 24–25: *n[u-zi]a ka-ru-ú ma-ab-ba-an an-na-za ŠA-za ba-aš-ša-an-za e-šu-un n[u-m]u-kán DINGIR-LA a-ap-pa a-pu-u-un ZI-an an-da ta-a-i*.

"As formerly I was born from (my) mother's womb, O my god, put that soul back into me."

(See Marazzi and Nowicki, *OA* 17 (1978), p. 265, with refs. to Otten and Kammenhuber). The two passages suggest a close parallel between Hitt. *istanzan*-(ZI), "soul", and Hier. (VAS)*atiri*. I have elsewhere identified the latter as the equivalent of Hitt. *eš(ša)ri*, "form, figure, image" (see TOPADA, § 38, Commentary). The semantic transition implied here from "form" to "soul" may be explained by the attested ancient concept of the soul as a replica of the bodily appearance (cf. the usage of Greek εἶδωλον and Latin *imago* in those senses). For the associated forms VAS-lati (abl. sing.) and VAS-nin (acc. sing.), see below §§ 5 and 9.

§ 5. *á-mi-ia-za* DOMINUS-na-za: unclear whether we should understand "my lords" (also §§ 6 and 10) as the gods mentioned in §§ 2–3 and 9, or as human lords. "My lord" is applied both to gods (e.g. Tarhunzas, KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 7; A11b+c, § 9; TOPADA, § 17; Karhuhas, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 16; A25a, § 6; Kubaba(!), KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3; A18e, § 6; Runtiyas, ŠIRZI, § 2); or to humans (e.g. Astiruwas, KARKAMIŠ A15b, §§ 17, 21(?); A6, § 8; Warpalawas, BULGARMADEN, §§ 2, (7), 8; Suppiluliumas, BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§ 7, 17, 19; Awarikus, KARATEPE, §§ XIV–XV). It is not however paralleled in the Hier. inscriptions to acknowledge more than one human lord, and indeed only single gods are given the title. The office of "house-lord in the lord's house" (§ 8) is probably secular, which might incline us to identify the lords as human, but a correct interpretation of the following obscure word might be decisive in the question. We should also remember that if this Ruwas is, as suggested, identical with the Ruwas of KULULU 1, the servant of Tuwatis, then Tuwatis would have been one of his human lords.

¹IUDEX-la: definitely marked as a personal name and probably to be so understood, but of unclear signi-

ficance in the context – “to my lords (and) to PN”? IUDEX is not known to write anything in Late Period inscriptions other than *tarwani*-, “ruler”, also *tarwana*-, “rulership, justice”, which might also be the case here: ¹*tarwanala*, personal name, dat. sing.? Or might it be possible to associate this writing with Empire IUDEX+*la*, “Labarna” (for which see Hawkins, loc. cit.)? This would presumably render the personal name *Labarnas* (for which see CEKKE, § 9), but it would be very surprising to find so late a survival of the writing of the Empire Period title.

VAS-*la-ti-i*’: in the context of this inscription, where VAS-*ni*- appears as a synonym or alternative form to (VAS)*atri*- (see below, § 9), it is hard not to associate this word too. (VAS)*atri*- is attested only in the acc. sing. (once plur.). Its identification with Lyc. *atri*-/atli- seems secure, so the identification of the present form as the abl. sing. of *atri*-, with the well attested *l/r* alternation, seems straightforward. Cf. the form “VAS”-*nati* (abl. sing.), KÖRKÜN, § 3, and Commentary (context similar to present).

SARMA+RA/I+MI-*ia-za-ha*: Kalaç’s proposal to read *sarmiyaza*- seems most likely, though the word lacks clear parallels. Contextually, it should mean something like “bow, submit,” especially as coupled with SUB-*na-na*, “under”.

§ 6. BONUS-*si-ia-za-ha*: word recurs on AKSARAY, § 5, where the uncertain order of reading is resolved by the present attestation, as observed by Poetto, loc. cit. Both contexts are very similar to BULGARMADEN, § 2, where the verb is (“BONUS”) *wa/i-sa-za*-, and it seems likely that BONUS-*si-ia-za*- is simply a variant form of the same verb. See further AKSARAY, § 5, Commentary.

§ 7. LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-la-ta*: cf. KARABURUN, § 3, where the denom. verb *tapariyala*- seems to be intransitive, “be governor”. Here a transitive/factitive sense “make governor” yields more convincing sense; cf. MARAŞ 1, § 6: “the gods ... made me ruler (*tarwan-azanta*)”.

§ 8. DOMUS-*ni*(-)-DOMINUS-*ni-i-sa*₃: title perhaps compound noun, cf. REGIO-*ni(-ia-si)*(-)-DOMINUS, “country-lord” (KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 1, Commentary). For the office, see also TELL AHMAR 1, § 15.

§ 9. VAS-*ni-na*: by comparison with § 4 this can be seen to replace VAS-*tara/i-na* in the same context, and thus to be either a close synonym or a variant stem formed on the same root. Evidence is accumulating in favour of the latter: for VAS-*ni*-, see also “VAS”(?)-*ni-na* (acc. sing. MF, BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 20); VAS-*ni-i* (dat. sing., TELL AHMAR 2, § 13); “VAS”-*na-ti* (abl. sing., KÖRKÜN, § 3). In each of these attestations, a sense “form, figure, image,” i.e. “person”, is appropriate (see Commentary to respective passages). A reading *wasini*-, “body”, for those forms was envisaged by me, but the likely association of “VAS”-*ta-ni* (dat. sing.? ASSUR letter

f+g, § 29, see Commentary) would rule this out, and point to the existence of a (VAS)*atni*-, parallel to (VAS)-*atri*-. Cf. also (VAS)*á-ta-na-sa*-, KARKAMIŞ A24a6, and Commentary; and perhaps (“VAS”) *á-ta-na-sa-ma*-, “wisdom” (KARATEPE, 92), may be recognized as a derivative of the stem. The morphology of the parallel stems *atri*- and *atni*- remains to be explored. Note also the parallel forms VAS-*lati*//“VAS”-*nati*, above, § 5.

[In this context it is pertinent to list the other words determined by VAS (HH no. 341): noun *tawi*-, “eye” (KÜRTÜL, § 4); noun *zart(i)*-, “heart”, with verb *zarti*-, “desire” (ALEPPO 3, § 1; TELL AHMAR 1, § 20; 2, § 13(?)); verb *á-la/i/u-na-za*- with noun *á-la/i/u-na-ma*-, “envy” (KARATEPE, 352, 374); verb *pa+ra/i-ra+a*-, “ask”, or “miss, lack,” (ASSUR letters a, § 4; c, § 5; e, § 12); adj. *nabuti*-, “?” (ASSUR letter e, § 10); nouns *nabi*- and *larhiriya*-, “?” (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 4); verb *hasi*-, “record(?)” (KARKAMIŞ A5a, § 8). See Commentary to respective passages.]

la-ta: good further example of Hier. *la*-, “take”, for which see KÖRKÜN, § 11, Commentary.

wa/i-li-ia-wa/i-ti-na (form of *-li-* unusual): perhaps to be analysed as *-wanti*- suffixed form from stem *waliya*-, “raise, exalt,” through the intermediacy of a nominal **waliya*- (cf. *wariya*-, “help”; verb, BOHÇA, §§ 7, 8, 11, 12; noun, SULTANHAN, §§ 13, 45). For such forms, see Kammenhuber, *MSS* 8 (1956), pp. 49–51. If this is correct, a sense “full of exaltation” would be expected.

§ 10. Closely parallel to BULGARMADEN, § 8; see Commentary there.

§ 12. *sa-na-wa/i-sa*₈: this appears to be a further example of the nom./acc. N sing. of *sanawi*-, as noted in KARATEPE, 295; see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2, l. 1, § iv, and Commentary for discussion; and for paradigm of *sanawi*-, ASSUR letter e, § 21. Certainly this would be easiest in analysing the present clause, where the word can be taken as object of the normally transitive verb.

§ 13. *274-*ti-sa*: logogram only attested determining verb *hatali*-, “smite”, and noun *upatit*-, “demesne” (cf. MARAŞ 4, § 3, Commentary). It is not clear that *upatit*- could be understood here, since it appears to be N; see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 113.

x(-)*la-x-i*[...]: first sign apparently unknown, probably not to be identified as VITIS (so Kalaç).

§ 14. *[u-si]-na-[sa]-za*: identified by Kalaç as further attestation of (*474) *wasinasi*-/ *usinasi*-, “(he) of the person, attendant”, i.e. “eunuch”. See KARKAMIŞ A6, § 30; MARAŞ 14, § 1; and Commentary there.

§ 16. PRAE-*sa*₈(-)*pa-wa/i*: if *-sa*₈ is really present, it would seem to obviate the possibility of recognizing in PRAE a usual preverb, and would leave it of uncertain interpretation.

“*476”(-)TERRA-*li-ia-ta*: quite uncertain; TERRA here appears as if it were used as a syllabogram, found elsewhere only on TOPADA (value *ua/i*₆: see TOPADA, the Signary, 4).

X.11. ÇİFTLİK (plates 248–249)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 11 (Laroche, "15", incorrect).

Description. Upper part of semi-cylindrical stele. *Obverse* (flat): relief figure facing right, wearing long, short-sleeved robe, carrying staff in right hand, preserved down to knees, but head broken away, leaving only vague outline; with left hand the figure points to itself in gesture representing "I (am)", thus serving as the initial *amu* in portrait form, cf. ANDAVAL, BOR, also KARKAMIŞ A13d, KARKAMIŞ A6, TULEIL 2, MARAŞ 1, MARAŞ 4. This suggests that the inscription began obverse upper right and ran sinistaverse in l. 1 across front of stele above figure's head, but here it is illegible and destroyed. The other lines of inscription on front (traces of ll. 2–4 in front of figure, ll. 3–4 behind figure) were run over from reverse. *Reverse* (curved): 8 lines of inscription preserved before stele breaks off. The ll. 1–4, and 5 partially, have lower edges marked by line-divider; ll. 6 and 7, and 5 right side have only horizontal space without line; l. 8 is broken away above original lower edge. Text continuity: rev. l. 1, sinistaverse, seems to have continued directly from obv. l. 1 and run from right to left edges, thereafter to have descended to obv. l. 2 in front of figure's face, and returned dextroverse obv.-rev.-[obv.], and continuing thus *boustrophedon*, though after ll. 3–4, the text ceased to overlap on to obverse. This continuity, particularly the overlaps on to the obverse, is contextually confirmed: see §§ 3, 6, 9 and 12, Commentary. It is impossible to estimate how far beyond l. 8 the inscription might have continued.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.71 m.; w. (obverse), 0.43 m., (curved reverse) 0.71 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

Condition: fair, substantial damage to top (l. 1, obv.-rev.) and sides; large hole, rev. l. 5.

Script, line-dividers (where present): incised.

Sign forms: largely cursive (monumental *ta*, *tā*).

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: not very frequent.

Discovery. Gelb (*HHM*, p. 27) was informed by the director of Kayseri Museum that the stele was discovered in 1933 "in the private house of Ömer Ağa in Çiftlik, about half an hour's distance (c. 3 kilometres) from Eğriköy in the vilayet of Niğde", and was locally stated to come from the *höyük* near Eğriköy (see EĞRIKÖY, Discovery). The stele was taken to the museum the same year.

The discrepancy noted by Gelb between the locations of Çiftlik and Eğriköy, and his consequent misplacing of Çiftlik on his map, is to be explained by the fact that the stele was found not in Çiftlik (Niğde) as Gelb supposed, but in Çiftlik(köy) (Kayseri), which is indeed close to Eğriköy in the Karahisar Ovası (cf. Orthmann, *USK*, p. 481; but note Kemaleddin's map (Publication)).

Publication. Kara Mehmet Ağa Zade Kemaleddin (*alias* Kemaleddin Karamete), *Erciyes Kayserisi* (1934), p. 156 f., pl. facing p. 136 (photograph of obverse) (Kemaleddin's map shows a Çiftlik much further north in the Karahisar Ovası, c. 10 km. south-east of İncesu); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 17, p. 27, pls. XXX (photograph and tracing of obverse), XXXI (drawing of text, reverse), XXXII–XXXIII (6 detailed photographs of curved reverse).

Editions. Meriggi, *RSO* 32 (1957), pp. 234–239; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 34, pp. 14–18, Tav. II (redrawn from Gelb, with alterations).

Excerpts.

- §§ 2, 4–5 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 123/129 cit. (i), fig. 6.
- § 5 Bossert, *RHA* XVIII/66, p. 12 f., Abb. 4.
- §§ 8–10 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 109, fig. 1; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 589; Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, pp. 169+172 cit. 27a.
- § 10 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 20, pp. 82, 85; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92.
- § 15 Meriggi, *Acme* 4, p. 195; Laroche, *HH* nos. 90.II, 165.I.3; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115/127 cit. (iii), fig. 3; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 591.
- §§ 15–17 Bossert, *JKF* 2, pp. 337, 339.
- §§ 15–18 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 86.
- § 16 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 321 f.; Meriggi, *Studi Levi della Vida* II, p. 141; Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 432, Abb. 5.
- §§ 16–17 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 326 f.
- § 17 Laroche, *HH* no. 62.I.
- § 22 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 123/129 cit. (ii), fig. 7.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (Çiftlik 1), pp. 114, 116, 145, 219 f., 287, 290, 481, Taf. 5e.

Content. Building inscription of Tuwatis's servant. § 1, [name, title?, genealogy], title; §§ 2–5, building(s) of Tuwatis; §§ 6–10, dedication to Tarhunzas, Ea and Saruma (with consorts); § 11, blessing of Tuwatis(?); §§ 12–14, his position with Tarhunzas(?); §§ 15–18, blessings of gods for Tuwatis; §§ 19–21, [largely lost]; § 22, author's own building [text breaks off].

Date. Reign of Tuwatis, identified as father of Wasusarmas (c. 740–730 B.C.; see TOPADA, Date), thus mid-8th century B.C. Cf. KULULU 1, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Kayseri Museum, and has been repeatedly collated.

Photographs. These are photographs of I. J. Gelb, which are better than any which I could take. They were taken in the old Kayseri Museum in 1947 (except the obverse, which was taken in 1935).

Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1 (obv.) EGO[...] <i>tú</i> [...] (rev.) ... [<i>tú</i>]- <i>wa/i-ti-i-sa</i> [SER]VUS- <i>ta₄</i>	I (am) [PN, title/patronym etc., Tu]wa[t]is's servant.
§ 2 [<i>z</i>] <i>a-wa/i</i> "[X]"(-)x-x-[...]- <i>za</i> [<i>tú</i>]- <i>wa/i-ti-i-sa</i> (AEDIFI- CARE) <i>ta-ma-ta</i>	This ... Tuwatis built,
2. § 3 [<i>za-pa-wa</i> X- <i>na</i>] (obv.) NEG ₂ - <i>a-ha tá-ti-i-zi</i> [(AEDIFI- CARE) <i>ta-ma-ta</i>]	[and this ...] neither (his) fathers [built],
§ 4 (rev.)[NEG ₂ - <i>a-ha-wa/i-na</i>] AVUS- <i>ha-zi</i> (AEDIFICARE) <i>ta-ma-ta</i>	[nor] did (his) grandfathers build [it],
§ 5 <i>wa/i-na tú-wa/i-ti-i-sa</i> (AEDIFICARE) <i>ta-ma-ta</i> - (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-ti-i-sa</i> SERVUS- <i>ta₄-i-sa</i>	(but) Tuwatis built it, Tarhunzas's servant.
3. § 6 <i>a-wa/i pi-na</i> [... (obv.) ...] DARE ² - <i>ta</i> [...] (rev.) (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-ta-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>sa₅ + ra/i-hu-ta-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>sa₅ + ra/i-ru-ma-sa-ha</i>	There [...]he gave(?) [...]of Tarhun- zas, Sarhuntas and Sarrumas,
§ 7 SUPER + <i>ra/i-la-ti-pa-wa/i u-ru</i> [<i>hi</i> ²]- <i>ha-sa</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-za-sa</i>	but above (is) URU(HI)HAS Tar- hunzas.
§ 8 <i>zi-wa/i-ta</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-za-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>hi-pu-ta-sa-ha</i> [SOLIUM]- <i>MI</i> [...]	Here Tarhunzas and Hebat sit(s),
4. § 9 [<i>zi</i> -(obv.?) <i>pa-wa/i-ta</i>] (DEUS) <i>i-ia-sa</i> [<i>a</i>] (DEUS) <i>ku</i> -[AVIS- (rev.?) <i>pa-pa-sa-ha</i>] SOLIUM- <i>MI</i>	[and here] Ea and Ku[baba] sit(s),
§ 10 <i>zi-pa-wa/i-ta</i> (DEUS) <i>sa₅ + ra/i-ru-ma-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>a-la-su-wa/i-sa-ha</i> SOLIUM + <i>MI-i</i>	and here Sarrumas and Alasuwas sit(s).
§ 11 <i>a-wa/i tú-wa/i-ti</i> [...] (-) <i>ma-ta-ru</i> PUGNUS.PUGNUS- <i>tu-u</i> OMNIS- <i>mi-i-zi</i> DEUS- <i>ni-i-zi</i>	For(?) Tuwatis may all the gods ...
5. § 12 <i>wa/i-sa</i> *462- <i>i-ti</i> (obv.) ["ANNUS"] (rev.)"- <i>za</i> (DEUS)TONI- TRUS- <i>hu-ta-sa</i> (... ?)	and he ... for years, of Tarhunzas,
§ 13 <i>u</i> (-x?) <i>-pa-tara/i-pa-wa/i-sa</i> ("BIBERE") <i>wa/i-su + ra/i-li-sa</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-ta-sa</i> MILLE(-) <i>ia-na</i> (-) <i>sa-ha-sa</i> [<i>a</i> ...	and ... he (shall be) WASURALIS of Tarhunzas ...,
6. § 14 <i>x + ra/i</i> [...]- <i>ha-li-pa-wa/i</i> [... ...] <i>wa/i-sa-ia-ti-na-ti-sa-i</i> § 15 <i>wa/i-ta tú-wa/i-ti-ia a-pa-zi-i-ha</i> DEUS- <i>ni-i-zi</i> <i>wa/i-su-wa/i</i> "PES"- <i>wa/i-tu-u</i>	and ... [...]... he shall <i>tithe</i> (?). For Tuwatis may also these gods come well,
7. § 16 <i>wa/i-tu-u</i> ("EDERE") <i>a-ru-na</i> " "BIBERE" "- <i>na-ha</i> (CAPUT) <i>ha + ra/i</i> < <i>-ma</i> >- <i>ha-si-ha-wa/i-tu-u</i> <i>ha</i> -IUDEX + <i>R-1/I-na</i> <i>pi-ia-tu-u</i>	and to him to eat and to drink, and to him life of person (lit. "head") may they give,
§ 17 <i>a + ra/i-ia-ha-wa/i-tu-u</i> <i>ha-li-i</i>	and to him long days,
§ 18 <i>wa/i-tu-wa/i-ta</i> - OMNIS- <i>mi-i-zi-i</i> DEUS- <i>ni-i-zi-i</i> <i>pi-i</i> [<i>a</i> ...]	[may] all the gods give these to him!
8. § 19 [...] <i>ti</i> - (DEUS)TONITRUS	[...] Tarhunzas [...
§ 20 x x x	...
§ 21 <i>pi</i> -[...]- <i>pa-wa/i hu</i> -[...]	...
§ 22 DOMUS[...]- <i>pa-wa/i-m</i> [<i>i</i>] <i>a-mu-u</i> (AEDIFICARE) <i>ta-ma-ha</i>] IUDEX-[...]- <i>ni</i> [...	And I myself built myself a house ...

Commentary

§ 1 (obv.) *amu*, "I (am)" supplied by the portrait figure; Meriggi's reading of a further cursive *amu* in the upper right corner is possible but not supported by collation.

Author's name: likely to be represented by preserved traces, but these are hardly legible except for a preserved *ti*.

(rev.) [*tú*]-*wa/i-ti-i-sa* [SER]VUS-*ta₄*: likely that this terminates § 1, which has thus lost the author's name and perhaps rank, also probably genealogy. For SER-VUS-*ta₄* without ending, see CEKKE, § 1, Commentary.

§§ 2–5. See Hawkins, loc. cit.; elucidating (AEDIFICARE)*ta-ma*-, "build". Further collation and the recognition of the negative (NEG₂) permit further observations, particularly the reconstruction of § 3.

§ 2. "[X]"(-)x-x-[...]-*za*: recognition of ("DOMUS")*parnanza* here (Hawkins, loc. cit.) to be discarded, though the word here also seems to be acc. sing. N. The later context suggests "temple" to be a likely word; this is written elsewhere DEUS. DOMUS(-)*ha-ta* (plur. tantum? See KARKAMIS

A11a, § 11, Commentary) and DEUS.DOMUS+*MI-za*, nom. sing. N (HAMA 4, § 10).

§ 3. (l. 2, obv.) NEG₂-*a-ba tá-ti-i-zi* [...] (rev.) [...] AVUS-*ba-zi*: strongly suggests direct continuity with restoration of [NEG₂-*a-ba*], as in Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 138 f. cit. 35–36. The amount of space available suggests the restoration as two separate clauses as given, though otherwise simply NEG₂-*a-ba tá-ti-i-zi* [NEG₂-*a-ba*] AVUS-*ba-zi*, “neither the fathers [nor] the grandfathers”, would be possible.

Sequence: because context strongly suggests a continuity obv. l. 2 + rev. l. 2, it seems that rev. l. 1 (sinistroverse) must have descended directly to obv. l. 2 (dextroverse). Epigraphically we may note that there is in any case no easy alternative way of including obv. l. 2.

Object: must be located, with connective particles, at left end of rev. l. 1. Contextually the resumptive (*wa*+)*an*, “but it” (§ 5) points to it having been of common gender, unlike the neuter object of § 2; hence restoration [*za(n)-pawa ...-n*], “and this ...”, though it must be admitted that the space looks barely adequate for this.

§ 5. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-ti-i-sa*: sense requires gen. sing., but this would not agree with the genitives (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-ta-sa/sá*, §§ 6, 12, 13; cf. Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 609 n. 36. For same form, see EĞRIKÖY, § 1. Should it perhaps be taken as an *-i(ya)*-adjective, thus “the Tarhuntian servant”?

SERVUS-*ta₄-i-sa*: for form with *-i*, see ALEPPO 2, § 1, and Commentary.

§ 6. Sequence: rev. l. 2 presumably continued [obv. l. 2], descending to obv. l. 3 (traces only), to rev. l. 3. This overlap on to the obverse is the least demonstrable by reason of loss and damage.

DARE²-*ta*: possibly verb, “he gave(?)”.

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-ta-sa*: gen. sing. (see preceding clause), which indicates the same of the other two linked gods’ names.

(DEUS)*sa₅+ra/i-bu-ta-sa*: if, as seems likely, the sequence of three male deities here corresponds to that in §§ 8–10, one would conclude that this is another name, probably epithet, for Iyas (Ea), who has, in the second context, Kubaba as consort. The name is likely to be the same as (DEUS)*sa₅+ra/i-ku*, who follows Kubaba as a recipient of offerings in the list KAR-KAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18, and the latter is linked with the Hitt. root *šarku-*, “mighty” (Kalaç, *Or. NS* 25 (1965), p. 419). The present *sarhu(n)ta-* invites comparison with Hitt. *šarhuntalli-*, with lexical equations Sum. [Š]U.ŠÜR, Akk. *ALPU*, “threatening” (Otten, von Soden, *StBoT* 7, p. 10, i 43), and this in turn associates with the Hitt.-Luw. root *šarhiya-*, “overwhelm” (see Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 301–303, with refs. to Neumann and Oettinger). The Hier. alternation of *b/k* in the same root *sarhu(nt)-/sarku-* implies the identification of

the Hitt.-Luw. roots *šargiya-/šargu-* and *šarhiya-/šarhu-*, with the likelihood that the form in *-b-* represent the Luw. tendency to weaken the velar.

§ 7. SUPER+*ra/i-[la]-ti*: usual SUPER+*ra/i-*, presumed reading *sara*; other forms include SUPER+*ra/i-ta* (KARATEPE, 43, 47, 51; 302), SUPER+*ra/i-ba* (SULTANHAN, § 19; ASSUR letter *e*, § 25), SUPER+*ra/i-la-ti* (KIRÇOĞLU, § 4), SUPER+*ra/i-la+ra/i+a* (TÜNP 1, § 4). The present form, if the reading is correct, would connect with the two latter, apparently adverbial formations on the base SUPER+*ra/i-li-* (i.e. *sarli-*).

u-ru-[hi²]-ba-sá: epithet of Tarhunzas?

§§ 8–10. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. (1978), examining verb SOLIUM+*MI-i*, 3 sing. pres., *isa-* or *asa-*, “sit, dwell”; Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. (1979), examining use of sing. verb with plur. subject (“the gods”); and Hawkins, loc. cit. (1981), correcting reading to (DEUS)*bi-pu¹-ta-sa*, and noting confirmation of (DEUS)*á-la-sù-wa/i-sa* (= Hitt. Allanzu) as consort of Sarruma from KULULU 5, § 1. This text also supports the presence of [Ea] and Kubaba (former restored) between the other two pairs, and thus the continuation of ll. 3–4 on the obverse.

§ 11. Very uncertain, with difficulties of reading; translation tentative.

tú-wa/i-ti [...]: presumably “Tuwatis”, but case not definitely determinable.

...(-)ma-tà-ru: uncertain whether complete, or what grammatical status; probably not verb (see following).

PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*tu-u*: probably verb, which sometimes seems to be transitive, sometimes intransitive (see SULTANHAN, § 43, Commentary).

DEUS-*ni-i-zi*: presumably subject but possibly object.

§ 12. Sequence: continuity obv. l. 3 – rev. l. 4 is assured by the placing of the two halves of the logogram marker under ANNUS.

*462-*ti*: perhaps same word as *462-*ti-i* (KULULU 2, § 3), where the sign *462 is tentatively identified as used to write some form of the stem *muwa-*. Although no verb is apparent elsewhere in this clause, it does not look very promising to identify the verb in the present form either. If it is indeed a nominal form of *muwa-*, it could be abl. (sing.), or dat. sing. of a form *muwita-*.

“ANNUS”-*za*: presumably dat. plur., *usanza*, “for years” (duration of time?).

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-ta-sá*: apparently gen. sing. (cf. above, §§ 5, 6), but the accommodation of this to syntax of clause is unclear, especially in the absence of a recognizable verb. Understand “be”? i.e. “he (*-as*) ... (is) of Tarhunzas”?

§ 13. *u(-x?)pa-tara/i*: uncertain whether *x* is a syllabogram or simply a marker. Meriggi’s reading was re-

vised from *upatar*? (*Glossar*, s.v., also p. 142, *u*-384-*pa-tar*) to BOS.ANIMAL X²*tar-pa-*. Quite unclear.

("BIBERE")*wa/i-sù+ra/i-li-sá*: determining logogram sufficiently clear; this should assign the word to a certain semantic range. Cf. word *wa-aš-šù-ù-ra-ia* (*KBo* IV, 8 iii 10, broken context)?

|MILLE(-)*ia-na(-)sa-ha-s[a...]*: division and function in § 13 quite unclear.

§ 14. *ti-na-ti-sà-i*: only possibly recognizable word, the verb. Can it be connected with *ti-na-ta-za*, "tithe" (see SULTANHAN, § 28)? If so, it could mean "he will tithe".

§ 15. See Hawkins, loc. cit., establishing reading and identifying "PES"-*wa/i-tu-u* (with logogram markers!) as *awi-*, "come".

§ 16. (CAPUT)*ha+ra/i<-ma>-ha-si(-n)... ha-IUDEX+RA/I-na*: restored and interpreted by Meriggi (Edition), following earlier attempts of Bossert, as "salute

della persona", by reference to *ha-tà+ra/i-ti-i//ha-IUDEX+RA/I-ri+i*, abl. sing. (KARATEPE, Hu./Ho. 277, = Phoen. *šlm*, "peace, health"); but in fact the KARATEPE equation is better taken with Phoen. *hym*, "life" (see Commentary); cf. also KAR-KAMIŠ A5a, § 2.

§ 17. *a+ra/i-ia*: pure phonetic writing establishes full reading in comparison with the usual ("LONGUS") *a+ra/i-*, = Cun. Luw. *arrai-*, "long".

ha-li-i: cf. BOR, § 11, with same writing; two examples serve to confirm this as a genuine writing, not a mistake, presumably contracted from *bá-li-ia* (KARATEPE, 292). Cf. also (DIES)*ba-li* (KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 1).

§ 18. *wa/i-tu-wa/i-tà-*: clearly *wa+tu+ata*, "and it/them to him ..." (so Meriggi).

§ 22. See Hawkins, loc. cit., establishing reading and elucidating verb (AEDIFICARE)*ta-ma-*, "build".

X.12. TOPADA (plates 250–253)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. On the Nevşehir-Aksaray road, just before the village of Acıgöl (formerly Topada), a left turn leads to Karapınar village (4 km.) and forks right to Ağılı village (6 km.). An alternative route leads directly south from Acıgöl to Ağılı (9 km.). The inscription is located 3 km. north-west of Ağılı, carved on a naturally smooth face of a long, low cliff facing south over a valley to a large mound, Karahöyük. For the topography, cf. Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, p. 119.

Description. The main inscription (A) is of 8 lines, beginning upper right and running sinistroversely to a point of rock on the left, continuing *boustrophedon*; ll. 3–8 are extended round a corner on the left on to an adjacent face. The inscription ends at lower right. A subsidiary inscription (B), a "scribal signature", was placed on an adjoining rock to the right of the main inscription. It comprised a single sinistroversely line which broke off incomplete on the left side, having lost at least one word. Inscription B was destroyed before 1986.

Dimensions: (A) ht., 2.83 m.; w., 2.95 m. (main part) + 1.36 m. (left extension); line ht., 0.30 m.; (B) destroyed, not now measurable unless cast survives (see Discovery).

Condition: generally good; upper left corner somewhat unclear; lower left side, flakes missing; lower edge deteriorating, some parts recently lost.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: generally cursive.

Peculiarities: legion (see TOPADA: the Signary, below).

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. By German teacher in Istanbul, Rudolf Franz, in 1908. He sent squeezes to Dr. Bruno Güterbock, who deposited them in the Berlin Museum (Vorderas. Abteilung). A cast of the inscription was made by a German archaeologist, Siehe, during the First World War (see report of R. Normand, *Syria* 2 (1921), p. 199 f.), apparently the cast in Beirut Museum utilized by Hrozný (I do not know whether this survives). Hrozný himself visited and worked on the inscription 28/10–1/11/1934. For these details of discovery see principally Bossert, loc. cit. (below, Publication); also H. E. del Medico, *RHA* II/15 (1934), pp. 247–250, pls. 14–19 (topography and general photographs); Hrozný, loc. cit. (below), p. 488 f.//351 f.; Gelb, loc. cit. (below), p. 33.

Publication. Bossert, *OLZ* 37 (1934), pp. 145–150 (Abb. 1–2, drawings from Berlin squeeze, photograph, and photograph of Beirut cast); del Medico, loc. cit., pls. 16–18.1 (photographs); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), = *IHH* III (1937), pp. 488–515//351–378, pls. LVIII–LXI//XLIX–LII (general photographs), LXII–LXV//LIII–LVI (photographs of inscription A, complete, right side, left side, left extension), LXVI//LVII (photograph of inscription B), (-)//LVIII (photographs of Beirut casts, inscriptions A and B), LXVII//LIX (sketch plan); Gelb, *HMM* (1939), no. 36 ("Karapınar"), p. 33, pls. LIII–LIV (photographs of inscription A, A left extension and B); Meriggi, *RSO* 32 (1957), p. 229 fig. 1 (drawing); id., *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 24, 26 fig. 10 (drawing with collations made during visit to inscription, May–June 1958).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit. (1935//1937); Meriggi, *RHA* IV/29 (1937), pp. 187–200; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 31, pp. 122–126, Tav. XIII (drawing reprinted from *QdGB*).

Excerpts.

- § 3 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 150 cit. C.
 §§ 3–4 Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 165 f.
 § 4 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 392; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 211.
 §§ 6–8 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 127 cit. 6.
 § 8 Bossert, *Or. NS* 23, p. 142 f.; Meriggi, *RSO* 32, p. 229 f.; Laroche, *HH* nos. 99, 269 (b), 366.1.
 § 10 Bossert, *Afo* 18, p. 364 f.
 § 17 Kalac, *KZ* 92, p. 121.
 §§ 17–18 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 392.
 § 22 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 128 cit. 7.
 § 27 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 136 cit. 31.
 §§ 28–30 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 141 cit. 43.
 §§ 28, 30, 32 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 331 f.
 § 29 Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 99.
 § 32 Bossert, *Or. NS* 30, p. 201; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, p. 291 n. 24.
 §§ 33–38 Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 267.
 §§ 35–38 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 40 f.
 §§ 36, 38 Laroche, *HH* no. 341.2.
 § 38 Hawkins, *Mesopotamia* 8, p. 217.
 § 39 Bossert, *Sprache* 5, p. 13 f.

Content. Commemorative inscription set up by or under the authority of Wasusarmas, “Great King”, son of Tuwatis, “Great King”; it is uncertain whether the 1st person of the narrative is Wasusarmas or a lieutenant (see Commentary, § 2). The inscription describes political and military events, which perhaps took place in the vicinity, involving a struggle against a city *Parzuta*. § 1, name, title and genealogy; § 2, (unclear); §§ 3–4, enemies and friends; §§ 5–9, rivalry over frontiers; §§ 10–27, military activities involving cavalry; §§ 28–33, divine favour; §§ 34–38, protective curse; § 39, scribal signature.

Date. Meriggi tried to separate the Wasusarmas and Tuwatis of TOPADA and SUVASA from the homonymous rulers named on KAYSERİ, SULTANHAN, ÇİFTLİK and KULULU 1, on the grounds of the

markedly different epigraphic styles of the groups, and he identified the TOPADA-SUVASA style as archaic. This separation does not seem likely, and the stylistic differences are better explained as local, and as conscious archaism (see below, TOPADA, the Signary, p. 460 f.). The identification of the names of two of the allied kings in § 4 argues for contemporaneity. Thus TOPADA (and SUVASA) may be dated to the reign of Wasusarmas, identified as the Wassurme, king of Tabal, deposed by Tiglath-pileser III between 732 and 729 B.C. See above, The Historical Context, p. 429 f. and nn. 61–69; also KULULU 1 and SULTANHAN, Dates, for the reigns of Tuwatis and Wasusarmas.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of photographs, and has been collated against the rock itself on a number of occasions.

Photographs. Pl. 250a–c are prints made from colour slides taken by me in the summer 1968. Pl. 251a–c are photographs given to me by Professor H. G. Güterbock. These are part of a set which Güterbock had from an old Berlin contact. They were taken at the site, apparently before the First World War and at a time when squeezes of the inscription were being made. This suggests that they are the photographs mentioned by Bossert (see Publication), taken by Franz in 1908 and given to Dr. Bruno Güterbock or one of his associates. Like Hrozný’s photographs of 1934, they show l. 8 before some subsequent losses of flakes from the bottom. Pl. 252a is an unpublished photograph by Gelb taken in 1935, and pl. 252b, c, d, e were taken by me (c in the summer 1990, and the rest as colour slides in the summer 1968).

Note. In the following Transliteration, the undifferentiated *zi/za* sign (*HH* no. 376) is transliterated *zi/a* as in the archaic inscriptions: see below, TOPADA, the Signary, 2, note.

Given the large number of rare and unparalleled sign forms and values found in this inscription, we are frequently forced to infer identities and values from the contexts, and transliterations may appear somewhat arbitrary. The individual problems are dealt with in the Commentary, and thereafter recapitulated in a discussion of the Signary which follows it.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [MAGNUS.]REX *wa/i₄-su-ṣ-IRM-*A*-ma-sa* [MAGNUS.] REX
 HEROS *tú-wa/i₄-ti-sa* MAGNUS.REX HEROS-*li-sa* INFANS
 § 2 *wa/i₄-su-ṣ-IRM-*A*-ma-sa*-(*-*)*wa/i₅* FORTIS-*zi/a-ti* PRAE-*na*
 X.PISCIS²-(*-*)*sà-ta_x*
 § 3 *wa/i-mu pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x*(URBS) 8 REX-*ti-sa* POST+*ra/i-zi/a*
 2. FRONS-*la/i-u-zi/a-ba* x[...?](*-*)||*sa-ta_x*

Translation

[Great K]ing Wasusarmas, Great King, Hero, son of Tuwatis, Great King, Hero.
 In the presence of Wasusarmas Muwaziti was ... (??)
 Against me in the city *Parzuta* eight kings, lesser and more important, were *hostile*.

- § 4 *wa/i-mu tara/i-zi/a REX-ti-zi/a CUM-ni wa/i₆-sa₇-ta_x wa/i₅+ra/i-pa-la_x-wa/i-sa_x ki_x-ia-ki_x-ia-sa₄-ha ru-wa/i₇-ta_x-sa-ha* *92
- § 5 *á-mu-ha²/pa²-wa/i REX+RA/I-ti (ANIMAL)EQUUS-wa/i-ti u-pa-ha*
- § 6 *a-wa/i á-mi-i«a»-NEG₂ FINES+RA/I+HLA-ha-li CASTRUM-ni-sa₇ PONERE-wa/i-ha*
3. § 7 *pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-si²-sa₆-[x]-wa/i-mu-ta_x FINES+HI || CUR-RUS(-)x-ta_x*
- § 8 *wa/i-sa ("PES₂")i+ra/i á-pa-sa₅-ti (ANIMAL)EQUUS-wa/i-ti OMNIS-MI-ti EXERCITUS-la/i/u-ti-ha á-pa_x-si²-na FINES+RA/I+HI-NEG₂ zi/a-ara/i ta_x-ri+i-ta_x*
- § 9 *PONERE-wa/i-ta_x-pa-wa/i-ta_x MONS-ti*
- § 10 *á-mu-pa_x-wa/i₈-mi-ta_x a_x-mi-ia+ra/i REX+RA/I-ti (ANIMAL) EQUUS-wa/i-ti x-zi² ANNUS(-)na-ha-sa_x-ha_x*
- § 11 *a-wa/i 2-sú zi/a-sa₆-ta₅*
- § 12 *CUM-ta_x-ta_x-pa-wa/i-mi-ta_x ANNUS(-)na-ha-sa₅-ha*
- § 13 *wa/i-sa pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-wa/i-ni_x(URBS) "TERRA"-REL_x+ra/i *273-ti ("PES₂")i+ra/i*
4. § 14 *wa/i₅-ta_x || URBS+MI.AEDIFICIUM-ta_x-na FLAMMAE(?) (-)la_x-há-nú-wa/i-ta_x*
- § 15 **274-ia-pa-wa/i FEMINA.MANUS-zi/a-ha SERVUS-sa ("PES")u-pa-ta_x*
- § 16 *MAGNUS+ra/i-zi/a-pa-wa/i-mu (ANIMAL)EQUUS-sa POST+ra/i(-ti?) FINES+HI(-ti?) -zi/a (LITUUS)ti-ia+ra/i-ta_x*
- § 17 *wa/i-mu á-mi-sa₄ DOMINUS-ni-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-zi/a-sa₈ (DEUS)ARM.A-sa₈ (DEUS)*198-sa₆ (DEUS)BOS.*206. PANIS-sa₈-ha PRAE-na *179-ia-ta_x*
- § 18 *wa/i-mi-ta_x tú-pa-sa₆-ti wa/i₅-sú-ha*
- § 19 *a-mi-sa-há-wa/i₅-tú-ta_x REX+RA/I-sa₇ (ANIMAL)EQUUS-sa₄ FRONS-ti-ia-si²-sa FRONS-ti-sa₇ ANNUS-na 2-zi/a*
5. *"TERRA"-REL+ra/i a-ta_x || ta-x(URBS) *274(-)sà-ta_x*
- § 20 *wa/i₇-tú- ANNUS tara/i-zi/a TERRA-REL_x+ra/i ta-x(URBS) a-ta_x CRUS+FLUMEN-ta_x*
- § 21 *wa/i-tà 3 ANNUS MAGNUS-zi/a (ANIMAL)EQUUS-zi/a FRONS-ti(ras.)-ia-sa₅+ra/i FRONS-ti-ia+ra/i x-si²(-)sa-ta_x*
- § 22 *wa/i-mu-ta_x 3 LUNA+MI-zi/a x-pa-zi/a PRAE-na *273-pa-mi(-) NEG₃ ta_x-ta_x-[tā²]*
- § 23 *zi/a-tà-pa-wa/i-ta_x CRUS.CRUS (ANIMAL)EQUUS-ti pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-wa/i-ni(URBS) "TERRA"-REL+ra/i INFRA²-ta_x-ta_x ("PES₂")pa-zi/a-ta_x||*
6. § 24 *[...]URBS [FLAMMAE(?)?](-)la_x-há-nú-wa/i-ta_x*
- § 25 **74-wa/i-i-sà-pa-wa/i REL_x+RA/I-ta_x*274 FEMINA.MANUS-ha SERVUS-wa/i .ARHLA² u-pa-[ta_x]*
- § 26 *pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-wa/i₉-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-ta_x(URBS) (ANIMAL) EQUUS-sa₈ (*219)ha+ra/i-pa-zi/a-[ha] OMNIS-MI-zi/a á-zi²-sa-na FINES+HI zi/a(-)CRUS+RA/I*
- § 27 *wa/i-ti-ia-na NEG₂+ra/i² x-i[a²]+ra/i*

and three kings were friendly to me,
Warpalawas, Kiyakiyas and
Ruwas the ...

I myself with the Royal Horse
brought

and put walls (as) my frontier-
(post).

Me the Parzutassian ...ed at the
frontier,

and he went (and) with all his
horse and army raised his own
frontier here(?),

and put (it) on the mountain.

I myself —ed the — with my
Royal Horse,

and he/they —ed twice(?),

... I —ed down.

He (the Royal Horse?) went with
might into the Parzutean land,
and burnt(?) the building(s)(?),

and brought the UPATIT-(?) and
the women (and) children (in)
slavery(?).

But the Great (of the) Horse(?)
afterwards guarded(?) the
frontiers for me.

My lord Tarhunzas, Sarrumas, god
X and god Y ran before me,

and I succeeded(?) by battle(?)

Against him my Royal Horse, the
First of the First(?), kept ham-
mering the city ... in the land for
two years,

and against him they crossed(?) into
the land (of) the city ... for
three years,

and in the third year, the Great (of
the) Horse were(?) of(?) ...
with the First of the First,

(See Commentary.)

and there/then went down to the
Parzutean land with the
following(?) Horse,

and burnt(?) the city ...

But when(?) he/they brought
away(?) the UPATIT-(?) and the
women (and) children (in)
slavery(?),

the Parzutean Horse and all the
rebels attacked(?) our frontier,

but he did(?) not conquer(?) it for
himself.

- § 28 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-zi/a-sa₃-pa-wa/i-tú-ta_x* *273 + RA/I.
*200-na ARHA CAPEE-*ta_x*
- § 29 *a-wa/i₅* NEG₂ REL_x-*ba mu-wa/i-ta_x i-zi/a-ia-tá*
7. § 30 *á-mu-pa-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-sa* || (DEUS)SARMA-*ma-sa*
(DEUS)*198-*sa* (DEUS)BOS.*206. PANIS-*sa* *273 + RA/I.
*200-na DARE-*ta_x*
- § 31 *wa/i₅-mí-i á-x* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-na* (DEUS)SARMA-*ma-na*
(DEUS)*198-*na* (DEUS)BOS.*206. PANIS-*na á-ru²-na*
POST + *ra/i-ta_x* CAPEE-ARGENTUM-*[x]-sá-wa/i₅*
- § 32 *á-ta₄-ba-wa/i-mu wa/i + ra/i-li-na* MAGNUS + *ra/i-zi/a-na*
*273 + RA/I.*200-na [...]-*tí*
- § 33 *wa/i-mí á-ta₄* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-na* (DEUS)SARMA-*ma-na*
[...]
8. § 34 ... *tá*/CAPEE[...] REL_x-*[sá]* ARHA *ha + ra/i-ri + i*
- § 35 *wa/i-sa* REL-*i[...]* REX-*tí-sa*
- § 36 *wa/i-ta_x a-pa-sa-na* VAS-*tara/i-i-na á-pa-sa-7-[há²]* TERRA-
REL < + *ra/i* > -*na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*b[u-sa]* (DEUS)
SARMA-*ma-sa₆* [(DEUS)*198-*sa*] (DEUS)BOS.[*206.]
PANIS-*sa* ARHA *ha + ra/i-tú-u*
- § 37 REL_x-*i[...]*-*pa-wa/i-[sa]* POST + *ra/i-[sa]* CAPUT-*tí-[sa]*
- § 38 *wa/i-ta_x á-pa-sa-na* VAS-*tara/i-na a-pa-sa-ba* DOMUS-*na-zi/a*
(DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-sa* (DEUS)SARMA-*ma-sa*
(DEUS)*198-*[sa]* (DEUS)BOS.*206. PANIS-*[sa-ha]*
AR[HA] *ha + ra/i-tí-u*

Scribal Signature:

- § 39 CAPEE + SCALPRUM-*pa-wa/i + ra/i la-[sa₇]* *wa/i₄-su-*
SARMA-*ma-sa₇* MAGNUS.REX ... [...]

Tarhunzas took away from him the
victory,
and he did not make any conquest,
but to me Tarhunzas, Sarrumas,
god X (and) god Y gave the
victory.
In future I myself shall ... ATA
Tarhunzas, Sarrumas, god X, and
god Y ... ,
and ATA shall [make] great victory
my own.
and I for myself [shall ...] ATA Tar-
hunzas, Sarrumas, [god X (and)
god Y ...].
(He) who shall *smash* [...],
if he (is) a king,
may Tarhunzas, Sarrumas, gods X
and Y *smash* his person [and] his
land,

but if he is a lesser (man),
may Tarhunzas, Sarrumas, gods X
and Y *smash* his person and his
house!

Las inscribed it, [...] of Wasu-
sarmas, Great King [...]

Commentary

§ 1. Introduction: name title and genealogy without the common *amu*, “I (am)”; cf. CEKKE, § 6 a; GÜRÜN, § 1 b; KÖTÜKALE, § 1 b; KARKAMIŞ A17b, § 1; and among short inscriptions EGREK, § 1; ERKİLET 1, § 1. Actually the closest parallel is the archaic stele KARKAMIŞ A4b, § 1, starting as does this with MAGNUS.REX PN MAGNUS.REX HEROS ... PN₂ MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS. The present inscription seems to be affecting an archaic style (cf. below, the Signary).

HEROS-*li-sa*: phonetic complement normal with HEROS, as Meriggi notes; unusual order of reading seems to be indicated by 2 vertical strokes.

Titulary (cartouche): closely comparable to that found on the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, and probably descended from it. For the connection and its significance, see KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ, Commentary (General Observations); also above, The Historical Context, p. 429 f. and nn. 60, 69.

§ 2. Clause very uncertain; several interpretations possible.

One interpretation might be offered on the basis of a comparison with SUVASA, B:

PN ... *wa/i₄-su-SARMA-ma-sa* MAGNUS.REX-*sa-7-*
HEROS-*sa₄* PRAE-*na* MAGNUS.URCEUS-*sa₆*.

“So-and-so, Chief Butler in the presence of Wasusarmas, Great King, Hero.”

If the present clause corresponds to this, both would have *Wasusarmas* (gen. sing.) ... *paran*, “in the presence of W.” (for which see SUVASA, B, Commentary), and would give name and title of subordinate.

FORTIS-*zi/a-ti*: logogram well established as standing for *muwa-* (KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 26; KAYSERİ, § 11//SULTANHAN, § 32; KARADAĞ 1, § 2//KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b, also YALBURT, block 16). Taking the word as a personal name, we might explain -*zi/a-ti* as an unusual phonetic writing of the element *ziti-*, giving a typical combination *Muwa-ziti*. On this interpretation it would be nom. sing., the subject, so the omission of the ending -*s* would have to be explained, perhaps as an archaizing practice.

X.PISCIS²: interpreted according to SUVASA parallel, this would be the title. First sign relatively clear, but unidentified; second sign appears to be *fish*, found elsewhere only on SUVASA, C, in combination AVIS.PISCIS, apparently rendering a personal name.

If this interpretation of the clause as giving name and title of servant of Wasusarmas is correct, it would parallel CEKKE, § 6 a (“Sasturas (is) Kamanis’s first servant”). What would remain unclear is who should

be understood as the subject of the subsequent first person narrative: Wasusarmas himself, or this postulated subordinate Muwaziti(s)?

Alternative interpretation: could take *Wasusarmas* as nom. sing., the subject.

X.PISCIS²(-)*sā-la_x*: verb, *asa-*, “be”, or X.PISCIS-*sā-*, “?”?

FORTIS-*zi/a-ti*: should represent *muwizati*, abl. sing. of *muwizi-* (cf. personal name *Muwizi-*, MARAŞ 4, § 10; 1, § 1 f; and remarks of Starke, *Stammbildung*, Anm. 1633); or dat. sing. of *muwizati-*?

Sense: something like “Wasusarmas was ... // ... ed for/with MUWIZ(ATI)-”.

Problem: remains the subsequent 1st person sing. narrative. Is Wasusarmas the subject, and why the switch from 3 sing. to 1 sing.?

§ 3. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating POST+*ra/i-zi/a* FRONS-*la/i/u-zi/a-ba* (*apari(n)zi hantili(n)zi-ha*), “of second and first rank”.

pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x(URBS): recurrence of this name throughout the text could imply that it and the associated events were located in the neighbourhood of the inscription, so that it could have been the name of the local Karahöyük (for which see the photograph, pl. 250*b*, taken from in front of the inscription). The sign *zi²* remains one of the main uncertainties of the syllabary, which renders the reading of the name doubtful. Yet the comparison of the name with Hitt. URU *parš(u)hunta/paršuhanda/purušhanda* (etc.), Old Ass. *purušhattum*, seems not implausible (Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, p. 64), and this place is usually sought further west, at Acemhöyük or even Karahöyük (Konya), which is by no means excluded by the present narrative. Cf. above, The Historical Context, p. 426 and n. 16; *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 51 n. 76.

8: seems more likely than 5 (originally given).

x[...?](-)||sa-ta_x: *x* is probably *HH* no. 355, or better, 314, which could be more easily understood, since it determines words of hostility, *baša-*, “force”; (KARKAMIŞ A11*b+c*, § 30); *batastari-*, “frightfulness” (TELL AHMAR 1, § 12); *kapilali-*, “enemy” (TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 24, 26). The text would appear to continue directly on l. 2 without any loss.

§ 4. See Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit., for verb, *wa/i₆-sa₇*, “be good, friendly”; and Hawkins, loc. cit., identifying kings’ names as *Warpalawas*, *Kiyakiyas* and *Ruwatas* (first two being known kings).

tara/i-zi/a: justification for reading signs in this order and interpreting as “three” may be drawn from the three kings’ names following. Cf. also the writing of the numeral in § 20 below.

*92: for the form of this compound logogram made up of a foot surmounted by a ladder or steps above 2 wheels, see KARKAMIŞ A24*a2+3*, § 1, Commentary, where it is seen often to determine a word *za-la-la-*,

identified with Hitt.-Luw. *zalla-/zalliya-*, “gallop”. The ideographic content of the logogram, together with the fact that here it appears to be a title, suggests “charioteer”; see Starke, loc. cit.

§ 5. REX+*RA/I-ti* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*wa/i-ti*: recognized as “royal horse” since Hrozný, this is best understood in the context as the name of the king’s squadron.

REX+*RA/I-ti*: the reading of REX-*ti-*, “king” is probably to be inferred from Luw. *bandawati-*, Lyc. *χñtawati*, also “king” (Laroche, *FdX* VI, pp. 104–106; pace Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 77 n. 15). The present Hier. form could be an adj. form of a rhotacized **bandawari(ya)-* which would arise from a form **bandawadi-* implied in the Luw. spelling as against the Lyc.

The narrative part of the inscription concerns the doings of various groups of “horse”: (1) “my Royal Horse” (as here, also §§ 10, 19) apparently also designated *hantiyasis hantis*, “the First of the First” (§§ 19, 21); (2) “his horse” (§ 8), probably the same as the “Parzutean horse” (§ 26), i.e. the enemy cavalry; (3) the “Great (of the?) Horse”, MAGNUS(+*ra/i-zi/a*) (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sa//zi/a* (§§ 16, 21); (4) the “following(?) horse”, CRUS.CRUS (ANIMAL)EQUUS (§ 23).

u-pa-ha: cf. below, § 25// (“PES”) *u-pa-*, § 15. For this verb see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4, Commentary, with other attestations, and identification with (“CAPERE”) *upa-* (see KARKAMIŞ A11*b+c*, § 13; İSKENDERUN, § 3). The BOYBEYPINARI attestations use the verb in parallel with *tuwa-*, “put”, as here.

§§ 6–8. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating -NEG₂, = -*ná* (ending, acc. sing. MF); FINES+*RA/I+HLA-ha-li*, = *irhali-*, “frontier(-post)”; CASTRUM-*ni-sa₇*, = *har-nisa*, “walls”; *pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-si²-sa₆* (note *si²*), “(man) of Parzuta”; (“PES₂”) *i+ra/i*, “he went” (3 sing. pret., *i-*, “go”); *á-pa_x-si²-na*, “his” (note values *pa_x*, *si²*); *zi/a-ara/i*, = *zari* (< *zati*), “here”; *ta_x-ri+i-ta_x*, perhaps scribe’s mistake for verb PUGNUS-*ri+i-*, “raise”.

§ 6. *á-mi-ia¹*-NEG₂: in my treatment, loc. cit., I stated that collation supported a reading *i* not *ia*, relying on Hrozný’s photographs. Now, however, photographs from Gelb seem to show that it is indeed *ia*, as Meriggi has it. Since a reading *amiyan*, “my” (acc. sing. MF) is unparalleled, it is probably preferable to read *á-mi-ia*<<*a*>>-NEG₂, i.e. the normal *amin*.

§ 7. *pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-si²-sa₆*: the city name occurs as *pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x*(URBS) (dat. sing., § 3), and otherwise as *pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-wa/i-ni*(URBS), “Parzutean” (with variants *wa/i₆* and *ni_x*, §§ 13, 23 and 26). The present form apparently without URBS, may be identified as nom. sing. MF of the gen. adj. *parzutasis*, “that of Parzuta”. As the subject of this and the next two clauses, the sense requires that it is a person, thus “(man) of

Parzuta", "the Parzutassian", the principal enemy in the inscription, whose city was under attack.

-[x]-*wa/i-mu-ta_x*: broken sign has to have a value *ha* or *pa*, but none of the rare forms with these values agrees with the surviving traces, three vertical lines.

CURRUS(-)*x-ta_x*: *x* appears to be SCALPRUM (so also Hrozný).

§ 8. ("PES₂")*i*-, "go": for paradigm, see KARATEPE, 181. Note how here the next verb follows asyndetically as with Hitt. *pai*-, and *uwa*-.

EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ti*: for reading *ku(wa)lan*-, apparently an *-n*-stem, see KARATEPE, 45–46, Commentary. The abl. sing. in the present form (see also KÖRKÜN, § 6) is problematic, since an ending *-la/i/u-na-ti* would be expected. Starke distinguishes the stems *ku(wa)la*- and *ku(wa)lan*- (*Stammbildung*, § 148).

zi/a-ara/i: for form of *ara/i*, cf. SUVASA, D.

ta_x-ri+i-ta_x: the suggestion that this verb represents the common PUGNUS-*ri+i*-, "raise" (for which see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, Commentary), implies not an equation PUGNUS = *ta*, which is unsupported, but a mistaken identification of PUGNUS with *ta_x* by the TOPADA scribe.

§ 10. *á-mu-pa_x-wa/i₈-mi-ta_x*: signs *-pa_x-wa/i₈* appear to be "bread" (PANIS) and "wine" (VITIS), and clearly represent the connective particles here (cf. *-pa-wa/i-mi-ta_x*, § 12). PANIS has a contextually required value *pa_x* in *á-pa_x-si²-na* (§ 8), though the reason for the attribution of the value is unclear. The value VITIS = *wa/i₈* appears already in the Empire period in the writing of the name *Gasulawi*, and is clearly modelled on the contemporary adaptation of Cun. GEŠTIN = *wi*.

a_x-mi-ia+ra/i: value *a_x* contextually required; cf. also *a-mi*- in same phrase, below, § 19.

ANNUS(-)*na-ha-sa_x-ha_x*//ANNUS(-)*na-ha-sa₅-ha* (§ 12): while the verbs are not understood, the pair provides the equations *sa_x* = *sa₅* and *ha_x* = *ha*; for the latter, see also AKSARAY, § 8 (*na REL-ti-ha_x*). Whether the sign ANNUS has the value *zi* as in KAYSERİ cannot be established until the verb can be identified with a known stem.

§ 11. Word division and order of reading uncertain, words unidentified. 2-*sù*-, "twice?": cf. ("3")*tara/i-su-u* "4"-*su-u* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 19).

§ 12. CUM-*ta_x-ta_x*: CUM (hand+LITUUS) elsewhere always has complement *-ni*, reading unknown. INFRA/SUB (same, without LITUUS) has the complements *-ta* (= *kata*, "down") and *-na-na* (= *anan*, "under"). INFRA-*tá-ta* (= *kata(n)ta*) is identified in AKSARAY, § 6 (see Commentary), and perhaps recurs below, § 23. Possibly the present form may be taken as the same with the LITUUS added by mistake.

§ 13. *wa/i-sa* (i.e. *wa+as*), "and he": who? "My Royal Horse" would seem the most likely, since the context

appears to be one of invading the enemy territory of Parzuta; cf. parallel clause, § 23.

pa+ra/i-zi²-ta_x-wa/i-ni_x(URBS): sole evidence for the value *ni_x* is the alternation of *-ni* in the same word, § 23. The sign *ni_x* (HH no. 447) is used as a syllabogram in the writing of a personal name in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 2 (see Commentary).

*273-*ti*: presumably abl. sing. of noun, which may be *warpi*- or *muwa*-, the only nouns written with *273 (see KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 14; SHEIZAR, § 8, and Commentaries). Alternatively we may note that *273 determines the verb *tupi*-, "smite", a derived form of which may be identified in *tù-pa-sa-ti*, "by battle(?)" (below, § 18); it could be this word which should be understood here.

§ 14. URBS+*MI.AEDIFICIUM-ta_x-na*: although this writing is not elsewhere attested (but cf. broken parallel clause, § 24 below), it is reasonable to infer from the logograms that it represents some kind of building; cf. BABYLON 1, § 7.

FLAMMAE(?)(-)*la_x-há-nú-wa/i-ta_x* (also § 24 below): the logogram tentatively identified as "flames" (FLAMMAE(?)) elsewhere determines words which may be plausibly interpreted as "burn" (*kinuwa*-, *la/i/u-sà-la/i/u-sà*-, see CEKKE, § 4, with references; also *marusana*-, KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 7, Commentary). Though the present sign is reversed, there seems no good reason to doubt its identity. An interpretation of the present verb as "(cause to) burn" would fit the context as understood. The sign *la_x* owes its attributed value to its occurrence in the name *wa/i₅+ra/i-pa-la_x-wa/i*-, and it might indeed be possible to link this causative verb ultimately with *la/i/u-sà-la/i/u-sà*- (HAMA, § 11) with its apparently similar meaning.

§ 15. Closely paralleled in similar context by § 25.

*274-*ia*: noun, acc. plur. N, object of verb? The sign *274 is only attested as standing for noun *upatit*-, "landholding, demesne" (see MARAŞ 4, § 3; TELL AHMAR 1, § 8), and for verb *batali*-, "bludgeon", not appropriate here.

FEMINA.MANUS-*zi/a-ha*//FEMINA.MANUS-*ha*: parallel writings best taken to indicate that first two signs form a compound logogram, i.e. MANUS not syllabogram *ta_x*. FEMINA.MANUS may now be compared with the recent appearance on YALBURT (blocks 6 § 1, 15 § 1) of FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a*-, interpreted there as "women (and) children" (see *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 76). If this is indeed an archaizing echo of YALBURT, MANUS would stand for INFANS (i.e. MANUS+*386). Contextually the possibility that this refers to carrying off women (and) children seems plausible.

SERVUS-*sa*: cf. SERVUS-*wa/i* in parallel passage. SERVUS is only attested in SERVUS-*ta₄/ta₅*-, "servant" (see KARATEPE, 6, Commentary), apart from

one single alternation with *mi* (KARATEPE, 293; cf. ŞIRZI, § 4, and Commentary). See further below, § 25.

("PES")*u-pa-ta_x*: see above, § 5, Commentary.

§ 16. MAGNUS+*ra/i-zi/a* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sa*, paralleled by MAGNUS-*zi/a* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*zi/a* (§ 21): clearly one of the bodies of horse noted above, § 5; logograms suggest "great (of the) horse, commander(s) of the horse" but it is unclear how the phonetic complements indicate that the phrase should be construed. Cf. MAGNUS+*ra/i-ia-zi*, "commanders(?)" (CEKKE, § 14, and Commentary); and for the office, cf. O. Ass. GAL *sisé* (von Soden, *AHW*, s.v. *sisú*(2); Kammenhuber, *Hipp. Heth.*, p. 13; CAD S, s.v. *sisú*).

POST+*ra/i(-ti?)*: elsewhere only complemented -*ta*, as below, § 31, but identified with Cun. Luw. *apparanti*-, "future" (adj.); -*ti* may be phon. complement or belong with following word.

FINES+*HI(-ti?)*-*zi/a*: if -*ti* belongs here rather than with preceding word, we would have to envisage the basic stem in an extended form in -*ti*- not otherwise attested; cf. Cun. Luw.-Hitt. *irhatt-*? (The sense "series" is hardly appropriate).

(LITUUS)*ti-ia+ra/i-ta_x* (*ia* established by collation): for the verb (LITUUS)*tiyari(ya)*-, "guard", see KULULU 5, § 13, and Commentary, with other attestations. The present context supports the interpretation.

§ 17. See Kalaç, loc. cit., for a convincing association of the verb PRAE-*na* *179-*ia-ta_x* with PRAE-*na* (PES₂)*HWT-ia-ta* (KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 11); cf. *HWT-ia-ta* (BABYLON 1, § 2); PRAE-*na* PES₂(-)*wa/i-sâ-i-ta* (KARKAMIŞ A12, § 3; it is not however certain that the verb in this last attestation is the same, (*hui*)*huiya*-, [see now Commentary, ad loc.]). The use of the sign *179, elsewhere identified as a logogram for "barley" (see AKSARAY, § 4, Commentary), in place of the usual *HWT* is probably to be explained as an incorrect attempt by the scribe to reproduce the archaic form of *HWT*. For *HWT* see now Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kadmos* 32 (1993), pp. 50–60.

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zi/a-sa₈* etc.: that the vertical stroke must here represent the nom. sing. MF ending (thus *sa₈*) was observed by Bossert, *WdO* II/4 (1957), p. 358, though many of the inferences which he drew must be regarded as invalid. The basic recognition has been amply confirmed by the discovery of KULULU 4 with several examples of the usage. Cf. also below § 26; PORSUK, § 5.

(DEUS)*198-*sa₆*: logogram identified as "vegetation" by Hrozný and specifically "grain" (= god Halki) by Kalaç; found elsewhere determining the unknown word *kirati-/kirari*- (ASSUR letter *e*, §§ 25, 29). The evidence at present seems inadequate for a definite identification.

(DEUS)BOS.*206.PANIS-*sa₈*: identified by Kalaç as the goddess Sausga; but his attempts to establish phonetic readings for the signs *206 and PANIS do not seem compelling.

§ 18. See Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit., with tentative interpretation.

tû-pa-sa₆-ti: derived nominal form of verb *tûpi*-, "smite"? Cf. also above, § 13, *273-*ti*?

wa/i₅-sû-ha: cf. verb (BONUS)*wa/i-su*-, "be good", BOHÇA, §§ 2, 4. It was argued that the meaning in the present attestation was conditioned by the presence of the reflexive -*mi*- in the introductory particles.

§ 19. FRONS-*ti-ia-si[?]-sa* FRONS-*ti-sa₇*: cf. FRONS-*ti*-(*ras*.)*ia-sa₅+ra/i* FRONS-*ti-ia+ra/i* (§ 21) and the interpretation proposed by Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 148 f. The two pairs, first nom. sing. MF, second abl. sing., are mutually confirmatory and support contextually the postulated value *si[?]*. The establishment of FRONS = *hant*-, "front, forehead, face," produces the reading *hantiyasi- hanti*-, of which each element is paralleled by Cun. Luw. and Hitt. attestations and which imposes a literal rendering "first of the first". Contextually it seems that this phrase must stand in apposition to "my Royal Horse", thus to serve as a title to the squadron.

ANNUS-*na* 2-*zi/a*, "for two year(s)": cf. expressions of time in following clauses. It is curious to find acc. sing. MF ending on the noun combined with acc. plur. MF ending on the numeral. The accusative for duration of time is paralleled in such phrases as *usin usin*, "every year" (KULULU 1, § 6); *arin arin*, "every time" (HAMA 4, § 13); cf. also e.g. CENTUM-*ni* ANNUS-*si-na*, "for 100 year(s)" (SHEIZAR, § 2). The sign ANNUS often has a circle above the "pithos", no doubt representing the lid (so also Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 228), as here, § 21 below, but this is often omitted as here §§ 19, 20; also KULULU 1, § 6; SHEIZAR, § 2; KARATEPE, 266, 293; MARAŞ 3, § 6; MARAŞ 4, § 3.

ta-x(URBS): sign *x* clear but unidentified; cf. *ta*.*505(URBS), SÜDBURG, § 7, and Commentary (*StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 38).

*274(-)*sâ-ta_x*: provisionally taken as -*sa*- suffixed form of verb *hatali*-, "bludgeon, smite", only verb known to be written with sign *274.

§ 20. *wa/i₇-tû*': context demands connective particles here at junction between two clauses; and values *wa/i₇*, allocated provisionally also in § 4, and *tû* provide connectives of necessary form.

ANNUS *tara/i-zi/a*, "for three years", may safely be so read and recognized by comparison with previous clause, "for two years".

CRUS+FLUMEN-*ta_x*: Hrozný's interpretation of the ideographic content of the linked signs ("un pied traversant un fleuve") and his understanding of the

verb “faire traverser” seem appropriate to the context and are adopted.

§ 21. 3 ANNUS: for contrast ANNUS *tara/i-zi/a* ... 3 ANNUS, “for three years ... in the third year”, cf. Hitt. 9 MU^{H1.A}-*aš kappuwantaš* ... 9-ti MU-ti, “for nine counted years ... in the ninth year” (*KUB XXXIII*, 120 i 12, 18). The present phrase, though lacking phonetic complements, may well be understood to be dat. sing.

x-si²(-)-sa-ta_x: first sign, though comparatively clear, is unidentified, seems to be *hapax legomenon*; possibly a complete word (verb), perhaps analyse *x-si²* (gen. sing.), *sa-ta_x* 3 plur. pret. (*a*)*sa-*, “be”, thus “they were of ...”.

§ 22. Many obscurities; clause listed by Hawkins, loc. cit., but not understood.

3 LUNA.MI-*zi/a*, “for three months”: seems likely by comparison with preceding expressions of time.

x-pa-zi/a: sign *x* listed by Meriggi (231) and Laroche (240) but otherwise unidentified; possibly to be identified as an archaizing revival of Empire *430, identified as logogram for “all”, for which see *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 25 f. If the word qualified “months”, a meaning “whole” could be considered.

*273-*pa-mi(-)*NEG₃: the negative sign apparently used as acc. sing. MF case ending *-n* as in §§ 6 and 8 above, though here shown by collation to be NEG₃ not NEG₂, i.e. without the two bars at base, giving *a-* vocalization. According to known readings of *273, *tupamin*, “smitten”, or *warpamin*, particle of denom. verb formed from *warpi-*, “virtue, skill, courage” (see above, § 13, Commentary), could be envisaged. Most likely acc. sing. MF for agreement is *-mu*, “me”, in which case the postulated *warpamin* would seem more likely in the context.

PRAE-*na*: probably preverbal usage; cf. PRAE-*ia* AUDIRE-*matimi-*, “far-famed” (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1; BOHÇA, § 1).

ta_x-ta_x[tā²]: my collation agrees with Hrozný in reading, doubtfully, the last sign; but it is actually required by context as 3 plur. pret. ending. The verb could be an uncertain phonetic *tata-*; or possibly, by comparison with § 8, where it was suggested that *ta_x* might be mistakenly used for PUGNUS, we might recognize here an attempt at writing the common verb PUGNUS. PUGNUS- (for transitive use, see SULTANHAN, § 43, and Commentary).

Translation: “He/they TA_x-TA_x-ed me *273-PA-ed forth for three whole months”??

§ 23. *zi/a-tā*: cf. *zi-tā*, uncertain deictic element, KARATEPE, 155.

CRUS.CRUS: elsewhere shown to write verb *ni(ya)-*(*za/sa-*), “follow” (see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 128); here adjectival form (participle?) seems to be required.

INFRA²-*ta_x-ta_x*: cf. above CUM-*ta_x-ta_x*, § 12. INFRA-*tā-ta* is identified as *kata(n)ta* (AKSARAY, § 6). Uncertainty here resides in identification of sign as INFRA. Alternatively, it could be *pi* (sign found elsewhere in this inscription only in § 30), but no obvious interpretation of *pi-ta_x-ta_x* suggests itself.

(“PES₂”) *pa-zi/a-ta_x*: collation does not support Hrozný’s observation of traces of *u* in this verb, which seems certain to identify with (PES₂) *pa-za-* (KARKAMIŠ A12, §§ 10–12; SHEIZAR, § 2; KARKAMIŠ, A5b, § 1, and Commentaries). The interpretation of this as a verb of “going” is supported by its occurrence here, where the parallel clause, § 13, has (“PES₂”) *i-*, “go”.

§ 24. Parallel to § 14 above.

[...]URBS: appears to have been an actual city name, as against the parallel URBS+*MIAEDIFICIUM-ta_x-na*.

§ 25. Parallel to § 15 above, with added complications.

*74-*wa/i-sā(-)*: first sign probably same as in SUV-ASA, C, thus *74. Form and function of word opaque.

REL_x+*RA/I-ta_x*: relative conjunction of unclear form.

*274 FEMINA.MANUS-*ba*: cf. parallel clause, Commentary.

SERVUS-*wa/i*: how does this connect with parallel SERVUS-*sa*? May we, in spite of unrecognizable forms of each word, infer a logographic usage, “servitude” or the like, from the context?

ARHLA²: perhaps to be identified as an archaizing attempt at this sign (cf. forms of FINES in this inscription), though Late forms of ARHLA occur below, §§ 28, 34, 36, 38. For the Empire form of ARHLA, see *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 36 f.

§ 26. (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sa₈*: signs so identified by Hrozný, doubtless correctly, giving clear sense.

(*219) *ba+ra/i-pa-zi/a* (Hrozný’s reading supported by collation): the context suggests association of this word with Hitt.-Luw. *harp-*, “separate, secede”, and derivatives *harpu-*, “hostile”, *harpanalli-*, “rebel” (see Tischler, *HEG*, s.v. *harp-*, *harpu-*; also Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 207–210). The sense “rebel” would fit very well here, though such a short nominal form from the stem is not paralleled. [But see now Puhvel’s rearrangement of the stem(s) *harp-* etc.: *HED*, s.v. *har(a)p-*].

*zi/a(-)*CRUS+*RA/I*: apparently verb, though reminiscent of *za*-CRUS+*RA/I* (CEKKE, § 8), which is not. Conceivably the verb is simply CRUS+*RA/I* (for which see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5, Commentary); this would leave the *zi/a* as the ending of FINES+*HI*, which does not look likely, or perhaps as an independent word.

FINES+*HI*: possibly endless form but otherwise dat. sing., = *irhi*.

ā-zu²-sa-na: form recalls *ā-zu²-za*, “(to) us” (ASSUR letters, *passim*). One wonders whether it could be dat.

sing. of a gen. adj. in *-(a)san* formed on the pronominal stem, as a parallel formation to the attested possessive adj. *anxi-*, “our” (attested forms *a-xi-sa*, nom. sing. MF; *a-xa-ia*, (nom.) acc., plur. N). “To our frontier” would give good sense and parallel the “my frontier” and “his frontier” of §§ 6 and 8 above.

§ 27. Listed by Hawkins, loc. cit., in treatment of negatives, but not interpreted; now divided differently (*xi/a(-)CRUS+RA/I* taken as verb of preceding clause).

wa/i-ti-ia-na: i.e. *wa+ti+an*, “and it for himself”; *-an*, “it”, probably the frontier.

NEG₂+ra/i: presence of *+ra/i* suggested by collation of photographs, but uncertain and unexplained.

x-i[a'] + *ra/i*: sign *x* neither *pá* nor *ara/i* but as rendered by Hrozný, not identified, logogram? Ending either *-i+ra/i* (i.e. *-ri+i*, which would represent 3 sing. pres., rhotacized; or perhaps *-ia+ra/i* (so Hrozný), which could be interpreted as 3 sing. pret. (expected tense) rhotacized. In the context as interpreted, a meaning “win, conquer” might seem appropriate.

§§ 28–30. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the negative in the passage, with parallel topoi (mainly SULTANHAN, §§ 43–45). Another similar topos has since appeared in AKSARAY, §§ 7–9.

§ 28. *273 + *RA/I*. *200-*na* (also §§ 30, 32): unclear what word lies behind the writing. Logograms represent *warpi-*, “virtue, skill, courage”, or *muwa-*, “power, force” (see above, § 13, Commentary), and *pihas-*, “lightning, glory” (see KARATEPE, 299, Commentary); these would seem to indicate the semantic range, whatever the exact reading.

§ 29. Close SULTANHAN parallel to this clause (§ 44), seems to show that *mu-wa/i-ta_x i-xi/a-ia* is the equivalent of the transitive verb *muwa-*, now seen to mean “conquer, dominate” (see KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b, and Commentary). For the forms, cf. PUGNUS-*ri+i-ia-i-xi-ia*//PUGNUS-*ri+i-*, “make exalted//exalt” (KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 4, Commentary). Here *mu-wa/i-ta_x* is best to be taken as noun, probably with omission of acc. sing. MF ending *-n*, = *muwita*? (probably identical with *mu-wa/i-i-ta-*, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 28, cf. also § 29, and Commentary there).

Subject: context indicates that this must be the same as for §§ 26, 27, i.e. “the Parzutean horse” (so Starke, loc. cit.).

§ 30. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-sa* (also § 38): cf. *-hu-na*, following section, § 33; and same writing, TELL AHMAR 1, § 2; and (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za*, BULGARMADEN, §§ 4, 14. Earlier clauses in this text write the expected *-hu-xi/a-sa₈/sa₄*, and one wonders whether the present and parallel writings represent any real phonetic variants or are simply graphic abbreviations. Cf. the remarks of Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 82.

§ 31. *á-x*: clearly corresponds to the *á-ta₄* of § 33 below (also § 32), but identity of circular sign *x* uncertain; *ru* according to Hrozný, comparing the following *á-ru-na*, but if so, it is likely to be an error. The word acts as elsewhere as a title of a god (see § 33, Commentary).

CAPERER.ARGENTUM-[*x*]-*sà-wa/i₅*: introductory pronoun *-mi* demands verb in 1 sing., which can be recognized in the present ending, *-wi*. Sign *257 identified as “silver”, thus ARGENTUM (see CEKKE, §§ 8–12, Commentary), and *257.DARE, “silver” + “giving hand” to indicate “sell, pay” (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 17, Commentary). Same kind of sense might be expected from “taking hand” + “silver”, i.e. “buy” (Hier. *i(ya)sa-*, see CEKKE, § 6, Commentary) or the like, though it is not clear why the gods should be direct objects of such a verb. Sign [*x*] unclear: possibly *ta_x* (Hrozný); *ma* (Meriggi) unlikely.

á-ru²-na, “to eat”: possible in context of feeding the gods, but place in syntax and relation to verb obscure.

§ 32. Strikingly parallel to TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2 a, l. 1, § iv; the two clauses contribute to mutual clarification.

á-ta₄: parallel clause, and following clause, show this to refer to Tarhunzas, the subject of the clause.

wa/i+ra/i-li-na//*wa/i+ra/i-la-za*: for *warali-*, “own, proper”, see KARATEPE, § LXIX, and Commentary, with refs. to Cun. Luw.-Hitt. *waralli-*, and *niwaralli-*. All attestations in Hier. seem to be in clauses with the verb *izi(ya)-*, thus “make own, appropriate”.

MAGNUS + *ra/i-xi/a-na*: to be interpreted as *uraza-*, cf. Cun. Luw. *urazza-* (see KULULU 2, § 5 b, Commentary), as against MAGNUS + *ra/i-ia-*, = *uriya-* (see CEKKE, § 14, Commentary).

[...]-*ti*: verb is presumably 3 sing. pres., which rules out restoration of *piya-* and *pipasa-*, “give”, having the relevant forms in *-i*; probably restore *izi(ya)-*, following parallel clause and other attestations of *warali-*.

§ 33. *wa/i-mi*: *-mi*, reflexive pronoun of 1st person, indicates clause with verb 1 sing.

á-ta₄ (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-na*: clearly epithet of the god, as *á-ta₅* (DEUS)*ku* + AVIS etc. (see BOYBEY-PINARI 1, § 10); cf. also *i-pá* (DEUS)CERVUS (ANCOZ 1, § 2).

§ 34. Since Hrozný’s day a flake from lower edge of rock has carried off at least two signs, phonetic complement of REL_x (see below) and verbal ending *-ri+i* (visible in Hrozný’s photograph, also that of Franz(?), my pl. 251a).

REL-[*sà*]: traces now lost, comparatively clear on Hrozný’s and Franz’s photographs (this disposes of Hrozný’s suggested *ia*).

Traces of clause closely resemble, and may perhaps be restored from, BULGARMADEN, § 13:

|*za-pa-wa/i-ta* “CAPERE”-*ma-za* HWI-*sa* |ARH-*A*’
|*ba+ra/i-ri+i*

"but (he) who shall *destroy* this *contract*".

ARH.A *ha+ra/i-ri+i*: see § 38 below.

§§ 35//37. REL-*i*//REL_x-*i*: phonetic complements read -*ia+ra/i* and *ia*(?) by Hrozný. My collation supports my readings, but the rock may have deteriorated since Hrozný's time. Context dictates the translation "if", in spite of uncertainty of form(s).

§ 36. *a-pa-sa-na* ... *á-pa-sa-7*[...] // § 38. *á-pa-sa-na* ... *a-pa-sa-ha*: first of each pair are certainly acc. sing. MF like the word which they qualify, and in each case the expected form would be *apasin* (written with *si*? as in § 8 above), while *apasan* should represent dat. sing. This discrepancy may perhaps be explained in terms of the general peculiarity of the inscription.

a-pa-sa-ha: qualifies word acc. sing. N, expected form of -*asi*- gen. adj. is *apasanza*; here either -*zi/a*- omitted, or interpret as *apas*, gen. sing. of *apa*-.

á-pa-sa-7[...]: Hrozný claims traces of -[*na*] but this is visible neither in photographs nor by collation of rock today; -[*ha*] expected, which would leave form as *apasa(n)* for expected *apasi(n)*, or to be explained as *apas*, gen. sing. of *apa*- as above.

VAS-*tara/i-i-na*, ARH.A *ha+ra/i-tú-u*: see below, § 38, Commentary.

§ 38. See Hawkins, loc. cit., comparing with Hitt. KUB XVII, 28 ii 43 f.

a-pi-el-la e-é-ša-ri É-ZU Q-A-TAM-M-A ha-a-du

"(As this *grass*(?) is dried up), so may that man's form (and) his house dry up!"

ARH.A *ha+ra/i*: it no longer seems possible to identify this transitive verb with the Hitt. intrans. *had-*, "dry up", principally because of its identification in BULGARMADEN, § 13 (see above, § 34), where its object is "this *inscription*, *contract*"; thus a more general sense "destroy" is demanded, perhaps associated with Hitt. *harra-*, "smash, crush" (parallel action to *malla-*, "grind"; see Oettinger, *SiBoT* 22, p. 33, n. 44; id., *Stammbildung*, § 389), a stem possibly found in Luw., NA₄ *har-ra-a-ti* (abl. sing., KBo XXIX, 6 obv. 22). Starke however identifies the stem as *hari(ya)-* (loc. cit.).

VAS-*tara/i(-i)-na*: the Hitt. phrase *ešari É-ZU*, "(his) form (and) his house", is strikingly parallel to the present *apasan* VAS-*tarin apas-ha* DOMUS-*nanza*, "his ATRI and his house", suggesting the possibility of defining the hitherto elusive sense of *at(a)ri-* by reference to Hitt. *eš(ša)ri*, "form, figure, image". The attested forms of the Hier. stem (note all attestations acc. sing., except one acc. plur., KARKAMIŠ A26f, § 2) are: ("VAS")*á-tara/i-i-*, KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 11; MARAŞ 4, § 15; KULULU 1, § 12; ("VAS")*-tara/i-*, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§ 3, 5; A14a, § 6; ALEPPO 2, § 11; and VAS-*tara/i(-i)-*, TOPADA, §§ 36, 38; IZGIN 2, § 8; MARAŞ 2, § 2; KARKAMIŠ A26f, § 2; KULULU 4, § 4 (where it is closely paralleled by VAS-*ni-*, § 9, also VAS-*la-*, § 5; these point to the existence of alternative

forms *atni-* and *atli-*, see Commentary there). Bossert's identification with Hitt. *ešhar*, "blood", (*Ar. Or.* 18/3 (1950), p. 39), rebutted by Friedrich (*RHA* XIII/56 (1955), p. 27 f.), was based on the false reading of *sara* for *tara/i*, yet it is retained by Meriggi (*Glossar*, s.v. (*á*)*tar-*; translations in *Manuale*, esp. II/1, pp. 32 f., 53; *Schizzo*, I, §§ 9, 41; II, § 123), in spite of a recognition of the Hier. *ashar-* as the corresponding stem. Gelb's earlier identification of the present *apasa-atri-* with Lyc. *atla/atra ehbi*, "his person, himself" (*HH* III, p. 13), formerly accepted by Meriggi but then discarded in favour of Bossert's exploded interpretation (*SCO* 2, pp. 24, 55, as against *Manuale* II/1, p. 126), is surely correct. The proposed identification of Hier. (-Lyc.) *atri-* with Hitt. *eš(ša)ri*, starting with the parallel contexts cited above, is supported by the apparently congruent semantic ranges of both (for *eš(ša)ri-*, see Puhvel, *HED*, s.v.). The identification encounters difficulty in establishing satisfactory and consistent morphological analyses for both the Hitt. and Hier. forms. It is hoped that the Hier. evidence will lead to a more detailed study and resolution.

§ 39. Scribal signature: identified by Bossert, loc. cit., clearly missing at least one word, perhaps [servant?], at end.

la-sa-7: for *La-* as personal name, see CEKKE, § 17 b; also KULULU lead strip 1, § 4, 18 and 21; § 9, 59.

TOPADA: the Signary

The inscription is characterized by its use of rare signs and unusual values to a degree found elsewhere (apart from the neighbouring SUVASA) only at KARATEPE. In the latter inscription the duplicate texts normally provide a known equivalent of the rare signs, but in the present inscription the rare signs mostly have to be inferred from their contexts. The unusual sign forms suggest a deliberate attempt at archaism with varying degrees of success. The graphic peculiarities may be tabulated as follows.

1. Common signs of unusual form

		<i>i</i>
	and	<i>ia</i>
		<i>a</i>
		<i>u</i>
	and	<i>mu</i>
		<i>pa</i>
	and	REL (it would seem appropriate to distinguish the second as REL _x)
		NEG ₂
		<i>sa</i>
		<i>ara/i</i>

Note. All these seem to be attempts at archaism. In particular the penultimate, *sa*, is found elsewhere with its pendant from the horn only on seals of the Empire period in the writing of the name Hier. *sa*+x-nu-wa/i, = Cun. *ša-bu-ru-nu-wa*, thus x = *huru* (HH no. 451). In TOPADA the addition appears to be without any significance, an incorrect archaism. For the identification of the archaizing *ara/i*, see SUVASA, D, and Commentary.

Note too that the form *sa* written with a simple arch also seems to be an archaism; cf. the forms on the archaic inscriptions KARAHÖYÜK and the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, identified as ancestral to TOPADA. The later KARKAMIŞ inscriptions also follow this archaizing feature (see KARKAMIŞ A18e, Date).

2. Regular syllabary:

used normally		(non-appearances)	
<i>á, a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	
<i>ba, há</i>		<i>bu</i>	<i>bi</i>
		<i>ka</i>	<i>ki ku</i>
<i>la</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>la/i/u</i>	
<i>ma</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mu</i>	
<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ni nu</i>
<i>pa</i>			<i>pi pu</i>
	<i>ra/i</i>	<i>ru</i>	
<i>sa</i>		<i>su</i>	<i>si</i>
<i>sa₅</i>			
<i>tà</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tú</i>	<i>ta, tá</i>
<i>ta₄, ta₅</i>			
	<i>wa/i</i>		
<i>ia</i>			
	<i>zi/a</i>	<i>zu²</i>	(<i>za</i>)

Note. The use of *zi* for both *zi* and *za* (i.e. the failure to distinguish *za* by the addition of *a*) may be reckoned an archaism; but *i* and *ia* are distinguished in the normal way. The same practice may be observed in the skilfully archaizing KARKAMIŞ A21.

3. Rare but attested syllabograms:

◇	<i>mi</i>	(also KARATEPE, KAYSERİ, KULULU 3)
		§§ 6, 10, 12, 17, 31, 33.
⊙	<i>sa₄</i>	(also KARATEPE, KAYSERİ, KULULU 3, 4, 5)
		§§ 4, 17, 19, 28.
⌋	<i>li</i>	(also KARATEPE)
		§§ 6, 32.
⌋	<i>tú</i>	(also KARATEPE; and PN <i>Sastura</i> , KARKAMIŞ A21, CEKKE)
		§§ 18, 20.
⌋	<i>sii</i>	(also ÇALAPVERDİ 1; and toponym <i>-Asura-</i> , "Assur")
		§ 18.

sa₈ (also KULULU 4, PORSUK)
§§ 17, 26.

 *wa/i₈* (only on Empire seals in PN *Gassu-lawi(ya)*)
§ 10.

4. Known signs with unattested but deducible values:

	MONS	= <i>wa/i₄</i> (§§ 1, 2: PN <i>Wasusar-mas, Tuwalis</i>).
⌋	TERRA	= <i>wa/i₆</i> (§ 4, context; = <i>wa/i₅</i> ? see below, 5, <i>Note</i>).
	*286	= <i>wa/i₇</i> (§ 20, context; also § 4, PN <i>Ruwatas</i> ; § 25).
	MALLEUS	= <i>wa/i₉</i> (§ 26, alternates with <i>wa/i</i> , §§ 13, 23).
	*447	= <i>ni_x</i> (§ 13, alternates with <i>ni</i> , §§ 23, 26).
	*314	= <i>ba_x</i> (§ 10, alternates with <i>ba</i> , § 13; cf. AKSARAY, § 8).
	*179	= <i>hwi_x</i> (§ 17, appears to write verb <i>HWT-ia-</i>).
⊙	PANIS	= <i>pa_x</i> (§§ 8, 9, contexts).

5. Otherwise unknown signs with deducible values:

	*223	= <i>sa₆</i> (§§ 7, 11, 18, contexts; §§ 17//30 etc. alternates with <i>sa</i>).
	*316	= <i>sa₇</i> (alternates with <i>sa</i> , §§ 36, 38; passim as nom. sing. MF).
	*417	= <i>sa_x</i> (alternates with <i>sa₅</i> , §§ 10, 12; nom. sing. MF, § 4).
	*456	= <i>si²</i> (§§ 7, 8, 9, 21, contexts).
	*41(6)	= <i>ta_x</i> (passim for 3 sing./plur. pret., etc.; <i>not</i> form of <i>tà</i>).
	*241	= <i>ki_x</i> (§ 4, PN <i>Kiyakiyas</i>).
	*455	= <i>la_x</i> (§ 4, PN <i>W'arpalawas</i> ; also §§ 14, 24).
§	*435	= <i>á_x</i> (§ 10, context).
	*224	= <i>ba²/pa²</i> (§ 5, context).
	*204	= <i>wa/i₅</i> (§§ 14, 19, 31 (copula), also 4, 18, 31, contexts).

Note. Possibly *sa_x* is form of *su*; *ta_x* of *tà*; *ki_x* of *ki*; *wa/i₅* of TERRA = *wa/i₆*.

6. Otherwise unknown signs (all logograms?):

 (?), § 2;  PISCIS? (*138) § 2;  (*206), §§ 17, 30, 31, 38;  (?), §§ 19, 20;  (?), § 21;  (*240), § 22;  (*74), § 25;  (*219), § 26;  (?), § 27.

X.13. SUVASA (plates 254–257)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. The village of SUVASA lies c. 40 km. west of Nevşehir, and the inscription is about 25 mins. south-west of the village (Hrozný). For the topography, cf. Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 124–130.

Description. Large boulder on slope fallen from low cliff above. There are inscriptions on the south (inscription A), west (inscription B) and north (inscriptions C, D) faces. A (sinistroverse): 5 signs only visible with perhaps 1–2 more on either side. B (central inscription; sinistroverse): 8 columns of signs, each representing word (name or title; col. 7 has 2 words). C (sinistroverse): about 5 columns, each with 1–2 words representing names or titles; C is separated from D on same face by engraved vertical line on left side. D: less clear and regularly placed than B, C; l. 1 runs sinistroverse in several columns, dropping to l. 2, dextroverse, separated from l. 1 by engraved horizontal line.

Dimensions: (A) ht., c. 0.50 m.; w., c. 0.60 m.; (B) ht., 1.20 m.; w., 2.40 m.; (C+D) ht., c. 2.00 m.; w., c. 3.30 m.

Condition: B, C good; A, D less clear.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: monumental (archaizing).

Peculiarities: similar to TOPADA (see there, Signary), including forms of *i(a)*, *a*, *u*, *ta_x*, *sa*; usage of *sa₆*, *sa₇*, *sa_x*, *wa/i₄*, also *ma_x*.

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. By Rott in November 1906: see H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 249, 254. Hrozný visited the site, 2–3 November 1934, cleared the soil

from the foot of the rock, thereby uncovering previously unseen signs of C and D, and cleaned the rock of lichen. Gelb visited and took photographs in 1935. Gonnet and Hawkins visited and took photographs in September 1989.

Publication. Messerschmidt, *apud* Rott, loc. cit., pp. 175–177 (drawings from Rott's photographs, which were later destroyed); Bossert, *OLZ* 37 (1934), p. 149 f. (reproducing Messerschmidt's drawings); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), pp. 516–522, pls. LXVIII–LXXV = *IHH*. III (1937), pp. 379–385, pls. LX (photographs of Suvasa), LXI (photographs of the site), LXII–LXV (photographs of A, B, C, D); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 50, p. 38, pls. LXXII–LXXV (photographs with drawings of A, B, C–D).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *RSO* 32 (1957), pp. 226–228; id., *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 36, pp. 283–285, Tav. VII (redrawn from Gelb).

Content. Graffiti giving names of servants of Wasusarmas.

Date. Reign of Wasusarmas, c. 740–730 B.C.: see TOPADA, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracings of photographs.

Photographs. Taken in summer 1989, except for the detail photographs of inscriptions C–D, which are those taken by Gelb in 1935, showing the lowest signs, now buried.

Transliteration

Translation

inscription A

[x]-ti-ti-wa/i*430(URBS)

(city name(?))

inscription B

sa_x+ra/i-ia-sa (DEUS) SARMA-ma-sa₆ *273.REX *355-sa₆ wa/i₄-su-
SARMA-ma-sa MAGNUS.REX-sa₇- HEROS-sa₄ PRAE-na
MAGNUS.URCEUS-sa₆

Sariyas, priest(?) of Sarrumas the
WARPI-king, Chief Butler before
Wasusarmas, Great King, Hero.

inscription C

AVIS.PISCIS-tā-wa/i-sa₆ ta_x-ta_x-sa₆ INFANS-sa wa/i₄-su-SARMA-ma-sa_x-sa₆
LITUUS+AVIS VIR *74 MAGNUS.REX-ba SERVUS BONUS?

...-tawas, son of Tatas(?), dear(?)
servant of Wasusarmas, the lucky
man, the ..., and Great King.

inscription D

EXERCITUS xi x x x -ia² x x x -a-ia x MAGNUS.CENTUM x x ta_x
... -na-ri+i ara/i² ta²-u-ta_x?

(largely illegible)

Commentary.

Inscription A. Hrozný's readings of the signs on either side and the second line of dextroverse signs looks over-optimistic, and the sense which he obtains rather improbable. It would seem that this graffito merely gave a (local?) city name.

Inscription B. $sa_x + ra/i-ia-sa$ (personal name): value sa_x drawn from TOPADA occurrence (see TOPADA, Signary, 5); ia , form of i agrees with TOPADA, addition at bottom clearly = $+a$ in the manner of KARKAMIŠ A14a (archaic) and KARKAMIŠ A21 (archaizing) – see these inscriptions, Peculiarities.

*273.REX: for this title, cf. perhaps ANDAVAL, § 2, and Commentary, and for verb *273.REX[-?] $-wa/i-$, HAMA 4, § 4, and Commentary. Here *273 seems most likely to indicate, as most commonly, some form of $warpi-$ or $muwa-$; cf. TOPADA, § 13, Commentary.

*355- sa_6 : observed also (reversed) in KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 14a-c, in sequence king – country-lord – *355- lis , thus seen as some high functionary; but the present context points rather to a priest, as does also the attestation on KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 6 (see Commentary).

PRAE-na: the three preceding words, personal name with two titles, are gen. sing. as opposed to the usual dative with this postposition (see e.g. BABYLON 3, § 1; CEKKE, § 10; IZGIN 2, § 8(?)). In Hitt. *piran* preceded by gen. is definitely archaic: see Starke, *StBoT* 23, pp. 169–176, in contrast to the examples cited by Zuntz, *Ortsadv.*, pp. 87–92. Conceivably a deliberate archaism of language to match that of the script is intended here. A closely similar context may be recognizable in TOPADA, § 2, see Commentary.

Inscription C. $ta_x-ta_x-sa_6$: first two signs could be, as observed by Meriggi, $ni-ni-$, but in fact more likely attempt the TOPADA form ta_x .

INFANS: imitates archaic form, especially with omission of upper “crampon”.

$wa/i_4-su-SARMA-ma_x-sa_6$: ma_x , apparently a pictogram of a mirror, is a *hapax legomenon* with value deduced from normal occurrence of $-ma-$ in this position in the name (cf. inscription B); graphic practice typical of TOPADA.

LITUUS+AVIS VIR *74 MAGNUS.REX- ha : apparently two, perhaps three, titles joined by copula $-ha$ (so Meriggi). LITUUS+AVIS VIR could correspond to DEUS.AVIS-*tanisamis* ... CAPUT-*tis* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 1, see Commentary). This would presumably

leave *74 as another title; the sign may recur on TOPADA, § 25, in an unclear context, but is otherwise unknown.

SERVUS BONUS²: previously understood as SERVUS- ta_4 († $mi-ti$) by Meriggi and Laroche, but new evidence suggests that the second sign may actually be the archaic/archaizing form of BONUS (*HH* no. 165). Güterbock identified the second sign here with the second sign in the name of the king on the Tarkondemos seal, *HH* no. 320 (*Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36 (1977), pp. 13–16), reading both as ti (our ta_4). He was probably right on the identity, but Nowicki has since proposed to identify *HH* no. 320 as the Empire Period form of *HH* no. 165 (BONUS) (see *Fs Neumann*, p. 231), and this has been fully confirmed by the evidence of the 1990/91 Boğazköy bullae from Nişantepe (see above, KARATEPE, The Syllabary, p. 68 and n.*). Thus instead of SERVUS- ta_x (logogram + usual phonetic complement), we should probably read SERVUS BONUS, “dear servant”, a purely logographic writing for the common *wasamis* SERVUS (for which see CEKKE, § 1, and Commentary). Alternatively we might consider that the archaizing scribe had incorrectly rendered $-ta_4$ with the wrong archaic sign-form. For evidence that SERVUS stands as a logogram, see below, the very similar KULULU 8, and Commentary.

Inscription D. Signs largely unidentifiable, words unrecognizable, except for logograms EXERCITUS, “army”, and MAGNUS.CENTUM, “commander of one hundred” (only exact parallel is Akk. *rab mē*, Neo-Babylonian only, see *CAD* M, s.v. *meat* (d)); Hitt. has UGULA. 10 and UGULA LÚ^{MEŠ} LIM (Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, pp. 471–474). Between these there are perhaps two words ending in $-ia$, perhaps both dat. sing.

...- $na-ri+i$: if read in right order perhaps abl.

ara/i ²: identification of this as a form of the usual ara/i is now confirmed on the 1991 bullae found at Boğazköy on seals of the official *Arnilixi* mostly written with the usual ara/i Empire form, *HH* no. 132, but one with a cursive form recognizably similar to the present form (Bo. 91/182), and this further recurs on YALBURT, 14 § 3 (cf. my remarks. *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 83). A further Late archaizing occurrence of this form may be identified on TOPADA, § 8, in $zi/a-ara/i$.

$ta^2-u-ta_x^2$: identified by Meriggi as verb, but all is too unclear for any confidence.

X.14. SULTANHAN (plates 258–261)

Location. Stele, base and new fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 37 and 12132.

Description. Large, 4-sided, round-topped stele set in rectangular supporting base. The stele bears a 6-line

inscription beginning on the front (A) and running sinistroverse round sides B, C, D; corner between D and A forms right and left edges of inscription, which descends here to l. 2 and continues *boustrophedon* around stele, ending on l. 6, side A, right edge, with a vertical

ladder pattern. A large flake lost from side B had carried off B ll. 1–2 and part of 3, as well as single columns of signs from left of A and right of C, but has recently been recovered (see Discovery), leaving only parts of l. 1, A–C, still missing. The stele has a further 2 lines running across its curved top, E; these are placed upside down in relation to front of stele (A).

The base, which was inscribed continuously around its vertical faces and in 4 lines on its upper surface, has lost one side, taking with it an inscribed vertical face A and most of the adjoining horizontal line. The order of reading the base's horizontal surface (F) is unusual but clear: beginning first line, right edge, the text runs *sinistroverse*, descending to second and third lines *boustrophedon*, then in the middle of third line encountering the mortice hole. At this point it can be seen to have discontinued and dropped to fourth line right edge and run *sinistroverse* from there though most of line is lost. At the end of fourth line the remainder of the text was written upside down on the space of third line to left of mortice hole (section mostly lost but enough remaining to show that this was the case).

Order of reading. The order in which the 4 elements, stele, stele top, base vertical faces, base horizontal surface, should be read, is not entirely self-evident. Bossert (see Publication) argued, correctly it would seem, that the stele was placed in its hole so that its front (A) faced in the same direction as the lost vertical face of the base (thus also A). He also established from the context that stele top (E), l. 2, continued directly on base horizontal surface, first line, right side. All this may be accepted. However, Bossert then assumed (and Meriggi followed him) that stele, l. 6, end, continued directly on stele top (E), first line, with the corollary that base, horizontal surface (F) last line, continued directly on the adjoining base vertical surface side B and ran directly from there round sides C and D, ending on the missing side A.

Here on the contrary it is proposed that the sequence base vertical side D + stele top E, first line, gives better contextual sense (curse protasis + apodosis) than stele, l. 6 + stele top, first line, and that therefore the order of the elements stele top (+ base horizontal) and base vertical should be reversed. It may well be agreed that the Bossert/Meriggi order (stele + stele top + base horizontal + base vertical) is no more logical than the proposed stele + base vertical + stele top + base horizontal (i.e. vertical faces first, then horizontal faces). Indeed, perhaps the ladder pattern ending stele l. 6 might signal the descent to the adjacent base vertical face (now lost).

Dimensions: (stele) ht., 1.27 m.; w. (A, C), 0.45 m.; th., (B, D), 0.36 m.; line ht., (ll. 2–5), 0.25 m.; (base) line ht., 0.16–0.18 m.; w. ([A], C), 1.27 m.; th., ([B], D), c. 1.00 m.; line ht. (horizontal surface, ll. 1–2), 0.25 m.

Condition: excellent, apart from losses.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: almost exclusively cursive (monumental *ta* in *wa/i-ta*, § 14).

Peculiarities: use of *HWT* for REL (see § 4, Commentary); rhotacism.

Word-dividers: consistently used; omissions before 9 OVIS (§ 3); “*179” CRUS (§ 11); *pā² + ra/i-wa/i-li-sá* (§ 15); *a-wa/i* (§ 16); CENTUM *ma-tu-sà* (§ 26); *a-ta* (§ 27); *wa/i-tu-u-ta* (§ 28); REL-*i* (§ 35); LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-li-sa* (§ 48).

Discovery. (1) Base. Discovered in 1928 during the construction of the Kayseri-Sivas railway. The works cut through a small mound and found the base in circumstances not recorded. Reported by J. Maclère in *L'Illustration*, no. 4489 (16/3/1929), p. 280; article summarized by id., *AfO* 6 (1930–31), p. 128; Delaporte, *RHA* II/15 (1934), p. 239; Gelb, *HMM* (1939), no. 49, p. 37 f.

(2) Stele. Found in 1939 (no details available) and taken to Kayseri Museum on 4/5/1939 (no. 2087). See Kemaleddin Karamete, *TTAED* 5 (1949), pp. 66–71 (Turkish), 74 f. (French); Özgüç, *Kultepe*, pp. 65 f. (Turkish, with plan), 117 (English). On Özgüç's plan, C marks the area of mound destroyed by the railway building, therefore presumably the findspot of the base; A marks the findspot of the “Hieroglyphic monument”, presumably the stele.

(3) New fragment. Excavated by Kutlu Emre in autumn 1971, reused in Hellenistic wall near summit of mound: see Emre, *Anadolu* 15 (1971, publ. 1973), pp. 89–91 (Turkish), 122 f. (English).

Publication. (1) Base. Maclère, loc. cit., photograph of upper surface, republished in *AfO*, loc. cit., Abb. 5; Delaporte, loc. cit., pls. 11 (copy made in the Augusteum, Ankara, in Aug. 1932 by Ducoloner), 12–13 (photographs of upper surface and sides, = Gelb, loc. cit., pl. LXX (pl. LXXI, new copy), = Karamete, loc. cit., res. 24).

(2) Stele. Karamete, loc. cit., res. 22–23 (photographs of stele, sides D+C, B+A, top); Bossert, *JKF* 1 (1950–51), pp. 218–222, pls. XVIII (photographs of find spot and transport), XIX (photograph of front), XX–XXI (drawing from squeeze(?) of stele sides A–D), XXII above (drawing of top), XXII below–XXIII (Gelb's drawing of base).

(3) New fragment. Emre, loc. cit., pl. XII (photograph, fragment rejoined to stele).

Editions. Meriggi, *RHA* II/15 (1934), pp. 240–246 (base only); id., *RSO* 27 (1952), pp. 10–19, Tav. II–III (text redrawn from Bossert and Gelb); id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 30, pp. 116–126 (with redrawn text).

Excerpts.

- § 2 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 176; Laroche, *HH* nos. 82.2; 160.I.1.
- §§ 2-3 Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94, p. 95 cit. 5.
- §§ 2-4 Oshiro, *Ar. Or.* 56, p. 250 cit. 7.
- § 4 Laroche, *HH* no. 90.III.2.
- § 5 Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 242.
- §§ 5-7 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 104.
- § 7 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 176; Laroche, *HH* no. 160.I.2; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 242.
- § 8 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 151; Poetto, *Fs Neumann*, p. 278, n. 11; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanishwar*, p. 76.
- § 9 Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 83; Laroche, *HH* no. 90.I.
- § 10 Laroche, *HH* no. 82.2.
- §§ 10-12 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 113.
- § 11 Hawkins, *Essays Mellink*, pp. 95-98.
- § 12 Laroche, *HH* no. 90.III.2.
- § 13 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8, p. 276 cit. b, i.
- § 14 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115/128 cit. vii.
- § 15 Laroche, *HH* no. 93.1; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 588.
- §§ 17-18 Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, p. 136 cit. 16.
- § 18 Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94, p. 107.
- § 21 Laroche, *HH* no. 82.1; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 589; ead., *Fs Risch*, p. 135.
- § 22 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 180; Laroche, *HH* no. 160.I.1; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, Anm. 552; id., *KZ* 93 (1979), p. 258.
- §§ 22-29 Hawkins, *Essays Mellink*, p. 98 f.; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 275-286.
- § 23 Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, Anm. 1031.
- § 24 Melchert, *An. St.* 38, p. 32 n. 7.
- §§ 26-29 Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 600.
- §§ 28-29 Hawkins, *An. St.* 20, p. 99.
- § 29 Laroche, *HH* no. 336.I.b.
- § 30 Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115/128 cit. viii.
- §§ 31-33 a Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 173 cit. 29a.
- §§ 32-33 a Bossert, *HKS*, p. 230; id., *Le Muséon* 70, p. 169; id., *Or. NS* 29, p. 430 f.; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 286.
- § 33 a Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 337 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 7.I; Poetto, *KZ* 95, p. 275.
- § 33 b Laroche, *HH* no. 313.I.
- § 33 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 276.

- § 34 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975/2, p. 132.
- §§ 37-42 Bossert, *Le Muséon* 70, p. 169.
- §§ 38-42 Bossert, *MIO* 4, p. 193 f.; Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94, p. 96 cit. 6; ead., *Fs Risch*, p. 132 f.; ead., *Studies Cowgill*, p. 215 f.; Oshiro, *Ar. Or.* 56, p. 249 cit. 5.
- §§ 41-42 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 185 f.; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 104.
- § 43 Meriggi, *Athenaeum*, p. 81.
- §§ 43-45 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 141 cit. 44; Oshiro, *Ar. Or.* 56, p. 248 f. cit. 4; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, §§ 286, 242.
- § 46 Meriggi, *WZKM* 41, p. 24 f.; Bossert, *Le Muséon* 70, p. 166 + Abb. 15; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, p. 174 cit. 8.
- §§ 46-47 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92.
- §§ 47-49 Bossert, *JKF* 1, p. 276 f.

Content. Dedication of stele with offerings to Tarhunzas of the Vineyard by Sarwatiwaras vassal of Wasusarmas. § 1 (damaged), [name, patronym], title; §§ 2-4, dedication and offerings to god; §§ 5-7, theophany; §§ 8-9, god's favours to Wasusarmas; §§ 10-12, ideal prosperity, further offering; §§ 13-15, god to repay with abundance; §§ 16-18, blessing on future benefactor of god; §§ 19-21, curse on future malefactor of god; §§ 22-29, god to increase produce of vineyard and receive offerings and tithes; [lacuna - specification of some evil acts]; §§ 30-33, curse against malefactor; §§ 34-36, curse against speaker of evil for vineyard; §§ 37-42, ban on damage to Sarwatiwaras, city, land or vine; §§ 43-45, benefits conferred on precinct only by Sarwatiwaras; §§ 46-51, final curse on malefactor.

Date. c. 740-730 B.C. from identification of Wasusarmas with Wassurme of Tabal, deposed by Tiglath-pileser III in 729 B.C. Cf. KULULU 1, Date, for reference indicating that Wasusarmas's father Tuwatis was probably still on the throne in the early reign of Tiglath-pileser III.

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; except for those of the stele top, E, for which prints from the collection of I. J. Gelb have been used.

Transliteration

Translation

(stele, sides)

1. § 1 EGO-mi-i [sa₅ + ra/i-wa/i-ti]-[wa/i + ra/i]-[sa ...]-wa/i-[-...]
|INFANS-ni-sa |wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-sá-|HEROS-li-i-sá
SERVUS-ta₅-sa
- § 2 |a-wa/i |za-a-na |(DEUS)TONITRUS-bu-za-na |tu-wa/i + ra/i-sà-
si-i-na |ta-nu-wa/i-ha ||

I (am)[Sarwatiwaras, PN's] son, the
hero Wasusarmas's servant.

I set up this Tarhunzas of the Vine-
yard (saying):

2. § 3 |a-wa/i-sa |á-pi-i |CRUS-nú-wa/i-mi-i-na |BOS(ANIMAL)-ri+i-i
9 OVIS a+ra/i-ma-sa-ri+i-i
- § 4 |a-wa/i-na |u-pa-ha |HWT-i
§ 5 |wa/i-sá |OMNIS-mi-ri+i |sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i |á-wa/i-tà-'
§ 6 |wa/i-ti-i |pá² + ra/i-wa/i-li-sá- |["PES"]pa-tà |ARHLA-'
|ka+ra/i-ta
3. § 7 |("VITIS")wa/i-ia-ni-sa-pa-wa/i- |za-ri+i || |sa-na-wa/i-ia-ta-'
§ 8 |a-wa/i |tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-sa |(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa
|wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-[ia² ...]-[...]-ti-i |mu-wa/i-ta-li-na-'
|wa/i+ra/i-pi-na |pi-ia-ta
§ 9 |wa/i-tu-u |á-ru-ni-i-zi |á-pa-si-i-zi |("PES")pa+ra/i-za |SUB-na-na
|tu-wa/i-ta
§ 10 |ta-nu-wa/i-ha-wa/i-na |REL-i
§ 11 |REL-i-pa-wa/i |(TERRA)ta-sà-REL+ra/i |2 "OVIS"-sa 80
"HORDEUM" CRUS+RA/I ||
4. § 12 |wa/i-na- |á-pi-i |zi-na |"AVIS"(-)ta-wa/i-na-ri+i |("PES")u-pa-ha
- § 13 |HWT-pa-wa/i |sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i+ra/i-ia- |wa/i-su-SARMA-
ma-sa SERVUS-ta₅-i |TONITRUS-hu-za-sa |za-a-zi
|wa/i+ra/i-ia-zi- |CUM-ni |á-tà-'
§ 14 |wa/i-ta |("CAELUM")ti-pa-sa-ri+i |ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà
|INFRA-ta |"PES"-wa/i+ra/i
§ 15 |("TERRA")ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ri+i-pa-wa/i-ta- |pá² + ra/i-wa/i-li-sá
|SUPER+ra/i- |"PES"₂(-)tā-i |wa/i-ia-ni-sá-ha||
5. § 16 a-wa/i- |HWT-sá |MAGNUS+ra/i-ia-ri+i |ma-sa-ti-tà-ia-ri+i-ha
- § 17 |wa/i-ti-i |REL-sa |za-na |DEUS-ni-na |REL-sà-i
§ 18 |wa/i-ta |á-pa-sa-ha |á-pa-sa-za |sa-na-wa/i-ia-za |za-ri+i |a-ta
|LITUUS.LITUUS-na-i
§ 19 |REL-sa-pa-wa/i-ta |SUPER+ra/i-ha- |PUGNUS-ri+i-ti-i-'
§ 20 |ni-pa-wa/i-ta |ARHLA |pa-sà-REL-i
§ 21 |wa/i-tu-u |DEUS-ni-i-zi |MALUS-tà-ti-i |tara/i-pi-wa/i |CRUS-i-'
6. § 22 |a-wa/i |TONITRUS-hu-za-sa |za- |tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-za || |ma-sa-ha-
ni-i-ti
§ 23 |a-wa/i |wa/i-ia-ni-i-sa |PUGNUS-ri+i-ti-i
§ 24 |tara/i-sa-zi-pa-wa/i |ia+ra/i-ti-i
§ 25 |a-wa/i |MILLE ti-wa/i-ta-li-na |á-ia-ti-i
§ 26 |wa/i-tu-u |BOS(ANIMAL)-sa 9 CENTUM-ha ma-tu-sà
§ 27 |POST+ra/i-ta-pa-wa/i a-ta |sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ia
§ 28 |wa/i-tu-u-ta |ti-na-ta-za |POST+ra/i-ta
§ 29 |u-sa-li-pa-wa/i-tu-u |2 OVIS(ANIMAL)-zi

(base, sides)

[side A, missing ...]

B. § 30 |i]-sà-[i]ara/i-la-ti-pa-wa/i-ta- |SUPER+ra/i |"PES"-wa/i+ra/i

C. § 31 |"LUNA"-ma-sá-pa-wa/i-na |ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá || |á-pa-sá
|("CORNU")ki-pu-tà- |a-ta |tu-wa/i-i-'§ 32 |REL-i-pa-wa/i-na |ka+ra/i-mi-si-za-sa |(DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa
|á-pa-na |mu-wa/i-i

§ 33 a |á-ta-ha-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na |DEUS-ni-i-zi |ARHLA |á-tà-tu-u ||

"We will set (him) up afterwards
with an ox and nine monthling
sheep".

When I presented him,
he came with all goodness,
and the corn-stem(s) burgeoned forth
at (his) foot,
and the vine was good here.
And Tarhunzas of the Vineyard
gave [to] Wasusarmas,[... ki]ng, a
mighty courage,
and for him he put his enemies under
his feet.

When I set him up,
and when in the land 2 sheep stood
(for) 80 (measures of) barley,
afterwards I presented him with a
TAWANI-bird here.

So Tarhunzas made these
assistances for Sarwatiwaras
Wasusarmas's servant,
and WASUNATA(?) will come
down much(?) from the sky,
and the corn-stem(s) will come up
from the earth, and the vine.
Who(ever) shall be great and shall
MASTITAYA-
and who(ever) shall fear this God,
he too shall behold his benefit(s)
here.

But who(ever) shall arise over-
(much),
or shall neglect (him),
the gods shall stand TARPI against
him with evil.

Tarhunzas shall make this vineyard
grow,
and the vine shall grow,
it shall put forth leaves,
and it shall make 1000(?) measures
(of wine),
and to him (there shall be) 9 oxen
and 100 (measures of) wine.
But in future it will increase (??),
and to him (there shall be) a tithe in
future,
and (as) annual (sacrifices) to him
(there shall be) 2 sheep.

[...]
and he shall come up from his seat,
and the Moon God of Harran shall
put him on his horn,
and Kubaba of Kar(ka)mis shall
attack him behind.
May the gods of the ATAHA- eat
him up,

- D. b |("CAELUM")*ti-pa-sa-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na* |DEUS-*ni-zi* |("TERRA")
ta-sà-REL + ra/i-si-zi-ba |VIR-*ti-zi* |FEMINA-*ti-zi-ba*
 § 34 |*a-wa/i* |*za-ti-i* |*tu-wa/i + ra/i-si-i* |MALUS-*za* |REL-*sa* |*á-pa + ra/i-ta*
 |*á-sa₅-za-i*
 § 35 |*a-wa/i* REL-*i* |*ara/i* [...
 (stele, top)
 E, 1. § 36 |*a-ta-pa-wa/i-na* |*ni-i-i* |*ma-ru-ba* |*pa-nu-wa/i-i* |TONITRUS-*bu-za-sa*
 |*tu-wa/i + ra/i-sa*
 § 37 |REL-*pa-wa/i* |*sa₅ + ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i + r[a/i]* -*i* [a ... || ...]
 2. § 38 |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta* |URBS + MI-*ni* |HWT-*sa-ba-* |*ka-ti-i* |CRUS-*i*
 § 39 |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta* |("TERRA")*ta-ka-mi-i* |HWT-*sa-ba* |*ka-ti-i* |*ta-i* ||
 (base, top)
 F, 1. § 40 |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta* |*wa/i-na* |REL-*sa-ba* |*ka-ti-i* |CRUS-*i*
 § 41 |*á-pi-i-wa/i-tà-* |REX-*ti-ia-ri + i* |LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-ti-i* |*i-zi-ia-mi-na-*
 § 42 |*a-wa/i* |*ka-ti-i-sa* |*ni-i* |*á-sa-tu-u-*
 § 43 |*a-wa/i-* |REL-*sá* |REL-*sá* |*za* |LOCUS-*ta₅-za* |PUGNUS.
 PUGNUS-*i-ta* ||
 2. § 44 |*wa/i-tà* |NEG₂₋ |HWT-*sa-ba* |*mu-wa/i-ta*
 § 45 |*a-wa/i-tà* |*á-pi-i* |*sa₅ + ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i + ra/i-sá* |*á-tà* |*wa/i-su-*
 SARM-*a-ma-sa-a-ri + i* |*wa/i + ra/i-ia-ri + i* |*sa-na-wa/i-sa-*
tara/i-ri + i-ba
 § 46 |*za-pa-wa/i* |*a + ra/i-ma-za* |REL-*sa-* |*za + ra/i-ti-ti-i-i* ||
 3. § 47 |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta-* |("FEMINA")-*na-ti-i-sa* |*ta-**375-*li-i-sa* |*pa + ra/i*
 (-)*sa₅ + ra/i* |*u-pa-i*
 § 48 |*ni-pa-wa/i-sa-* |LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-li-sa*
 4. § 49 |*ni-pa-wa/i* |REX-[...]]
 § 50 |*á-pa* [...] |*ba* [...] |*i* [...] ...
 5. § 51 [...] -*sa-ri + i* [...] |*tu-pi-ri + i* [...] |*sa* [...] |*ta*

the gods of the sky and of the
 earth, the male and the female!
 (He) who hereafter shall utter evil
 against this vineyard,
 and ... [...]

may Tarhunzas by no means let him
drink in the vineyard.
 Against Sarwatiwaras [...
 or (if) anyone inclines to *damage* for
 the city,
 of (if) anyone inclines to *damage* for
 the land,

or (if) anyone inclines to *damage* for
 the vine(?),
 we shall requite (them) by royal
 authority,
 let there be no *damage*!
 Whosoever has ...ed this place,

no one has *dominated* it,
 but Sarwatiwaras has re-made it, by
 Wasusarmas's help and goodness.

(He) who *desires* this ARMA-,
 or (if) a ... woman brings it
 away(?),
 or (if) he (is) a governor,
 or a king,

 [...] shall smite with his [axe ...

Commentary

§ 1. The author's missing name had been identified by Bossert as the *Sarwatiwaras* of §§ 13, 37 and 45. The traces of l. 1 side B preserved on the new fragment may show part of the final *-wa/i + ra/i-* of the name; the completely preserved *wa/i* is likely to be part of the father's name.

|INFANS-*ni-sa*: the word "son" in genealogies is elsewhere always written with the word *nimuwiza-*, apart from occasional graphic(?) abbreviations to *ni-za-*; see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 1, Commentary. This passage appears to be unique in having INFANS-*ni-* in this context, though this word is otherwise well attested as the word for "child" in general contexts.

§§ 3–4. Meriggi takes as one clause by explaining the *a-wa/i-na* introducing § 4 not as introductory particles but as a *hapax legomenon* with doubtful IE and Lycian parallels. But *a-wa/i-sa* introducing § 3 still resists explanation. Dividing as given, we find a finite verb for § 3 in CRUS-*nú-wa/i-mi-i-na* and are free to recognize *a-wa/i-na* as the usual introductory particle + pronoun.

api: Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., identifies as Hier. equivalent of Hitt. *appa*, "back, behind"; cf. also below, §§ 12, 41, 45. For a discussion of this, see ASSUR letters, below, p. 554 f., Appendix, with all attestations.

CRUS-*nú-wa/i-mi-i-na*: identified as 1 plur. pres., a form occurring also in § 41 below; see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

a-wa/i-sa: final element remains a problem. It can hardly represent the usual *-as*, nom. sing. MF of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, since no verb in 3 sing. is available. If, however, we are correct in identifying the verb as a 1 plur., we might have the possibility of seeing here an otherwise unattested enclitic pronoun of the 1 pers. plur. The recognized form of this, found mostly in the ASSUR letters (but cf. also MARAŞ 4, §§ 7(?) and 14), is written (-)*wa/i-za* (= *-wa + anza*?). Conceivably the *-wa/i-sa* here could contain a variant of this, perhaps a surviving nominative form.

OVIS *a + ra/i-ma-sa-ri + i-i*, "armasi-sheep", very probably "sheep of a month, monthlings" (so Laroche), which would mean that this word should be separated

from *a+ra/i-ma-za*, below § 46; cf. Carruba, *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere*, 108 (1974), p. 579 f.

§§ 2–4. For sequence *tanuwa-/upa-*, “establish/present”, cf. below §§ 10+12; and cf. also BOYBEYPINARI 1, §§ 1+4, *tuwa-/upa-*, “put/present”; 2, §§ 5–6, *upa-/tuwa-*.

§ 4. *HWT-i*: since the publication of YALBURT, it has been clear that the first sign, formerly taken as a variant form of the relative and transliterated by me REL₂, which is used to write the verb “run” (*huiya-* and redupl. *huihuiya-*), was in fact quite different originally from the relative (REL, *kwi/a*). The transliteration of the sign as *HWT* was adopted since it is clearly used as a syllabogram in the words *hwitar-/hwisar-*, “wild beasts” (ALEPPO 2, § 5; MARAŞ 1, § 11); (“SIGILLUM”) *HWT-pa-sa-nu-*, “harm” (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 13); and the name *sa-HWT* (ŞIRZI, § 1), etc. (see Commentaries there). Although originally distinct from REL, and normally kept separate from it in the Late Hier. corpus, this *HWT* is used here on a number of occasions in place of REL: besides the present word, see also *HWT-pa-wa/i* (§ 13); *HWT-sa* (§ 16); *HWT-sa-ba* (§§ 38, 39 (as against REL-*sa-ba*, § 40), also § 44). Note also the use of *HWT* to write the relative on KULULU 2, § 15 d; also on BULGARMADEN, §§ 10, 13; and to write the verb elsewhere written REL-*ia/sa-*, “fear”, on KARATEPE, 174, 179. For the implications of this usage, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kadmos* 32 (1993), pp. 50–60.

Even with the recognition that here *HWT* stands for REL, the interpretation of the present form remains difficult. It must belong in this clause not the following, because of the word divider before the introductory *wa/i-sa* of § 5; cf. for structure, § 10 below. This is one of a number of difficult relatives in this inscription written REL-*i* or *HWT(-i)* (§§ 10, 11, 13), which require more detailed study. The translation “when” is purely provisional, an attempt to find something appropriate to the context.

u-pa-ba: cf. (“PES”) *u-pa-ba*, below, § 12, in similar context, which assures the identity of the two verbs. See also TOPADA, §§ 5, 15//25, for similar inclusion and omission of (“PES”); and in general for verb, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4, Commentary.

§§ 5–7. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for an elucidation of the verb *arba lara-* (<*lata-*, AKSARAY, § 1; cf. caus. *la+ra/i+a-nu-*, KARATEPE, 19, = Phoen. *yhw*, “cause to live”; and perhaps connect with Hitt. *laḫḫiya-*, for which see CHD 3/1, s.v.), “flourish, prosper”. We may further recognize in this passage a literary description of a theophany actually depicted in the sculptures of İVRİZ and NİĞDE 2, i.e. of Tarhunzas as a vegetation deity with vines and cornstems springing up at his feet.

§ 6. *pá²+ra/i-wa/i-li-sá-*: the identification of this literary topos with the iconography of İVRİZ should be convincing enough to permit the interpretation of this word by reference to the stems of barley depicted there. It is elsewhere proposed that Hier. “barley” is represented as *179-*za* (nom./acc. sing. N): cf. below, § 11, Commentary. Positive identification must wait upon the clearer understanding of the sign *pá²*; cf. Hier. (DEUS) *pá²+ra/i-wa/i-i-zi-i* = Hitt.-Luw. DINGIR^{MEŠ} *mar-wa-a-in-zi* (KULULU 2, § 6, Commentary); Hier. (DEUS.BONUS) *ku-pá²+ra/i-ma-* = Hitt. ^D*kumarbi* (TELL AHMAR 1, § 2, Commentary). For the reading of *pá²*, see Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 36 f.).

§ 7. (“VITIS”) *wa/i-ia-ni-sa*: again comparison with İVRİZ iconography permits us to interpret this word as “vine” rather than as usual “wine”. The translation “vine” is appropriate to most other attestations: below, §§ 15 (again coupled with *parwalis*), 23, 40(?); also KULULU 1, § 8; KÖRKÜN, § 11. In KARKAMIŞ A30b, § 3, however, *wa/i-ni-ti*, if correctly identified, requires the translation “with wine”. For the proposal to recognize the general word for “wine” in (VITIS) *matu(sa)*, see below, § 26, Commentary.

sa-na-wa/i-ia-ta-: for verb stem, see Starke, loc. cit.

§ 8. An exact parallel to this clause may now be recognized in KARKAMIŞ A4b, § 4; and for the phrase *muw-atali-warpi-*, also TELL TAYINAT 1, frags. 4+3, l. 4. These two parallels confirm the restoration [*mu-w*] *a/i-ta-li-na-* here, as against Poetto’s (loc. cit.) [*ti-w*] *a/i...*. A consideration of the semantic range of *warpi-* was offered by Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; for its other attestations, see KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 14, Commentary.

[...]-[...]-*ti-i*: apparently two words missing, perhaps epithet of Wasusarmas, [...]-[REX]-*ti-i*, “[... ki]ng”? (cf. REX in parallel passage KARKAMIŞ A4b, § 4).

§ 9. *á-ru-ni-i-zi*: the existence of (“EDERE”) *aruna* (<*aduna*), “to eat” (ÇİFTLİK, § 16), led Bossert and Meriggi to translate this word as “food”, which gives very curious sense; it is usually “enemies” not “food” which is put under the feet (cf. KARATEPE, § XXII). Thus translate following the sense, and perhaps compare the word *a-ta₄-ni-*, also translated “enemy” from the context (KARKAMIŞ A23, §§ 4–5, which is similar to the present passage).

§§ 10–12. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for consideration of REL-*i*; also above, § 4, Commentary.

§ 11. See Hawkins, loc. cit., for proposal to recognize this clause and others similar (KARKAMIŞ A2, § 8; A11a, § 10; AKSARAY, § 4) as statements of ideal price, on the pattern “for a sheep (replacing silver shekel as unit of value) so much *measure* + *commodity*”.

stood"; or as here, "2 sheep stood for so much (measure +) commodity". The logogram *179 should stand for "barley", always the first and most important commodity listed in such statements (thus transcribed HORDEUM). The unit of measure, omitted in this clause, as frequently in metrological statements, may be understood as the *tiwatali*:- see below, §§ 25–26. The verb CRUS+R-1/I (with caus. CRUS+R-1/I-nu-, see ALEPPO 2, § 11, and Commentary) appears invariable and endless in these contexts and also KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 5, ADIYAMAN 1, § 1, and may be supposed to represent a word for "stand" other than (CRUS)ta-, "stand".

§ 12. *api*: see above, § 3.

"AVIS"(-)ta-wa/i-na-ri+i: by comparison with §§ 3–4, this may well be understood as an actual bird-offering.

§ 13. *HWT-pa-wa/i*: for *HWT* in place of *REL*, see above, § 4, Commentary. This is perhaps one of the type of relative noted in KARATEPE (see 56, Commentary), which does not introduce a subordinate clause; cf. also below, § 32.

wa/i+ra/i-ia-zi:- here and in § 45 below identified with Cun. Luw.-Hitt. *warri*-, "help"; see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 139 cit. 37, notes; 141 cit. 44; and cf. Bossert, *Asia*, p. 125.

[CUM-ni |á-tà-: verb identified as *á(-ia)-*, = Cun. Luw. *a(ya)-*, "make, do", also attested in §§ 25 and 45 below; see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., where it was noted that the phrase CUM-ni á- is closely parallel to CUM-na i-zi-i-, i.e. "do (good) for (someone)" (KARATEPE, 79–80). For other attestations of *á(-ia)-*, see HISARCIK 1, §§ 2, 5; MARAŞ 2, § 3; EĞREK, § 3.

§§ 14–15. For other examples of the topos of abundance coming down from the sky and up from the earth, see ALEPPO 2, §§ 15–16; AKSARAY, §§ 2–3, and Commentaries. In the latter, the word for the abundance of the sky and of the earth is expressed by *ma-na*, best identified as nom./acc. sing. N of *mayi*- (= Hitt. *mekki*-), "much", perhaps used adverbially.

ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà: in view of the *ma-na* of the AKSARAY topos it is tempting to divide *ma-na*, "much" (adv.) and *wa/i-su-na-tà*, lit. "rain", or metaphor "abundance" (nom. plur. N), though the absence of a word-divider may advise against, since in this inscription, the word-divider is consistently used when a word begins not at the top of the line.

§ 15. *wa/i-ia-ni-sá-ha*: best appended to § 15 because of the previous linking with *parwali*-, §§ 6–7, rather than taken at beginning of following clause because of lack of word-divider before *a-wa/i-* (so Meriggi); cf. *wa/i-tu-u-ta* (§ 28) without word-divider. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

§ 16. MAGNUS+*ra/i-ia-ri+i*: apparently denom. verb *uriya*-, "be great"; cf. *sanawiya*-, "be good", § 7 above, and Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 192, Anm. 1006.

§§ 17–18. See Hawkins, loc. cit., proposing the recognition of verb LITUUS.LITUUS-na-i as standing for **mamana*-, a reduplicated form of **mana*-(LITUUS+na-), "see, behold", and the identification by Starke with Cun. Luw. *mana*-, *mammanna*-.

§ 17. *REL-sá-i*: verb clearly identified with Cun. Luw. *kenwaya*-, "fear" (Laroche, *DLL*, s.v.; cf. id., *BSL* 55 (1960), p. 175 n. 2); here note writing with *REL* (= *kwi/a*, cf. KARAHÖYÜK, § 12, and Commentary), as against *HWT* (KARATEPE, 174, 179, and Commentary).

§ 18. |á-pa-sa-za |sa-na-wa/i-ia-za: formally either (nom.) acc. sing. N or dat. plur., a choice which can only be made by reference to requirements of verb *anta* **mam-ana*-, "look on", which might be expected to take either acc. or dat. Hitt. *anda auš*-, "look upon" seems normally to take accusative; see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 129 with references. If the present form *sanawiyanza* is (nom.) acc. sing. N, it must be compared with the form *sa-na-wa/i-sá/sa*, also interpreted as (nom.) acc. sing. N (see KARATEPE, 295, TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1 frag. 2 § iv, and Commentaries). Starke explains the forms (*Stammbildung*, § 242): (1) *sanawiyanza*, adj. in -iya-; (2) *sanawisa*, noun in -i(t) + particle -sa.

§ 19. PUGNUS-ri+i-: it has been proposed to recognize in this writing the verb "rise (intrans.), raise (trans.)", = Hitt.-Luw. *arai-/ariya*- (Hawkins, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 149, 151, 156). For other attestations see below, § 23; also JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, and Commentary. In the present clause the verb seems to constitute an offence against the god: the bad sense to a neutral verb may be supplied by the emphasized SUPER+*ra/i-ha*-, thus "over(much)". Verb here apparently intrans. in view of lack of obvious object: *-pa-wa/i-ta* presumably contains *Ortspartikel* -ta, not pronominal obj. -ata, for which there would be no clear antecedent.

§ 20. |ARH-1 |pa-sà-REL-i: correspondence with Hitt. *paškenwai*- suggested by G. Hart; cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, p. 334 f. and n. 155. Again *-pa-wa/i-ta* is likely to contain *Ortspartikel* -ta. [pa-sà-REL- recurs on İVRİZ 2].

§ 21. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for consideration of singular verb with plural subject; also of phrase *tarpi/a(wa) ta*-, "stand for TARPI (against someone)".

§§ 22–29. See Hawkins, and Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit., offering following interpretations:
ma-sa-ha-ni-i-, "make grow" (reference to Starke, *KZ* 93 (1979), p. 258 f., with etymological analysis; cf. now id., *Stammbildung*, § 98).

niyani-, normally "vine", rather than "wine"; cf. above §§ 7, 15.

PUGNUS-*ri-i*-, “rise”; cf. above § 19.

tarsa-, = Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*tarša*-, “shoot(?)” (Goetze), or “leaf” (Hoffner, *Al. Heth.*, p. 143 and n. 100).

ia+ra/i--, “extend(?), put forth(?)”; cf. (LONGUS) *ia+ra/i-i(a)*-, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 3; A15b, § 17; A 21, § 3; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1a, l. 2 etc. [TELL AHMAR 5, § 9].

tivatali-, “*tivatali*-measure”; contextually probably about 1/3 of a *homer*, cf. AKSARAY, § 4, also BOR, § 7, and Commentaries.

ā-ia-ti-i-, “makes”, from *ā(-ia)*-, = Cun. Luw. *a(ya)*-; see also above, § 13, Commentary.

matu(sa)-, “wine” (nom./acc. sing. N); see also AKSARAY, § 4 (with determinative VITIS); BOR, § 7; TULEIL 2, ll. 2–3.

BOS(ANIMAL)-*sa* 9 CENTUM-*ba*: so read in place of Meriggi’s *u-sa-nū-ba* CENTUM in order to take account of the ANIMAL marker.

a-ta |*sa*₅+*ra/i-wa/i-ia*-, “increase(?)”, guess from context; cf. author’s name *Sarwatiwaras*.

ti-na-ta-za-, “tithe” (cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 95 n. 3); see also further attestations (ARGENTUM.DARE) *ti-na-ta*-, ANCOZ 1, § 2; [ti]-*na-ti-i*-, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 3.

To this the following observations may be added:

§ 24. See also now Melchert, loc. cit., for *tarša*-, “leaf”, and *yariya*-, “extend”.

§ 26. Two alternative interpretations seem possible: (1) BOS(ANIMAL)-*sa* 9 CENTUM-*ba ma-tu-sà*-, “nine oxen and a hundred (measures of) wine”; (2) BOS(ANIMAL)-*sa* 9(×)CENTUM-*ba ma-tu-sà*-, “an ox and nine hundred (measures of) wine”. Against (2) it may be noted that multiples of CENTUM are elsewhere always written with the sign repeated (up to 4 times on İSKENDERUN, § 4, and KULULU lead strip 1, 6 times on CEKKE, § 7); but there are two writings 1(×)CENTUM, “one hundred (BOR, § 7; BOHÇA, § 13) and this would be the same system of writing numerals as Cun. 1–9 ME, “100–900”. Also on the assumption that §§ 25–26 describe the produce of the vineyard in measures (of wine) and the related offering to the god of (measures of) wine, the ratio 1000 produced to 900 offered seems excessive. Against (1) it may be noted that numerals normally precede the noun and that nine oxen seems excessive (but cf. MARAŞ 5, § 2). On the other hand the ratio of 1000 produce to 100 offering looks very plausible especially in view of the possibility that in § 28 this ratio could be described as *tinatanza*, argued both contextually and etymologically to mean “tithe”.

§ 29. *u-sa-li*: cf. (ANNUS) *u-sa-li-ia*-, MARAŞ 3, § 6, similar context, which serves to identify *usali* also as nom. (acc.) plur. N., presumably a contraction *-iya* > *-i*, as in *bali* < *baliya* (ÇİFTLIK, § 17; BOR, § 11).

Lacuna. As argued above (Description, order of reading), it would seem that the text here must have descended from stele l. 6 right edge, to the missing vertical face of base, side A, running dextroverse; the alternative, continuing with stele top (i.e. § 36 here) does not give adequate sense.

§§ 30–33. Curse formulae, thus presumably following possible offences lost from base, vertical face A and part of B; closely paralleled by the more elaborate curse on KAYSERİ:

SULTANHAN,	§ 30 //	KAYSERİ,	§ 10
	§ 31 //		§ 16
	§ 32 //		§ 11
	§ 33 a //		§ 12
	(§ 33 b		-)
also § 51 //		§ 7	

§ 30 [i]-*sà-[f]ara/i-la-ti*: so restored by Meriggi from KAYSERİ parallel. For interpretation he hesitates between associations with “hand” and “throne” (*i-sà-tara/i-* and *i-sà-tara/i-ta-* in our readings). We are hardly better placed to decide. Starke points out the existence of a ^{GIŠ}ŠÜ.A *is-tar-da-al-la* (KBo XX, 75 rev. 14), and analyses the established form *istarta*-, “throne” (*Stammbildung*, § 255). (Should we adduce here also the form ^{GIŠ}*a-as-ta-ra-la-an*, DLL, s.v., also p. 170, no. 8, l. 9?). None of this furnishes very secure points of reference. Could this word simply be abl. sing. of *i-sà-tara/i-ta*-, “throne”, by dissimilation from **isataratati*? Starke remains non-committal (*Stammbildung*, Anm. 1508).

§ 31. Interpretation of this and the two comparable passages (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 15, KAYSERİ, § 16) considered by Hawkins, loc. cit. Sense still remains problematic because of uncertain interpretation of (“CORNU”) *kiputa-/kipura*-, in spite of existence of Hitt. ^{SI}*kiputi* (KUB XXXVI, 77, 3; see HWb, 2 Erg., s.v.); also in the parallel contexts the verb (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi*-, for which see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, p. 136 f.

§ 32. REL-*i-pa*(-...): awaits elucidation (cf. § 37).

ka+ra/i(-ka)-mi-si-za -: for omission of *ka*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 5, Commentary.

|*ā-pa-na* |*mu-wa/i-i* (with parallel |POST-*na* |FORTIS-*wa/i-i*, KAYSERİ, § 11): Starke, loc. cit., replaces my earlier interpretation “un-man” with “hinterher bezwingen”, which is substantially confirmed by the recent publication of YALBURT, with the evidence that Hier. *-mi/ti* (reflexive) ... *muma-* corresponds to Hitt., *-za* (reflexive) ... *tarh*-, “conquer” (see KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2b, and Commentary); cf. also below, § 44. For the not entirely obvious extension of the sense by the preverb *apan*, Starke’s “hinterher” offers one possibility.

§ 33. *ā-ta-ba-si*-, “of the *ataba*”: Bossert’s guess (loc. cit.) of “infernal”, while contextually not implausible,

lacks at present supporting evidence. Could one perhaps compare Hitt. *antaka/i-*, “chamber” (for which see Puhvel, *HED* s.v.)?

§ 34. *á-sa₅-za-*, “pronounce” (lit. “mouth”, verb): see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

á-pa+ra/i-ta-, “hereafter”: identified as phonetic writing of POST+*ra/i-ta* by Meriggi, *Manuale* I, p. 70, §§ 135–136.

Lacuna. Likely to be small, probably only remainder of § 35. The context §§ 34–36 runs easily for the sense (i.e. protasis – apodosis), and the content of § 35, whatever it was, need not have interrupted this.

§ 36. *pa-nu-wa/i-i*: clearly causative of a verbal stem *pa-*, which could be linked with (PES₂)*pa-za-*, “go” (Hawkins, *Mélanges Laroche*, p. 153 f.). Alternatively a comparable context in BABYLON 1, § 10, suggests that we might wish to recognize a root *pa-*, “drink, swallow”, found also in Hitt.-Luw. *paš-ke-/paš-* (see Commentary there).

tu-wa/i+ra/i-sa: acc. plur. N or possibly dat. sing. in *-a?*; depends on interpretation of verb.

§ 37. Extent of loss at end, ignored by Meriggi; contextually a minimal restoration would seem to be:

[REL-*pa-wa/i* | *sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i+r[a/i]-i*]a REL-*sa-ha ka-ti-i* || CRUS-*i*]

“(If) against Sarwatiwaras [anyone inclines to damage] ...”, i.e. 3 columns of signs.

REL-*pa(-wa/i)*: remains unclear.

§§ 38–42. See Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for elucidation of *-mi-na* ending in § 41; also for a consideration of the root *kati-*, and a comparison of the Hier. phrase *kati ta-*, “stand for damage”, with Hitt. *kari tiya-*, “stand for favour, oblige”, etc.

§ 40. *wa/i-na*: clearly dat. sing. but of what stem? I had previously considered associating it with *wani-*, “stone, stele”, but it is now clear that this gives dat. sing. *waniri* (<**wanidi*, see TILSEVET, Note following § 7). It is probably best to follow Meriggi in translating “vine”, though this poses further problems with our readings: a contraction of *wiyani->wini-* is not surprising, and is attested on KÖRKÜN, § 11, but could *wi(ya)ni-*, a clear *-i-* stem, form a dat. sing. in *-a*, thus *wina?*

§ 41. *api iziya-*, “requite”: see Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., and above, § 3.

§§ 43–45. Treated by Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the negative. Type of literary topos found also on AK-SARAY, §§ 7–9 (see Commentary). Sense here rendered somewhat hazy by uncertain interpretations of the verbs.

§ 43. LOCUS-*ta₅-za-*: acc. sing. N; for form see KAR-KAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary.

PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*i-ta*: clearly transitive here, as apparently also in KARATEPE 4, § 1, and perhaps

ÇİFTLİK, § 11 (see Commentaries), which it is not in its other occurrences, principally KARATEPE, 111, and ASSUR letters, introductory formula etc. (see Commentary (general), B1). A. Morpurgo Davies considered an interpretation “live” (*KZ* 94 (1980), p. 102), thus here “inhabit(?)”. [But the recent appearance of this verb on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription (§§ 8, 11, 12), in contexts suggesting “fight”, must be taken into consideration; see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 6, pp. 118–120.]

§ 44. Closely parallel clause TOPADA, § 29, has *mu-wa/i-ta_x* (noun, case?) + verb *i-zi/a-ia-tà* (see Commentary there).

mu-wa/i-ta: again apparently transitive as in § 32 above. As noted there, the sense of Hier. *muwa-* seems to be defined by an equivalence with Hitt. *tarb-*, “conquer”, which agrees well with Hitt.-Luw. *muwa-*, noun and verb, as defined by the *CHD* (3/3, s.v.), and more precisely by Starke, loc. cit., and reviewing *CHD* 3/3 (*Bi. Or.* 46 (1989), pp. 667–669). For a further probable attestation, note FORTIS(-)[*m*]*u²-ta* (JISR EL HADID frag. 1, l. 2).

§ 45. *api*: see above, § 3.

á-tà: for *á(ia)-*, “make, do”, cf. above §§ 13 and Commentary, 25. The alternation of this verb with *muwa-* in the previous clause may be compared with the phrase *mu-wa/i-ta_x i-zi/a-ia-* (TOPADA, § 29) already cited.

§ 46. *za+ra/i-ti-ti-i-i* (repeated final *-i* simply space-filler?): usual construction with this verb is “evil (dir. object) for (CUM-*ni*) protected person/thing”, where *zarti-* could denote morally neutral action, “contrive, consider, plan, desire”, etc.; see KARABURUN, §§ 7, 9; TELL AHMAR 1, § 20; TELL AHMAR 2, § 13. Here, however, the word “evil” is omitted, but the action is presumably to be thought of as evil in itself. Association of the verb *zarti-* with the noun *zar(za)/zart(iy)a-*, “heart”, is to be considered, especially as it is possible that both may be determined by VAS (see ALEPPO 3, § 1; TELL AHMAR 1, § 20; 2, § 13). See now Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit.

a+ra/i-ma-za: this word being obscure (could it possibly be a rhotacized form of the usual *atamanza*, “name”?), the nature of the evil anticipated is also unclear.

§ 47. For a context envisaging a possible female malefactor, see especially KULULU 5, § 7 b and f.

*ta*375-li-i-sa*: *375, rare syllabogram found elsewhere in verb *arha* (MANUS)*li*375-* (GÜRÜN, § 6; ŞIRZI, § 8); and in name [DOM]US-*ni*375-[...]-ia* (ASSUR letter *d*, § 1). Laroche considers a value *par*, to produce an alternative writing of the *tapariyalis* of the following clause, but this must remain doubtful.

pa+ra/i(-)sa₅+ra/i: possibly to be divided to produce two adverbs, *pari* (= usual PRAE-*i*, but paralleled by several phonetic writings, e.g. KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§ 7, 10, 16; TELL AHMAR 1, § 5 b) and *sara* (= usual

SUPER+*ra/i* (phonetic writing not identified); for combination *pari sara*, cf. KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 16. Note, however, this inscription's regular practice of writing word-divider especially before words beginning not at top of line (cf. above, § 14, remarks on *ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-ta*). Alternatively we may perhaps follow Meriggi

in identifying as abl. (adv.?) – *Glossar*, p. 95, s.v. It could well be identified as an alternative writing of *pa-la-sa-ti-i*, itself suggested as abl. sing. of *pals(i)*-, = Hitt. *palša*-, “way”, thus “from/out of the way” (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 22, and Commentary); thus here perhaps simply “away”.

X.15. KAYSERİ (plates 262–263)

Location. Stele, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 38.

Description. Round-topped stele with two wide faces (front and back: A, C) and two narrow (left and right sides: B, D), originally bearing 6-line inscription running round all 4 faces, beginning on front (A) and running sinistaverse B–C–D, continuing *boustrophedon* down stele, ending on A l. 6 right side; the corner between A and D thus forms the right and left edges of the inscription. At the bottom of the stele the tenon for fitting it into a base survives.

The inscription has suffered much damage, deliberate and accidental. The front A has been erased and crudely recut with a large Maltese cross in a recessed circle, obliterating ll. 1–2, flanked by two smaller Maltese crosses in circles, and with an incised stand below, across the centre of ll. 3–4; the erased signs ll. 3–6 however have not been completely destroyed and are partially recognizable. But the sides of all faces have suffered severely: corner C–D is completely and corner D–A almost completely destroyed; corners A–B and B–C also show damage. This has much interrupted the continuity of the text which runs as follows: l. 1, [A, beginning destroyed, lacuna] + B + C [lacuna, D almost destroyed; l. 2, D (one word surviving) lacuna] + C + B [lacuna, A destroyed; l. 3, A some surviving signs, lacuna] + B + C [lacuna, D (one word surviving); l. 4, D (one word surviving) lacuna] + C + B + A (partially legible) [lacuna; l. 5, A lacuna] then some recognizable signs, + B + C [lacuna, D (one word surviving)]; l. 6, D (two words surviving) lacuna] + C + B + A (some recognizable signs) [end of stele, text may have continued on base].

Dimensions: ht., 1.24 m.; w., 0.43 m.; th., 0.25 m.; line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: where preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: largely monumental (esp. *ma*, *ta*, *u*, *sà* also *tà*, *ara/i*), some cursive (esp. *ā*, *tā*); in general, unusually ornate.

Peculiarities: numerous. (1) forms: characteristic *sa*, *na*; (2) usage: *sa*, *na/i* common; also *iā*, *ri+i* (otherwise KARATEPE only), also *i* common, and *ā* for *a* (§ 2); also VAS = *zā*, LITUUS+VAS = *zā* (here only); rhotacism.

Word-dividers: consistently used as far as visible.

Discovery. Seen by Lewy in 1925 in Kayseri in courtyard of house of Yahya Bey Zade Kadir (alias Mustafa Gürel). Gelb in 1935 was informed that the stele had been in the house for a very long time, but by 1932 it had been removed to the Augusteum in Ankara. See Publication.

Publication. Lewy, *AJO* 3 (1926), pp. 7–8, Abb. 1–6 (poor photographs, but side A better preserved than for Gelb); Hrozný, *-An. Or.* 8 (1936), pp. 1–12, pls. I–II = *IHH*. III (1937), pp. 386–397, pls. LXVIII–LXX (photographs and copy made in Augusteum in 1934); Gelb, *HHM*, no. 38, p. 34, pls. LVI (photographs of 4 sides), LVII (copy of sides B, C, D made in Ankara in 1932 and 1935), LVIII (side C, detail photographs).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *RSO* 32 (1957), pp. 230–234; id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 67, pp. 21–23, Tav. IV (redrawn from Gelb).

Excerpts.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| § 2 | Bossert, <i>Or.</i> NS 29, p. 430, Abb. 4. |
| § 3 | Morpurgo Davies, <i>Studies</i> Congill, p. 210 f. |
| § 7 | Meriggi, <i>Athenaeum</i> 29, p. 93; Laroche, <i>HH</i> no. 273(d); Starke, <i>Stamm bildung</i> , § 281. |
| § 11 | Bossert, <i>Le Muséon</i> 70, p. 169, Abb. 16; Laroche, <i>HH</i> nos. 28.2; 34.1(b). |
| §§ 11–12 | Bossert, <i>Or.</i> NS 29, p. 430, Abb. 6. |
| §§ 11–12, 16 | Hawkins, <i>-An. St.</i> 31, p. 173 cit. 29b. |
| §§ 19–20 | Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, <i>Hethitica</i> 8, pp. 279, 295 (Addendum 3, correcting reading). |

Content. Dedication of [god?] by servant of Wasusarmas. § 1, [name genealogy], title; § 2, setting up of DOMUS.TERRA-*tā-ta-la-si*- [god?]; §§ 3–4, protective curse (protasis); [§§ 5–6, largely destroyed]; §§ 7–12, protective curse (apodosis); [§§ 13–15, damaged, unintelligible]; §§ 16–18, protective curse (continued); §§ 19–20, actions of Tuwatis(?); § 21 ...

As may be seen, the stele has an unusually long and elaborate protective curse, §§ 3–18, by far the largest part of the text.

Date. Reign of Wasusarmas (c. 740–730 B.C.; see TOPADA, Date).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Ankara Museum in the summer, 1987.

Photographs. The photographs were taken by me at the same time, except for that of side A, which is a print of an unpublished photograph given to me by I. J. Gelb.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 [(A) EGO PN genealogy? (B)]x-x-sa₄ |wá/i-su-*ARMMA*-ma-sa₄
[...] (C) HEROS-sa SERVUS-ta₄-sa₄
§ 2a |á-wá/i |zâ-na "DOMUS.LOCUS"-tâ-ta-la-si-[...] [...] (D) |x
...[wá/i]...[sa] ...[...]|
2. b [...] |CRUS-nu-wá/i-há
§ 3 ... (C) ...] |DOMUS-na-zâ- |REL-sa |("LITUUS")ta-wá/i-na-
|PONERE-wá/i-i-x-x
§ 4 (B) |n |i-pa-wá/i-sa-ta- |URBS + MI-ni-i [...]x [...] (A) ...
3. § 5 ... || ... |iâ-li-[sa₄]
§ 6 |ni-pa |wá/i [...] (B)
§ 7 [...] | (DEUS)TONITRUS-bu-z[a]-sa₄ |á-pa-sa₄-ri + i |ASCIA(-)
na-pa-[ri] + i (C) |("273")tu-pi-ti-i
§ 8 |("DEUS")ma-ru-wá/i-wá/i-ni-sa-pa-wá/i-tu-ta ("DEUS")ni-ka-
[...s]a [...] (D) ...]x-ru
4. § 9 |wá/i-tu-u [...] || ...]
§ 10 i-sâ-tara/i-la-ti-pa-wá/i-tu-wa/i-i[a ... (C) ...]
§ 11 wá/i-tâ- | (DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa-sa- |POST-na |FORTIS-wa/i-i
§ 12 |á-ta(B)-há-s[i-zî]-pa-wá/i-na |DEUS-ni-zî- |á-ta-[...] -i-zî (A)
|AR|L.L.- |á-tâ<-tu>-u
5. § 13 |a-[wá/i] |... AQUILA-x(-)zî-...
§ 14 |wa/i-mi-i |AQUILA-pa[... || ...
§ 15 ... sa kei ... sa ... | ... iâ ...
§ 16 (B) |ba|ra/i-[na-w]á/i-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-tu-u-ta |LUNA + MI-ma-sa
|á-pa-sa (C) |("CORNU")k[i-p]u + ra/i |a-ta |("PES₂.PES")
tara/i-pi-ru-u-
§ 17 |ku-ma-zâ-sa-pa-wá/i-na [...]i [...] (D) ...
6. § 18 |("X")á-pi-tâ-pu-tu-wa/i-s[a]-pa-n[a/i-t]u [(m)u²]-[...s]a |pa-sa-
iâ-tu-u-
§ 19 |tu-wa/i-ti-sâ-[... (C) ...]-sâ- |("PES₂")i-tâ
§ 20 |a-wa/i |zâ |"LOQUI"-tâ-zâ- |á-sa₅-zâ-t[a]
§ 21 (B) |OMNIS-MI-[ma²]-sâ-wá/i-ti-i |DOMUS-na-sa |á-ta-t[i-...]
§ 22 (A) ...

[I (am) PN₁ PN₂'s so]n(?) the
Hero Wasusarmas's servant.
This [God] of the Precinct(?) [...
...]I set up.
(He) who shall set eye on the [...] houses,
or he [...] the city,
...
or(?) ...
[him] Tarhunzas shall smite with his
axe,
for him may Maruwa-ean
Nika[ruha]s [...],
and for him [...],
and for him they [shall come up(?)]
from (their) throne,
[and him] Kubaba shall attack
behind,
and him may the gods of the
ATAHA-, the ... (ones), eat up.
(§§ 13–15 illegible/unintelligible)

and on him may the Haranean
Moon-God TAPRI- (with(?)) his
KIPURA-,
and him [may] the priest [...],
and for him may the APITAPU-
TUWA PASAYA ...!
Tuwatis [...] went,
and pronounced this word:
Every house's interior(?) [...]

Commentary

§ 1. Name, perhaps title, and probably patronym lost; name perhaps to be restored from § 19.

[...]x-x-sa₄: probably word for "son", normally *ni-muwizas*, but cf. |INFANS-ni-sa (SULTANHAN, § 1); surviving traces agree better with latter.

§ 2a–b. As noted by Meriggi, this should be all one clause, parallel to SULTANHAN, § 2.

zâ-na: value zâ for LITUUS+VAS from SULTANHAN parallel zâ-na; see also DOMUS-na-zâ (§ 3); zâ LOQUI-tâ-zâ (§ 20); for VAS = zî, see DEUS-ni-zî (§ 12); and for support for LITUUS = a-vocalization, see VAS+a = zâ, (AKSARAY § 4, and Commentary).

"DOMUS.LOCUS"-tâ-ta-la-si-[...], "of the ...-TAT-ALA/I": from context looks likely to be an epithet (gen. adj.) of Storm-God parallel to *tuwarsasi-*, "of the vineyard"; *upatitasi-*, "of the demesne"; *artalasi-*, "of the ARTALI". The occurrence of the term LOCUS-ta₄-ta-li-i, "locality(?)" (MARAŞ 14, § 2, see Commentary), suggests the possibility of identifying the present word as a form of this. Cf. also TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1, frag. 5 b.

|x ...[wá/i] ...[sa] ...: traces show that the expected god's name was not at this point, thus that a further word at least intrudes.

§ 3. DOMUS-*na-za*: a value *za* is appropriate here too, where the context indicates dat. plur. rather than acc. sing. N.

("LITUUS")*ta-wa/i-na*: identified with *tawian* (VERSUS-*ian*) by Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 124, which supports the connection between LITUUS and OCULUS, "eye". In fact, as A. Morpurgo Davies points out (loc. cit.), the interpretation of *ta-wa/i-na* here simply as *tawin*, "eye", acc. sing. MF, gives clear sense.

PONERE-*wa/i-i-x-x*: SOLIUM = *i* does not actually occur in KARATEPE but is implied by SOLIUM + *a* = *ia*, and SOLIUM + R-1/I = *ri+i*; in this inscription, besides the present example, there is also URBS + MI-*ni-i* (§ 4); ASCIA(-) *na-pa-[ri+i]* (§ 7); *tu-pi-ti-i* (§ 7); *-wa/i-ti-i* (§ 21); and some less clear examples. The two signs at the end of this word both appear to be *a*, and it is difficult to see what function, if any, they have.

§ 4. [*n*]*i-pa-wa/i-sa-ta*: i.e. *nipa+wa+as+ta*, "or he", + *ta Ortspartikel*.

§§ 3–4. Because the offences are envisaged as being against "houses" and "city", these are presumably the objects of dedication. Is the DOMUS.LOCUS-*tatalasi*-[god] involved with these?

§ 5. [...]*ia-li-[sa]*, Hrozný's reading: this in the context suggests the topos *ma(n)was REF-tis ma(n)-pawas tapariyalis*, "whether he (be) a king or he (be) a governor"; cf. especially SULTANHAN, §§ 48–49.

§ 6. [*ni-pa-wa/i*, Hrozný's reading: if confirmed, as seems likely, this would be the last clause of the protasis, followed by the first of the apodosis (§ 7).

§§ 7–18. Many, but not all, of these elaborate curses have exact parallels on SULTANHAN, §§ 30–33, 51.

§ 7//SULTANHAN § 51 (fragmentary).

§ 8. No SULTANHAN parallel.

("DEUS")*ni-ka-[...-s]a*: *ka* confirmed by collation points to the restoration *ni-ka-[ru-ba-s]a* (cf. BULGAR-MADEN, § 16).

("DEUS")*ma-ru-uá/i-uá/i-ni-sa*: clearly a *-wani-* suffixed adj. of *maruwa-*, which has no place determinative (URBS, REGIO) but instead the divine "DEUS".

[...]*x-ru*: presumably the verb (so Meriggi), 3 sing. imp. with rhotacism.

§ 10. Observed by Meriggi to correspond to SULTANHAN, § 30.

i-sa-tara/i-la-ti: may be used to restore the SULTANHAN [*i*]-*sà-[ta]ra/i-la-ti*; see discussion there for sense, perhaps abl. sing. of *isatarata-*, "throne", with dissimilation from **isataratati*.

-pa-wa/i-tu-wa/i-t[u]: this must be analysed *-pa+wa+tu+ata*, "and it/they for him", which implies that the SULTANHAN parallel *-pa-wa/i-ta* should be *-pa+wa+ata*, "and it/they". The latter is difficult since

the verb, SUPER + *ra/i* "PES" -*wa/i+ra/i* is 3 sing. (pres.), and in any case might be expected to require a *-ta Ortspartikel*. Are the two passages not exactly parallel, and what verb should be restored in the present clause?

Sense: "come up with *isatarala-*/(from throne?)" is clearly in the context a divine hostile act.

§ 11//SULTANHAN, § 32. See there for consideration of *apan muwa-* in this parallel context.

[...]*wa/i-tá*: established by collation, presumably *wa+ta*, *Ortspartikel*; yet the SULTANHAN parallel has REL-*i-pa-wa/i-na*, i.e. object *-an*, "him", and no *Ortspartikel*. The object in the present clause could be restored [(*á*)-*pa-pa*]-*wa/i-tá*, i.e. (*a*)*pan-*, "him".

§ 12//SULTANHAN, § 33 a. [*á-ta-ba-s[i-zi]*]: restored from parallel. Discussion there speculates on the possibility of comparing *á-ta-ba-* with Hitt. *antaka/i-*, "chamber".

DEUS-*ni-zi*: parallel DEUS-*ni-i-zi* establishes the value *zi*, but this is also implicit in the value *za* (see § 2 a).

á-ta-[...] -*i-zi*: additional word not in parallel. In AS-SUR letter *f+g*, §§ 37–38, a word *a-ta-ti-*, "interior", is tentatively identified (cf. *a-tá-ti-li*, "internal", BABYLON 1, § 11). This word could perhaps be recognized here and in § 21 below, *á-ta-t[i-...]*. A restoration *á-ta-[ti]-i[-si]-zi*, "of the interior", could be considered, i.e., "the gods of the chamber(?) of the interior(?)".

[*-1R*]*HL-1* [*á-tá(-tu)-u*]: verb expected from parallel, and sufficiently clear on examination.

§§ 13–15. There is a fair degree of agreement between the collations of Hrozný and myself of the semi-erased signs of these 2 lines, yet it is very curious that in the middle of such a comparatively well known context, no sense should emerge.

§ 16//SULTANHAN, § 31. See Hawkins, loc. cit., and parallel passage, Commentary, also KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 15 (more closely parallel).

("CORNU")*k[i-p]u+ra/i*: KARKAMIŠ parallel has *ki-pu-tá-ti-i*, "with the *kiputa-*", more readily intelligible; perhaps restore *k[i-p]u+ra/i<-ti//ri+i>* here.

§§ 17–18. Apparently still curse formulae, since § 18 has verb in imperative.

§ 17. *ku-ma-za-sa*: Laroche surveying the Luw.-Lyc. stem *kummai-*, "pure", read this *ku-ma-i-s(-pa-wa-n)*, apparently in error since he accepted the values *zi/za* (*FdX* VI, p. 108 f.). The present word strikingly coincides with Lyc. *kumaza*, "priest", for which see Laroche, *ibid.*, p. 98, § 21 (a). The Lyc. professional suffix *-aza* has hardly been identified in Hier., but cf. *waralaza*, KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.22 (6 b). In spite of the unfortunately broken context, the identity of this word with its Lyc. correspondence seems likely.

§ 18. [("X")]*á-pi-tá-pu-tu-wa/i-s[a]*: *hapax legomenon* of extraordinary appearance, apparently subject.

pa-sa-iā-tu-u-: verb, 3 sing. imp., also *hapax legomenon*, indicates continuing curse formula.

§ 19. *|tu-wa/i-ti-sā-...|*: presumably personal name *Tuwatis*, borne e.g. by father of Wasusarmas; but here perhaps to be identified in the context as the missing name of the author of the inscription.

("PES₂") *i-tā*, "he went": for verb, see KARATEPE, 181, Commentary.

§ 20 *|zā|* "LOQUI"-*tā-zā-*: the two other places, besides those in §§ 2a, 3 above, where the value *zā* produces clearly identifiable forms, in this case the demonstrative *zā-* and a noun, acc. sing. N.

"LOQUI"-*tā-zā*: associated by Laroche, doubtless correctly, with ("LOQUI") *pā² + ra/i-ta* (see HH, nos. 22 (b); 33b.II.4), which is found only in acc. plur. N

elsewhere (see KARKAMIŞ A31, § 14, Commentary, for attestations); the present form attests the sing., previously identified with Cun. Luw. *parattanza* (nom./acc. sing. N; see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, HHL, p. [33]), though this is now rejected by Melchert (see An. St. 38 (1988), p. 36).

|ā-sa₅-zā-t[a]|: confirmed by collation, as noted by Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 21. OMNIS-*MĪ-[ma²]-sā*: if confirmed by collation, will parallel KARATEPE writings of OMNIS-*MĪ-ma-* = *tanima-* (see KARATEPE, § L).

|ā-ta-t[i-...]|: *tī* established by collation; for the possibility of identifying a word *a[n]tati-*, "interior", or a derivative here, see above, § 12, Commentary.

Side A, l. 6: though many of the semi-erased signs may be recoverable, no sense at present emerges.

X.16. AKSARAY (plate 264)

Location. Stele, Aksaray Museum, no. 1-1-77.

Description. Lower half of stele. *Obverse* (D): lower part of figure of Storm-God facing right, only part of short, fringed kilt, legs and feet with ornamented boots preserved. Below the figure is a flattened line of inscription running dextroverse, overlapped from reverse, last line, and apparently terminating the inscription. *Reverse and sides*: last 5 lines of inscription (l. 1 largely destroyed); l. 2 runs sinistroverse from left side (A), right edge, across reverse (B) and on to right side (C) up to left edge, continuing thus *boustrophedon* down stele, until the very flattened l. 5 (dextroverse) reaches side (A) right edge, thereafter overlapping round on to front (D) and perhaps continued on lost element (base?). In the middle of the reverse a large, round hole obliterating an area of ll. 2-3 seems to have been made deliberately in the course of reuse of the stone.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.88 m.; w., 0.90 m.; th., 0.39 m.; line ht. (ll. 2-4), 0.16-0.17 m., (l. 5), 0.08 m.

Condition: as preserved, good - fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: use of *zā_x* (VAS + *a*), *hā_x* - see Commentary.

Word-dividers: frequent earlier in text, less later.

Discovery. Reported by Abdullah Karakaya, assistant at Aksaray Museum, to have been discovered on 25/4/1976 in the excavations for the foundations of a hotel near south-east town wall of Aksaray (Kalaç, see Publication), thus without archaeological context. When in Aksaray, I was told by the Museum Director, Bay Fariz Demir, that the find spot was in the found-

ation excavations for the Mehmet Şişman İşhane in Hükümet Caddesi.

Publication. Announced by M. Kalaç to XXIV R.A.I., Paris, July 1977; published, id., KZ 92 (1978), Abb. 1 and facing p. 119 (photographs of reverse, sides; copy of complete text including line on obverse); Poetto, *F. Neumann* (1982) (photographs of reverse, sides, obverse (inscription); copy of obverse inscription).

Editions. Kalaç, loc. cit. (1978), pp. 117-125; Poetto, loc. cit. (1982), pp. 275-284.

Excerpts.

- | | |
|--------|---|
| §§ 1-3 | Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, <i>An. St.</i> 28, p. 105. |
| § 4 | Hawkins, <i>Essays Mellink</i> , pp. 95-98. |
| § 6 | Hawkins, <i>Kadmos</i> 19, p. 139 cit. 18. |

Content. Dedicatory inscription of the ruler Kiyakiyas. [Lacuna], §§ 1-4, prosperity of reign; § 5, favour of gods; § 6, "this city" admired by kings; §§ 7-9, promotion by Storm-God; (obverse, unclear, perhaps records setting up of stele by another person).

Date. Identification of Kiyakiyas with Kiakki of Šinuhtu deported by Sargon II in 718 B.C. If correct, this gives the stele a *terminus ante quem* of 718 B.C. It would also point to the location of Šinuhtu at Aksaray. See above, The Historical Context, p. 431 and n. 71.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Aksaray Museum in August 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

Translation

1. §§ a-c (a) ...]*tī* [...] *ta* (b) *x-wa/i* [...] -*zī* [...] *x-na* [...] *x-na* ([UR]BS) *wa/i-sà-tà* (c) "[X].*Tī*"-*ba* [...] UR]BS [...] -*zā* [...] *sà+ra/i* x [...] *zī* [...] *300 [...]
2. § 1 [...] (DEUS)TONITRUS-[*b*] *u-zā-sa* | *nī-sà-*' | -*ARHLA* | *la-tà-ta* [...] Tar]hunzas prospered the NISA,
 § 2 | *wa/i-ta* ("CAELUM") | *tī-pa-sà* | -[*tī*] | *m[a-na]* IN[FRA-*ta*] and m[uch] came down from the
 | ["PES"]-*tà* sky,
 § 3 ("TERRA") *ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* | *ma-na* SUPER+*ra/i* and much came up from the earth,
 | ["PES"]-*tà*
3. § 4 a | *a-wa/i* | [*ā*-[*pa*]-*tā*]-*zā_x* ("ANNUS") *u-sā-zā* | (OVIS.ANIMAL) and in those years for one sheep 30
 | *ba-wa/i-i* 30 *tī-wā/i-ta-lī-sa* "HORDEUM"-*zā* | CRUS+*R-ā/I* measures (of) barley stood,
 b 20 *tī-wa/i-tā-lī-sa* "[X]"-*tī-sa* | *tā²*]-*ta* 20 measures (of) oil(?) [...] ed,
 c [x *tī-wā/i-tā-lī-sa* (VITIS) *ma-tū-sà* | CRUS+*R-ā/I* [...] measures (of) wine stood.
 4. § 5 *wa/i-ta ā-mi-ia-ti* | (IUSTITIA) *tara/i* | -*wa/i-na-ti* (DEUS) Because of my justice I was dear to
 TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i* *tara/i-ma-zā-ba* DEUS-*nī-zā* | *zā-ti* Tarhunzas and all the gods there,
 BONUS-*sī-ia-zā-ba*
 § 6 *zā-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* URBS-*nī* | MAGNUS+*R-ā/I*-REX-*zī* | REX- and great kings (and) kings all
 | *tī-zī* | OMNIS-*mī-zī* INFRA-*tā-ta* OCLUS(-) *zā-nī-ta* admired this city.
 5. § 7 REL-*sā-ba-wa/i-mu-u* *zā* | [...] LOCUS-*ta_s-zā-pi-ia-i* And who gives this position to me?
 § 8 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zā-sā-pa-wa/i-na* | *na* REL-*tī-ba_x-pi-ia-ta* Tarhunzas gave it to no one
 § 9 *wa/i-na ā-mu kī-ia-kī-ia-ia* IUDEX-*nī* REX-*tī(-)* x *pī* | but to me Kiyakiyas the ruler, the
 (front) -[*ia-t*]*ā* king he gave it.
 § 10 *x-sa* [...] -*pa* // *ba-w* | *a/i-mu* | FRATER-*la-zā-wa/i-sa ā-sa-tā* Atalazawas(?) was [...] to me(?),
 § 11 *wa/i* | -*mu²* | *zā ta-x* [...] and [to me] this ... [...],
 § 12 [...] (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* | *zā* | (PES) *u-p* | *a²-ta* ...] Tarhunzas brou[gh]t this.

Commentary

1. 1. A clause could be isolated from the traces if first *wa/i* represents connective particles and *wa/i-sà-tā* the verb, thus:

§ b. *x-wa/i* [...] -*zī* [...] *x-na* [...] *x-na* ([UR]BS) *wa/i-sà-tā*.

x-wa/i: a restoration [*a*]-*wa/i* looks plausible from traces.

[...] -*zī*: probably subject, nom. plur. MF.

[...] *x-na* [...] *x-na* ([UR]BS): seems to be object, a city name, acc. sing. MF. Bearing in mind that Aksaray, and perhaps "this city" (§ 6), may be ancient Sīnuhtu, we might find this name here; restore [*sa/si*]-*na*-[*hu-ta/ti*]-*na*(URBS)?

wa/i-sà-tā: apparently complete, easier taken as verb than connective particles. A verb *wasā-*, "be good (to), love", is attested in TOPADA, § 4 (see Commentary), and in the common participle *wasami-*, "beloved"; cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 224.

Sense: it is possible to envisage something like: "the [god]s(?) loved the city [Sī]n[uhtu]".

§ c. "[X].*Tī*"-*ba* [...] UR]BS [...] -*zā* [...]: it would appear that there is here another city name written logographically. It is not clear where connective particles should be sought: perhaps -*ba*-[*wa/i*UR]BS), "and the city ... *Tī* ..."; or [*wa/i-ma*]-*zā*, "and to them ...".

§§ 1–3. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., for an identification of *arha lata*-(>*lara*-), "prosper"; also *nī-sà-* taken as *hapax legomenon*, acc. plur. N.

§ 2. Kalaç's restoration doubtless correct.

§§ 2–3. The topos of abundance coming down from the sky and up from the earth is found also in SULTANHAN, §§ 14–15, and ALEPPO 2, §§ 15–16. Clearly rain is expected from the sky and vegetation from the earth; SULTANHAN has *ma-na* (-) *wa/i-su-na-tā* from the sky and "grain and vine" from the earth. In the present context, the paired *m[a-na]* ... *ma-na* are identified by Kalaç and Poetto with the well known *man* ... *man*, "whether ... or", but this seems very inappropriate to the context. Much more suitable is *man*, "much", identified in KARATEPE, 320, 322, 324, = Phoen. *b-rbm* (see Commentary there). The possibility also exists of identifying this form in the SULTANHAN context too (see Commentary).

§ 4. *ā*-[*pa*]-*tā*]-*zā_x*: the unique form *zā_x* rendered by VAS+*a* is of great graphic interest; set beside the KAYSERİ writings VAS = *zī*, VAS+LITUUS = *zā* (see there, §§ 2, 12, and Commentary), it equates LI-

TUUS with the double strokes (originally *a*, see KARKAMIŠ A14a, peculiarities).

§ 4a–c. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating these clauses, by comparison with KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 8, A11a, § 10, and SULTANHAN, § 11, as statements of ideal price expressing cost of essential commodities in relation to a sheep (instead of its equivalent, a shekel of silver).

tiwatalis is paralleled in the KARKAMIŠ passages with ASINUS (ANIMAL), identified as the *homer*-measure (donkey-load), and should therefore itself be a measure.

Logogram *179, common to all the passages and first here, is thereby identified as “barley” (thus HORDEUM; see also KULULU lead strip 1, element 3).

CRUS+R-1/I identified as endless verb of standing (other than *ta-*, “stand”, = Hitt. *tiya-*, Cun. Luw. *ta-*, for which see Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Congill*, pp. 205–228).

“[X]”-*ti-sa*: damaged logogram not certainly identified, but is not *HH* no. 215.1 (FONS). In the context as elucidated it should represent “oil”.

[*tá*]-*ta*: careful collation suggests this reading, perhaps to be identified as phonetic writing of CRUS/*ta-*, “stand”, for which cf. SULTANHAN, § 39; HİSARCIK 1, § 3. This would stand in contrast to CRUS+R-1/I of the two adjacent clauses, which is taken to represent a verb other than *ta-*.

(VITIS)*ma-ti-sa*: the logogram VITIS determines only words connected with the vine (cf. KARATEPE, 271, Commentary). *matu-* identified as a staple commodity connected with the vine (present context, also SULTANHAN, § 26; BOR, § 7), which can be drunk (TULEIL 2, ll. 2–3), thus the general word for “wine”, as against *nijani-*, “vine” (SULTANHAN, §§ 7, 15, Commentary). Cf. also (“VITIS”)*mi-t[u...]*, TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2, l. 2. See now Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 280–283. The form *matusa*, the only one so far attested in Hier., may be identified as nom./acc. sing. N (the endless *matu*, +*sa*). On formal grounds Starke prefers to analyse as *matu(wa)sa*, nom./acc. plur. N of *-asi-* gen. adj.

§ 5. *tara/i-ma-za-ha*: as Kalaç observed, this can hardly be anything other than a phonetic variant of the expected *taniman-za-ha*, in spite of Poetto’s reservations.

[*za-ti*] BONUS-*si-ia-za-ha*: order of reading suggested by Poetto, against Kalaç’s following a more natural order; now confirmed by the recurrence of the verb on KULULU 4, § 6 – see Poetto, Edition, addendum on p. 284. The KULULU 4 context is closely similar to BULGARMADEN, § 2, where the verb is (BONUS) *wa/i-sa-za*, which suggests a full reading of the present verb as **wasiya-za* (note that Poetto’s transliteration of *si* as *sa* obscures the difference between the two forms); cf. observations of Morpurgo Davies and

Hawkins, *Studia Meriggi*, pp. 392–394, on denom. verb(s) from the stem *wasu-*, “good”.

§ 6. INFRA-*tá-ta* OCULUS(-)*za-ni-ta*: Poetto’s interpretation of the preverb as **katanta*, giving sense “admire” (i.e. “look at from below”) to verb, seems very satisfactory, though identification of the verb itself remains difficult (see Hawkins, loc. cit.).

§§ 7–9. Clauses expressing literary topos of the type seen in SULTANHAN, §§ 43–45; TOPADA, §§ 28–30; KARKAMIŠ A23, §§ 7–8; – see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 141 cit. 42–44.

§ 7. REL-*sà*: unusual initial position indicates interrogative (rhetorical).

LOCUS-*ta₅-za* (presence of *ta₅* observed by Poetto): literally physical “place”, location of stele, or “position, status” as in Hitt. (*šalli*) *pedan*?

§ 8. *pa-wa/i-na*: clearly *pa+wa+an*, as *-an* is also visible again at the beginning of the following clause, which is surprising, since the only possible antecedent is the neuter LOCUS-*ta₅-za*, = **pita(n)t(+sa)* (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23). The gender of the pronoun is inexplicable, especially when the parallel SULTANHAN passage is compared, where the clauses corresponding to §§ 8–9 here show clearly *-ata*, “it”. The context here, however, obliges us to accept the discrepancy.

[*na*] REL-*ti-ha_x*, “to no-one”: clearly so understood by Kalaç, and also by Poetto, who points out the necessary attribution to the sign *HH* no. 314 (reversed) of the value *ha_x*, which is also indicated by an alternation of *ba* and *314 in TOPADA, §§ 10 and 12. The interpretation is demanded by the context and the comparable passages, SULTANHAN, § 44, TOPADA, § 29, and KARKAMIŠ A23, § 7, all of which have negative indefinite pronouns in the same position. A phonetic writing of the factual negative, normally NEG₂, as *na* was not hitherto identified; but cf. *na-wa/i* (ASSUR letter *e*, § 31), and possibly also KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 7; TÜNP 1, § 7.

§ 9. REX-*ti(-)x*: Kalaç and Poetto both signal the presence of *pi*, beginning of the expected *pi-ia-ta*, which is assumed to have continued on the front of the stele in the line below the figure, and collation confirms the sign; the *-tá* partially visible on the front is likely to be the verbal ending required. Poetto signals the presence of a small excrescence *x* between REX-*ti* and *pi*, and suggests possible identifications, the most likely of which is that it is a word-divider.

§ 10. *x-sa[-... -pa//ha-w]a/i-mu*: probably just a single largely destroyed word with connective particles.

[FRATER-*la-za-wa/i-sa*: probably a complete word since *wa/i-sa* separately does not seem likely (but cf. KARAHÖYÜK, § 10; and Starke’s remarks, *Stamm-bildung*, § 224). The word could be taken as either a

personal name or a kinship term, and in either case, the missing word at the beginning of the clause is probably the required predicate. Thus either "Atalazawas was [...] to me" (for FRATER-*la-* as onomastic element, see ALEPPO 2, § 3; EĞRİKÖY, § 3, and Commentaries); or "[PN] was *kinsman* to me".

§ 12. (PES)*u-p*[*a²-ta*]: for (PES)*u-pa-*, "bring", see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 4, and Commentary. A restoration (PES)*u-s*[*ā-ta*] would also be consistent with the traces, but would not materially alter the sense.

The inscription seems complete at this point, but the absence of any protective curse would be noteworthy.

X.17. BOHÇA (plate 265)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 6.

Description. 4-sided, round-topped, tapering stele, with 2 wide faces (A, C) and 2 narrow ends (B, D), bearing a 4-line inscription which encircles the stele, beginning on face A, upper right, and running sinistrowise round all faces to face D, upper left, continuing *boustrophedon* along ll. 2–4, and terminating on face A, lower right. The corner between sides D–A thus forms the right and left edges of the text. As l. 4 the stele has a wider band above the rougher, undressed base. It is not clear from the context that the conclusion of the text is reached with the end of l. 4.

Dimensions: ht. (excluding base), 1.00 m.; max. w., 1.26 m.; max. th., 0.63 m.; line ht., (ll. 1–3), 0.24–0.25 m., (l. 4), 0.12 m.

Condition: fair, surface of stone rough, signs coarsely cut.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: generally cursive (monumental CAPERE and GAZELLA logograms).

Peculiarities: rhotacism.

Word-dividers: very frequent (less so in l. 4).

Discovery. Seen by Belck in 1901, and reported in *Forschungsreise* (1901), p. 521; cf. *Berliner. Philologische Wochenschrift*, 28/12/1901, pp. 1629–31; also Fowler, *AJL* NS 6 (1901), p. 63. Reported with poor photograph by Hilprecht (*Sunday School Times*, 17/5/1902, p. 264 f.). Original position: near village of Bohça, "fast auf der Höhe eines Berges" (Messerschmidt, 1906 – see Publication, quoting Winckler); "isolated on a hillside above the Halys, 19 minutes south of the river and 35 minutes east of the village of Boghcha" (Charles, in 1907 – see Publication); note that Garstang (loc. cit., Publication) places the find-spot *west* of Bohça, which seems more likely to be correct. Seen in autumn 1909 by Campbell Thompson in stream near Bohça, where it had been brought down from hill 2 months earlier on official orders from Istanbul (*PSBA* 32 (1910), p. 293 f.). Cf. also de Jerphanion – Publication.

Bohça (now known as Bozca) itself is situated north of the Avanos-Karahöyük road in a large loop of the Kızıl Irmak, which circles it to the west, north and east.

Publication. (Cf. Hilprecht, loc. cit.). Messerschmidt, *CIH²* (1906), p. 11 f., Taf. LI (drawing from squeezes and photographs given by Winckler); Grothe, *BKO* 7

(1909), p. 105 f., Abb. V = *Vorderasiensexpedition* (1911), pp. CCLXVIII–CCLXIX, Taf. XII, Abb. 11 (photograph of stele covered with squeeze paper); de Jerphanion, *PSBA* 32 (1910), p. 173 f., pls. XIV–XVII (photographs with copies of all sides); Garstang, *LH* (1910), p. 155, pl. LXVIII (photograph of side C), = *HE* (1929), p. 121, pl. XXVI; Charles, *HI* (1911), pp. 16–20, figs. 15, 16–19 (photographs, general, and sides A–D covered with squeeze paper), pls. IX–X (copy); Kemaleddin, *Erciyes Kayserisi* (1934), p. 210 and facing pl. (photograph of C, copy of A, B).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 15, pp. 83–87; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 261–266; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 27, pp. 106–108, Tav. X (redrawn from Messerschmidt-Charles, with collations); Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia Meriggi* (1979), pp. 387–403, figs. 1 (photographs), 2 (copy).

Excerpts.

§§ 1–5	Bossert, <i>MIO</i> 2, p. 88 f.
§§ 3, 9	Mittelberger, <i>Sprache</i> 9, p. 106.
§ 5	Bossert, <i>Le Muséon</i> 70, p. 164.
§§ 6–8, 11–12	Hawkins, <i>An. St.</i> 25, p. 139 f. cit. 37.
§ 9	Bossert, <i>MIO</i> 2, p. 88 f.

Content. Dedication by the ruler Kurtis to the Storm- and Stag-Gods. § 1, name, genealogy and title; §§ 2–3, dedication to Storm-God; §§ 4–5, dedication to Stag-God; §§ 6–9, Storm-God's benefits to author more than forebears; §§ 10–13, Stag-God's benefits to author more than forebears.

The stele does appear to have been set up where it was, in open country, as a claim to hunting rights over "the territories".

Date. Possible identification of Kurtis with the *Kurti* of (.1)*tun(n)a* mentioned by Sargon II for the years 718 and 713 B.C.; see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Edition*, p. 389 f. Such a date would fit the appearance and style of the stele. See also above, The Historical Context, p. 429 f. and n. 75.

Text. The text here offered is that of our *Edition* (1979), taken from a tracing of photographs and checked against collated photographs.

Photographs. Taken at Kayseri Museum in 1971, while the stele was still on display in the open air.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 EGO-*mi* [²]*ku*+*ra/i-ti-i-sa* |²*á-[sa-HW'I-si]-sa₄* |HEROS-*li-i-sa*
 |("INFANS")*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* ("OCCIDENS")*i-pa-ma-ri+i-i*
 |ORIENS+*MI-ma-ri+i-ha* |PRAE |AUDIRE+*MI-ti-mi-[sa₄]* ||
 2. ||*REX-ti-sá*
 § 2 |*wa/i-ta* |(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti* |*za-ri+i* |(BONUS)*wa/i-*
su-wa/i-i
 § 3 |*wa/i-mu* |TERRA-REL+*ra/i-zi* |SUPER+*ra/i* |["CAPERE"](-)
la/i/u-na |*pi-pa-sa-i*
 § 4 |(DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti-pa-wa/i-ta* |*za-ri+i(-)ia(-)pa* |
 |(BONUS)*wa/i-su-wa/i*
 3. § 5 |*wa/i-mu* |*za-ri+i* |*sá-ma-ia* || ("ANIMAL.BESTIA")*HWI-*
sa₅+ra/i |*pi-pa-sa-ia*
 § 6 |*á-mi-zi-pa-wa/i* |*tá-ti-zi-i* |AVUS-*ha-zi-ha* |REL-*zi* [²]*sa-ta*
 § 7 |REL-*pa-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* |NEG₂ |REL-*ha-na*
wa/i+ra/i-ia-ia
 § 8 |*á-mu-wa/i* |REL+*ra/i* |*wa/i+ra/i-ia-ia*
 § 9 |*wa/i-mu* |["TERRA"]-REL+*ra/i-zi* |SUPER+*ra/i* |["CAPERE"](-)
la/i/u-na |*pi-pa-sa-ia*
 4. § 10 |*á-mi-zi-ha* |*wa/i* |*tá-ti-zi* || AVUS-*ha-zi-ha* |² |REL-*i* "ANIMAL.
 EQUUS"² |*sá-sá-ta-la-u-na* REL "PES₂.PES₂"(-)*tá-ta*
 § 11 |REL-*pa-wa/i* (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti-ia* |*sá* |² |NEG₂ |² |REL-
ha-na |² |*wa/i+ra/i-ia* |*tu*
 § 12 |² |*á-mu-wa/i* |REL+*ra/i* |*wa/i+ra/i-ia-ia*
 § 13 |² |*wa/i* |*za-ti-i* |["TERRA"]-*sa*-REL+*ra/i-i* |*za-ti-i* |LOCUS-
ta₅-ti-i 1 × CENTUM (ANIMAL)GAZELLA *la-ha*
 "UNUS"² |*tu* |REL-*za*

I (am) Kurtis, the hero Ashwi(si)s's
 son, the king heard of by the
 west and the east.

Here I am good to Tarhunzas,

he grants to me to take over the
 territories;
 and here ... I am good to Runtiyas,

here he grants to me the beasts
 (as?) SAMAYA (or: the SA-
 MAYA beasts).

And (those) who were my fathers
 and grandfathers,
 indeed Tarhunzas does not help at
 all,

as he helps me,
 – he grants to me to take over the
 territories.

And when my fathers and grand-
 fathers went to ride on horse,
 indeed Runtiyas did not help at all,

as he helps me,
 since(?) in this territory, in this
 place, I took 100 gazelles ...

Commentary

Since the *Edition* in 1979 by A. Morpurgo Davies and myself, some points deserve recapitulation or further comment.

§ 1. *á-[sa-HW'I-si]-sa₄*: in introductory formulae in the phrase "So-and-so's son (wife, servant, etc.)", the genitive is most commonly expressed simply by *-sa* (with variants), i.e. the ending *-as*; but not infrequently by *-si(-sa)*, i.e. gen. sing. in *-(a)si* or gen. adj. in *-(a)sis*. This might be the case here; thus the father's name would be *Ashwi*, not *Ashwisi* as stated in *Edition*, which might make the comparison with Cun. *Ušhitti* less plausible. Note, however, that a Nineveh tablet, probably to be dated early in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, lists among the kings of Tabal an *áš-bi-ti/tu*, no doubt the same king *Ušhitti*: see Tabal, the Historical Context, n. 36.

|PRAE |AUDIRE+*MI-ti-mi-[sa₄]*, "far-famed": elucidated along with AUDIRE+*MI(-ma)-ti*, = *tumanti*, "hear", by Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 151 f. Appendix 3.

§ 2. (BONUS)*wa/i-su-wa/i-i*: form of denom. verb *wasu*, "be good", examined in *Edition* with comparable material.

§ 3. ["CAPERE"](-)*la/i/u-na* (also § 9 below): evidence for Hier. *la(la)-*, "take", = Cun. Luw. *la(la)-*, and its relation to *ta-* (*tá-*), "take", was considered in *Edition*. It is noteworthy that ("CAPERE")*la(-la)-* is largely confined to MARAŞ inscriptions (including İSKENDERUN), apart from the present inscription and KÖRKÜN: see MARAŞ 1, § 10, Commentary. "CAPERE"](-)*la-na* (MARAŞ 3, § 8) seems to offer an unambiguous phonetic spelling of the infinitive, thus an indication of the reading of *la/i/u* here. To the discussion may be added the forms listed by CHD 3/1 (1980), s.v. lala- A, giving the equations Hitt. *la-la-u-wa-an-zi* // Luw. *la-la-u-na* (cf. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, p. 195).

§ 4. *za-ri+i(-)ia(-)pa*: division and interpretation still uncertain. Read *za-ri+i-i² pa*, "here thus"?

§ 5. ("ANIMAL.BESTIA")*HWI-sa₅+ra/i*: elucidated in *Edition* as *hwisara*, = Hitt.-Luw. *huitar*, "wild animals", occurring in Hier. inscriptions particularly as gifts of the Stag-God; see MARAŞ 1, § 11, and Commentary, with other attestations.

sá-ma-ia: possibly connect with *sá-ma-za*, nom. acc. sing. N, verbal noun of **sa-*, "seal" (?), see KULULU 2, § 2, and Commentary. If so, the word must stand in

apposition: "(as) agreements he will give me the beasts". Neumann suggests (pers. comm.) the interpretation as verbal substantive from same stem *sa-*, "(press; seal;) shoot" (Hitt. *sai-/siya-*), dat. sing. "for shooting", which would fit context well. Following the same line further, one might alternatively identify the form as acc. plur. N of the participle, thus "shot beasts".

§§ 6–8, 11–12. Parallel statements, treated by Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating the negatives, also the verb *wariya-*, "help"; also in *Edition*, modifying the interpretation of REL + *ra/i*, "as".

§ 10. "ANIMALEQUUS^v-*sù-sà-ta-la-u-na*: an alternative interpretation to that in *Edition* is offered here, since to take this as a single word much simplifies the sense and avoids the awkward translation previously given. This interpretation will depend on being able to analyse the word plausibly as a derivative of ("EQUUS.ANIMAL")*á-sù-wa/i-*, "horse", with the sense "ride (on horseback)" (as Lat. *equitare*). The postulated verb could be seen as denom. from **asusatali-*, "horseman", showing the common professional -*talli-* suffix; the presence of -*sa-* in the stem is complicated but seen also in the clear Hitt. ^{LC}*asšusšanni-*, "horse-trainer", for which see Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb*², s.v.; Puhvel, *HED*, s.v.; Starke inclines to view the basis as Luw. *asš(u)wa)šši-*, gen. adj. – see *Stammbildung*, § 293 and Anm. 1852. The existence of a Hitt. ^{LC}*asšusatala-*, a cult functionary, without visible connection with horses, is apparently a coincidence; see Friedrich-Kammenhuber *HWb*², s.v.; Puhvel, *HED*, s.v.; Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, pp. 219–221. The context gained for §§ 10–13 of gazelle-hunting on horseback seems satisfactory.

REL-*i* ... REL: not clear how the pair should be interpreted; the first "when", the second perhaps indefinite, "when ... at all//whenever"?

"PES₂.PES₂"(-)*tā-*: for paradigm see KARATEPE, 187, Commentary. Melchert identifies this verb with CRUS/*ta-*, "stand", principally on the basis of this attestation, because of its use with the infinitive (pers. comm.).

§ 13. LOCUS-*ta₅-ti-i*: for paradigm **pita(n)t-*, "place", see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 23, Commentary.

1 × CENTUM: cf. BOR, § 7, for comparable writing (cf. Cun. 1 ME, "100").

ANIMAL.GAZELLA: syllabic value *sà* plausibly derived from logogram, presumed reading *sasa-* by comparison with Hitt. *šasa-*, "gazelle" (Laroche, *Syria* 31 (1954), p. 109 n. 45). For phonetic writing (GAZELLA)*i+ra/i-wa/i-*, see HİSARCIK 1, §§ 2, 4.

la-ba: almost certainly the verb as identified in *Edition*, thus an unambiguous writing of *la-*, "take".

"UNUS"*-ta*: since *HH* no. 382 is identified as "wood" (see KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 18, Commentary), and *HH* nos. 386+381/382 as "die" (MORI – see ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 21, Commentary), most of the remaining vertical strokes can confidently be recognized as the numeral "one", usually written before numbered objects particularly BOS, OVIS etc. The present example may be compared with 1-*ti-na*, "sole, single" (acc. sing. MF; ASSUR letter *b*, § 4), and 1-*ti-i*, "?"; (TELL AHMAR 1, § 6), but while it is likely that it represents "one", form and context alike are uncertain; cf. 9-*ta*, "nine times(?)" (HİSARCIK 1, §§ 2, 4, and Commentary), thus here perhaps "at one time".

REL-*za*: as noted in *Edition*, unclear whether this must be accommodated in present clause as subordinating conjunction ("because, since"?), or whether it may have belonged with a continuation of the text now lost.

X.18. KARABURUN (plates 266–267)

Location. Rock inscription, *in situ*. Leaving Hacıbektaş on the Gülşehir road, one takes a road off to the right, south-west to Karaburun (Karaburna) village about 12 km. distant. Immediate to the west of the village is a high hill (the *kale*) overlooking the Kızıl Irmak valley, round the summit of which remains of walls on a low natural bluff are visible. Trial excavations on the *kale* by Gelb revealed at least 3 m. of occupation debris. The inscription is placed on an eastern face of the bluff where a track ascends to the *kale*, probably the original approach road, leading to a gate. For topography and other details, cf. now Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 131–133.

Description. The 3-line inscription is on a surface probably naturally smooth about 1 m. above the ground. The text begins upper right, running sinistroy-

verse, continuing *boustrophedon*; l. 3 breaks for an irregular area at its left end and is concluded on an adjacent face round an angle. About 0.30 m. above the inscription is a small 6-sign epigraph, a "scribal signature".

Dimensions: (main text) ht., 0.42 m.; w., 1.54 m.; line ht., 0.13–0.14 m.; (l. 3 extension) ht., 0.15 m.; w., 0.48 m. Condition: good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: few logograms, mostly full syllabic writings; 1 example of rhotacism.

Word-dividers: one only.

Discovery. By J.G.C. Anderson in summer 1900.

Publication. Anderson, *JHS* 21 (1901), pp. 322–324 (copy, checked against squeeze) – epigraph over

inscription not noticed; Messerschmidt, *CIH*¹ (1902), pp. 17–19, Taf. XLVI (copy based on Anderson's squeeze); Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 11 f., figs. 11, 11A (photographs of rock and track, and hill (distant)), pl. V (copy from squeeze, improved on Anderson-Messerschmidt, with epigraph); Gelb, *HMM* (1939), no. 33, p. 32, pl. L (photographs of *kale*, inscription with epigraph); Bossert, *Le Muséon* 70 (1957), pp. 145–170 Abb. 10–11 (poor photographs), 12 (distant view), 13 (copy by E. Calun).

Editions. Hrozný, *IHH* I (1933), pp. 9–16, pls. I–II (photographs and copy from Charles); Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 14, pp. 79–83; Hrozný, *IHH* II (1934), pp. 248–255; Bossert, loc. cit. (1957), Abb. 14 (signs arranged in linear form), pp. 161–170; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 26, pp. 103–106, Tav. IX (copy redrawn following Messerschmidt with corrections from Charles and Bossert (end of l. 3 – Charles' and Bossert's versions)).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Laroche, *HH* no. 231.
 §§ 1–5 Hawkins, *RFLA* 29, pp. 123/129 cit. iv.
 §§ 2–5 Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 166 n. 101.

- § 7 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25, p. 148 cit. 56b.
 §§ 7–10 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 106; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, p. 173 cit. 5.
 §§ 7, 9–10 Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 127 cit. 14–15.
 §§ 8, 10 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 174 cit. 30.
 § 10 Poetto, *KZ* 96, p. 275 f.
 §§ 11–12 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliese Carratelli*, p. 171 cit. 4.

Content. Compact between Sipis the king and Sipis Nis's son. §§ 1–4, construction of fortress by both men called Sipis; §§ 5–6, record of agreement; §§ 7–10, terms of pact with curse for infringement; §§ 11–13, protective curse for inscription; § 14, scribal signature.

Date. Reign of Sipis the king, who is not personally identified or dated. Epigraphically the inscription belongs with the latest group of KULULU inscriptions, etc., with much syllabic writing, few logograms; i.e. late 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of photographs collated against the rock.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

Transliteration

1. § 1 *za-wa/i ba+ra/i-ni-sà-za tá-ti-zi AVUS-ba-zi ARH.A ha-ta+ra/i?*
 § 2 *a-wa/i si-pi-sá REX-ta*
 § 3 *si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i 'ni-ia-sa |LEPUS+ra/i-ia-la-ta*
 § 4 *ba+ra/i-ni-sà-za ta-ma-ta*
 § 5 *wa/i-ra+a za-ti sà-ma-za i-zi-ia-ta*
 § 6 "SCALPRUM"-*wa/i wa-mi-LITUUS-ta*
 2. § 7 *si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i REX-sa ||REL-ti si-pi-ia ni-ia-sa-na MALUS-za*
 CUM-ni za+ra/i-ti-ti-i ni-mu-wa/i-zi ni-pa-wa/i ha-ma-si
 § 8 *si-pi-ia-pa-wa/i-ta REX-ti bara/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS) (DEUS)*
 ku+AVIS-ia ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i PES-zi-ba INFRA á-za-tu
 § 9 *si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i ni-ia-sa REL-ti si-pi-ia REX-ti MALUS-za*
 3. *CUM-ni || za<+ra/i>-ti-ti ni-mu-wa/i-zi ni-pa-wa/i ha-ma-si*
 § 10 *si-pi-ia-pa-wa/i-ta ni-ia-sá-na bara/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS)*
 (DEUS)ku+AVIS-ia ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i INFRA-ta á-za-tu
 § 11 *za-ia-pa-wa/i-ta REL-za-ma-ia REL-sa ARH.A "MALLEUS"-ia*
 § 12 *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i REX ba+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá (DEUS)LUNA+.MI-sa*
 ki-bara/i-ni(-)za+ra/i-ti INFRA(-)sá-tu
 § 13 *SUPER+ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-ta ni-i ma-nu-ba pu-tu||*

(above)

- § 14 *wa/i-na-sa SCRIBA-la-sa*

Translation

This fortress the fathers (and)
 grandfathers *demolished*.
 Now (Sipis was king,
 and Sipis Nis's son was governor)
 – they built the fortress,
 (and) they made a compact here,
 (and) they ...
 If Sipis the king *wishes* evil for Sipis
 Nis's son, for (his) son or
 grandson,
 for Sipis the king may the Haranean
 (god) *together with(?)* Kubaba
 swallow down (his) eyes and feet!
 But if Sipis Nis's son *wishes* evil for
 Sipis the king, for (his) son or
 grandson,
 for Sipis Nis's son may the Haranean
 (god) *together with(?)* Kubaba
 swallow down (his) eyes!
 (He) who shall erase these
 engravings,
 for him may the Haranean King,
 the Moon-God, *go down(?)* on the
 KIHARANI- (and) heart,
 and for him may he in no way PU-
 up!(*or*: but above it may he by
 no means write!)

Wanas (was) the Scribe.

Commentary

§§ 1–5. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating verb *tama-* (= AEDIFICARE), “build”, and considering *bata-*, “demolish(?)”.

§ 1. *ba-ta+ra/i?*: collation establishes that the last sign is simply a vertical line and cannot be read *ta*, but its interpretation is doubtful; explanation as rhotacism of *-ta* is hardly satisfactory, since 3 plur. pret. *-(n)ta* is expected; cf. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 96 (1982/83), p. 248 n. 9. For verb *bata-* in very comparable context, see KULULU 1, § 2, and Commentary, with other possible connections; the sense “demolish” is based on the way in which the verb is contrasted with *tama-*, “build”, and is only provisional.

§§ 2–3. REX-*ta*, LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-la-ta*: certainly verbs, 3 sing. pret. (so Bossert). These two clauses form an explanatory parenthesis, which is the reason for the apparent asyndeton at the beginning of § 4; cf. CEKKE, § 6 a–b.

REX-*ta*: for verb, cf. BOR, § 8, Commentary.

LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-la-ta*: denom. verb *tapariyala-*, “be governor”, < *tapariyali-*, “governor”; a factitive *tapariyala-*, “make governor”, appears in KULULU 4, § 7.

¹*ni-ia-sa*: clearly a personal name as indicated by determinative (not noticed by previous editors), gen. sing. of *Nis* expressing patronym as also in § 9, and §§ 7, 10 (*ni-ia-sa-na*, gen. adj., dat. sing.). See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 148 cit. 56b; Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30 (1980), p. 127 cit. 14, 15.

§ 5. *wa/i-ra+a*, i.e. *wa+ata > ara*, “and they”.

sà-ma-za: see KULULU 2, § 2, and Commentary, where this is tentatively interpreted as a verbal noun, nom./acc. sing. N, of stem **sa-*, “seal”, thus “sealed (document), compact”. This interpretation would fit the present context of “solemn agreement” well. The form is accepted by Starke (*Stammbildung*, § 192).

§ 6. “SCALPRUM”-*wa/i*: there seems to be no good reason for dissociating this sign, as do Meriggi and Laroche (see *Glossar*, no. 304; *HH*, no. 311.4), from SCALPRUM determining words for and objects of stone (*HH*, no. 268; for comparable forms cf. e.g. TUNP 1, §§ 2, 6; KÖTÜKALE, § 3). Thus whatever the reading lying behind the logogram, it seems possible that we should simply translate “stone”.

wa/i-mi-LITUUS-ta: verb recurs in (1) KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 23; (2) TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 b, l. 3, § ii; (3) ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 42; (4) MARAŠ 8, § 3. (1) is a context similar to the present, object *za(n)* “SCALPRUM”-*su-na za-ma-ti-i-na*, “this stone ZAMATI//ZAMATI stone”; (3) has the verb in a context parallel with LITUUS+*na-*, “see” (see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 132 f. cit. 11). LITUUS, which has been shown normally to have a logographic usage determining verbs of perception, would seem from its position

to be used as a syllabogram, unless perhaps it is a logogram with its usual function but displaced from initial position for some reason (graphic?). If syllabographic however, it may be compared with its usage in *i-LITUUS-wa/i-ni-* (TUNP 1, § 3, see Commentary); and, since LITUUS combines with VAS (= *zi*) to form *za* in KAYSERİ, § 2, see Commentary, this suggests that its syllabic value might be solely vocalic, *a*, though the reason for this is quite unclear. A connection of the verb *wa/i-mi-LITUUS-* with Hitt. *wemiya-*, “find”, has been guessed, which suits the context in (3), but is not obviously appropriate in (1) and the present context.

§ 7. See Hawkins, loc. cit., showing use of disjunctive *ni-pa-wa/i* paralleled by NEG₂-*pa-wa/i*; also REL-*ti* clearly “if”, as in KARATEPE, 332, REL+*ra/i* = Phoen. *m*.

MALUS-*za*: cf. TELL AHMAR 1, § 19, MALUS-*wa/i-za* (= **atuwanza?*, Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 109).

za+ra/i-ti-ti-i: verb found elsewhere, see TELL AHMAR 1, § 20, for other attestations, and the proposal to see in it a denom. formation from *zart(iya)-*, “heart”; also Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit.

§§ 7, 9–10. See above § 3, Commentary, for patronym *ni-ia-sa(-na)*; also Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., who further identifies *ta-wa/i*, “eyes”, = Cun. Luw. *da-a-u-wa*, and *a-za-*, “eat”; and (DEUS) *ku+AVIS-ia ku-ma-pi*, “together with Kubaba” (following Meriggi).

§ 11. REL-*za-ma-ia*, “engraved (words)”: clearly identified as acc. plur. N, participle of (“CAPERE+SCALPRUM”)REL-*za-*, by Bossert and Meriggi (though with different readings).

§ 12. *ki-hara/i-ni(-)za+ra/i-ti*: probably two words, adj. + noun or two nouns in asyndeton, dat. sing.; *zarti* probably “heart” (see ALEPPO 3, § 1, Commentary), *ki-hara/i-ni* therefore another vital organ? See Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit.

INFRA(-)*sà-tu*: possibly preverb INFRA with verb “be”, possibly compound verb INFRA-*sa-* (cf. ARH-4(-)*sa-*, KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21).

§ 13. SUPER+*ra/i ... pu-tu*: this clause would appear to balance the preceding, with same subject (Moon-God) and indir. obj. (“him”, the malefactor); thus we would expect the previous verb INFRA(-)*sà-tu*, “let him be down, descend”, to be balanced by the present, thus “go up, ascend, rise”, but what of the verb *pu-*? A Luw. stem *pu(wa)-* has emerged, Hitt.-Luw. *puwai-*, iter. *puššai-*, “press, crush” (*HWb*, s.v., also Erg. 1, s.v.; cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 236 and Anm. 1368, where *puššai-* is separated from *puwa-*), Lyc. (*p*)*pu(we)-*, “engrave, write” (Laroche, *FdY* VI, p. 71 f.; cf. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 102 n. 23, on the Hier. stem *pupala/i-*). It would be natural to associate the present

stem, yet it is not clear how the meaning would fit the context as balanced by the preceding clause.

A. Morpurgo Davies suggests an alternative explanation. § 13 may connect not with § 12 but § 11, with the

following interpretation: (§ 11) "He who erases these engravings, (§ 12) may the Moon-God go down on him on the ... (and) heart, (§ 13) and let him (the malefactor) not *write* (*pu-*) over it (the inscription)".

X.19. HİSARCIK 1 (plates 268–269)

Location. Inscribed boulder, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7762 (formerly 1193: Sayce, Messerschmidt).

Description. Roughly shaped basalt boulder bearing on dressed face a 3-line inscriptions beginning at top right-hand corner, running sinistaverse, continuing *bonstrophedon*, and concluding at lower left-hand side. There is a blank space below the inscription. Besides the usual line-dividers, incised lines also mark top, bottom and right-hand side of inscription. It appears that a word omitted between ll. 2–3 has been written to the right of the right edge (see below, § 4).

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.36 m.; w., 0.53 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: fair, faint in parts.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: use of *sa*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Reported by Belck in November 1901 (*Forschungsreise*) that the *mutasarraf* ("governor" – of Kayseri?) had sent a piece recently found at Hisarcık to Istanbul, and that another piece of this was said to remain at Hisarcık (see also HİSARCIK 2). Messerschmidt reported that Istanbul Museum gave the provenance as "Kaza Passinler (Vilajet Erzerüm)", which he correctly doubted, and he noted that a Berlin Museum squeeze gave the provenance as Hisarcık. See Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), p. 7 f.; Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 15 f.; cf. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), p. 29 f. For the location of Hisarcık, see HİSARCIK 2, Location.

Publications. Sayce, *PSBA* 28 (1906), p. 91 f., pl. I (drawing made in Istanbul, May, 1905); Messerschmidt, loc. cit. (1906), p. 7 f., Taf. XLVIII (drawing made in Istanbul Museum); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 9 (1937), pp. 412–416, pl. XXIX (Istanbul Museum photograph; text collated in September 1934).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 16, pp. 87–89; Hrozný, loc. cit. (1937); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 69, p. 24 f., Tav. III (redrawn from Messerschmidt); Poetto, *Or. NS* 47 (1978), pp. 252–262, Tab. XXXIX (photograph and copy); Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8 (1986), pp. 277–279 cit. 3(d), fig. 1 (copy) – here *Edition*.

Excerpts.

§ 1 Bossert, *Or. NS* 26, p. 115, Abb. 5.

§ 3 Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Cowgill*, p. 219.

Content. Offerings to Mount Harhari (Argaeus). § 1, name (uncertain) and titles; § 2, offering of gazelles made to mountain; §§ 3–5, future offering to make.

Date. Epigraphically late (rhotacism present), later 8th century B.C. Mention of PN Kurtis may associate it with the Kurtis of BOHÇA.

Text. The text here offered is that of our *Edition* (1986), taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Istanbul Museum, with correction to right edge between ll. 2–3.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in 1971, and supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

Transliteration

1. § 1 *á-mu-wá/i-mi* ¹*273-*pi-ri+i-sa₄ pi²-ni-sa* |SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa*
2. § 2 *a-wa/i-mi* |MONS-*ti-na* |*ba+ra/i-ba+ra/i-na* 9||-*ta* (GAZELLA)
 i+ra/i-wa/i-ti-i |*á-ba*
- § 3 *9-ti-sa-ba-wa/i-ti* [-*i²*] ANNUS-*sa₄-si-sá-* |REL-*ti* |*ta-i*
3. § 4 |*wa/i-tu-u* 9-*ta* |*i+ra/i-wa/i-ti* || ...*wa/i²-ba*
- § 5 *a-wa/i* |*á-wa/i-* |*ba-tu+ra/i-la-* PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la* |*tu-wa/i-na*
 |*si-sá+ra/i-li-na* |*ku+ra/i-ti-sá* SERVUS-*ta₅-na*

Translation

- I (am) Warpiris(?) the Sun-blessed
 ...
 I celebrated Mount Harhara nine
 times(?) with an *irwa*-gazelle.
 And when(?) the "year's ninth"
 comes,
 (as) I ...-ed you nine *times*(?) with
 an *irwa*-gazelle,
 I shall make your SISARALI-
 Kurtis's servant ...

Commentary

§ 1. ¹*273-*pi-ri+i-sa₄*: signs of name somewhat uncertain, as noted by Poetto; if correctly identified, should indicate a reading *Warpiris*.

pi²-ni-sa: first sign uncertain; title, or possibly patronym (the omission of “son” in an introductory clause would be unparalleled, but cf. *Sipis Niyas*, “Sipis Nis’s (son)” (KARABURUN, §§ 3, 9).

[SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa*: preceded by a break, where Poetto’s restoration of DEUS is improbable.

§ 2. *a-wa/i-mi*: identification of first sign as *i* (Merschmidt, Hrozný, Meriggi, Poetto) would give a unique writing of the copula, but is not in fact correct. Note that the reflexive pronoun *-mi* requires verb 1 sing.

MONS-*ti-na ha+ra/i-ha+ra/i-na*: doubtless correctly identified as Mount Argaeus (Erciyes Dağ, Hitt. HUR.SAG *har-ga-/BABBAR*, i.e. “White Mountain”) by Bossert, *Or. NS* 23 (1954), p. 134 f.; named also on other monuments from Erciyes Dağ, HİSARCIK 2 and TEKİRDARBENT 1.

9-*ta*: repeated in parallel § 4, cf. 9-*ti-sa*, § 3. Identification as numeral rather than syllabogram *nú* is rendered likely by the sense of the recurring contexts. Cf. Gurney, The Symbolism of 9 in Babylonian and Hittite Literature (*Journal of the Department of English, University of Calcutta* 14 (1978–9), pp. 27–31), where occurrences of groups of nine are collected. For Hier. occurrences, cf. “9”-*wa/i-i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A13d, § 4, and Commentary with other attestations), which points to a reading *numi(n)za*. The form 9-*ti*- (following clause) is identified as the ordinal. In the present 9-*ta*, *-ta* must be a numeral suffix which is not likely to indicate the cardinal nor be a form of the ordinal; perhaps multiplicative, “nine times”? (cf. “UNUS”-*ta*, BOHÇA, § 13, and Commentary).

(GAZELLA) *i+ra/i-wa/i-ti-i* (recurring without logogram, § 4, as seen by Poetto), “with *irwa*-gazelle(s)” (abl.): for reference to gazelle hunting, cf. BOHÇA, § 13. For the word *irwa*-, may we compare a widespread Semitic word for “gazelle”, Akk. *arvium* (CAD A, s.v. *arvū*; AHw, s.v. *arvium*), attested also in Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 100)?

á-ha: only possible verb in 1 sing. (pret.), demanded by pronoun *-mi*; cf. *á-wa/i-* (1 sing. pres., § 5). Verb *á*- may be readily recognized as *a(ia)-*, “make, do”, Cun. Luw. *a(ya)-*; see SULTANHAN, § 13, and Commentary with other attestations. The sense here may be compared with Hitt. *iya*-, “do (i.e. celebrate) a god” (cf. Goetze, *Hitt.* p. 89); for a similar usage of Hier. *iz̄i*-, see KARKAMIŠ A16a, § 3.

§ 3. 9-*ti-sa*: best taken as nom. sing. MF in agreement with following word, and, given the recognition of the numeral, likely to be an ordinal form; cf. Hitt. 9-*ti* MU-*ti*, “in the ninth year” (KT B XXXIII, 120 i 12, 18).

ANNUS-*sa₄-si-sá-* (reading *si* confirmed by collation, so also Hrozný): most obviously to be taken as gen. adj., nom. sing. MF, of (ANNUS) *usi-*, “year”. The resulting sense of the phrase, “the year’s ninth”, is presumably to be understood as a festival or possibly a month.

REL-*ti*: elsewhere translated “that” (final and consecutive), KARATEPE, 126; KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 6, 8; also “if”, KARABURUN, §§ 7, 9; KARKAMIŠ A6, § 25//A11a, § 21//A11b+c, § 21//A31, § 11. If the rest of the clause is correctly interpreted, a translation “when” seems more natural.

ta-i: verb probably represents *ta*-, “stand” (normally written CRUS), as in SULTANHAN, § 39, cf. §§ 38, 40 – so also Meriggi and Poetto. Hitt. *tiya*-, “stand”, is also used with expressions of time; cf. Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit. Note here reflexive pronoun *-ti*.

§ 4. Clause appears to parallel § 2.

...-*wa/i²-ha*: verb appears to have been accidentally omitted, then added later between ll. 2–3 outside line marking right edge of inscription. Reading not certain, formerly thought by me to be *á-ha*, giving exact parallel to § 2 (see text given in *Edition*, p. 278 fig. 1). Collation precludes this reading (see *ibid.*, p. 295, addendum 2), without being able to identify an alternative; penultimate syllable appears to be *-wa/i-*.

-*tu-u*: parallelism with § 2 would lead one to expect a direct object in accusative. Following clause has *tuwi*-, “your”, possess. pronoun, 2 sing., which suggests that the mountain is being directly addressed. We may thus identify the present *-tu* as enclitic pronoun, 2 sing. acc. rather than 3 sing. dat. For *-tu*, 2 sing., see Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), p. 89 and n. 9.

§ 5. Clause, though syntactically clear, remains lexically and semantically obscure.

á-wa/i-: only candidate for recognition as verb, which must be transitive; comparison with *á-ha* (§ 2) clearly suggests 1 sing. pres. of *á(ia)-*, “make, do”.

ba-tu+ra/i-la- PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la*: presumably constitutes a phrase, dat. sing. First word likely to be form in *-ala-* from *ba-tu+ra/i-*, “letter” (ASSUR letter *a*, § 5; *d*, § 5; *e*, §§ 5, 7, 9, 11; *f+g*, § 9), thus “messenger”?; second word form in *-ala-* from verbal stem PUGNUS.PUGNUS (see ASSUR letters General Commentary (B1)), possibly personal name? It cannot be claimed that “to/for the messenger PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la*” provides any obvious sense in the context. Cf. now my remarks in *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 6, pp. 118–120.

tu-wa/i-na, “your”: i.e. apparently of Mount Harhari, here being addressed.

si-sa+ra/i-li-na: *hapax legomenon*, for which no obvious analysis or interpretation suggests itself.

|*ku+ra/i-ti-sá*: appears to be personal name, found as that of the author of BOHÇA (§ 1), also on KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.22. The Kurtis of BOHÇA might be the

same individual as the *Kurti* of (A)tun(n)a mentioned by Sargon for the years 718 and 713 B.C. Conceivably the same individual could also be referred to here.

X.20. KULULU 5 (plates 270–271)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 77/537 (note the designation by Kalaç (Publication) as KULULU XIII. For the renumbering of the KULULU stelae, see above, p. 442).

Description. Stele bearing 8-line inscription on 3 sides, A (right side), B (front) and, partially, C (left side). The inscription begins on A l. 1 right side and runs sinistaverse across A, B and C, but instead of continuing on C2, it resumes on B2 and continues *bonstrophedon* down sides B and A, ending at A l. 8, right edge. Contrary to what Kalaç thought possible, it does not seem that C was inscribed again (but erased) after l. 1.

Dimensions: ht., 0.91 m.; w. (side B), 0.36 m.; th. (sides A, C), 0.17 m.; line ht., 0.09 m.

Condition: fair, worn particularly along corner between sides B+A.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: use of *sa*₄; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: not used.

Discovery. Purchased by Kayseri Museum in 1977 from Kululu villager Bayram Şimşekli.

Publication. Paper read by Kalaç at XXVII R.A.I., in Paris, 3 July 1980; see *Akkadica* 20 (1980), p. 25; id.,

Anadolu Araştırmaları 10 (1986), pp. 359–366, Taf. I (copy from latex squeeze, no photographs).

Edition. Kalaç, loc. cit., Publication.

Excerpts.

§ 8 Kalaç, IX *TTK*, p. 255.

§ 11 Poetto, *KZ* 95, p. 275; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliesi Carratelli*, p. 169 f. cit. 1; Melchert, *Studies Cowgill*, p. 197 § 2.3.3.

§§ 13–14 Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 242.

Content. Foundation document(?) for “these houses”. § 1, list of gods; §§ 2 [largely lost] + 3, statement concerning “these houses”(?) ; §§ 4–12, protective curse for “these houses”; §§ 13–15, protective blessing for “these houses”; §§ 16–17, further curse.

Date. 8th century, by association with other KULULU inscriptions, also presence of rhotacism.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone in Kayseri Museum in August 1987.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

1. § 1 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-za-sa* (DEUS)*hi-pu-tà-sa* [DEUS ...]
(DEUS)[*ku*]-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa* (DEUS)*hara/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*
(DEUS)Š-IRMA-*ma-sa* (DEUS)*á-la-sù-wa/i-sa*||
2. *hara/i-ma-na*(URBS) (DEUS)*hara/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*
(DEUS)LUNA+MI [(DEUS)SOL]-[...]
3. § 2 [...]DOMUS[...]DOMINUS-*ni-sá-*' || [*za-ia*] [DOMUS]-*na*
[...]-*ti*
- § 3 [...?]*wa/i-tà* *bu-la-sa-sa-ia-i ti-wa/i+ra/i-mi* CAPUT-*ti* DARE-*ta*
za-ti ||
4. § 4 *za-ti-za-pa* DOMUS-*na-za* REL-*sá a+ra/i-na* CUM-*ni i-zi-i-ri+i*
- § 5 *wa/i-ta* ...
- § 6 [...]-*pa-wa/i+ra/i* ... -*pa* [...]
5. § 7 a *wa/i-sá ni-i* || REX-*ti-sá*
b *ni-pa-wa/i-sá* (FEMINA)*ha-su-sa-sa+ra/i-sa*
c *ni-pa-wa/i* MAGNUS+*ra/i[-za?]-sá*
d *ni-pa-wa/i* [...]-*sa-sa-ti-i*«+*ra/i*»-*sa*
e *wa/i-sá ni-i* VIR-*ti-sa*
f *ni-pa-wa/i* FEMINA-*ti-sa* ||

Translation

The gods Tarhunzas, Hiputas, [Ea],
Kubaba, Haranean Sarmas,
Alasuwas, in the city Harmana,
the Haranean Moon-God, the
Sun-God ...
...]house-lord these houses [...

they gave them to Hulasayas the
Sun-blessed prince here.
(He) who shall make ARA(NA) to
these houses,
and [...],
or [...],
whether he (is) a king,
or she a queen,
or (he is) a great man,
or a [little?] man,
whether he (is) a man,
or (she) a woman,

6. § 8 *wa/i-tu-ta za-zi DEUS-ni-zi wa/i-la* "PES"-*tu*
 § 9 *wa/i-na tu-pa-tu*
 § 10 *wa/i-tu-u [á-ta_{4/5}-ma-za ARHLA] DELERE-nú-tu-u*
 7. § 11 *á-ta-ba-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na* || *DEUS-ni-zi za+ra/i-za ARHLA*
a+ra/i-tu
 § 12 *a+ra/i-ma-li-sa-pa-wa/i-na [...] ta-wa/i-sa-ba-n[a] VAS[...]-li-tu*
 § 13 *za-ia-pa-wa/i DOMUS-na REL-sa sa-na-wa/i-sa₄-tara/i-ri+i* ||
 8. *ti-ia+ra/i-ti*
 § 14 *wa/i-tu-ta za-zi DEUS-ni-zi wa/i-s[u]-u* "PES"-*tu-u*
 § 15 *wa/i-tu-u [á-tu]-na [pi-ia]-tu*
 § 16 *[z]a-wa/i-ta- REL-s[a] [...]-za [...]-ri+i*
 § 17 *wa/i-tu za-zi DEUS-ni-zi tara/i-pa* |CRUS

for him may these gods come
 fatally!
 Let them smite him,
 let them destroy his [name],
 let the gods of ATAHA- eat up his
 heart!
 May the ARMALI- destroy(?) him
 ...
 But (he) who guards these houses
 with goodness,
 for him may these gods come well!
 Let them [give] him to [eat]!
 (He) who shall ... this ... ,
 on him (may) these gods stand
 TARPA!

Commentary

§ 1. In the god-list, the first five preserved names coincide with the three pairs listed on ÇİFTLİK, §§ 8–10, which permits the restoration of one missing and one damaged name and confirms two doubtful spellings on ÇİFTLİK: thus here too we find Tarhunzas and Hiputas, [Fa] and Kubaba, Sarruma and Alasuwas. The new list is however more extensive, adding the Moon-God of Harran and the Sun. The names, as is shown by the form *Tarhunzas*, should be regarded as nominatives.

(DEUS)*hara/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*: this as an epithet of Sarruma is unparalleled and seems heterodox.

hara/i-ma-na(URBS): the status of this place-name within the list is uncertain. It does of course recall the (DEUS)*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa*, "of the Harmanean god", KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 10, and Commentary.

§ 2. DOMUS[...]DOMINUS-*ni-sá*': suggests the title "house-lord" found also on KULULU 4, § 8. If so, it is likely to be nom. sing., title of subject of a second clause, which should also have contained a statement about "these houses", the concern of the whole inscription. The traces at the beginning of l. 3 should represent this, thus [*za-ia*] [DOMUS]-*na*, as collation confirms.

§§ 2–3. [...] *-ti*[... ?] *wa/i-tà*: *wata* presumably connective particles introducing clause, but whether orthotonic or enclitic, suffixed to a preceding word now largely lost, cannot be determined. *wata* probably *wa+ata*, "and them" (these houses).

DARE-*ta za-ti*: presumably to be so read and divided (although an unknown *pi-tu-za-ti* might also be possible). Kalaç, supposing text to be lost from side C, took *za-ti* as beginning of following clause. Since it seems that C was not further inscribed, we are left with the unusual feature of *za-ti*, "here"(?), following verb. Subject presumably same as that of preceding clause, "he (less probably "they") gave".

§ 4. *za-ti-za-pa*: clearly = *zati(n)za* < *zatiya(n)za*, dat. plur. For absence of connective *-wa*, cf. KARKAMIŞ A18e, § 2, Commentary, with other examples.

a+ra/i-na: acc. sing. MF of word *ara/i-* or acc. plur. N of *ar(a/i)na*? The context clearly assigns the word to the sphere of "evil" or "damage", but in the absence of a plausible association with a known stem, the form of the word must remain an open question.

i-zi-i-ri+i: apparently unique example of rhotacism of this form of *izi(ya)-*, "make" (3 sing. pres.); contrast *i-zi(i)-ia+ra/i* (3 sing. pres., med.-pass.; MARAŞ 14, § 5, and Commentary).

§§ 5–6. Apparently two further clauses with only connective particles surviving, expressing further types of infringement.

§ 7. *ni ... nipa*, "whether ... or": very interesting and informative usage, for which no exact parallel was available when Hier. negation and disjunction were examined (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 119–168). But this new evidence has permitted a better interpretation of KARKAMIŞ A6, §§ 27–28, where NEG₃ ... NEG₃ may now be translated "whether ... or" by parallelism with this passage (see Commentary).

c–d. For contrast MAGNUS+*ra/i-za-sa* ... [x-x]-*sa-ti-sa*, "great (or) small(?)", see KULULU 2, § 5b–c, and Commentary. The reading of the damaged second word there suggests that here we should have [...] *-sa₄-ti-i* << + *ra/i* >> *-sa*.

§ 8. *wa/i-la* "PES"-*tu*: as Kalaç notes, this establishes that the elsewhere attested (CRUX) *wa/i-la* is a full phonetic writing (CEKKE, § 24; KARKAMIŞ A4d, § 2; cf. ANKARA, § 9 (restored)). This adverbial form is interpreted as "ill" by association with the verb (CRUX) *wala-* (KARKAMIŞ A23, § 9) and the comparison of this with *arba* (MORI) *wala-/wara-*, "die"; see Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), pp. 152 § 9; 163 cit. 17(i).

§ 9. *tu-pa-tu*: with the other attested forms of the stem being *tupi-* (1 sing. pres., KARATEPE, 350 and 372; 3 sing. pres., KAYSERİ, § 7; SULTANHAN, § 51), and with the Cun. Luw. and Lyc. attestations, we might expect the present 3 plur. imp. form to be *tupai(n)du*; see KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 4, Commentary, with reference to Morpurgo Davies, KZ 96 (1982/83), pp. 256–268.

§ 10. Plausible restoration is that of Kalaç.

DELERE-*nú-*: for Melchert's elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŞ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

§ 11. *za+ra/i-za*: Poetto, loc. cit., correctly noting that in the context this word was likely to represent a vital organ, compared with Cun. Luw. ^{UZU}*zarza*, and interpreted as “liver” (= ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG). An exact correspondence of ^{UZU}*zarza*//^{UZU}NÍG.GIG is not however available, and we prefer to follow Kalaç's original interpretation as “heart” (= ^{UZU}ŠÀ); see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit.; also Melchert, loc. cit.; and for other Hier. forms, ALEPPO 3, § 1, Commentary.

ARFLA *a+ra/i-tu*, “let them eat up”: parallel passages, conveniently collected by Poetto, loc. cit., show this form in interesting alternation with “EDERE”-*tu*//*á-tà-tu-u*//*á-za-tu*; cf. Morpurgo Davies, KZ 96 (1982/83), pp. 250 n. 16, 254.

§ 12. Space could permit the restoration of two clauses here, but surviving traces are insufficient to decide.

a+ra/i-ma-li-sa: presumably some divine agent or adj. qualifying such.

ta-wa/i-sa-ha-n[a] VAS[...: traces suggest recurrence of the equivalent of phrase *á-pa-si-i-na* VAS²-*ní-na* (“*476”) *ta-wa/i-sa-ha-na* (BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 20, in similar context but not clearly understood). Further collation of the present passage might help to elucidate details.

[...]-*tí-tu*: recalls *69(-)*i-tí-*, “destroy” for which see KARATEPE, § LXXIII, and Commentary. Again further collation here might establish reading.

§ 13. *tí-ia+ra/i-tí* (collation confirms the *ra/i*): this verb may plausibly be identified with one written else-

where (LITUUS) *tíyari(ya)-*, interpreted as “watch, guard”, partly by the use of LITUUS (in alternation with OCULUS, determining verbs of perception: Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 123–148), partly by the contexts. The present identification would establish *tíyari(ya)-* as a full phonetic writing, and the sense “guard” is eminently suitable here too. Following these identifications, we may further recognize this verb in the writing (OCULUS) *tí-i+a<+ra/i>-ta* (the fragment KARKAMIŞ A20b3 and the parallel KARKAMIŞ A21, § 12: these inscriptions as a regular orthographic feature (archaism) omit to write *ra/i* – see Commentary there). These recognitions permit the assembling of the following paradigm.

tí-ia+ra/i-tí (present attestation): 3 sing. pres.

(LITUUS) *tí-ia-ri+i-ia[-wa/i//tí?]-i* (TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 5 frag. 12 § ii): 1 or 3 sing. pres.

(LITUUS) *tí-ia+ra/i-ta_x* (TOPADA, § 16): 3 sing. pret.

(OCULUS) *tí-i+a<+ra/i>-ta* (KARKAMIŞ A20b3; also A21, § 12): 3 sing. pret.

(LITUUS) *tí-[ia]-ri+i-[ia²]* (ASSUR letter f+g, § 50): [2 sing. imp.?]]

§ 15. Restoration by Kalaç, very plausible.

§ 16. Restoration very uncertain.

[...]-*za*: dir. obj., acc. sing. N?

[...]-*ní+i*: presumably verb, 3 sing. pres.

§ 17. *tara/i-pa* |CRUS: verbal logogram apparently without ending written. This phrase in its various forms is used to denote both an interdicted aggressive act against persons and property and divine punishment on wrong-doers. The word *tarpa/tarpi*, determined by CORNU, SCALPRUM, PES₂.PES or nothing, often has *-wa/i* suffixed. For its occurrences, see also ALEPPO 2, § 25; CEKKE, § 22; TILSEVET, § 6; KARKAMIŞ A18b, § 4; KARKAMIŞ A5a, § 13; SULTANHAN, § 21; BOROWSKI 1, § 1; and for an examination of the idiom, A. Morpurgo Davies, *Studies Cowgill*, p. 216 and n. 27; ead., *Fs Risch*, p. 134 f. cit. 3–8.

X.21. KULULU 2 (plate 272)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 2340.

Description. Small, straight-sided, round-topped stele, split in two lengthwise but restored, inscribed on right side, A (4 lines), front, B (4 lines), and left side, C (2 lines). The inscription begins at top right corner of side A running sinistroversely, then *boustrophedon* down lines of this side, continuing on side B, l. 1, sinistroversely, then *boustrophedon* down lines of this side, and continuing on side C, l. 1 sinistroversely, returning *boustrophedon* along l. 2 and terminating, leaving half of side uninscribed.

Dimensions: ht. (inscribed area), 0.60 m.; w. (side B), 0.29 m.; th. (sides A, C), 0.23 m.; line ht., 0.12–0.13 m.

Condition: fair; front somewhat damaged and worn.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: generally cursive (monumental *ta*, *sà*).

Peculiarities: use of *HW* for REL (see § 5 d, Commentary); rhotacism.

Word-dividers: consistently written, only 3 exceptions (§ 1, CAPUT-*tí-sà*; § 3, (DEUS) *sà-ta-tí-i*; § 7, DOMUS-*ní-i*).

Discovery. Found by Bossert at Kululu in 1945 (no details given), and taken to Kayseri Museum; see Bossert *JKF* 1 (1950/51), p. 218; cf. id., *AfO* 17 (1956), p. 350.

Publication. Bossert, *JKF* 1 (1950/51), Taf. XXX (photographs of sides A, B, C), XXIX (photograph of inked squeeze).

Editions. Meriggi, *RSO* 27 (1952), pp. 7–10 and Tav. 1 (redrawn, following Bossert); id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 17, pp. 45–48 (with previous drawing); Hawkins, *Mesopotamia* 8 (1980), pp. 220–223 and pl. VIII b (photographs with inked inscription).

Excerpts.

- § 1 Bossert, *Oriens* 2, p. 98 f.; id., *Or.* NS 26, p. 115 and Abb. 5; Laroche, *HH* no. 191.5.
§ 2 Bossert, *Le Muséon* 70, p. 164.

- § 3 Hawkins, *KZ* 94, p. 113 cit. 3.
§ 5 b–d Bossert, *Or.* NS 30, p. 118 n. 1 and Abb. 4.
§ 5 d Laroche, *HH* no. 329.I.2.
§§ 5–6 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 337 f.
§ 7 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 90; Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30, p. 125 cit. 5.

Content. Funerary stele of Panunis. § 1, name and title; § 2, author's children make document for him; § 3, death of author in company of god Santas; §§ 4–6, curse against violator of tomb.

Date. Mid-8th century B.C., by association with other KULULU inscriptions.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Kayseri Museum, and has been repeatedly collated.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in 1987.

Transliteration

- A 1–2. § 1 |EGO-mi¹pa-nu-ni-i-sa |(DEUS)SOL-wa/i-tà-mi||i-sa
CAPUT-ti-sà
3. § 2 |wa/i-mu-u |á-mi-zi-i |INFANS-ni-zi-i || |za-ti-i |sà-ma-za
|CAPIERE-ma-za- |i-zi-ia-ta ||
4. § 3 |wa/i-ta |á-mi-ia-za- |("LECTUS")i-sà-na-za || |"EDERE"-
B 1–2. |tà-mi-i-sa |u-wa/i-mi-i-sa |*462-ti-i (DEUS)sà-ta||-ti-i
|.1RFL1 |("MORI")wa/i+ra/i-ha-
3. § 4 |wa/i-mu-ta |ka-wa/i+ra/i-zi-i || |za-ru-ma-tà-ta

§ 5 a |("SA₄")sa-ni-ti-pa-wa/i-mu-u |HWT-sà-
b |ni-pa-wa/i-sa |MAGNUS+ra/i-za-sa
4. c |ni-pa-wa/i-sa || |x-x|sa-ti-sa
d |ni-pa-wa/i-sa |HWT-sà-pa ||HWT²|sà- |CAPUT-ti-sà
C 1. § 6 |wa/i-ru-ta |(DEUS)sà-ta-si-i-zi || |(DEUS)pá²+ra/i-wa/i-
i-zi-i |("256")tà-sà-za |a-ta |"CRUS"-tu
2. § 7 |wa/i-ru-ta || |á-pa-sà- |("SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM")
sa-s[a]-za- |tu-wa/i-tu-u |á-pa-sa-na DOMUS-ni-i

Translation

- I (am) Panunis the Sun-blessed prince.
For me my children made here a sealed(?) document(?).
On my bed(s), eating (and) *drinking*(?) ... by the god Santas I died.
And the KAWARI's ZARU-MATA-ed me,
(or: And they ZARUMATA-ed the KAWARI's for me.)
(He) who shall disturb me, whether he (be) a great man, or he (be) a [little?] man, or whatsoever man he (be), for him may Santas's *marvainzi*-gods attack the memorial, and for him may they set their seal on his house!

Commentary

Following my *Edition* in *Mesopotamia* 8 (1980), the comments offered here are mainly recapitulation, though some amplifications have become possible since that date.

§ 1. (DEUS)SOL-wa/i-tà-mi-i-sa: all other fully written attestations of this epithet (apart from BOYBEYPI-NARI 2, § 5, SOL-tà-mi-sà) show rhotacism of the stem (written -wa/i+ra/i-); see KULULU 5, § 3 (purely phonetic writing); KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 1; A18b, § 1; HISARCIK 1, § 1; KULULU 4, §§ 1, 2; cf. the personal name with same writing, CEKKE, § 17i. For the mean-

ing, cf. KARATEPE, 3, (DEUS)SOL-mi-sà = Phoen. *b-brk b'l*, "the blessed(?) of Ba'al". The present form is thus the only one showing the non-rhotacized writing -tà-. Starke considers that the word is a participle of a denom. verb *tiwadi(ya)-*, representing *tiwadimi-* > *tiwari-mi-* (*Stammbildung*, § 84). Obviously the rhotacized forms are consistent with this interpretation, but the present writing should represent *tiwadami-*. This is one of the cases which suggests to Starke a value *ti_x* for *tà*; for others, see *bapatai-*, HAMA 1–3, 7, § 3, Commentary; *munita-*, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 28, Commentary.

§ 2. |*sà-ma-za*|CAPERE-*ma-za*: for the former word, cf. KARABURUN, § 5, for the latter cf. BULGARMADEN, § 13 (where CAPERE is marked as a logogram). CAPERE-*ma-za* was compared in *Edition* with Luw. *š lalami-*, since treated by CHD, s.v., where it is translated “list, accounting receipt”; *sà-ma-za* was speculatively associated with a stem *sa-*, “seal”, an action connected with *š lalami-* in the Hitt. references. For the stem forms, see now Starke, *Stammbildung*, §§ 173, 192. While the identifications look possible, acceptance will depend on an understanding of how the interpretation can be appropriate in the present passage. In funerary inscriptions, statements about what “my children did” normally relate to the obsequies and the setting up of the stele (TILSEVET, § 5; SHEIZAR, §§ 3–4; KULULU 3, §§ 3, 6). Why should the present author’s children make him a “sealed document”, and what could it be, other than the stele itself? Until a parallel or other explanation can be offered, the interpretation will remain open to doubt.

§ 3. *á-mi-ia-za*¹: for apparent use of *-i* as space-filler or word-end, commonly found elsewhere only in the ASSUR letters, cf. MARAŞ 1, Description (peculiarities).

(“LECTUS”) *i-sà-na-za*: form of object clearly rendered pictographically; form identified as deverbative in *-an-* from *isa-*, “sit” (Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 150; cf. Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9 (1963), § 47). Use of plural curious, unless we have a plur. tantum.

“EDERE”-*tà-mi-i-sa u-wa/i-mi-i-sà*: because the former word is so clearly participle of *ata-*, “eat”, thus “having eaten”, the latter by parallelism is plausibly interpreted as “having drunk”. Observations on the implications of *uu(a)-*, “drink”, were offered in *Edition*, by A. Morpurgo Davies; for stem, see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 322.

*462-*ti-i*: the problematic sign *462, when accompanied by *+ra/i*, appears to have a syllabic value, here transliterated *pā*²(*+ra/i*), but now observed with increasing frequency to correspond to Cun. *ma* (see below, § 6, Commentary). The sign by itself however elsewhere seems to have a logographic value, and to determine the stem *muwa-*: see (FEMINA. *462) *muwita-*, KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, §§ 28–29, and Commentary; (*462) *muwasi-*, KARKAMIŞ A27c. Such an interpretation may be correct here, in preference to that offered previously in my *Edition* (*pā*²-*ti-i* as possible preposition compared with postposition (ANNUS) *pā*² + *ra/i(-i)*, KARATEPE, 267). It would thus represent either abl. sing. or possibly dat. sing. of *muwita/i-* (cf. (FEMINA.)*462(-*ti-i*), TILSEVET, §§ 3, 4, and Commentary?). Cf. also *462-*i-ti*, ÇİFTLİK, § 12, and Commentary.

|*ARHLA* (“MORI”) *wa/i+ra/i-ha*³: now elucidated by Hawkins, loc. cit., identifying *arba wala-/wara-*, “die”; see ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 21, and Commentary.

§ 4. Still obscure because of the *hapax legomena* *ka-wa/i+ra/i* (n.) and *za-ru-ma-tà* (v.), though these contextually are likely to refer to funerary practices.

§ 5. (“SA₄”) *sa-ni-ti*: only here and KARKAMIŞ A18e, § 5, is SA₄ marked as a logogram, but this and the full phonetic writings without logogram, *sa-ni(-i)-* (ERKILET 1, § 3; 2, § 2), identify the verb as *sani-* (i.e. SA₄ does not have a phonetic value and does not suggest a reduplicated **sasani-*). Identification with Cun. Luw. *šanni-*, “overturn”, serves to elucidate the meaning here in the sense of disturbing a corpse. See KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 4, Commentary.

§ 5b–c. Now paralleled by the recent KULULU 5, § 7c–d. Here too the second word of the pair, which should give the Hier. word for “small”, is damaged, but the surviving traces in both passages can be reconciled:

KULULU 2: [x-x]-*sa-ti-sa*

KULULU 5: [...] *-sa₄-ti-i* << *+ra/i* >> *-sa*

MAGNUS + *ra/i-za-sa*: form should represent *uraza-*, = Cun. Luw. *urazza-* (for which see Starke, *StBoT* 30, pp. 53 and n. 34, 55 and n. 40; also 378 l. 5’); nom. sing. MF attested, besides in the parallel passage on KULULU 5 (damaged), also on İVRİZ 1, § 1; acc. sing. MF, TELL AHMAR 1, § 16 (-*za-na*), TOPADA, § 32 (-*zi/a-na*). For the alternative form MAGNUS + *ra/i-ia-*, probably representing *uraya-* or *uriya-*, see ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 36; also CEKKE, § 14; and Commentaries; and for the denom. verb *uraya-/uriya-*, “become great”, SULTANHAN, § 16.

§ 5d. |*HW²-sà-pa*|[*HW²*]-*sà*⁴: the sign *HW²*, formerly transcribed REL₂, has been shown to have been different in origin from REL and normally distinguished in the Late Hier. corpus, but some late Tabalian inscriptions do use the sign in place of REL – see especially SULTANHAN, § 4; BULGARMADEN, §§ 10, 13, and Commentaries. Of the three identified occurrences of the relative in this inscription, present clause (twice) and § 5a, one can be clearly seen to use *HW²*, while the other two are unclear.

§ 6. |(DEUS) *sà-ta-si-i-zi* |(DEUS) *pā*² + *ra/i-wa/i-i-zi-i*: CHD has now produced a striking unpublished parallel to this phrase:

𐎶𐎠 ^D*i-ia-ar-ri* DINGIR^{MES} *mar-wa-a-in-zi*

(var.) [𐎶𐎠 ^D*i-ia-a*] *r-ri* ^DVII.VII-BI

See CHD 3/2, s.v. *marwai-*. The variants show that the Luwian *marwai*-gods, companions of the god Iyarris, were identified with the Mesopotamian *Sibitti*, “the Seven”. We may also adduce AN.4 DINGIR *mar-wa-ia-an(-za)* (form probably representing Luw. dat. plur.; *Malli*, col. ii 27’, see *TdH* 2, pp. 34, 82). The word *marwai-* is clearly perceived as Luwian by its endings, and by the use of the *Glossenkeil* with its cognates. The identification of the stem as a colour term has recently been emended from “red” to “dark, black”: see Starke’s

review of *CHD*, *Bi.Or.* 43 (1986), p. 162 f.; id., *Stamm-bildung*, § 285.

The link of the present Hier. (DEUS) *pá² + ra/i-wa/i-i-zi-i* with the Luw. *maruainzi*-gods depends partly on the parallel associations of the former with Santas and the latter with Iyarris, two similar if not identical deities, both apparently taken from the Luwian pantheon into the Hittite (see Gurney, *Hittite Religion*, p. 16). Also this parallel joins a growing body of examples showing Hier. *pá²* = Cun. *ma*: e.g. Hier. (DEUS) *ku-pá² + ra/i-ma-* = Kumarbi (TELL AHMAR 1, § 2, and Commentary); and cf. Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 36–38. For discussion of *pá²*, see above, Introduction, Appendix 3 (p. 36 f.). Whether my earlier association of these Hier. gods with those other companions of Santas, the “vio-

lent gods” (Hitt. *Dinnarawantas*//Luw. *Dannarummenzi* – Zarpia ritual; see Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 50 l. 29' // p. 53 l. 22) is valid, remains open.

(“*256”) *tā-sá-za*: supposed attestations of this word on MEHARDE and SHEIZAR have now been shown to read (“STELE”) *ta-ni-sā/si-*, which separates this word from the present form, now compared only with *ta-sā/si/sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 28; CEKKE, § 15). For the two words, and for the logograms LAPIS and *256, see MEHARDE, § 1, and Commentary.

§ 7. (“SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM”) *sa-s[a]-za*, “seal”: for the form, originally identified by Gelb (*Or. NS* 18 (1949), p. 68 f.), see now Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 150.

á-pa-sa-na, “his” (dat. sing.): for these forms, see Mittelberger, and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

X.22. KULULU 3 (plate 273)

Location. Stele, Kayseri Museum, no. 5515 (note the designation by Kalaç (Publication) as KULULU IV; Meriggi (Edition), KULULU XI. For the renumbering of the KULULU stelae, see above, p. 442).

Description. Small round-topped, limestone stele, bearing 4-line inscription on front (A) and left side (B). The inscription begins on A, right side, running sinistroverse to A, left side, then continuing *boustrophedon* down A, to l. 4, right side. Apparently after a break in sense, which implies continuation on an element (base?) now lost, the text resumes on side B, l. 1, right side, and runs sinistroverse, then *boustrophedon* down side B to l. 4 right side, at which the text again breaks off and was presumably continued on the missing element. Text sequence is thus: A1+2+3+4 [+ base, front?] + B1+2+3+4 [+ base, side, end?].

Dimensions: ht., 0.74 m.; w., 0.43 m.; th., 0.23 m.; line ht., 0.15 m.

Condition: poor, rough surface, faintly engraved.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: form of *mu*; uses of *mi*, *sa*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Found by Tahsin Özgüç built into a house wall in Kululu, during survey at the site in summer 1967, following the discovery of the lead strips. It was removed and taken to Kayseri Museum. See Özgüç,

Kultepe (1971), pp. 59 f. (Turkish), 110 f. (English); cf. Mellink, *AJA* 72 (1968), p. 135.

Publication. Özgüç, loc. cit., pl. XLVI *a, b, c* (photographs, obverse, left side, detail); Kalaç, in *CRR-1* 20 (1975), pls. XL–XLI (photographs of stone (front, corner, left side) and of latex squeeze with text drawn on); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or. NS* 49 (1980), p. 263 fig. (new copy), Tav. XXV–XXVI nr. 28–30 (photographs, front, left side upper, left side lower).

Editions. Kalaç, loc. cit., pp. 183–187; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 94 a, pp. 334–337 and Tav. L (drawn from Özgüç, loc. cit., pl. XLVI); Meriggi and Poetto, loc. cit., pp. 263–265; Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç* (1989), p. 191.

Content. Apparently funerary stele of author (cf. KULULU 2) set up by his children. § 1, name and title; § 2, ?; §§ 3–4, gifts from children; [lacuna]; § 5, death of author (?); § 6, erection of stele by children; §§ 7..., protective curse ... [lacuna].

Date. Similar to other KULULU monuments, 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

A 1–2. § 1 EGO *i-la²-li-sa₄* IUDEX-*ni-sa₄* || SCRIBA-*l[a-sa₄]*

3. § 2 *wa/i-ta* [*á-mi-ri* + *i*] IUDEX-*na-ri* + *i-i* [*á-m*] *i* ... || ...]-*na²*
s-mi-ba

Translation

I (am) Ilalis the Ruler, the Scribe
(or: the Ruler's Scribe).

By my justice my [...] I ...ed.

4.	§ 3	$ wa/i-[mu^2] \dot{a}-mi-zi$ INFANS- <i>ni-zi</i> x[...] DARE ² [- <i>ta</i> ²]	To me my children ga[ve](?) ...
	§ 4	$ wa/i-[mu^2] $ ("[BONUS]") <i>sa-[n]a-wa/i-zi-na</i> PANIS- <i>ni-na</i> [...]	and to me(?) [go]od(?) bread [...]
B 1.	§ 5	...] <i>ARHLA</i> PES ₂ - <i>ba</i>	...]I went away,
2.	§ 6	INFANS- <i>ni-zi-pa-wa/i-mu</i> <i>za</i> STELE- <i>ni-za</i> CRUS- <i>nu-wa/i-ta</i>	(my) children had this stele set up for me.
3.	§ 7	$ za-[pa] -wa/i$ "STELE"- <i>ni-za</i> REL- <i>sa</i>] <i>ARHLA</i>	(He) who removes this stele,
4.		"LONGUS"(-)REL- <i>sà-i</i>	
	§ 8	$ wa/i $ [...]	...

Commentary

The photographs of Özgüç and the editions of Kalaç, Meriggi and Meriggi + Poetto have contributed towards the gradual establishment of the correct readings in this worn and difficult text.

§ 1. EGO: a parallel for EGO without connective particles $-(wa/i)-mi(-i)$ is found on KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 1; but EGO-*i* (so Meriggi + Poetto) would not be easy to understand as a variant of the common EGO-*mi(-i)* (*amu* + *-mi* with plene writing). It therefore seems preferable to follow Kalaç in taking *i* as the first sign of the personal name.

§ 2. *x-mi-ba*: certainly the verb, 1 sing. pret. *x* appears to be some kind of "hand" or "fist". The proposal of Kalaç, followed by Meriggi and Meriggi + Poetto to recognized PUGNUS[-*la/i/u*]-*mi-ba*, "I strengthened", does at least give a known verb, but the restoration is dubious.

[...]-*na*²: reading of Meriggi + Poetto, if established, would be welcome in suggesting an acc. sing. MF, dir. object of verb.

$\dot{a}-mi^2$ [-...]: my suggestion, against Meriggi + Poetto $\dot{a}-zi/a$ [-...], necessitates further collation. It has the advantage of suggesting "my".

In general the sense gained would seem plausible: "By my justice I ...ed my ..." (note *-ta*, *Ortspartikel*).

§ 3. $wa/i-[mu^2]$: the *-mu* restored by Kalaç may be read with some confidence.

... DARE²[-*ta*²]: the verb appears to be the "giving hand" (or conceivably the "putting hand") and is most likely to be 3 plur. pret., subject "my children", although no sign of the expected *-ta* has been reported. The column to the left of DARE²[-*ta*²], with traces of a "hand" sign *x*, presumably contained a word, dir. object if *-mu* formed the indir. object. For comparable statements of what "my children did for me", cf. below, § 6; and KULULU 2, § 2; SHEIZAR, §§ 3–4; TILSEVET, § 5; the contexts are diagnostically funerary.

§ 4. |PANIS-*ni-na*: recognized by Meriggi, who compared with the identical writing in ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 48. There however the form appears from the context as nom., subject of verb; morphologically nom. plur. N is the only identification which would not raise prob-

lems of form. But here such an identification leads to difficulties with the preceding word.

("[BONUS]")*sa-[n]a-wa/i-zi-na*: restoration of Kalaç, followed by Meriggi, seems plausible, but raises problems of congruence with the following word if, as in the ASSUR letter context, it must be identified as nom./acc. plur. N. The only two ways out of this impasse which suggest themselves are either to reject the restoration (yet it is very hard, given the identifiable signs, to suggest another); or to dissociate the present PANIS-*ni-na* from the ASSUR letter writing and identify it as acc. sing. MF of PANIS-*ni*.

§ 5. *ARHLA* PES₂-*ba*: so read by Kalaç, who correctly compares KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 3, same writing. These 1 sing. pret. verbs appear to be logographic writings corresponding to 1 sing. pres., phonetic writing,]*ARHLA*]*i-wa/i*, "I shall go away" (KULULU 1, § 15), clearly used euphemistically for "I shall die", a sense also appropriate here and on KARKAMIŠ A18b. It seems impossible to combine this intransitive verb with § 4 to make one clause, and this indicates a gap in the text. No traces on the stele below l. 4 suggest the possibility of an inscribed l. 5, as proposed by Meriggi, so it is best to suppose that the text was continued on a missing element.

§ 6. Cf. particularly TILSEVET, § 5; SHEIZAR, § 4; and above, § 3, Commentary; also for a funerary context, KULULU 4, § 15.

§ 7. "LONGUS"(-)REL(+*ra/i*²)-*sà-(ri+²)i*: "LONGUS", here "*69+MINUS", recurs on BOR, § 11, in the writing (LONGUS)[*a*]+[*ra/i*]-*ia*, "long"; i.e. *69+MINUS is thus seen to be a cursive form of the usual LONGUS (MANUS+MINUS). (For further confirmation of *69 = MANUS, see KARATEPE, § LXXIII, Commentary). The only other occurrence of this cursive form of LONGUS is on ASSUR letter *e*, § 25, "LONGUS"(-)*ia-ti-na*, an unknown verb. As for the verb (-)REL-*sà-i*, in spite of the different determinative it looks likely to be the same as one now found on IVRIZ 2 written ("CAPUT+SCALPRUM") REL-*sà*-. For a parallel to this and the proposed meaning "remove", see TUNP 1, § 2, and Commentary.

§ 8. $|wa/i|$ [...]: clearly broken off, again with no traces of writing below l. 4, so presumably continued on another element.

X.23. EĞREK (plate 274)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7766 (formerly 1217: Messerschmidt, Garstang).

Description. Round-topped stele recut as Christian tomb-stone. Across the bottom of the obverse framed between double incised lines is a 1-line sinistroverse Hieroglyphic inscription, which ran over on to the beginning of a second line. The surface at the left edge is destroyed, taking with it the end of l. 1 and beginning of l. 2; for an estimate of what is lost, see Commentary.

The stele appears to preserve its original shape in spite of recutting, but it is impossible to determine what the original decoration may have been. For the Christian iconography, see G. W. Elderkin, *AJA* 41 (1937), pp. 97–99.

Dimensions: ht., 1.22 m.; w., 0.73 m.; th., 0.34 m.; line ht., 0.12 m.

Condition: good, apart from destroyed section.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: rhotacism? (verb *á+ra/i?*).

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. The stele was reused in a Christian cemetery at Eğrek, a village lying to the south of Kayseri-Malatya road between Bünyan and Pınarbaşı. It was reported in an Armenian journal in Vienna in 1894 and 1896 (see Publication). It was seen and reported in November 1901 by Belck, who described, copied, measured, squeezed and photographed it (see Publication). It was in Istanbul Museum by 1906, when it was seen by Messerschmidt.

Publication. *Handés amsóreab* (Armenian language journal published in Vienna), October 1894, p. 316; June, 1896, p. 162 (poor copies); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 26 f., Taf. XXXI (A and B, copies from *Handés amsóreab*, 1894 and 1896); Belck, *Forschungsreise* (1901), p. 504 (sketch with dimensions); Lehmann, *Probleme der Orientforschung* (Freienwalde, 1904), p. 9 (photograph); Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), p. 2, Tav. XXXI (unclear photograph, copy from autopsy); Garstang, *LH* (1910), p. 148 and pl. XLVI (photograph), p. 397 = id., *HE* (1929), p. 214 f. and pl. XL, p. 339; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 9 (1937), pp. 410–412, pl. XXVIII (Istanbul Museum photograph); Hawkins, *Studies Tashin Özgüç* (1989), pl. 43 (photograph and copy).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 6, p. 63 f.; Hrozný, loc. cit. (1937); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 78, p. 28, Tav. IV (redrawn from Messerschmidt); Hawkins, loc. cit. (Publication), p. 192 f. cit. 5.

Content. Funerary inscription of Tarhuwaris. § 1, name and patronym; §§ 2–3, funerary inscription, cf. MARAŞ 2, §§ 2–3.

Date. Epigraphically later, presumably 8th century B.C.

Text. The text here offered is that of my Edition (1989), taken from a tracing of a collated photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Istanbul Museum in 1971.

Transliteration

1. § 1 [EGO?] TONITRUS-*bu-wa/i+ra/i-i-sá* TONITRUS-*bu-
za+ra/i-ma-sá* BONUS-*mi-sa* |(INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*
§ 2 |*wa/i-ti-ta* ¹*á-pa-sá* |*wa/i+ra/i-pa-sa-hi-i-sá* |REL-*ti-sá-ma-za* |*á-pa*
|NEG₂ ²*ba-si*-[...]
2. § 3 ...-*w*] *a/i*-[...] *á+ra/i?*

Translation

- [I (am)?] Tarhuwaris, Tarhuzarmas's
beloved son.
That (man) [did] not HASI- for
himself his virtuousness, that
approved (one),
[but (his) father(?)] did (it) [for
him(?)].

Commentary

§ 1. [EGO?]: as noted by Meriggi, this could have been represented by a figure on the stele destroyed by the recutting.

TONITRUS-*bu-za+ra/i-ma-sá*: for this personal name and the identification of the second element with Hitt. *zalma-* = PAP, "protection", see Neumann, *KZ* 90 (1976), pp. 139–141.

§ 2. |*wa/i-ti-ta*: -*ti* reflexive pronoun requires verb 3 sing.; -*ta* *Ortspartikel* is present.

¹*á-pa-sá*: probably not personal name in spite of determinative, but demonstr. pronoun used emphatically, "that (man)" (nom. sing.) i.e. Tarhuwaris; or "of him(-self), his" (gen. sing.)

|*wa/i+ra/i-pa-sa-hi-i-sá*: clearly an abstract in -*abi* (+*sa*) connected with *warpi-* and its gen. (adj.) *warpasi*(-). The present context points to a sense "quality of being (a man) of *warpi-*", for which cf. (*273) *ua/i+ra/i-pa-si* DOMINUS-*ia-zi*, "masters of *warpi*" (KARKAMIŠ

A2+3, § 16); *wa/i+ra/i-pa-si* DOMUS-*na*, “houses of *warpi*” (KÖRKÜN, § 4). Normally *-abi* abstracts are deverbative: see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 87 ff., and for the present form Anm. 1202, where he associates it with a Cun. Luw. verb (unattested in Hier.) *warpa-sa*. We cannot however exclude the possibility that once a sufficient number of deverbative formations had been created, a secondary link between *-abi* forms and nominal stems was established, which allowed the creation of abstracts directly from nouns. Thus for example, whatever the historical origin of the abstract *tuhkantabi*, “*tuhkanti*-ship” (see Otten, *StBoT* Bh. 1, p. 48(ii 35)), contemporary speakers would surely have linked it directly with the noun *tuhkanti*. For a consideration of the semantic range of *warpi*, see the references collected at KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 14, Commentary.

[REL-*tî-sà-ma-za*: correctly identified by Meriggi with REL-*tî-sà-mi-na* (ASSUR letter d, § 9), i.e. acc. sing. N and MF respectively of *-mi*- participle of verbal stem REL-*tî-sà*. The general semantic range of the word in both attestations is likely to be “made good”. The form, presumably *kwitisa*, does not afford any obvious link with a known Cun. Luw. or Hitt. stem.

â-pa: formally appears to be nom./acc. sing. N of demonstr. *apa*, “that” (cf. KARATEPE, Hu. 395; KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 38), which would qualify the two preceding words. It is however so unusual for the demonstrative to follow its noun that Melchert would prefer (pers. comm., 28/7/88) to identify it as an otherwise unattested Hier. phonetic writing of the preverb *appa* (in Hier. only *appan* (POST-*na*) attested, for a phonetic writing of which see SULTANHAN, § 32; also probably *api*, for the identification of which see ASSUR letters, Appendix, p. 554 f.).

NEG₂’: passage listed in study of the factual negative (Hawkins, *Am. St.* 25 (1975), p. 134 cit. 25), although not understood there.

ba-si[-...]: enclitic pronoun *-ti* requires verb in 3 sing., presumably in the context (funerary; subject – the dead man) pret. rather than pres. The verb *hasi*- occurs

regularly in other inscriptions identified as funerary in the clause *wa/i-mu-ta â-mi-zi ara/i-zi ba-si-ha*, and its variants, “I *hasi*-ed my *aringi*” (see KARKAMIŞ A18b, § 2, and Commentary). While in those passages the interpretation of *ba-si*- as “beget” (by identification with *ba-sa/sâ*-, KARATEPE, 321) was not opposed by the contexts, here it would definitely seem to be: “he (the dead man) [did] not HASI- for himself that *approved good quality*”. The sense suggests “recall, record”, which in the other contexts would fit with an interpretation *aringi*, “times”. See Hawkins, *Studies Tahsin Özgüç*, pp. 195–197.

Sense: seems parallel to MARAŞ 2, § 1, i.e. here the dead man “[did] not *record* his own *qualities*”; there the dead woman “did not bring(?) her own *image*”.

§ 3. Loss and restoration. As Messerschmidt observed, it is hard to see that more than one column of signs is missing from the end of l. 1, and the same from l. 2, which has less height. Previous clause ends in *ba-si*[-*ta*], and the *wa/i* visible on l. 3 must be the connective participle suffixed to one lost word.

â+ra/i?: *ra/i* uncertain, since the sign normally points towards end of line, but possibly the unusual cramped circumstances of the end of the inscription led to reversal. If so, the word, which in any case should represent the verb of the clause, could be identified as *â*-, “make, do” + *ra* < *-ta*, 3 sing. pret., rhotacized: see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Hethitica* 8, pp. 276–279.

Sense: traces recall MARAŞ 2, § 3, as did § 2; i.e. when the dead woman did not make her own funerary dispensations, her husband did it for her. Thus here, when the dead man did not *record* his *qualities*, [someone] did (it) [for him]. The minimal space may just have sufficed for this: [someone] could represent a personal name, or possibly the word “father” (i.e. the only other named person). Thus the translation tentatively offered envisages the minimal restoration:

[*tâ-tî-sa-pa-w*]a/i[-*tu*] *â+ra/i*?

It is somewhat doubtful even whether all of this could have been accommodated; perhaps omit *-pa*- and *-tu*.

X.24–25. ERKİLET 1 and 2 (plate 275)

Location. Two inscribed boulders, Kayseri Museum, nos. 4 and 5.

Description. (1) Unshaped boulder with 2-line inscription, beginning top left, running dextroverse, returning *boustrophedon*, and concluding on left edge irregularly placed to avoid fault in stone. (2) Unshaped boulder with 2-line inscription, beginning top left, running dextroverse, returning *boustrophedon* and concluding $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way along l. 2.

Dimensions: (1) ht., c. 0.89 m.; w., c. 0.76 m.; line ht., 0.20 m.; (2) ht., c. 0.81 m.; w., c. 0.63 m.; line ht., 0.24 m.

Condition: both good, complete.

Script, line-dividers: both incised.

Sign forms: both consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: distinctive REL on both, which are otherwise distinguished for their purely phonetic writings (only logograms are on (1), AVUS and LARM in the name of the author).

Word-dividers: consistently used on both.

Discovery. (1) in garden of Mehmet at village of Erki-let, about 12 km. north-west of Kayseri to east of the Kayseri-Yozgat road; transferred to Kayseri in 1932, and photographed the same year by von der Osten and

by Gelb, who also copied it (and again in 1935); (2) also found at Erķilet and later transferred to Kayseri; photographed by von der Osten in 1932. See Gelb, *HHM*, p. 28.

Publication. (1) Kemaleddin, *Erciyes Kayserisi* (1934), facing p. 220 (photograph); Gelb, *HH* II (1935), fig. 2 facing p. 19 (photograph); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), p. 7, pl. II = *IHH* III (1937), p. 316, pl. XVIII (Kayseri Museum photograph); Bossert, *JfO* 10 (1935–36), pp. 282–287, Abb. 1–2 (photograph = Hrozný, loc. cit., pls. II//XVIII; copy); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 20, p. 28, pl. XXXVII (photograph = Hrozný, loc. cit., pls. II//XVIII; copy).

(2) Kemaleddin, loc. cit. (1934), facing p. 198 (photograph, upside down); Meriggi, *Messaggero degli Italiani* (Istanbul), 15 March 1934, p. 1 (photograph, cf. id., *MLAeG* 39/1 (1934), pp. 14, 29, 53); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), p. 6, pl. I = *IHH* III (1937), p. 315, pl. XVII (Kayseri Museum photograph); Bossert, loc. cit. (1935–36), pp. 282–287, Abb. 3–4 (photograph, = Hrozný, loc. cit., pls. I//XVII; copy); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 21, p. 28, pl. XXXVII (photograph, = Hrozný, loc. cit., pls. I//XVII; copy).

Editions. Meriggi, *MLAeG* 39/1 (1934), pp. 29, 53 (2 only); Bossert, loc. cit. (1935–36), pp. 282–287;

Hrozný, loc. cit. (1935//1937); Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958), p. 280 (1 only); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), nos. 3–4, pp. 11–13 (with copies redrawn from Gelb); Kammenhuber, *Hb. Or.* (1969), pp. 171–173 (1 only).

Excerpts.

1. § 2 Laroche, *HH* nos. 267; 330.
- § 3 Laroche, *HH* no. 329.I.3.
2. § 2 Laroche, *HH* no. 402.I.3; Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92.

Content. Memorials(?) for their authors Huhasarmas and Astiwasus. 1, § 1, name and title; § 2, statement of inscription; § 3, prohibition on removal. 2, § 1, statement of dedication; § 2, prohibition on removal.

Date. Epigraphically late, to judge from sign forms and purely syllabic writings, which are comparable to SULTANHAN, KULULU 1–2 etc.; thus late 8th century B.C.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of collated photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration

(ERKİLET 1)

1. § 1 ¹AVUS-ba-ŠARM-1-ma-sa (DEUS)ma-ru-ti-ka-sa
2. |pu-ti||-ti-sa
- § 2 |a-wa/i|za|wa/i-ni-za|á-mu|REL-za-ba-
- § 3 |za-pa-wa/i-ta|ni|REL-i-sa-ba|sa-ni-ti

Translation

Huhasarmas the god Marutikas's
PUTITI-
This stone I myself carved,
and let no one overturn this!

Transliteration

(ERKİLET 2)

1. § 1 za-wa/i|á-la-na¹á-sa-ti-wa/i-su-sa|tu-ta||
2. § 2 za-pa-wa/i-ta|ni|REL-i-sa-ba|sa-ni-ti

Translation

This ALA- Astiwasus erected,
and let no one overturn this!

Commentary

1, § 1. (DEUS)ma-ru-ti-ka-sa: recognized as the Bab. god *Marduk* by Gelb (*HH* II, p. 30), who also noted the strangeness of the occurrence here. *Marduk* (written ¹AMAR.UD) is found in Hitt. texts and was identified with Luw. *Santas* in the Zarpiya ritual (*HT*, 1 obv. 29'//*KUB* IX, 31 ii 22 – see *StBoT* 30, pp. 50, 53).

|pu-ti-ti-sa: *bapax legomenon*, no obvious etymology; “priest” or “servant” (so Meriggi).

1, § 2. |wa/i-ni-za: only attestation found without determinative STELE, which is useful in establishing

full phonetic writing; cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, p. 12 f., identifying word as “stone”, Cun. Luw. *uwan-*, “stone”; *uwanitai-*, “petrify”. For morphology of the Hier. stem, see TILSEVET, Note following Commentary.

|REL-za-ba: seen here as full phonetic writing of verb otherwise determined by CAPERE+SCALPRUM etc. (see KARATEPE 4, § 2, and Commentary). Since its rereading as REL-za- (za for ¹i), the verb cannot be identified with a Cun. Luw. *kui-*, “cut”, which itself probably does not exist (Cun. Luw. *ku-i-ha*, is probably the indefinite pronoun in all attestations).

1, § 3//2 § 2. *|sa-ni(-i)-ti*: only attestations of verb without determinative SA₄, again establishing full phonetic writing. For identification of verb with Cun. Luw. *šanni-*, see KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 4, Commentary; for its regular occurrence in the phrase *-ta(Ortspartikel)* LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za* (SA₄)*sa/sá-ni-*, “overturn in the places”, see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 23, Commentary. The *Ortspartikel* always accompanies the verb, as here, except in KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 4, and KULULU 2, § 5a.

2, § 1. *á-la-na*: *hapax legomenon*, presumably acc. sing. MF.

|tu-ta: another example of a full phonetic writing, of a verb normally written (PONERE) *tu-wa/i-* or PONERE-*wa/i-*, though writings without the determinative PONERE are found as *tu-wa/i-* on SULTANHAN (§§ 9, 31) and KULULU 2 (§ 7). Writings PONERE-*u-* point to a contracted *tuwa-* > *tu-* (BOR, §§ 3, 9; ASSUR letter *e*, § 22), confirmed by the present phonetic writing and the more recently discovered *tu-tá* (3 plur. pret., KULULU 4, § 4); cf. Cun. Luw. *du-ú-un-du* (*StBoT* 30, p. 184, ii 15–16).

X.26. EĞRIKÖY (plate 276)

Location. Fragment, Kayseri Museum, no. 9.

Description. Fragment of basalt block bearing on two adjoining faces parts of first two lines of inscription and traces of third. The upper surface of the fragment is dressed smooth, preserving the original form of the block, guaranteeing that l. 1 was the first (so Gelb), and the upper edge of l. 1 is marked by an engraved line. Line 1 runs (unusually) dextroverse and the subsequent lines continued *boustrophedon*, and in both lines the sense can be seen to run on around the corner.

Dimensions: preserved ht., c. 0.43 m.; preserved w. (each side), c. 0.23 m.; line ht., 0.15–0.17 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive as far as visible.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: possibly consistently employed.

site in the Karahisar Ovası, south of the Kurbağa Gölü between Yeşilhisar and Yahyalı, a short distance south-east of a village Çiftlikköy (see ÇİFTLİK, Discovery). See Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 23 f.; and cf. Özgüç, *Kültepe* (1971), pp. 69 f. (Turkish), 119 (English).

Publication. Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 23 f., fig. 24, pl. XIII (photograph of squeeze (reversed), drawing); Gelb, *HMM* (1939), no. 19, p. 28, pl. XXXVI (photographs of each side, copies).

Editions. Bossert, *RHA* XVIII/66 (1960), pp. 11–13, Abb. 4; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 72, p. 26 f., Tav. IV (redrawn from Gelb).

Content, date. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of collated photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1987.

	Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1	(A) ...] <i>tà-tu-ba-pa-</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>bu-ti-i-sá</i> SERVUS- <i>ta₄-sa</i> (B) DEUS- <i>ni-ti-i</i> (LITUUS) <i>á-za-mi-sa</i>	[...] Tatuha, Tarhunzas's servant, beloved by the gods.
§ 2	REL-[...]- <i>ba</i> [...	... [...
2.		...
§ 3	... -[F]RATER-[<i>la-i</i>]- <i>sa</i> (“LIGNUM”) <i>su-ka-la-sa</i> “CRUS”- <i>ta</i> (“IUDEx”) <i>tara/i-wa/i-ni-i-sa</i> (A) SERVUS- <i>ta₄-[sa]</i>	... -]atalais (PN) the vizier stood, the ruler's servant.
§ 4	REL- <i>ia-ba-wa/i-</i> REL- <i>ia</i> (“CASTRUM”) <i>ba+ra/i-n[i-sá]-</i> [...	Whatsoever fortresses [...
3.		...
	... REL ... <i>ba</i> ... (B) ... <i>sù</i> ... <i>á</i> ... <i>x</i> ...	

Commentary

§ 1. ...*tà-tu-ba-pa-*: this perfectly possible order of reading the signs gives – surprisingly – the Hurrian woman's name *Tadubēpa*. The omission of the *s*, nom.

sing. MF, supports this interpretation: we see it omitted also from the Hurrian name *Urhilina* on HAMA 4, RESTAN and QAL'AT EL MUDIQ. The implication

is that the author of the monument represented by this fragment was a woman, and it would be noteworthy that she took the title SERVUS-*la*-, rather than any unattested feminine form. It would also seem that we should be close to the left edge and beginning of the inscription, having lost ["I (am)"], and this has implications for the original form of the monument. It could imply that the inscription began on the left on side A (narrow right side of stele), running on to B (broad reverse of stele) and a missing C (narrow left side), leaving the missing side D (broad obverse) for sculpture.

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i-sa*: for identification of form as derived adj. in -*i(ya)*-, see ÇİFTLİK, § 5, and Commentary (the present piece and ÇİFTLİK appear to come from the same site).

§ 3. ...|FR]ATER-*la-i*¹-*sa*: Bossert was doubtless correct in identifying this not simply as the word

"brother", but as an element of a personal name, so attested in CEKKE, § 17 c, d, m; and since then in TÜNP 1, § 1, and in KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.17.

|("LIGNUM")*su-ka-la-sa*: Bossert also doubtless correct (*contra* Meriggi) in identifying this word as a loan-word from Akk. *šukkallu* (Sum. SUKKAL), "vizier", presumably transmitted via Hurr. *šukkalli*- (see Laroche, *Gloss. Hourr.*, s.v.). In Hitt. ^{LU}SUKKAL is only attested as a logogram (see Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, pp. 515–517), but the present identification points to its probable existence as a loan-word into Hittite too. Bossert identified the logogram LIGNUM as a "sceptre, staff of office", which is followed here (for LIGNUM, lit. "wood(en object)", then "staff", see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary). Compare the proposed similar borrowing of Akk. *HAZANNU* as (LIGNUM)*ha-za-ni*-//*ha-zi-ia-ni*- (see CEKKE, § 14, Commentary).

X.27. HİSARCIK 2 (plate 277)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. The village of Hisarcık is situated some 10 km. south of Kayseri on the road to Develi on the lower slopes of Erciyes Dağ. About 1.5 km. before Hisarcık Ortaokulu a track runs from the road east to the rocky outcrop of Töptepesi.

Description. Naturally smooth face of rock about half way up outcrop bearing line of inscription (sinistroverse) and faint traces of a second (dextroverse). The inscription is split by a vertical fissure and the surface has flaked away in at least one place. The lower edge of each line is marked by an incised line-divider.

Dimensions: ht., 0.37 m.; w., 1.17 m.

Condition: largely poor and faint.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Seen and reported by Belck in November, 1901 (*Forschungsreise*, pp. 502–504); cf. id., *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 28/12/1901, p. 1629 f. (summary of same report); also Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 16, quoting report. Seen by the Cornell Expedition in 1907,

Garstang in 1908, Gelb in 1932, Meriggi in 1958, Hawkins in 1969.

Publication. Garstang, *LAL 1* (1908), p. 6 f, pls. VIII (photograph), IX fig. 1 (copy of l. 1); Charles, *HI* (1911), pp. 13–16, figs. 12–13 (photographs of location and rock), pl. VI (copy); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 26, p. 29 f, pl. XLI (photographs of location and inscription).

Editions. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), pp. 21–24, fig. 8 (copy); id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 68, p. 24, Tav. II (redrawn).

Content. Unclear, apparently offerings to Mount Harhari etc.

Date. Uncertain; mention of Kurtis? cf. HİSARCIK 1, Date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a collated photograph.

Photograph. Taken in the summer 1969.

Transliteration

(Translation: not attempted)

1. § 1 EGO²-*mi*² *ba*-... DEUS².SOL²-*x-si*²-*na* *ba+ra/i-ba+r[a/i...]*
MONS-*ti-i* "[X]"(-)*u-ni-ni-x* ADORARE² AUDIRE²
ka-ru-pa-ni-mi-za
2. § 2 ANIMAL.BOS-*ba-wa/i* DEUS.SOL "X"² MONS-*ti* || *sa-mi*²-*ka*
*l²-la-ti*² *na-x* ... MONS² ... l ... *ku+ra/i-ti* ...

Commentary

§ 1. EGO²-mi² (so Meriggi) seems possible.

ba-...: perhaps -pi+ra/i, thus giving a name found on KULULU lead strip 1, § 3. 7.

DEUS².SOL²-x-si²-na: reading envisaged by Meriggi, could provide object of clause even if only the last sign is correct.

ba+ra/i-ba+r[a/i...] MONS-ti-i, "to Mount Harhari": see HİSARCIK 1, § 2, Commentary, for Bossert's identification as Mount Argaeus.

"[X]"(-)u-nu-nu-x: Meriggi sought the verb here, which would indicate a reading -ba for last sign.

ADORARE²: uncertain whether the traces can be assembled to form this logogram; would need

confirmation from an intelligible context which is lacking.

AUDIRE² (i.e. AURIS+TU): resembles the logogram so identified, but again unconfirmed by context.

ka-ru-pa-ni-mi-za: possible word and form.

§ 2. "X²": appears to be animal's head and foreleg marked as logogram; Meriggi's attempt to extract *sarlainin* from here is not promising.

1. 2. Either by erosion or erasure, identification of signs is desperate, except for some at left end and the apparent *ku+ra/i-ti* towards right, for which cf. HİSARCIK 1, § 5, and Commentary.

X.28–29. ÇALAPVERDİ 1 and 2 (plates 278–279)

Location. Blocks, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 18, 42.

Description. Two blocks: no. 1, top, bottom, sides preserved, bearing 4-line inscription; no. 2, top, sides preserved, bottom destroyed, bearing 2 and part of a third line of inscription. (1) beginning upper right, running sinistaverse (l. 1 largely destroyed), continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending lower right; (2) beginning upper right, running sinistaverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, l. 3 largely destroyed. In neither case does the beginning of the inscription seem to be the beginning of the text, nor is the direct continuation of the text from line to line clearly established by recognizable sense; the end of 1 is not clearly the end of the text, and the end of 2 is lost. The two blocks probably formed part of an inscription comprising several such blocks. The text is nowhere clear or well preserved enough to establish that they stood adjacent to each other (i.e. no continuity of sense can be observed).

Dimensions: (1) ht., 0.68 m.; w., 0.94 m. (2) preserved ht., 0.52 m.; w., 0.80 m.; (both) line hts., 0.15–0.16 m.

Condition: both poor, lightly engraved, worn surfaces. Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: mixed monumental (*sà, ta, tà, mu*) and cursive (*á, sa, ma*).

Peculiarities: unusual signs.

Word-dividers: frequent, perhaps consistent.

Discovery. (1) Seen by Forrer and Weigand in autumn 1926 on a visit to Çalapverdi, 6 km. north-east of Boğazlıyan on the Yozgat-Kayseri road, in otherwise unrecorded circumstances (Forrer, *MDOG* 65 (1927), p. 36); (2) seen by von der Osten on a visit to the village in summer 1927 (see below, Publication). Seen and photographed in the village in 1932 by Gelb, who

was shown an alleged find spot in the *böyük* adjoining the village. Inscriptions 1 and 2 were taken to Ankara and placed in the Augusteum, apparently in 1934. The site was visited in 1964 by Meriggi, who located, photographed and published ÇALAPVERDİ 3, a very poorly preserved block noted also by Forrer and Gelb (Meriggi, *OI* 5 (1966), p. 81; Tav. XXVII fig. 39). Cf. also Özgüç, *Kultepe* (1971), pp. 65–68 (Turkish), 117 f. (English).

Publication (1 and 2). Von der Osten, *OIC* 6 (1929), pp. 22–24 with figs. 15, 16 (photographs); id., *OIP* 6 (1930), figs. 14–15 and p. 27 (photographs); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), nos. 15–16, p. 26 f., pls. XXVI (photographs, village + *böyük*, "find-spot", block 1), XXVII and XXVIII top (1, photograph, copy and detail), XXVIII bottom and XXIX (2, photographs, copy).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), nos. 63, 64, pp. 18–20, Tav. III (redrawn from Gelb with collations).

Excerpts.

1. ll. 2–3 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 89 f., Abb. 6.
Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29, p. 62 n. 1.

Content. Quite unclear.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Texts. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings made direct from the stones in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Photographs. It was not possible as the stones were placed to obtain satisfactory photographs. I therefore offer good photographs from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb.

Transliteration	Translation
ÇALAPVERDİ 1	
l. 1, § 1. [...]x[...]sà (URBS) [...]i(a ²) [...]	No consecutive translation attempted. For individual clauses, see Commentary.
l. 2, § 2. [...] ("CASTRUM") tara/i-pa-pá ² -za-ha	
§ 3. wa/i- MONS-ti-i CENTUM á-sa-ta	
l. 3, § 4. wa/i-tà- (continuity?) za-ti wa/i-sú PES-wa/i+ra/i	
§ 5a. x-x-i-na ² á-mi-ia-ti BRACCHIUM-mi+ra/i-i-i 40-[ha]	
CERVUS x STATUA-x-x	
l. 4, b. (continuity?) [x l ²]-ti-i *462 l-ti la-[...] -[ti ²]-ri+i	
á-mi-ia-ti	
§ 6. wa/i-ma-za á-pa-[...] DEUS[...] -ni-zi x	
ÇALAPVERDİ 2	
l. 1, § 1. [(DEUS)] TONITRUS-hu-ti-ia ² *431 *336 *141 CASTRUM-ni	No consecutive translation attempted. For individual clauses, see Commentary.
DOMUS-x-*406 (URBS) x-x-sà(URBS)	
á-hu-ta CRUX á-mu(-)CAPUT	
l. 2, § 2. (continuity?) x [...] -[mi ²]-na SOLIUM+MI-i x SCRIBA-na-x-ha	
§ 3. a-wa/i ("CASTRUM") tara/i-pa-pá ² -za-ha á-CAPUT-u	
AEDIFICARE+M[I...]	
l. 3, § 4. (continuity?) CER[VUS...]na[...] 20-ha CERVUS[...]la-na	
ara/i[...] CR[US ²]... NEG[2...] ma[...] -ha[...]	

Commentary

ÇALAPVERDİ 1

§ 2. ("CASTRUM") tara/i-pa-pá²-za-ha: exactly the same word recurs on ÇALAPVERDİ 2, § 3. Here it would be possible to read -ha-wa/i- and have tara/i-pa-pá²-za as the first word of the clause. But as the second attestation which is complete also ends -ha, it is probably best to divide as given. The form is completely obscure: noun, nom./acc. sing. N or dat. plur., +ha; or verb, 1 sing. pret.? Melchert uses this form to support the value *ma_x* for pá², *HH* no. 462: see above, p. 36 f., Appendix 3.

§ 3. wa/i-: for this as introductory particle(s) to clause, see SHEIZAR, § 2, and Commentary.

Sense: "there were one hundred to/for the mountain" seems possible.

Continuity? Although a possible clause results from reading directly on from ll. 2–3, there is no real certainty that l. 2 did not continue on an adjoining block.

Sense (with or without wa/i-tà-): "(he/it) comes/ came well here"; see Hawkins, *RHL* 29 (1971), pp. 115 f./127 f. cit. ii, iii, iv (present example), v, ix, x.

§ 5a. Beginning of clause, if here, totally obscure, no connective particles visible.

BRACCHIUM-mi+ra/i-i-i: apparently abl. (sing.); cf. ASSUR letter f+g, § 6, and Commentary. The sequence -i-i is not common but does occur on SULTANHAN, § 46.

40-[ha]: cf. ÇALAPVERDİ 2, § 4, 20-ha, in what may be similar though opaque context.

b. l²-ti-i: though not signalled in copy looks possible on photographs.

la-[...]-[ti²]-ri+i | á-mi-ia-ti: "by my LA[...]TÍ-?"

§ 6. wa/i-ma-za, "and to/for them ...": regular wa + manza.

ÇALAPVERDİ 2

l. 1. Few enough recognizable words, apparently two unreadable city names (for the second, cf. ÇALAPVERDİ 1, § 1?).

[(DEUS)] TONITRUS-hu-ti-ia: use of -ia, unless a mistake for -i, would seem to make this a derived adj. Tarhüntiya, "to (that) of Tarhunzas".

á-mu(-)CAPUT: cf. á-CAPUT-u (§ 3). Could these be odd writings of amu?

§ 4. | NEG[2...] | ma[...] -ha: looks like na manuba, "in no way".

X.30–31. TEKİRDARBENT 1 and 2 (plates 280–281)

Location. Two blocks, Kayseri Museum, nos. 7 and 8.

Description. Two similarly sized squared blocks of limestone. (1) A 5(?) -line inscription on one face has

been recorded (last line may be blank – no signs certainly visible). The inscription runs dextroverse from l. 1, continuing *boustrophedon* at least to l. 4. The top and bottom of the block are preserved, and there is a 1/2-

line height of blank space above l. 1, but the surface of l. 1 is severely damaged, as are both sides of this face. Writing has not before been noted on either side adjacent to the inscribed face, yet a latex squeeze which I made shows definite traces of signs and line-dividers on both left and right side, which clearly indicates that the inscription originally covered three sides of the block. (2) Traces of a 4-line inscription have been identified on one face, and it would seem that below the bottom line is a low uninscribed space, and that the bottom of the block is intact. Both right and left sides show traces of signs and line-dividers, indicating that like TEKİRDARBENT 1, this was also inscribed around 3 sides. Not enough of the inscription has been identified (i.e. not a single sign has been certainly identified) for a decision on the sinistroverse/dextroverse orientation of the lines.

Dimensions: (1) ht., 0.76 m.; w., 0.56 m.; th., 0.38 m.; line ht., 0.13 m.; (2) ht., 0.70 m.; w., 0.56 m.; th., 0.39 m.

Condition: (1) very poor; (2) illegible.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: some visible on (1).

Discovery. Found on 22 October 1907 by the Cornell Expedition, “built into the inside wall of the dark inner stable of a solitary guard house on the carriage road

from Caesarea to Everek [now Develi] at the point where it leads over the shoulder of Mt. Argaeus”. Speculatively associated by the discoverers with a shrine at the nearby spring, see Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 16. The blocks were seen by Gelb in 1932 in the same(?) building “then occupied by cheesemakers”, but were described by him in 1939 as “now in Kayseri Museum” (Gelb, *HHM* (1939), pp. 1, 20).

Publication. Charles, loc. cit., p. 17 f., pls. VII, VIII (drawings from squeezes), fig. 14 (photograph of squeeze of 1).

Editions. Meriggi, *QdGB* 3 (1958), p. 21 f., fig. 7 (copy, 1 only); id., *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 70, p. 25 f., Tav. IV (new copy, 1 only); no. 71, p. 26.

Content. (1) mentions “divine Mount Harhari” (= Argaeus) twice (cf. HİSARCIK 1 and 2) otherwise unclear; (2) nothing legible.

Date. Probably 8th rather than 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered of TEKİRDARBENT 1 is taken from a tracing made from a photograph. No text is offered of TEKİRDARBENT 2.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1987. A photograph of TEKİRDARBENT 1 by the late I. J. Gelb is also included.

Transliteration

Translation

TEKİRDARBENT 1

- l. 1. ...x[...] -sà-ba ARFLA PURUS-mi-x-sà-i x x [...]
 l. 2. ... | i-ḡi-i-ti-i MONS-ti-sa “DEUS.MONS” ... x[...]
 l. 3. ... x x ARFLA-pa-[wa/i²]-ti-i á-x-ha²- MONS ...
 (DEUS².MONS) ha+ra/i-ha+ra/i-x-x[...]
 l. 4. ... | i-ḡi-ia+ra/i-i[...]-ḡa á-[...]-na (DEUS.MONS)
 ha+ra/i-ha+ra/i-ia-na | x x ... [...]
 (l. 5.: uninscribed?)

No connected translation attempted.

Commentary

l. 1. ARFLA PURUS-mi-x-sà-i: verb? 3 sing. pres.? Cf. verb *kumani*, “consecrate” (KARKAMIŠ stone bowl, § 1).

l. 2. “... he makes, Mount (divine mountain) ...”

MONS-ti-sa: nom. sing. MF, thus subject. For MONS(-)wa/i-ti- together with the name of a mountain, see ANCOZ 5, l. 1, and Commentary.

l. 3. If -[wa/i²]- is correctly read, we presumably have connective particles and the beginning of a clause; -ti-i will then be reflexive pronoun, of the 2 and 3 persons, and the verb is likely to be 3rd person.

(DEUS².MONS) ha+ra/i-ha+ra/i-x-x: for Mount Harhari, “Argaeus/Erciyes”, see HİSARCIK 1, § 2, and Commentary.

X.32. KURUBEL (plate 282)

Location. Base, Kayseri Museum, no. 25.

Description. Quadrangular base of grey trachyte, on top of which, on either side, is a couchant lion facing forward, their heads destroyed and backs damaged by a series of depressions made by shepherds grinding sheep-marking dye. The front face of the block bears a badly weathered 3-line inscription, apparently beginning upper right, running sinistroversely, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending lower left.

Dimensions (base only): ht., 0.43 m.; w., 1.22 m.; th., 0.85 m.; line ht., 0.12 m. (ll. 2, 3; l. 1 lower, but upper edge damaged).

Condition (inscription): almost entirely illegible.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none visible.

Discovery. Priority claimed by Grothe for discovery on 21 November 1906; alternatively attributed by the Cornell Expedition to the Rev. Mr. Wingate of the American Congregational Mission in Kayseri (Talas). Visited by de Jerphanion in summer 1907, and by the Cornell Expedition in winter, 1907. The monument was found on a limestone outcrop in the middle of a small plateau ("Arslan Taş Yayla") on Soğan(lı) Dağ on the north side of the west end of the Kurubel pass. It had been taken to Kayseri Museum by the time of Gelb's work there (1932 or 1935). For details, see under Publication.

Publication. De Jerphanion, *PSBA* 30 (1908), p. 42 f., pl. I (photograph, copy of part of right end); Grothe, *BKO* 7 (1909), p. 109 f., Abb. VII (photograph); de Jerphanion, *PSBA* 32 (1910), pp. 168–171, pls. XII.1–XIII.2 (new photograph, fuller copy); Grothe, *Vorderasiens Expedition* (1911), pp. CCLXIX–CCLXXI, Taf. XII Abb. 8–9 (attempted copy, photograph); Charles, *HI* (1911), pp. 28–32, pl. XV (drawing from squeeze), figs. 27–29 (photographs); Garstang, *HE* (1929), pp. 220 f., 341 (cf. *LH* (1911), pp. 146 f., 399), pl. XLII upper (photograph); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 44, p. 36, pl. LXV lower (photograph); Meriggi and Poetto, *OrNS* 49 (1980), p. 262 f. (with copy), Tav. XXIV–XXV nr. 25–27 (photographs taken in summer 1977, right end, whole face, left end).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 76, p. 27 f., Tav. III (redrawn from Charles, collated from squeeze).

Content. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text, not offered.

Photographs. Taken in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1987.

Transliteration, translation, commentary, not attempted.

X.33. KULULU 6 (plate 283)

Location. Two joining fragments, Kayseri Museum, nos. 4845 (frag. 1) and unnumbered (frag. 2). Frag. 1 was formerly designated KULULU III by Erdem and KULULU IV by Meriggi, and frag. 2 KULULU IX by Meriggi (see below, Publication). For the numbering of the KULULU stelae, see above, p. 442.

Description. Two joining fragments from the top of a round-topped stele of the type represented by KULULU 1–5, SULTANHAN, etc. Preserved is most of l. 1, running sinistroversely from the front (A – or C?) For detailed consideration, see Commentary), to left side (B – or D?), reverse (C – or A?), and right side (D – or B?). Parts of line 2, preserved on A, B, C, and D, can be seen from sinistroversely signs also to have been sinistroversely. The point of sequence after D (or B?) l. 1 is not preserved but was presumably on A (or C?) l. 2. Across the top of the stele (E), at right angles to front and reverse, A–C, is a clause (incomplete) of

4 words, which contextually could have been the end of the inscription (last part of curse formula).

Dimensions: max. preserved ht., 0.13 m.; w. (A, C), 0.24 m.; th. (B, D), 0.19 m.; line ht., 0.11 m.

Condition: fair – poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: apparently regularly used.

Discovery. Frag. 1: located in Kululu village by Sargon Erdem while assistant at Kayseri Museum, 1967–1968, and bought for the Museum by him (see Publication). Frag. 2: from site of Kululu but no details given by Özgüç; bought by Kayseri Museum in 1967. I suggested the join by letter to Professor Tahsin Özgüç in 1990, and he confirmed this. Later that year I was able to inspect the piece in Kayseri Museum.

Publication. Frag. 1: Sargon Erdem, *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), pp. 94–99, Tav. I–II (photographs of sides C (Ia), B (Ib), D (IIa), and copy (IIb)). Frag. 2: Tahsin Özgüç, *Kultepe* (1971), pp. 59 (Turkish), 110 (English), pl. XLV.2 a–b (photographs of side and front).

Edition. (Frag. 1 only) Erdem, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 88 (! – misnumbered 89), p. 29 f., Tav. V (redrawn following Erdem); (Frag. 2) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 94, p. 333 f., Tav. XLIX (drawn from Özgüç's photograph).

Content. Presumably funerary stele like others of this form: first clauses and last(?) only preserved.

Date. Probably later 8th century B.C. like all other KULULU inscriptions.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the two fragments together in Kayseri Museum in the summer 1990.

Photographs. Taken at the same time.

Transliteration

- A1, § 1. [...] x x [...] *-pa-wa/i-ta* (B) [REL²]-*ṣa-na-ni-na*
SERVUS-*t[a₄]-i(-)wa/i-x* (C) TONITRUS-*[b]u-ti-na-ni-ha*
§ 2. *wa/i-ti* (D) | REL-*sa* | *la-pa-ta* | PUGNUS-*ri+i* [...]
A2, § 3. [...] TONITRUS-*bu* [...] *i* [...] (B) | *x* + *ra/i* [...] *tara/i*
| x x [...] (C) [...] x *la²* [...]
top, § 4. *ṣa-ia* MALUS-*ia* | CUM-*ni á-sa-tu*

Translation

- But [...] ... *Kwazanani* and
Tarhuntinani.
(He) who rais[es]/rais[ed] himself
LAPATA,
(no identifiable word)
let these bad (things) be with [...]!

Commentary

It appears that the text must begin either on A1 or C1, though neither gives at all regular sense. Starting with A1 as transliterated, we begin with space for one word (a personal name, nom. sing.?) followed by *-pa-wa/i-ta*, then [REL²]-*ṣa-na-ni-na*, apparently personal name, acc. sing. (for form cf. REL-*ṣa*-FRATER-*la*-, KULULU lead strip 1, § 4. 17, element 4). On C1 we see TONITRUS-*[b]u-ti-na-ni-ha*, another personal name, acc. sing., + copula *-ha*, so we may well recognize “Kwazanani and Tarhuntinani” (both acc. sing.), if the rest of the passage can be fitted to this.

SERVUS-*t[a₄]-i(-)wa/i-x*: with the context of the two personal names in acc. sing., one wonders whether

this could be a verb SERVUS-*ta₄-i-wa/i-*, “serve” or “enslave”. An *Ortspartikel* *-ta* is probable in the connective particles. The only alternative place for the verb would be the first word, in which case the present group of signs could represent another personal name, perhaps the subject.

§ 2. *la-pa-ta*: unknown, might be verb, 3 sing. pret., but more likely noun or adj./adv.

PUGNUS-*ri+i* [...]: probably verb, “rise, raise”, 3 sing. pres./pret. Note reflexive pronoun *-ti*.

§ 4. Apparently end of curse formula.

CUM-*ni á-sa-*, “be with [the malefactor?]”.

X.34. KULULU 8 (plate 284)

Location. Fragment, Kayseri Museum no. 5723.

Description. Irregularly shaped fragment of black stone, broken at the top and upper right side, bearing left end of sinistroverse inscription (it is possible that the group of 5 signs on the upper left side, writing a separate name, are to be read dextroverse).

Condition: clear

Dimensions: ht., c. 13 cm.; preserved w., c. 16 cm.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: arch-like *sa* (cf. TOPADA, SUVASA).

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. Brought from Kululu village to Kayseri Museum in 1968.

Publication, Edition. M. Kalaç, *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1986. Kongreye sunulan bildiriler* (Ankara, 1990), II. Cilt, p. 608 lev. 315 res. 13 (reversed drawing).

Content. Names with titles.

Date. Probably reign of Wasusarmas, later 8th century B.C.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Kindly supplied by Bay Hamdi Kodan, Director of Kayseri Museum, and Professor Tahsin Özgüç.

Transliteration	Translation
...] HEROS INFANS MONS.REX SARMA SERVUS	[PN ₁ ... PN ₂ ...] the Hero's son, servant of Mountain-King Sarrumas;
...?]wa/i-ta ₅ -zi-sa SCRIBA *273-pi ² -ti	...watazis the scribe "strikes"(?).

Commentary

The graffito-like inscription on this small stone resembles the graffiti of SUVASA, the work of servants of the Tabalian king Wasusarmas. The present inscription clearly belongs to the same period.

MONS.REX, "Mountain-King": found as a title of Sarruma on MALATYA 7 (see Commentary), and elsewhere.

SERVUS: the use of this sign here without its phonetic complement -ta₄/ta₅- confirms the view that the sign should be regarded as a logogram not a syllabogram (*mi*); for the argument see KARATEPE, 6, Commentary. Empire examples of SERVUS now include TAŞCI (see Cilicia, the Historical Context, n. 13 (p. 39)), where we follow Kohlmeyer's reading SER-

VUS); and the new Boğazköy bulla Bo. 90/316, for which see Neve, *Antike Welt* 1992 Sondernummer, p. 60 Abb. 162, top row, second from left. Another Late example beside the present one is probably provided by SUVASA C (see Commentary there).

[...?]wa/i-ta₅-zi-sa: ta₅ is dextroverse, zi sinistroverse; unclear whether there is anything missing before the preserved signs.

*273-pi²-ti: signs all sinistroverse, this group appears to be a verb following the scribal name. It could represent *tupi*-, "smite", one of two verbs determined by *273. If so, "smites" presumably stands for "incises", i.e. "writes"; *anta tupi*- is so used in KARATEPE (349–350, 371–372).

X.35. KULULU 7 (plate 285)

Location. Fragment, Kayseri Museum?

Description. "Made of basalt. Length: 16.5 cm.; width: 15.5 cm. The hieroglyphs are inscribed in relief ... The block was apparently rounded or cylinder shaped." (Özgüç, see Publication). The fragment bears parts of 2 lines, dextroverse-sinistroverse. It is unique among the inscriptions from Kululu in being not incised but in relief.

Dimensions: see above.

Condition: little preserved.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: not diagnostic.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. From the site of Kululu, but no details given; bought by Kayseri Museum in 1967?

Publication. Özgüç, *Kültepe* (1971), pp. 59 (Turkish), 110 (English), pl. XLV.1 (photograph).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 94, p. 334 Tav. XLIX (redrawn from Özgüç).

Content, date. Insufficiently preserved to determine.

Text. Traced from photographs, but it has not been possible to collate.

Photographs. Provided by the courtesy of Professor Tahsin Özgüç.

Transliteration

1. 1 ...-zi-bá
 tí-wa/i-ti-p[a]-u[a/i] ...
 ...
 1. 2 ...](animal head) la/i/u ... bi[...

Comment

... -zi-bá: verb, 1 sing. pret.?

tí-wa/i-ti: Tabal royal name *Tuwati*-? (acc. or dat. sing.?).

X.36–40. KULULU lead strips (plates 286–289)

Location. Five strips of lead, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, nos. 115-1-81 (strip 1); 115-2-81 (strip 2); 115-3-81 (strip 3 + frag. 2); 115-4-81 (frag. 1); 115-5-81 (frag. 3).

Description. The lead documents are numbered separately by their first publisher, Özgüç, according to whether they are complete (strips 1–3) or fragments (fragments 1–3). While this numeration may be followed for identification, a philological study will prefer to arrange strips and fragments according to content, thus: (1) strip 1; (2) strip 2; (3) frag. 1; (4) frag. 3; (5) strip 3 + frag. 2. The integration of the lead strips in the KULULU stone series with the numbers V–VIII, proposed by Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, p. 30), is unsatisfactory in principle and because the number of items has increased by one (2 new inscriptions, but total reduced to one by join of 2 previously separate pieces). This has therefore been discarded; see KULULU inscriptions: numbering (above, p. 442).

(36) strip 1: longest of the documents, made up from 4 joining fragments, divided into 3 registers on either side by horizontal rulings, the registers being subdivided by vertical rulings into boxes each containing one entry. On obverse, the boxes are marked off into 5 distinct sections by double vertical rulings with central wavy lines. On reverse, a large part of the middle register and spaces in the upper and lower registers are uninscribed; if the blank spaces may be taken to mark off sections of entries, 4 such sections are recognizable. The document contains a total of 63 entries grouped into 9 sections:

obv. 1; 2–6; 7–14; 15–27; 28–34

rev. 35–37; 38–44; 45–46; 47–63

The text begins at the top right corner of the obverse, running sinistaverse along register 1, continuing *boustrophedon* along registers 2 and 3, ending at bottom left corner. The strip was turned on its long axis and the text continued on the reverse from the top left corner, running dextroverse along register 1, with one blank space. Register 2 is blank except for two adjoining entries running sinistaverse. On register 3, after an initial gap where entries seem to have been erased, the entries resume and run, also sinistaverse, to the end of the register, presumably the end of the document.

Dimensions: lg., 37 cm.; ht., 5.2 cm.; th., 0.12 cm.

(37) strip 2: much shorter than strip 1, the inscription is made up of 2 joining pieces, and a fragment missing from obverse, lower left corner (= reverse, upper left corner), has been replaced since the original publication. The strip is divided by horizontal rulings into 2 registers on either side, the registers being subdivided by vertical rulings into boxes each containing one entry. The combined obverse and reverse entries are marked off into 3 distinct sections by double vertical rulings with central wavy lines (one obverse, one reverse). The document contains a total of 20 entries grouped into 3 sections:

obv. 1–11; 12 (obv. + rev.)–13; 14–20

The text begins at the top right corner of the obverse, running sinistaverse along register 1 and returning *boustrophedon* along register 2, ending lower right corner in mid-entry (12), which is continued directly, after the strip is turned on its long axis, on reverse upper right corner; from there it runs sinistaverse along register 1, returning *boustrophedon* along register 2, terminating shortly before lower right corner. In none of the three places do the ends of the registers coincide with the ends of the entries.

Dimensions: lg., 16 cm.; ht., 4.2 cm.; th., 0.16 cm.

(38) frag. 1: considered by publisher to be a fragment, since it was reported to be the only surviving piece of a longer strip. Consideration of the content however suggests that it might be almost complete. It is made up of 2 joining fragments which leave a small lacuna in the middle, and is divided by horizontal rulings into 3 registers on either side, the registers being subdivided by vertical rulings into boxes each containing one entry. It is not possible to identify an obverse and reverse. Side i has 3 entries on register 1 (sinistaverse), 3 on register 2 (dextroverse), and register 3 blank. Side ii has 3 entries on register 1 (sinistaverse), 4 on register 2 (dextroverse); register 3 (sinistaverse) begins with a blank space (erasure) followed by a preserved word, then 1 entry.

Dimensions: lg., 7.8 cm.; ht., 6.2 cm.

(39) frag. 3: small fragment distorted into curve, side i divided by horizontal ruling into 2 registers, register 1 subdivided by vertical rulings into 5 boxes each containing an entry, poorly preserved, running sinistaverse. Register 2 and side ii uninscribed.

Dimensions: lg., 15.4 cm.; ht., 3 cm.

(40) strip 3 + “frag. 2”: published and numbered separately by Özgüç. Strip 3 is made up of 4 joining fragments, “frag. 2” of 2 joining fragments. Erdem (see Editions) pointed out that the pieces of strip 3 should be arranged in a different order to that given in Özgüç’s publication: namely, of the long right-hand piece (with largely erased text), side ii forms a join with the left side of the left-hand fragment, side i. Further, “frag. 2” side ii then joins strip 3, side ii, right side. Thus strip 3 is assembled from a total of 6 fragments as indicated

in the copy (former designations given in brackets for sake of identification). The lead strip is an obvious palimpsest, bearing traces of earlier erased texts of varying legibility. Each side is divided by horizontal ruling into 2 registers, and side i, register 1, subdivided by vertical rulings into 5 preserved entries running from right edge (incomplete), sinistroverso, occupying about right-hand third of register. Remainder of register 1 and all of register 2 uninscribed except for palimpsest traces. Side ii is also ruled horizontally but register 1 bears only 1 clearly legible entry towards the middle. The remainder of the surface bears only palimpsest traces.

Dimensions: lg., 27 cm.; ht., 4 cm.; th., 0.1 cm.

Details common to all texts:

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: appear to be used with great regularity before every word which is not a personal name (marked with personal determinative ¹), except before words preceded by numerals.

Discovery. Found by Kululu villager, Mustafa Yıldız, in his field, claimed to be a field beside the Kululu-Akışla road. After survey, Özgüç doubted this and considered it likely that the strips were found in one of Yıldız's fields on the *kale*, either field 2, 8 or 11, probably the first. See Özgüç, *Kültepe*, pp. 60 f. (Turkish), 111 f. (English); also p. 35, Fig. 106, for field plan of citadel. Yıldız stated that all strips were found in a single roll with the narrower inside and wider outside. Substantial parts of frags. 1 and 2 are reported to have been used to manufacture lead shot. In spring 1967 Yıldız handed the strips over to Sargon Erdem, Assistant in Kayseri Museum, and the Museum subsequently bought them. The strips were later transferred to Ankara at the request of Özgüç's survey team, which investigated the site of Kululu for one month in Summer 1967.

Publication. Özgüç, *Kültepe* (1971), pp. 61 f. (Turkish), 112–114 (English), photographs of “frag. 2” (pls. XLVII–XLVIII.1), strip 1 (pl. L. 1 a–b), strip 2 (pl. LI. 1 a–b), strip 3 (pl. LII. 1 a–b); Özgüç, *Anadolu* 17 (1973 [1975]), pp. 12 (Turkish), 26 (English), pls. XII–XIII (photographs of frag. 1), pp. 10–11 figs. 5–6 (copies of frag. 1); Erdem, *Studia Meriggi* (1979), pp. 144, 146 (strip 1, copies), 145 (strip 1 rev., photograph); 147–148 (strip 2, photographs and copies); 149–152 (strip 3 + “frag. 2”, photographs and copies (including erased passages)); 153–154 (frag. 1, copies only).

Editions. Laroche, *apud* Özgüç, *Kültepe*, pp. 63 f., repeated with index pp. 114–116 (preliminary notes only); Carruba *et al.*, *apud* Erdem, loc. cit., pp. 155–

164 (transliteration and notes); Meriggi and Poetto, *G. Kronasser* (1982), pp. 96–115 (transliterations, commentary and indices); Hawkins, *An. St.* 37 (1987), pp. 135–162 (copies, transliterations, translations, commentary and indices).

Excerpts.

Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30 (1980), pp. 128–132, cit. 19–43 (examination of patronymics and other datives in *-(a)san*).

Content. (36) In the entries on strip 1 the following elements may be identified [omissible elements bracketed]:

- [1. town-name]
2. numeral
3. logogram (“𐎶”)
4. PN₁ in dative
- [4 a. PN₂ in dative + copula *-ha*]
- 5 a. *either* postposition, CUM-*ni*
- 5 b. *or* (less often) verb, DARE-*mi-na*
- [6 a. PN in dative *-(a)san*]
- [6 b. common noun in dative]
- [6 c. town name in gen. adj., gen., abl., dat. or with suffix]

Thus each entry expresses the following transactions:

“[(1) Of the town X], (2) so-much (3) commodity 𐎶, (5) to/for // we give to (4) So-and-so, [(6 a) So-and-so's (son)], [(6 b) of such a status/occupation], [(6 c) of/in/from the town Y].”

(37) In the entries on strip 2, the following elements may be identified [omissible elements bracketed]:

1. numeral
2. commodity (“sheep”)
- [3. donor]
4. recipient (PN or common noun, dat. sing./plur.)
- [5. verb (once postposition CUM-*ni*)]
- [6. qualification of recipient (occupation/town name)]

Thus each entry expresses the following transaction:

“(1) So-many (2) sheep [(3) So-and-so] (5) gives (/we give/they give) (4) to So-and-so/ to so-many workers [(6) of the city X/of the occupation Y].”

(38) On frag. 1 the entries on either side show a somewhat different pattern:

<i>side i</i>	<i>side ii</i>
1. numeral	numeral
2. “sheep”, acc. sing. MF	<i>pi-ia-za</i>
3. PN in nominative	PN in nom.? ² /gen.?
4. verb, “he gives”	

The transactions thus expressed are:

side i: “(1) So-many (2) sheep (3) So-and-so (4) gives”

side ii: “(1) So-many (2) gift(s)(?) (3) (of?) So-and-so”.

(39) As far as can be determined on frag. 3, the pattern of elements in the entries is as follows:

1. numeral
2. commodity (“𐎗”, as in strip 1)
3. recipient (PN or common noun in dative)
4. (unknown word, *bi+ra/i-ni*)
5. verb, “we give”.

The transactions expressed appear to be:

“(1) So-much (2) commodity (3) to So-and-so (4) (...?) (5) we give”.

(40) On strip 3 (+ “frag. 2”) the surviving legible entries consist of the following elements:

1. PN in nominative/genitive(?)

2. “1 house”

3. so-many men

4. so-many women

[5. so-many oxen]

These can be seen to be simple household censuses.

Date. Mid-/late 8th century B.C., by association with other KULULU inscriptions.

Texts. The texts here offered are those of my Edition taken from tracings of collated photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987 by Bay Tuğrul Çakar.

X.36. KULULU lead strip 1

Transliteration

obverse							
Section & entry	element 1: town-name	2: numeral	3: commodity	?	4: recipient(s)	5: postposition/ verb	6: qualifications (a) patronym
register 1							
§ 1. 1.	[ti]-wa/i+ra/i-li- ia-sá- (URBS)	400	“*179”-za	SCRIBA+R-1/I-za	¹ a+ra/i-HWT-[tā]-ia	CUM-ni	
§ 2. 2.		100	“*179”-za		¹ ba-pi-ia-mi-ia	CUM-ni	[¹ x]-ru-sa-[sā]-na
3.		100	“*179”		¹ MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	
4.		100	“*179”		¹ REL-sā-i-ia	CUM-ni	
5.		100	“*179”		¹ mu+ra/i-ki-ia	CUM-ni	
6.		30	“*179”-za		¹ nu-ia	CUM-ni	
§ 3. 7.							
	SUPER+R-1/I-sa						
	tu-na-sa (URBS)	140	“*179”		[¹]ba-pi+ra/i-ia	CUM-ni	
8.		120	“*179”		¹ ku-li-ia	CUM-ni	
9.		100	“*179”		¹ la-ia	CUM-ni	
10.		100	“*179”		¹ TONITRUS-hu-na-za-ia	CUM-ni	
11.		50	“*179”		¹ hu-li-ia-ia-	CUM-ni	ku-ku-wa/i-sa-na
register 2							
12.		40	[“*179”]-za-		¹ pi-ia-i-ia-	CUM-ni	
13.		22	“*179”		¹ tu-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	¹ mu-sa-FRATER-la-sā-na
14.		10	*179		¹ TONITRUS-hu-na-za-ia	CUM-ni	
§ 4. 15.							
	á-na-tara/i-sā-						
	tu-na-sā (URBS)	200	“*179”-za		¹ PUGNUS-ri+i-mi-ia	CUM-ni	
16.		22	“*179”		¹ na-na-ia-	CUM-ni	¹ hu-li-ia-sā-na
17.		151	“*179”-za		¹ ku+ra/i-ti-ia-ia		
					¹ REL-za-FRATER-la-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
18.		150	“*179”-za		¹ la-ia		
					¹ pa-pa-na-li-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
19.		150	“*179”-za		¹ ni-ia		
					¹ ku-ku-wa/i-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
20.		150	“*179”		¹ ba-pi+ra/i-ia		
					¹ nu-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
21.		60	“*179”		¹ la-ia	CUM-ni	¹ ba-ni-sa-na-
22.		50	*179		¹ ku+ra/i-ti-ia	CUM-ni	
23.		40	“*179”-za		¹ TONITRUS-hu-ta-pi-ia-ia	CUM-ni	
24.		40	“*179”-za		ku-ku-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni]	
register 3							
25.		20	[“*179”]		¹ nu-i[a]	CUM<-ni>	
26.		42	[“*179”]		¹ nu-ia	CUM-ni	
27.		8	“*179”		¹ wa/i+ra/i-pi-ia-mi-ia-		
§ 5. 28.							
		100	“*179”		¹ wa/i-su-ma-ia	CUM-ni	
29.		200	“*179”		¹ DOMINUS-ni-za+ra/i-ma-ia	CUM-ni	
30.		50	“*179”		¹ hu-li-ia-ia-	CUM-ni	¹ i-ia+ra/i-sā-sa-na
31.		112	“*179”		¹ ku-ku-wa/i-ia-	CUM-ni	¹ la-la/i/u-wa/i-sā-na
32.		100	“*179”		¹ REL+R-1/I-mu-wa/i-ia-	CUM-ni	¹ mu-wa/i-sā-na
33.		75	“*179”-za		¹ ku-wa/i-ia-	CUM-ni	
34.		75	<“*179”>-za		¹ REL+R-1/I-na-zi-ia	CUM-ni	

		Translation	
		obverse	
(b) status/ occupation	(c) town-name		
		§ 1, 1.	Of the town [Tiw]arali: 400 *179 ... for Ar(a)hwitas.
	<i>hw-wa/i-sá-na</i> (URBS) ¹MAGNUS+ <i>RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá-na</i> (URBS) ¹MAGNUS+ <i>RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá-na</i> (URBS) ¹MAGNUS+ <i>RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá</i> (URBS)	§ 2, 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	100 *179 for Hapiyamis [x]rusa/is' (son), of the town Huwa/i. 100 *179 for Uramuwas, of Uramuwas' town. 100 *179 for <i>Kuwsais</i> , of Uramuwas' town. 100 *179 for Mur(a)kis. 30 *179 for Nus, of Uramuwas' town.
<i>wa/i-tara/i</i> <i>a+ra/i-wa/i-ni-i</i> <i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS) <i>a+ra/i-wa/i-ni</i>		§ 3, 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.	Of the town Upper Tuna: 140 *179 for Hapira/is. 120 *179 for Kulis. 100 *179 for Tas, the cup-bearer (?). 100 *179 for Tarhunazas, the freeman. 50 *179 for Huliyas Kukuwa/is' (son) of the town Tuna. 40 *179 for Piyai(ya)s. 22 *179 for Tuwa/is <i>Musatalas'</i> (?) (son). 10 *179 for Tarhunazas, the freeman.
		§ 4, 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.	Of the town Lower Tuna: 200 *179 for PUGNUS-rimis. 22 *179 for Nanas Huliyas' (son). 151 *179 for Kurtiyas and <i>Kwazatalas</i> (?) (two). 150 *179 for Las and Papanalis (two). 150 *179 for Nis and Kukuwa/is (two). 150 *179 for Hapira/is and Nus (two). 60 *179 for Las Hanis' (son). 50 *179 for Kurtis, the WARALAZA. 40 *179 for Tarhuntapiyas. 40 *179 for Kukuwa/is. 20 *179 for Nus, of PUGNUS-rimis' town (?). 42 *179 for Nus, the KUKISATI. 8 *179 for War(a)piyamis.
<i>wa/i+ra/i-la-za</i> ¹PUGNUS- <i>ri+i-mi-sa-na</i> (URBS) <i>ku-kei-sá-ti-i</i>		§ 5, 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34.	100 *179 for Wasumas, man of the town Zaka. 200 *179 for DOMINUS-nizarmas, of the town Parzumina (?). 50 *179 for Huliyas Iyara/isa/is' (son), of the town Parzumina (?). 112 *179 for Kukuwa/is Luluwis' (son), of the town Waratura/i. 100 *179 for <i>Kwarimuwas</i> (?) Muwas' (son), of the town Waratura/i. 75 *179 for Kuwa/is, from the town Haru(wa/i). 75 *179 for <i>Kwarinazis</i> (?), man of (?) the town Aluwana (?).
	<i>zu-ke[a]-za</i> (URBS) <i>pa+ra/i-zu?-mi-na-sa</i> (URBS) <i>pa+ra/i-zu?-mi-na-sa</i> (URBS) <i>wa/i+ra/i-tu+ra/i-si</i> (URBS) <i>wa/i+ra/i-tu+ra/i-si</i> (URBS) <i>ha-ru-wa/i-ti</i> (URBS) <i>á-la/i/u-wa/i-na-li</i> (URBS)		

X.36. KULULU lead strip 1

Transliteration (cont.)

reverse	element 1:	2:	3:	4:	5:	6:
Section entry		numeral	commodity	recipient(s)	postposition/ verb	qualification (a) patronym
<i>register 1</i>						
§ 6, 35.		200	***179"	¹ ha-ha-ia-	[]DARE-mi-na	
36.		200	***179"	¹ TONITRUS-hu-na-za-ia	[]DARE-mi-na	
37.		10	***179"-za	¹ pu-la-i-ia	CUM-ni	
(blank)						
§ 7, 38.		10	***179"-za	za + ra/i- wa/i-ia-za	[?]mu-wa/i-ia-	[¹]ki-ia-kei-sá-na FRATER-la-i
39.		10	***179"-za	¹ tu-wa/i-ni-ia	CUM-ni	
40.		10	***179"-za	[¹]ru-wa/i-ti-ia	DARE-mi-na	¹ á-pa-ni-sa-na
41.		40	***179"	¹ nu-nu-ia	CUM-ni	¹ hu-li-ia-sá-na-
42.		50	***179"	¹ h[u]-li-ia-ia	CUM-ni	¹ na-ni-mu-ta-sa-na
43.		200	***179"-za-	¹ hu-li-ia-ia	CUM-ni	
44.		50	***179"	¹ hu-li-ia-ia	CUM-ni	¹ TONITRUS-hu-na-za-sá-na FRATER-la-i
(blank)						
<i>register 2</i>						
(space erased)						
§ 8, 45.		100	***179"-za	¹ ta-ta-ia		
46.		10	***179"-za	¹ ku-ia-ha 2 [¹]hu-li-ia-ia	CUM-ni CUM-ni	¹ su-na-ti-ia-mi-sa-na
(space erased, uninscribed)						
<i>register 3</i>						
(3 blank spaces)						
§ 9, 47.		40	*179-za	¹ ku-ku-wa/i-ia		
48.		20	[***179"]	[?]si[...]		
49.		40	[]*179[]	¹ ha-pi + ra/i-i[a]	CUM-[ni]	
50.		40	[]*179[]-za	¹ wa/i-su-ma-ia]		
51.		50	***179"	¹ ha + ra/i-ha + ra/i-ia-ia	CUM-ni	
52.		20	***179"-z[u]	¹ ku-li-ia	CUM-ni	
53.		20	***179"-za	¹ ha-ia	CUM-[ni]	
54.		20	***179"-za	¹ wa + ra/i-pa-si-ia	CUM-ni	
55.		20	***179"-za	¹ DEUS-ni-ia	CUM-ni	
56.		20	***179"-za	¹ ha-su-ia	CUM-ni	
57.		20	***179"-za	¹ nu-nu-ia	CUM-ni	¹ ku-ku-wa/i-sá-na
58.		10	***179"-za	¹ za + ra/i-ma-ia(-)ni-ia	CUM-ni	¹ PUGNUS-ri + i-mi-sá-na
59.		10	***179"-za	¹ la-ia	CUM-ni	¹ ha-ni-sa-na
60.		80	***179"	tu-na-sa-na (URBS) á-na-ia	DARE-mi-na	
61.		30	***179"-za	¹ ha + ra/i-ha + ra/i-ia-ia	«mb»DARE-mi-na	
62.		20	***179"-za	¹ TONITRUS-hu-na-za-ia	CUM-ni	¹ ta-ta-sa-na
63.		200	***179"	SUPER + RA/I/I-li tu-na-sa (URBS?)	CU[M-ni]	

Translation (cont.)

(b) status/ occupation	(c) town-name	reverse
		§ 6, 35. 200 *179 to Hahas we give.
		36. 200 *179 to Tarhunazas we give.
	<i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS)	37. 10 *179 for Pulais, of the town Tuna.
<i>hú-ra/i-na-li</i>	<i>á-na-tara/i-<</i> <i>tu-na-sa</i> (URBS)	§ 7, 38. 10 *179 ... for Muwas Kiyakis' brother, the hunter(?), of the town Lower Tuna.
	MAGNUS+ <i>R-1/I-mu-ua/i-[sá]-na</i> (URBS)	39. 10 *179 for Tuwanis, of Uramuwas' town.
	<i>u-ha-zi+ra/i-sá</i> (URBS)	40. 10 *179 to Ruwatis we give, Apanis' (son), of the town Uhazira/i.
	<i>ta-sá-ku-sa-na</i> (URBS)	41. 40 *179 for Nunus, Huliyas' (son), of the town Tasaku.
	<i>ta-pa-ia</i> (URBS)	42. 50 *179 for Huliyas Nanimuta/is' (son), in the town Tapa.
<i>á-[sa²-tara/i²](-)</i> MAGNUS+ <i>R-1/I²-ia</i>		43. 200 *179 for Huliyas, the A[...]URI(?)
		44. 50 *179 for Huliyas Tarhunazas' brother.
	<i>za-ka-za</i> (URBS)	§ 8, 45. 100 *179 for Tatas and Kus (two), men of(?) the town Zaka.
	MAGNUS+ <i>R-1/I-mu-ua/i-sa</i> (URBS)	46. 10 *179 for Huliyas Sunatiyamis' son, of Uramuwas' town.
MAGNUS+ <i>R-1/I-ia-li</i>	<i>tu-na-sá</i> [(URBS)]	§ 9, 47. 40 *179 to Kuku[wa/is].
		48. 20 *179 [to] Si-[].
		49. 40 *179 for Hapira/is, the URIYALI, of the town Tuna.
		50. 40 *179 to Wasumas.
		51. 50 *179 for Harhariyas.
	<i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS)	52. 20 *179 for Kulis.
		53. 20 *179 for Has, of the town Tuna.
	<i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS)	54. 20 *179 for Warpasis.
	<i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS)	55. 20 *179 for Masanis, of the town Tuna.
	<i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS)	56. 20 *179 for Hasus, of the town Tuna.
	<i>tu-na-sá</i> (URBS)	57. 20 *179 for Nunus Kukuwa/is' (son), of the town Tuna.
		58. 10 *179 for Zarmas(?) Nis, PUGNUS-rimis' (son).
		59. 10 *179 for Las Hanis' (son).
		60. 80 *179 to the town Tuna's <i>mother</i> (?) we give.
		61. 30 *179 to Harhariyas we give.
		62. 20 *179 for Tarhunazas Tatas' (son).
		63. 200 *179 for the town Upper Tuna.

X.37. KULULU lead strip 2

Transliteration

Section and entry	element					
	1: numeral	2: commodity (sheep)	3: donor	4: recipient(s)	5: verb/post- position	6: qualifications (a) uncertain (b) status/ occupation (c) town-name
<i>obverse</i>						
§ 1, 1.	32	(OVIS) <i>ba-wa/i-na</i>	¹ <i>mu-wa/i-bi-sá</i>	¹ <i>ni-ia</i>	<i>pi-ia-i</i>	
2.	68	OVIS- <i>na</i>	¹ <i>la-li-sá</i>	¹ <i>pa² + ra/i-sá-ta-ia</i>	<i>pi-ia-i</i>	<i>ku-ki-sá-ta-za</i> REL- <i>za</i> <i>wa/i-si-i</i> (a)
3.	140	OVIS		7 <i>ta-ru-ti</i>	DARE- <i>mi-na</i>	<i>á-sá-ba-ia-la + ra/i-ti</i> (URBS) (c)
4.	40	OVIS- <i>sá</i>		¹ <i>nu-nu-ia</i>		MAGNUS + <i>RA/I-ia-li</i> (b)
5.	30	OVIS- <i>na</i>		3 <i>tara/i-pa-la-za</i>		
6.	30	OVIS- <i>sa</i>		¹ <i>ku-li-ia</i>		
				¹ <i>tu-mi-si-ia-ba</i>		
				¹ <i>tu-tu-ia-ba</i>	DARE- <i>mi-na</i>	<i>sú-na-wa/i + ra/i-za</i> (c)
7.	20	OVIS- <i>na</i>		¹ <i>ma-mi-ia</i>		<i>ta-ma-ru-na</i> (a)
8.	20	OVIS- <i>sá</i>		¹ <i>nu-nu-i[a]</i>		<i>wa/i-tara/i</i> (b)
9.	20	OVIS- <i>sá</i>		¹ <i>sa-ta-nu-ia</i>		<i>u-za-ka-li</i> (b)
10.	40	OVIS- <i>sa</i>		4 <i>la-bi-na-la-za</i>		
11.	20	OVIS- <i>sá</i>		2 <i>hu-hu + ra/i-pa + ra/i-ia-za</i>		
§ 2, 12	100	OVIS- <i>sa</i>		5 <i>ta-ru-ti-i</i>		<i>mu + ra/i-ti-ia-sá</i> (URBS) (c)
<i>reverse</i>						
13.	20	OVIS- <i>sa</i>		¹ REL- <i>sá-i-ia</i>		
				¹ <i>pa-la/i/u-zi-ia-ba</i>		<i>sú-na-wa/i-tá-za</i> (URBS) (c)
§ 3, 14.	100	OVIS		5 <i>ta-ru-ti</i>		<i>ti-wa/i + ra/i-li-ia</i> (URBS) (c)
15.	20	OVIS- <i>sa</i>		2 <i>hu + ra/i-na-la-za</i>		
16.	20	OVIS- <i>sa</i>		2 <i>la-bi-na-la-za</i>		
17.	141	OVIS- <i>na</i>		3 <i>ta-ru-tá-za</i>		<i>á-ba-ti-ku-ku + ra/i-za</i> (URBS) (c)
18.	15	OVIS		<i>ta-REL + R-1/I-tá</i>	<i>pi-ia-ti</i>	<i>á-ru-sa-li-ia</i> (URBS) (c)
19.	14	OVIS		<i>á-sa-i-la + ra/i-ti</i> (URBS)	<i>u-sa-ti</i>	<i>sa_s + ra/i-ku-na</i> (a)
20.	200	OVIS		¹ <i>á-ti-wa/i + ra/i-mi-ia</i>	CUM- <i>ni</i>	<i>sa_s + ra/i-ku-na-la</i> (b)
Translation						
§ 1, 1.	32	sheep	Mawahis to Nis gives.			
2.	68	sheep	Lalis to <i>Par(a)</i> <i>satas</i> (?) gives, so that/because he will WASI for the KUKISATI's(?).			
3.	140	sheep	to 7 statues we give; from the town Asahayalara/i.			
4.	40	sheep	to Nunus, the URIYALI.			
5.	30	sheep	to 3 "substitutes".			
6.	30	sheep	to Kulis and Tumisis and Tutus we give, (men of?) (the town) Sunawara.			
7.	20	sheep	to Mamis, in order to(?) TAMAR-.			
8.	20	sheep	to Nunus, the cup-bearer(?).			
9.	20	sheep	to Satanus, the UZAKALI.			
10.	40	sheep	to 4 LAHINALI's.			
11.	20	sheep	to 2 HUHURPARI's.			
§ 2, 12.	100	sheep	to 5 statues; of the town Mur(a)ti.			
13.	20	sheep	to <i>Kuwsais</i> and <i>Paluzis</i> , (men of?) the town Sunawata.			
§ 3, 14.	100	sheep	to 5 statues; in the town Tiwarali.			
15.	20	sheep	to 2 hunters(?).			
16.	20	sheep	to 2 LAHINALI's.			
17.	141	sheep	to 3 statues; (of?) the town Ahatikukura/i.			
18.	15	sheep	to(?) ... they give; in the town Arusali.			
19.	14	sheep	from the town Asailara/i they bring, in order to(?) SARK-.			
20.	200	sheep	for Atiwaramis, the SARKUNALA.			

X.38. KULULU lead fragment 1

			Transliteration	Translation		
side i, elements						
register 1,	1.	111	(OVIS) <i>ha-wa/i-na</i>	¹ DEUS- <i>ni-sa</i>	<i> pi-ia-i</i>	111 sheep Masanis gives.
	2.	131	OVIS- <i>na</i>	¹ <i>á-pá</i> ² + <i>ra/i-MAGNUS + RA/I-sá</i>	<i>[pi-ia-i</i>	131 sheep <i>Apara</i> (?) -uras gives.
	3.	133	OVIS- <i>na</i>	¹ REL + <i>RA/I-na-zi-sá</i>	<i>[...]</i>	133 sheep <i>Kwarinazis</i> [gives].
register 2,	4.	27	OVIS	[...]	<i>[p i-[ia]-i</i>	27 sheep [...] gives.
	5.	97	OVIS	¹ <i>na-i-sá</i>	<i> pi-ia-i</i>	97 sheep Nais gives.
	6.	69	OVIS- <i>na</i>	¹ <i>pi-ia</i> -[...]	[...]	69 sheep <i>Piya</i> [sarmas gives].
register 3,			(erased)			
side ii						
register 1,	1.	21	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	¹ DEUS- <i>ni-sa</i>	21	"gift(s)" (of?) Masanis.
	2.	25	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	¹ <i>á-pá</i> ² + <i>ra/i-MAGNUS + RA/I-sá</i>	25	"gift(s)" (of?) <i>Apara</i> (?) -uras.
	3.	25	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	REL + <i>RA/I-na-zi-sa</i>	25	"gift(s)" (of?) <i>Kwarinazis</i> .
register 2,	4.	[x	<i>pi-ia]-za</i>	¹ <i>na-i-sá</i>	[x	"gift(s)" (of?) Nais.
	5.	55	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	¹ <i>p i-ia-SARMA-ma-sa</i>	55	"gift(s)" (of?) <i>Piyasarmas</i> .
	6.	20	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	¹ <i>ha-mi-ia-sá</i>	20	"gift(s)" (of?) <i>Hami</i> (<i>ya</i>)s.
	7.	28	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	[...]	28	"gift(s)" [... ?]
register 3,	8.	(erased)		<i> á-na-ti-sá</i>		(of?) the <i>mother</i> (?)
	9.	308	<i>pi-ia + ra/i-ia-za</i>	<i> ku-ki-s[á]-i-i</i> [...]	308	"donation(s)" [(of?)] the KUKISATI.

X.39. KULULU lead fragment 3

			Transliteration	(Translation: not attempted)	
elements 1:					
1.	...		CUM- <i>ni</i> [x?] <i>na</i>	<i>hi + ra/i ia</i> ?	
2.	400(?)		"*179"- <i>za</i>	REX- <i>ti</i>	<i>hi + ra/i-ni</i> DARE- <i>mi-na</i>
3.	[220](?)		["*179"]- <i>za</i>	<i>a-ta-sá-sa</i>	<i> hi + ra/i-ni</i> DARE- <i>mi-na</i>
4.	[100](?)		[...]		DARE- <i>mi-na</i>
5.	170(?)		"179"	<i> tara/i-pa-lu-za</i>	[... <i>m i</i> [...]

X.40. KULULU lead strip 3 (+ frag. 2)

			Transliteration	Translation		
side i						
register 1 ...						
	[...]		: [1] DOMUS- <i>zi</i> [<i>a</i>] :	4 VIR- <i>zi</i> :	2 FEMINA :	1 BOS- <i>sa</i> [(Of?) ...] : 1 house : 4 men : 2 women : 1 ox
	¹ <i>nu-nu-sa</i>		: 1 DOMUS- <i>za</i> :	1 VIR- <i>ti-sa</i> :	2 FEMINA :	3 BOS (Of?) Nunus : 1 house : 1 man : 2 women : 3 oxen
	¹ <i>ha-nu-na/i-sá</i>		: 1 DOMUS- <i>za</i> :	5 VIR- <i>sa</i> :	2 FEMINA- <i>zi</i>	(Of?) Hanu(wa)s : 1 house : 5 men : 2 women
	¹ <i>ta-sá</i>		: 1 DOMUS- <i>za</i> :	3 VIR :	2 FEMINA	(Of?) Tas : 1 house : 3 men : 2 women
	¹ <i>la-bi-ia-sá</i>		: 1 DOMUS- <i>za</i> :	3 VIR- <i>ti-zi</i> :	2 FEMINA- <i>ti-sa</i>	(Of?) Lahi(ya)s : 1 house : 3 men : 2 women
(blank space)						
register 2 (erased)						
side ii						
register 1 (erased)						
	¹ <i>tara/i-pa-mi-sá</i>		: 1 DOMUS- <i>za</i> :	6? VIR- <i>[zi?]</i> :	9 FEMINA- <i>sa</i>	(Of?) Tarpamis : 1 house : 6? men : 9 women
(erased)						
register 2 (erased)						

Commentary

I have dealt with these texts fully in my *Edition*, in which my texts and readings were based on a careful collation of the originals in Ankara. Divergences with the readings of Meriggi-Poetto were dealt with in the Addenda to the Edition. I present here only a summary of the words treated; new and further observations are marked *.

36. Strip 1

**Element 3*, commodity, “*179”-*za*: now proposed to be the logogram representing “barley” (thus transcribed HORDEUM). See AKSARAY, § 4, Commentary.

§ 1.1 (between 3 and 4), |SCRIBA+R4/I-*za*: cf. § 7.38, same position, |*za*+*ra*/i-*wa*/i-*ia*-*za*. Both words, otherwise unattested, of unclear form and function, interrupt the regular arrangement of the elements.

§ 3.7(1). SUPER+R4/I-*sa*, = *sarlis*, “upper”, by contrast with § 4.15(1), *á-na-tara*/i-*sá*, = *ana(n)tari*s, “lower” (< *anan*, “under”).

9(6b). *wa*/i-*tara*/i: possibly = “cup-bearer”, by association with *uwa*-, “drink(?)” (see KULULU 2, § 3, Commentary).

10(6b). *arawani*-, cf. Hitt. *arawa(nni)*-, “free”.

§ 4.22(6b). *wa*/i+*ra*/i-*la*-*za*: appears to derive from *warali*-, “own, proper” (see KARATEPE, 366, Commentary), with suffix -*a**za*-, also used as ethnic suffix.

26(6b). *ku-ki-sà-ti-i* (also strip 2, § 1.2(6); frag. 1, side ii, 9; cf. KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17 d, determined by double logogram DIES.OVIS). Contexts are not quite adequate to define exactly.

§ 5.28(6c). *za*-*k*[*a*]-*za*(URBS) (again, reverse, § 8.45 (6c): place names with suffix(?) -(*a*)*za*- considered, but analysis uncertain.

34(6c). *á-la*/i+*u-wa*/i-*na*-*li*(URBS): place names with suffix -(*a*)*li*- considered and paralleled; cf. now also *ku-sunali*-(REGIO), HAMA 6, § 3, and Commentary.

§ 6.35(5). DARE-*mi-na*: for identification as 1 plur. pres. (not pret.), see below, strip 2, element 5, Commentary.

§ 7.38 (between 3 and 4). *za*+*ra*/i-*wa*/i-*ia*-*za*: see above, § 1.1 (between 3 and 4), Commentary.

38(6b). *hú*+*ra*/i-*na*-*li*, “hunter(?)”: so identified by Kalaç, KZ 92 (1978), p. 123 f.

38(6c). *á-na-tara*/i- < > |*tu-na-sa*(URBS): identified as probable genitives, the first word being written defectively.

43(6b). *á*-[*sa*²-*tara*/i²](*-*)MAGNUS+R4/I²-*ia*: uncertain readings, but form must belong to element 6b.

§ 9.49(6b). MAGNUS+*ra*/i-*ia*-*li* (also on strip 2, § 1.4(6b)), = *uriyali*-, nomen actoris in -*ali*- from *uriya*-, “be great”; cf. *tapariyali*-, “governor”.

60(4). |*tu-na-sa-na*(URBS) |*á-na-ia*: reading according to my collation, against Erdem’s *á-na-tara*/i, which would give no grammatical sense, whereas “to Tuna’s ANA” is quite clear. The residual problem here is whether *ana*- can be identified as a Hier. writing of “mother” where *ani*- might be expected.

63(4). |SUPER+R4/I-*li* |*tu-na-sa*(URBS²¹): problem of case considered (dative expected).

37. Strip 2

Element 2. (OVIS)*ha-wa*/i-*na*: clearly full phonetic writing, acc. sing. MF, otherwise OVIS-*na*. Peculiarity of variants OVIS-*sa*/*sá*, ostensibly *nom.* sing. MF considered in *Edition*.

Element 4. Alternation between proper names and numbered common nouns as recipients shows a distinction between named individuals of superior status, normally with occupational qualification (element 6(b)), and unnamed groups of workers. But the main recipients in each section seem to be numbers of “statues” (*tarut*-), which receive the largest numbers of sheep.

Element 5, the verb (omissible, entries 4–5, 7–17; replaced by CUM-*ni*, as in strip 1, entry 20). The identifiable verbal forms are present, 3 sing. *piyai* (entries 1, 2), 3 plur. *piya(n)ti*, *usa(n)ti* (entries 18, 19); thus *pi(ya)-min* is also identified as pres., 1 plur. (see Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), pp. 93–97; cf. CEKKE, §§ 8–9, Commentary).

§ 1.2(6). |*ku-ki-sà-ta-za* |REL-*za* |*wa*/i-*si-i*: apparently relative clause introduced by REL-*za* though it is difficult to identify an antecedent; last word would be a verb, 3 sing. pres. (but cf. Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 587); for word *kukisati*-, see strip 1, § 4.26(6b), and Commentary.

3(4). *ta-ru-ti*, also § 2.12, § 3.14 (all dat. sing.), and § 3.17, *ta-ru-tà-za* (dat. plur.): these phonetic writings are morphologically coincident with the expected dat. sing. and plur. of *taru(sa)*, “statue” (see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 31, Commentary), and such an interpretation fits well the present context of giving sheep.

3(6c). *á-sà-ha-ia-la*+*ra*/i-*ti*(URBS)//§ 3.19(4) *á-sa-la*+*ra*/i-*ti*(URBS): noted as interesting phonetic variant.

5(4). *tara*/i-*pa-la-za*, (also frag. 3, entry 5): likely to represent a group of persons as other recipients designated by words ending in -*ala(n)za* (dat. plur.); identification with Hitt.-Luw. *tarpalli*-, “substitute”, likely, for which see Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, pp. 19–22; Gurney, *Hittite Religion*, pp. 52 ff.

6(6c). *sù-na-wa*/i+*ra*/i-*za*//§ 2.13(6c) *sù-na-wa*/i-*tà-za*(URBS): clearest evidence for rhotacism in these texts; for suffix -(*a*)*za*-, see strip 1, § 5.28(6c) *za-k*[*a*]-*za*(URBS).

7(6a). *la-ma-ru-na*: form in *-una* compared with *sa₅ + ra/i-ku-na* (§ 3.19(6a)); infinitives?

8(6b). *wa/i-tara/i*: cf. above strip 1, § 3.9(6b), = “cup-bearer”(?).

9(6b). *u-za-ka-li*: clearly another occupational designation, though no associations for the stem are apparent.

10(4). *la-bi-na-la-za*: root *lahina-* unattested in lexicon (*CHD* 3/1 (1980) has no entry), but is found in onomastics and toponym (Laroche, *Noms*, no. 674, cf. p. 272). A loan from Akk. (a) *lahhinu* (for which see *CAD* A, s.v.) may perhaps be recognized.

11(4). *bu-bu + ra/i-pa + ra/i-ia-za*: clearly as Kalaç noted (*KZ* 92 (1978), p. 124) to be associated with verbal stem (PUGNUS+PUGNUS) *bu-bu + ra/i-pa* (ALEPPO 2, § 6), and noun (“LIGNUM”) *bu-bu + ra/i-pa-li* (KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 10); this stem and derivatives have now been associated with Cun. Luw. cognates by Melchert, who envisages for the present word a sense “men of the *bubu(r)pal-*” (see *KZ* 101 (1988), pp. 229–236; also pers. comm.).

§ 3.15(4). *bu + ra/i-na-la-za*: cf. strip 1, § 7.38(6b), “hunter”(?) (so Kalaç).

18(4). *ta-REL + R-1/I-ta-*: obscure common noun, should be dat. sing. to conform with other entries.

19, 20(6a, 6c). *sa₅ + ra/i-ku-na(-la)*: the latter form presumably an occupational designation in *-ala-* of the former which is perhaps an infinitive. The Hitt. stem(s) *šarb(u)-* and *šark(u)-* in their various derivatives have not been clearly defined in relation to each other: see Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 301–309. The Hier. evidence, in particular the likelihood that (DEUS) *sarku-* and

(DEUS) *sarbu(n)ta-* are both epithets of the god Ea, is likely to be significant (see KARKAMIŞ A11b+c, § 18d, and ÇİFTLİK, § 6, Commentaries). In particular the relationship of Hitt. *šarkunwai-*, “put on shoes”, to the rest is not established (Weitenberg, *HUS*, § 307), but derivatives of this verb might be quite likely in the present context.

38. Frag. 1

Side ii, element 2, *pi-ia-za*: interpreted as “gift”, but morphology uncertain. Could it be nom. sing. MF (such forms in *-za*) not otherwise attested in Luwian? Or nom./acc. sing. N, *piyat + sa*; cf. *sa-la-ha-za*, “power” (see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary); LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-za*, “place” (see KARKAMIŞ A11a, § 23, Commentary); *wa/i-ni-za*, “stone, stele” (see TILSEVET, Note following Commentary); *za + ra/i-za*, “heart” (see KULULU 5, § 11, Commentary).

pi-ia + ra/i-ia-za: anomalous form, perhaps derivation of *piyat-* (+*i(ya)-*), + *an*, sing. N., + *sa*, particle N, with rhotacism).

39. Frag. 3

Element 2. *179-*za*: identified as “barley”, see strip 1, element 3, commentary.

Element 4. *bi + ra/i-ni*: unidentified word.

Element 5. DARE-*mi-na*, “we give”: see strip 2, element 5, Commentary.

Entry 5. *tara/i-pa-la-za*, “substitute”: see strip 2, § 1.5(4).

X.41. NİĞDE 1 (plate 290)

Location. Base, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7774.

Description. Drum-shaped column(?) base decorated with incised lines and bands of moulding round the top, bearing short, 1-line sinistroverse inscription immediately below decoration.

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.11 m.; w., 0.30 m.

Condition: good.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. Seen by W. Siehe on 20 June 1906 on *höyük* of Niğde recently excavated from house foundations. He communicated this in a letter dated 23 June 1906 to Messerschmidt, who informed Hamdi Bey, the Director of the Ottoman Museum. The latter at once had the

piece brought to the Museum, where it was apparently seen by Messerschmidt. See Messerschmidt (below, Publication).

Publication. Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), p. 15 f., Taf. LIII (sketch of stone, copy of inscription); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 9 (1937), p. 407, pl. XXVII (Istanbul Museum photograph); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 800 (photograph), also 801 (= Hrozný, loc. cit., pl. XXVII).

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), no. 1, p. 240 f.; Hrozný, loc. cit. (1937); Bossert, *Or. Ex.* 6 (1959), p. 40, Abb. 6; Laroche, *HH* no. 268.3; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 1, p. 9 (redrawn dextroverse from Messerschmidt).

Content. Dedication of object itself and/or what stood on it by Saruwanis.

Date. Saruwanis ruler of Nahitiya (Niğde) was also author of ANDAVAL and apparently a predecessor of Warpalawas's father Muwaharanis (see above, p. 430 and n. 63). Date is thus probably early 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum in 1986.

Transliteration

ṣa-wa/i SCALPRUM-su-na sa-ru-wa/i-ni-sá i-ṣi-i-tà á-pa-sa tara/i-sa

Translation

This stone Saruwanis made (as) his statue.

Commentary

SCALPRUM-su-na: see TÜN P 1, § 2, Commentary, for full reading *asu-*, and other attestations; KAR-KAMIŠ A6, § 27, Commentary, for comparison of ("SCALPRUM")*asu-* with Hitt. ^{NA}*akku-*, "stone".

á-pa-sa: presumably gen. sing., "his".

tara/i-sa: cf. same word, IVRIZ 1, § 3, and Commentary. Here, as there, it is easiest to identify the word as

nom./acc. sing. N with particle *-sa*, and to assume that *tara/i* is used locally to write the usual *ta-ru-*; thus the word should represent *taru(sa)*, "statue", – so Bossert, loc. cit. For a broken context mentioning a "SCALPRUM"-*su-na* (acc. sing.) followed by STATUA-*ti* (*taruti*, dat. sing.) cf. KARKAMIŠ A15b, §§ 23–24.

X.42. ANDAVAL (plate 291)

Location. Stele fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, museum no. not given.

Description. Part of stele cut down to circular fragment for reuse (column base?). Preserved is most of ll. 1–2, and parts of ll. 3–4 which straddle the head of a figure facing right in a recessed panel, apparently pointing to itself and serving as a full length introductory portrait figure to be read *amu*, "I (am)" (cf. KAR-KAMIŠ A13d; also similar to BOR). The head is bare with hair rendered in pot-hook curls and longer locks falling to nape of neck, and it is apparently beardless. To judge from the contexts, the recutting has not destroyed much at the beginnings and ends of ll. 1–2; perhaps 1–2 words in each place (see Commentary). Original form probably similar to BOR in spite of obvious differences: figure facing right not left, in recessed panel instead of sharing background with inscription, bare-headed instead of capped, and of a more archaic style. The piece as it now survives is only a wafer trimmed from its original background, perhaps at the time of removal from the church (see below, Discovery).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.48 m.; preserved w., 0.48 m.; preserved th., 0.03 m.; line ht. (ll. 1–2), 0.13 m., (l. 3), 0.09 m., (l. 4) 0.08 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: frequent, especially for words beginning not at top of line (3 examples).

Discovery. Seen by Ramsay on 25 July 1890 built into church floor at Andaval (now Aktaş), about 9 km. north-east of Niğde on the Kayseri road; squeezed but not photographed. Photographed by Turaev in same position (see Publication). Disappeared by the time of Belck's visit in Oct.–Nov. 1901 (see Belck, *Forschungsreise*, p. 502). Its whereabouts was unknown to Gelb. No information on its entry to Ankara Museum is available.

Publication. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Recueil* 14 (1891), p. 13 f., pl. I fig. 4 (drawing from Ramsay's squeeze); Turaev, *Trudy otdeleniia arkhologii drevne-klassicheskoi, vizantiiskoi, i zapadno-evropeiskoi* (Zapiski imperatorskago russkago arkhelogicheskago obshchestva XII) 5 (1901), p. 240 f., pl. V (photograph of monument still in church floor); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 27, Taf. XXXI.C (drawing from Turaev's photograph); Gelb, *HH* II (1935), fig. 1 facing p. 18 (photograph in Oriental Institute, Chicago, source unstated); id., *HHM* (1939), no. 3, p. 22 f., pls. II (Turaev's photograph), III (Oriental Institute photograph, copy from it); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 797, new photograph, acknowledgement to Gelb.

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 9 (1937), pp. 408–410; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 32, p. 12 f., Tav. II (redrawn from Gelb).

Excerpts.

§§ 3–4 Bossert, *MIO* 4, p. 209; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kanishuwar*, p. 74.

- § 4 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 89; Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, Anm. 781.

Content. Inscription of Saruwanis, lord of Nahitiya (Niğde). § 1, name and titles; § 2 [largely destroyed]; §§ 3–4, treatment of horse herds; § 5, [largely destroyed]; l. 3 mentions *warpalawa*, broken context, = Warpalawas king of Tuwana?

Date. Saruwanis (see also NİĞDE 1) was apparently a predecessor of Warpalawas of Tuwana (see BOR, Date); thus earlier 8th century B.C. Ussishkin (see Sculpture) argues stylistically for an earlier date, mid-

9th century B.C., but Orthmann dates *Sph. III?*, thus later. Palaeographically this incised piece appears to be 8th rather than 9th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Ankara Museum in the summer 1987.

Sculpture. Ussishkin, *Anadolu* 11 (1967 [1969]), pp. 197–202, pls. CIII–CIV; Orthmann, *USK* (*Andaval* 1), pp. 113, 479 f.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO[... s]a-ru-[w]a/i-ni-sa IUDEX-wa/i-ni-sa na-bi-ti-ia-wa/i-ni-sá(URBS) DOMINUS-ia-sa
2. § 2 wa/i-mu |wa/i+ra/i[-pa]-si-sá [...s]a ||[...]x
- § 3 [a]-wa/i (TERRA+L-1+L-1)wa/i-li-ri+i-tà-ti |REL .ARHLA (PES)u-sa-wa/i
- § 4 a-wa/i |(EQUUS)á-sù-wa/i-za za-ti la-pa-ni-wa/i
- § 5 |wa/i-ma-tà x-[...]-ta[... ||
3. ...x[...]-ARHLA[...] (figure) wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-ha[...]
4. ... |MAGNUS+R-1/I-nu-[...

Translation

I (am) [S]aru[w]anis the ruler, the lord of the city Nahitiya.
And I ... (See Commentary for possible restoration)
And when(?) I shall bring (it) out of the plains,
I shall (summer-)pasture the horse-herd here,
and (for) me it [...]
...]and Warpalawa[...]make great [...]

Commentary

§ 1. EGO[...]: portrait figure, head only preserved, seems to represent this sign (see above, Description).

[s]a-ru-[w]a/i-ni-sa: name of author already restored by Hrozný (Edition) from NİĞDE 1.

na-bi-ti-ia-(URBS): identity with Hitt. ^{URU}na-bi-ta and modern Niğde proposed by Gelb (*HH* II, p. 17 f.), which is indeed very convincing, and has implications not yet fully assessed for the medieval and classical antecedents of the name Niğde. For ^{URU}nabita, see del Monte and Tischler *RGTC* 6, s.v.; and Neumann, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 432 f. [Now also Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 52 n. 181].

§ 2. |wa/i+ra/i[-pa]-si-sá: Meriggi's convincing restoration; cf. phrase ("*273")wa/i+ra/i-pa-si DOMINUS-ia-zi-i, "masters of *warpi*", KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 16; and the quality *warpasabi*, EĞREK, § 2.

[...s]a: possibility of this sign signalled by Gelb and Meriggi, and it is indeed probable that a noun, nom. sing. MF would follow *war[pa]sis*, with the whole phrase probably referring to Saruwanis himself (cf. Commentary on following word). If so, the restoration would depend on an estimate of Saruwanis's status, but [REX-ti-s]a could be envisaged; a possible parallel for *warpasis* REX-tis is *273.REX (SUVASA, B; cf. HAMA 4, § 4,

Commentary), where *273 should stand, as usual, for *warpi*.

[...x: traces could be -b]a, suggesting the verb, possibly [á-sa-b]a, "I was (a *warpasi*- [king])".

§§ 3–4. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., elucidating (TERRA+L-1+L-1)wa/i-li-ri+i-tà- by comparison with (TERRA+L-1+L-1)wa/i-li-li-tà- (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8), Hitt. *ulili*-, "field, meadow" (= Akk. *ŠĒRU*).

§ 3. (PES)u-sa-, "bring (away)": meaning adequately established by KARATEPE, 146, SUB-na-na (PES)u-sa/sá-, "bring (down), = Phoen. *yrd*.

REL: particularly unclear by lack of phon. complement, but "when" gives reasonable sense (= REL-i?).

§ 4. (EQUUS)á-sù-wa/i-za: KARATEPE, 41, points to "horse" being common gender (acc. sing. MF *asu(n)*), doubtless correctly identified by Weitenberg as a -u-stem (*HUS*, § 82). The present form, already identified by Mittelberger (loc. cit.) and Meriggi as acc. sing. N, collective, may be compared with ASINUS(ANIMAL)-i-za (CEKKÉ, § 7, = *tarkasniŋza* < *tarkasniyanza*, see Commentary); also perhaps BOS(ANIMAL)-za- (MARAS 5, § 2, and Commentary). The comparisons imply a form *asuniŋza* < *asuniyanza*.

la-pa-ni-wa/i: the nominal forms of this stem are fully treated in *CHD* 3/1 (1980), s.v. *lapana-*, “summer pasture”; *lapanallabit-*, “summer pasturing”; *lapanali-*, “summer pasture” (but note that form *la-pa-na-li-ia-an-za* is acc., therefore acc. sing. N in *-an(+ša)*, so van den Hout, *KZ* 97 (1984), p. 68); ^{LC} *lapanalli-*, “herdsman (on summer pasture)”; *lapanašši-*, “belonging to summer pastures”; *lapanuwan-*, “summer grazing (area)”. Cf. now also Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 145 (*lap-an-*). The concept is that of the Turkish *yayla*, of which the area of Niğde is a well-known example.

za-ti, “here”: perhaps indicating that the stele was actually set up in a horse-*yayla*, like the stelae from Keşlik Yayla above Bor, now in the Niğde Museum (see KEŞLİK; also the short reports by M. Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, *AL* 85 (1981), p. 470; 86 (1982), p. 566; 87 (1983), p. 435; 88 (1984), p. 452). Starke, loc. cit. (Anm. 781), cites Ramsay on the summer-pasturing of horses in Roman times (*JHS* 38 (1918), p. 136).

§ 5. *[wa/i-ma-tà (= wa+mu+ata)*, “and it/they/them (for) me ...”: Meriggi assumes that there is little

enough lost between ll. 2–3 for this clause to continue through the traces over *ARHL* directly to *wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-ha*[...], which he therefore interprets as a verb, 1 sing. pret. Thus, in spite of envisaging the possibility that Saruwanis was the father of Warpalawas, he did not recognize the latter’s name in this word. I feel that the extent of the damage and the sequence are not sufficiently clear, and consider possible the recognition of the name of Warpalawas here. Note that *ARHL* is dextroverse, as in the line above, though apparently preceded by a sinistroverse *[n]a*. Conceivably l. 3, right side, continued not on l. 3, left side, but on the lost l. 4, right side.

ll. 4–5. *wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-ha*[...||...] MAGNUS + *ra/i-nu*[...]: context is perhaps reminiscent of KAR-KAMIŠ A15b, § 13, “and I brought up Kamanis as successor”. The recognition that Warpalawas’s father was not Saruwanis, as had been supposed, but Muwarahanis, does make the appearance of the name Warpalawas in an inscription of Saruwanis less likely.

X.43. İVRİZ 1 (plates 292–295)

Location. Rock relief with inscription, *in situ*. The relief is situated about 14 km. south-east of Ereğli-Konya at the foot of the north flanks of the Toros-Bolkar Dağ massif. Some 50 m. below an enormous spring gushing from the hillside, the water skirts the spur of rock on which the relief is carved; a modern barrage has been constructed here. For a recent description of the relief and its topography, see Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 103–115.

Description. To the left: the colossal figure of the Storm-God, facing right, bearded, and with hair falling in ringlets on the nape of the neck. He wears a multiple-horned helmet, a short, short-sleeved belted tunic with a double volute at the hem of the skirt, and decorated boots with upturned toes. He has a bracelet on each wrist and probably earrings, and a sword pommel in the form of an eagle’s head is visible at the belt. He holds in his right hand a vine with bunches of grapes which encircles his body, and in his left four long-stemmed ears of barley; both the vine and the barley spring from his feet, which makes the figure the physical representation of the divine epiphany of Tarhunzas of the Vineyard described on SULTANHAN, §§ 5–7. The 3-line inscription (A) is inserted between the god’s face and his raised left arm, and runs dextroverse-sinistroverse-dextroverse.

To the right: the smaller figure of the king facing left, placed at a higher ground level, confronts the god in an attitude of reverence with hands raised in front and clasped together (see Bossert, *An. Bib.* 12 (1959), pp. 1–5). He is bearded, with hair in bunched ringlets

on the nape of his neck. Like his representation on BOR, he wears a close-fitting embroidered cap with a pompon on front, a long, belted, elaborately embroidered robe, over which is thrown a long, tasselled, fringed shawl with embroidered border, pinned at the shoulder with a bow-shaped fibula, and decorated boots with upturned toes. He also has a necklace, earrings, and a bracelet on the wrist. The 3-line inscription (B) is placed behind the lower part of the figure, and also runs dextroverse-sinistroverse-dextroverse.

A third inscription (C) of 2(?) lines is located at the foot of the rock below the scene; it was formerly lapped by the flowing water, and is now protected from the modern construction by a small reserved area, which sometimes holds standing water, but is sometimes dry. The inscription has been thought to have 2 lines, but only l. 1 (dextroverse) is at all legible. The existence of the alleged l. 2 is doubtful.

Dimensions: ht. of god, *c.* 4.20 m.; ht. of king, *c.* 2.44 m.; w. of scene, *c.* 3 m.; orig. ht. above water level (god’s feet), *c.* 2.50 m.; inscription C, ht., 0.22 m.; preserved w., *c.* 1.00 m.

Condition: figures and 2 upper inscriptions, good; lower inscription, fair-poor.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: some signs reversed; strange *u(?)*, reversed?

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. See detailed study by Delaporte, *RHL* IV/26, 28, 29 (1937), pp. 49–57, 131–147, 201 f.

Relief reported by Hacı Khalfa (1590–1656) in geographical work *Cihan Numa* (Istanbul, 1732); see Messerschmidt, *CIH*², p. 5. Discovery attributed in earlier reports to J. Otter, in 1737, but he is shown by Delaporte not to have visited it. Visited and sketched in 1838 by Major Fischer (see Publication); visited and sketched in June 1875 by Rev. E. J. Davis (see Publication); visited and sketched in 1882 by Ramsay and Wilson (see Publication); visited and drawn by Hogarth and Headlam in July 1890 (see Publication).

Publication. Ritter, *Kleinasien* (1858), pl. III (sketch by Fischer); Davis, *TSBA* 4 (1876), pp. 336–346 (with inaccurate drawing, = id., *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (1879), p. 253); Wright, *EH* (1884, 1886), pp. 147–153 (quoted from Davis, *TSBA*), pl. [XIV] (redrawn from Davis, signs corrected from Ramsay's, with copy of lower inscription); Ramsay, *Archäologische Zeitung* 43 (1885), pp. 205–207, Taf. 13 (drawing aimed to correct inaccuracies of Davis); Perrot and Chipiez, *HLA* IV (1887), pp. 724–726 with fig. 354 (drawing after Davis and Ramsay); (Ramsay and) Hogarth, *Recueil* 14 (1891), p. 14 [85] f., pl. III (drawing by Hogarth and Headlam), pl. IV.3 (small photograph, partial shade); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 30 f., Taf. XXXIV (drawing by Hogarth and Headlam, with lower inscription from Wright); Sayce, *PSBA* 28 (1906), p. 133 f. figs. 1–3 (inaccurate drawings of 3 inscriptions from casts in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), pp. 4–7 (İvriz visited during Ottoman Museum cast-making operation, sketch plan of environs), Taf. XXXIV (new copies of A (upside down), B and C inscriptions only); Charles, *HI* (1911), pp. 20 f., 25 fig. 20 (general photograph), fig. 21 (photograph of inscription C).

Photographs. Nettancourt, *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 9 (1907), p. 109, pl. VII (photographs of environs and relief); Sarre, *The Burlington Magazine* 14 (1908), p. 145 (good photograph frequently reproduced: Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies* (1908), pl. IV fig. 9; id., *Luke the Physician* (1908), pl. XXI; Meyer, *RKC* (1914), Taf. XV; Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1921), Taf. V; Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (1925), Taf. 570; Contenau, *MFO* III (1931), fig. 743; Bossert,

Altanatolien (1942), Abb. 796; Riemschneider, *WdH* (1954), Taf. 45); Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition* (1911) Taf. VII Abb. 1 (good photograph), IX Abb. 5 (detail); Akurgal, *AH* (1962), pls. XXIV (colour photograph), 140 (photograph); id., *BGA* (1968), pl. 30 (colour); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb. 327–328 (photographs, plain and colour), also Abb. 269 (colour, detail of Storm-God and inscription A).

Casts. (See Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), p. 5 f.). Istanbul Museum, photographs: Hrozný, *IHH* III (1937), pl. C; Gelb, *HHM* (1939), pl. XLVI; Vieyra, *HLA* (1955), pl. 70. Berlin Museum, photographs: Garstang *LH* (1910), pl. LVII = *HE* (1929), pl. XXXIV; Delaporte, *RHA* IV/28 (1937), pl. between pp. 136–137.

Editions. Meriggi, *WZKM* 40 (1933), no. 3, pp. 251–255; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 9 (1937), p. 217 f. = *IHH* III (1937), p. 459 f.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 7, pp. 15 f. (A–B); II/2 (1975), no. 25, p. 7 f., Tav. I (C; redrawn from Charles).

Excerpts.

- (A) § 1 Laroche, *HH* no. 363.I.(d).
§ 2 Laroche, *HH* no. 68.
(B) § 3 Bossert, *Or. Ex.* 6/1, 40 f., Abb. 6.
§ 4 Bossert, *Sprache* 5, p. 13 f., Abb. 3.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (İvriz 1)*, pp. 114 f., 145, 153 ff., 234, 241, 244, 287, 290, 293, 351 ff., 487, Taf. 14 e.

Content. A–B, epigraphs to figures of Storm-God Tarhunzas and King Warpalawas; C, scribal signature.

Date. Reign of Warpalawas, minimally 738–710 B.C. (see BOR, Date).

Text. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of photographs, and have been collated; inscription C is taken from a tracing made direct from the rock.

Photographs. Taken on visits at various dates.

Transliteration

- A 1. § 1 *ṣa-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-u*²¹-*ṣa-sa* MAGNUS
2. + *ra/i-ṣa-sa* || *wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-si-sa*
§ 2 *wa/i-tu* LONGUS²(-)*tā-ia*(-)||*sa-ba-na* PONERE-*tu-u*²¹
B 1–2. § 3 *ṣa-wa/i tara/i-sā wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-sa* HEROS ||,
3. *i+ra/i-ia-ṣa*
C § 4 (CAPERE+SCALPRUM) [REL]-*ṣ[a]-tā-pa-wa/i-na*
ti-ia-ma+ra/i-tu-sa wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-sa(-x²) *wa/i-sa*[...]

Translation

This (is) the great Tarhunzas of Warpalawas.
For him let him/them put long(?) SAHANA(?).
This (is) the image of Warpalawas the Hero ...
or: This image Warpalawas the Hero ...
Tiyamartus Warpalawas's belo[ved?] ...] carved it ...

Commentary

§ 1. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-u*²¹-*za-sa*: fourth sign, which recurs in § 2, PONERE-*tu-u*²¹ not obviously *u*, taken as *tà* by Hrozný, Meriggi, and Laroche; but it is not obviously *tà* either, a good example of which is seen in § 2 (LONGUS²(-)*tà-ia*(-)), and a reading *tà* here would be very difficult to explain. It is easier to take it in both places as an unusual cursive form of *u* written reversed, as are the two nearby examples of *za*.

§ 2. Order of readings and word divisions uncertain.

PONERE-*tu-u*²¹ (for *u*²¹, cf. § 1, Commentary): the form is most easily read thus and taken as 3 sing. (plur.?) imp., *tuwa-*, “put”; though it is unclear what subject would be, Tarhunzas, Warpalawas, or indefinite “one, them”.

wa/i-tu: equally uncertain who is meant by *-tu*, “to him”, Tarhunzas or Warpalawas.

LONGUS²(-)*tà-ia*(-)*sa-ha-na*: presumably object, but unclear whether one or two words, and whether (acc.) sing. MF or plur. N.

LONGUS²: no good reason to separate the logogram here from LONGUS, i.e. hand with thumb upwards + MINUS (for the interpretation of the logogram, see now Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 39), although normally in this sign three or four fingers are rendered, as against the two rendered here. Apart from a verb *ia+ra/i(-ia)-*, “extend” (see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 3, Commentary), LONGUS determines only *a+ra/i-*, “long”, Cun. Luw. *arrai-*, for which see KARATEPE, 291, where alternative writings “LONGUS”-*ta₅-ia* (Hu.)// (“LONGUS”) *a+ra/i-ia* (Ho.) are found. Whatever the explanation of the first form (see Commentary there), we may have the same here, i.e. acc. plur. N, “long”.

sa-ha-na: with the foregoing interpretation, this word would also be acc. plur. N., *sahana*. Could this be identified with Hitt.-Luw. *sahhan*, “feudal service”? (For the identification of this word in Cun. Luw., see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 142). In II mill. usage, the word is not attested in plur., nor would it designate royal service to gods, but possibly by this period, the sense could have shifted.

Alternatively, a word LONGUS(-)*taishan* could be considered, possibly a form in *-sha-*, for which see Starke, *KZ* 93 (1979), pp. 247–261.

§ 3. *tara/i-sà*: cf. *tara/i-sà*, NİĞDE 1, and Commentary, where the word is most easily taken as acc., therefore sing. N with *-sa* particle; the same should apply here. Bossert’s identification of the word as a form of *tar-u(sa)*, supported by Meriggi, still seems plausible; the writing is perhaps best explained as a local (Kingdom of Tuwana) practice of employing the sign *tara/i* to represent *taru*. Cf. Stefanini, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 610 f.

i+ra/i-ia-za: word of completely unclear morphology and syntax, possibly to be compared with “SCALPRUM”(-)*i-ara/i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 11), itself similarly opaque. It could perhaps be a noun or adj., nom. sing. N, in apposition to *tara/i-sa*.

§ 4. (Inscription C). Best studied by Messerschmidt and the Cornell Expedition, who were able to divert the mill-stream and so clear the partly submerged inscription. Messerschmidt’s drawing looks fair; Cornell’s photograph with squeeze paper on the rock is useful, but the drawing appears to add signs probably not present. Bossert’s identification of the main surviving traces as a clause representing a scribal signature is plausible, and is followed by Meriggi. My own examination failed to identify any certain signs on the alleged l. 2, the existence of which I doubt. I am inclined to believe that inscription C is almost complete as given here. Some of the signs of l. 1 are apparently reversed, as on inscription A, which does not help the reading: *la* certainly, *na* probably, *za* possibly. The text as offered is somewhat hypothetical, but its agreement with other known scribal signatures supports the general interpretation (cf. KARATEPE 4, Commentary).

(CAPERE+SCALPRUM)[REL]-*za-tà*: REL is likely, to judge from parallel writings.

wa/i-sa[...: restoration perhaps *wasam[is SERVUS-tas]*; title SCRIBA also expected.

X.44. BOR (plate 296)

Location. Stele, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 7695 (formerly 837: Messerschmidt, Sayce; Garstang’s 857 is incorrect).

Description. Two nearly joining pieces of obelisk-shaped stele, right edge and side preserved, left edge broken away. On obverse is the figure of the ruler Warpalawas, facing left, in an attitude of prayer, as at İvriz. He is bearded, with hair falling in a bunch on the nape of the neck, and wears a close-fitting embroidered cap, a long, fringed, belted tunic with elaborate embroidery

round the lower skirt, covered by a tasselled shawl with 3 bands of embroidery, and embroidered shoes with upturned toes; also a necklace and possibly earrings.

The background to the figure bears an inscription: ll. 1–4 above the head (which interrupts l. 4); ll. 5–11 straddle the body from shoulder to ground (though only a few signs on each line survive to left of body); l. 12, apparently the last, is on the base below the feet.

The text began upper right side, running sinistaverse, continuing *boustrophedon*. The l. 4 probably continued directly on l. 5 (see below, *Restoration*; also Com-

mentary, § 6). This would mean that the damaged compartment in front of figure's face did not form part of sequence; see Commentary, § 1, where it is suggested that the figure represented the inscription's introductory *amu*. The damage to the left side of the monument has removed the means of deciding whether the inscription overlapped the corner on to the left side; it is thus impossible to be sure exactly how much text is missing (see Commentary at relevant points).

The supposition by Bossert (*An. Bib.* 12 (1959), p. 4) that the stele as preserved is only the right-hand fragment of a much larger piece which would have contained a figure of the god as at İvriz is based on the text's "this Tarhunzas" (§ 4). But an examination of the piece shows that this would have been impossible: the full preserved obelisk point at the top indicates the approximate line of the lost left edge.

Restoration: the present reconstruction of the piece in Istanbul Museum, like the earlier one by Unger (see Bossert, below, Publication; and cf. Muscarella, *ibid.*) has separated the two fragments too far, giving the figure much too long forearms; note the traces of the sleeve and belt on the lower fragment and compare the İVRİZ figure's proportions. Further evidence is provided by the inscription: the line on the upper fragment to right of the figure's shoulder marking the upper edge of l. 5 must belong with the first preserved line on the lower fragment, which is thus also to be identified as l. 5, not a subsequent one, and since this is sinistroverse, it clearly continues directly from the dextroverse l. 4 without interrupting the *boustrophedon* sequence. For a more correct arrangement of the piece, see the Imperial Ottoman Museum photograph (Garstang, Meyer and Hrozný, below, Publication).

The text sequence appears to be: l. 1 [2 words lost] ll. 2+3 [2 words lost] ll. 4+5 [2 words lost] ll. 6+7 [small lacuna] ll. 8+9 [small lacuna] ll. 10+11 [lacuna] l. 12, end.

Dimensions: (upper) preserved ht., 1.00 m.; max. preserved w., 0.48 m.; th., 0.20 m.; (lower) preserved ht., 0.98 m.; max. preserved w., 0.51 m.; total original ht., c. 2.00 m.; line ht., 0.11–0.12 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: rhotacism.

Word-dividers: used with almost complete consistency.

Discovery. Found at "Eküzli Hissar" (= Kemerhisar), "when the foundations for the *Konak* of Hadji Ali were being dug about thirty years ago" (Hogarth), i.e. c. 1860. *Upper fragment:* seen in Bor in 1882 by Ramsay, and bought by Ramsay and Hogarth on 23 July 1890 and deposited in Niğde. Already in Istanbul Museum by 1898: Peiser, *OLZ* 1 (1898), p. 8. *Lower fragment:* seen briefly by Hogarth in 1890 in well in garden at

Bor, and again in same place by Belck, Oct.–Nov. 1901. Already in Istanbul Museum by 1905: Sayce, *PSBA* 28 (1906), p. 94. See (Ramsay and) Hogarth, *Recueil* 14 (1891), p. 13 [84]; Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar* (1896), pp. 13–19; Belck, *Forschungsreise* (1901), pp. 501–503.

Publication. *Upper fragment:* Wright, *EH* (1884), p. 153, pl. XV (Ramsay's rough sketch from 1882); Ramsay and Hogarth, loc. cit. (1891), pl. I, 1 (photograph = Hogarth, loc. cit. (1896), pl. facing p. 16), 2 (copy), 3 (rubbing of head); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 28, Taf. XXXIII. A (new drawing from squeeze in Berlin Museum). *Lower fragment:* Sayce, loc. cit. (1906), p. 94, pl. III (copy from autopsy). *Complete monument:* Messerschmidt, *CIH*² (1906), p. 3, Taf. XXIII (copy from autopsy); Garstang, *LH* (1910), pl. LVI = *HE* (1929), pl. XXXIII (photograph acknowledged to Imperial Ottoman Museum; further reproduced by Meyer, *RKC* (1914), Taf. XIV; Hrozný, *An. Or.* 9 (1937), pl. XXV = *IHH* III (1937), pl. CI; Muscarella, *JNES* 26 (1967), p. 84, pl. V fig. 6); Bossert, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), Taf. II Abb. 3 (photograph of stele as restored by Unger, = Contenau, *MIO* III (1931), fig. 742; Muscarella, loc. cit.); Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), pls. 330 (photograph of two fragments separated), 331 (detail of feet).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit. (1937(1)), pp. 218–221 = loc. cit. (1937(2)), pp. 460–464; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 30, pp. 10–12, Tav. I (redrawn from Messerschmidt).

Excerpts.

- §§ 1–6 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 87.
- § 2 Laroche, *HH* nos. 45.I; 247.I.I.
- §§ 2–3 Bossert, *Or.* NS 29, p. 434 f. Abb. 8.
- §§ 2–4 Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/I, p. 28 f.; Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 176 f.
- § 3 Laroche, *HH* no. 160.I.I.
- § 5 Meriggi, *Acme* 4, p. 195.
- §§ 5–6 Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/I, p. 86.
- § 7 Hawkins, *Essays Mellink*, pp. 96, 99.
- § 8 Laroche, *HH* no. 329.I.I.; id., *FdV* VI, p. 105 n. 20.
- § 9 Meriggi, *MVAeG* 39/I, p. 24; id., *Athenaeum* 29, p. 82 f.; Laroche, *HH* no. 90.I.
- § 11 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 327; Laroche, *HH* no. 62.I.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK* (*Kemerhisar* 1), pp. 114–116, 145, 149, 152 f., 157, 219 f., 288, 290, 293, 351 f., 518, Taf. 38 a.

Content. Dedication by Warpalawas king of Tuwana of vineyard and Storm-God of Vineyard. § 1. name, titles, and genealogy (damaged); §§ 2–4, dedication of vineyard and god by Warpalawas while heir(?); §§ 5–7, fa-

vour of god and prosperity; §§ 8–9, accession and victory from god; § 10 [lost]; § 11, prayer for long life.

Date. Apparently beginning of reign of Warpalawas, who was contemporary with Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II of Assyria, attested as king in Assyrian sources 738–710 B.C. (thus minimum reign).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze made in Istanbul Museum in 1971.

Photographs. Taken in Istanbul Museum at the same time.

	Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1	(EGO...) <i>wa/i</i> + <i>ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-sa</i> <i>tu-wa/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa</i> (URBS)	I (am) Warpalawas, Tuwana's king,
2.	<i>REX-ti-sa</i> <i>IUDEX-ni-sa</i> <i>HEROS-li-i-sa-</i> [...] <i>x</i> [...] (INFANS) <i>ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa</i>	the Ruler, the Hero, [Muwa-] ha[ranis(?) the Ruler's(?)] son.
§ 2	<i>wa/i-mu-u</i> <i>ku-ma-na</i> <i>DOMUS-na-sa</i> <i>INFANS-ni-sa</i> <i>a-sa-ha-</i>	While I myself was the son of the house,
3. § 3	<i>a-wa/i</i> <i>za-</i> ("VITIS") <i>tu-wa/i</i> + <i>ra/i-sa-za</i> <i>a-mu-u-</i> PON- ERE- <i>u-ha</i>	I myself planted this vineyard,
§ 4	<i>za-ha-wa/i-</i> (VITIS) <i>tu-wa/i</i> + <i>ra/i-sa-si-na</i> (DEUS)TONI- TRUS- <i>hu-za-na</i> [...]	and this Tarhunzas of the Vineyard [I set up].
4. § 5	[...] <i>wa/i-su</i> <i>PES₂.PES₂(-)</i> <i>tà-ia</i>	[For me he] will walk well,
5. § 6	<i>wa/i-ma-sa-ta-</i> <i>za</i> + <i>ra/i-i</i> [...] <i>u-u</i> [...] <i>u</i> <i>a/i-ri</i> + <i>i</i> [... (?)] [...] <i>i</i>	and here in [which] year he will
6.	("ANNUS") <i>u-si-i</i>	[come] well for me,
7. § 7	<i>wa/i-mu-u</i> 1 (x)CENTUM <i>ti-wa/i-ta</i> <i>i-sa</i> [...] [...] <i>ti-wa/i-ta-</i>	to me (there shall be) 100 <i>measures</i>
8.	<i>li-sa</i> <i>ma-tu-sà</i>	[of ... 100(?) <i>measures</i> of wine.
9. § 8	<i>REX-wa/i</i> <i>ta-ha-wa/i</i> <i>REL-ti</i> "ANNUS" [...]	The year in which I became(?) king,
10. § 9	[...] <i>p</i> <i>a-t</i> <i>a-za</i> <i>SUB-na-na-</i> <i>PONERE-u-ta</i> (DI[US]TONI)TRUS[...]	[in that year the <i>enemies</i>] beneath my feet he put, (did) Tarhunzas.
11. § 10	[...] [...] <i>PES₂</i> [...]	[...]
§ 11	<i>wa/i-mu</i> [...] (LONGUS) <i>a</i> + [<i>ra/i-ia</i>] <i>ha-li-i</i> <i>pi-pa-sa-tu</i> (DI[US]TONITRUS- <i>hu-za-sa</i>	and to me may he grant long days, (may) Tarhunzas!

Commentary

§ 1. The figure is probably intended as its own introductory *amu* ("I am") figure, although facing left, rather than right with the orientation of the beginning of the inscription. The small, damaged compartment in front of the figure's face contains traces of a dextroverse *mu*, suggesting a possible restoration [*a*]-*mu*-[*wa/i-mi*] oriented with the figure – indeed traces of *wa/i* may also be visible. For full-size portraits as introductory figures on stelae, cf. ANDAVAL and ÇİFTLİK.

patronym: restoration of [*sa*]-*r*[*u-wa/i-ni-sa*...] from NİĞDE 1, § 1 and ANDAVAL 1 § 1 (see Commentary), suggested by Meriggi (Edition), but disproved by the appearance of İVRİZ 2 giving Warpalawas's affiliation to Muwaharanis: see above, p. 430 and n. 63. The surviving trace of the name should be the -*ha*[+*ra/i*]- of *Muwaharanis*.

Minimal loss here would be 1 word (*patronym*) end of l. 1, 1 word (title?) beginning of l. 2. One wonders whether these could have been accommodated on obverse of stele, or would have been written round corner on side.

§ 2. By contrast with § 8, this clause appears to refer to Warpalawas's position as heir, before accession to the throne.

§§ 4–5. Again minimal losses here would be 1 word, end of l. 3 (verb of § 4, probably *tanuwaha*, as suggested by Meriggi), 1 word, beginning of l. 4 (connective particles, *wa/i-ma-sa(-ta)*, "and he for me"?, as for following clause, with or without -*ta Ortspartikel*).

§ 5. *PES₂.PES₂(-)**tà-ia*: for this verb of motion see paradigm, KARATEPE, 187, Commentary.

§ 6. Much less is missing here than indicated by current and earlier reconstructions of the stele: see above, Description (*Restoration*). The last line-divider visible on the upper fragment to right of figure's shoulder is certainly the top of the first preserved line (traces only) of the lower fragment, thus reconstituting l. 5 (sinistroverse), the direct continuation of l. 4 (dextroverse). On the missing left of the stele, the figure's raised

forearms would have occupied most or all the space of l. 5; since there could have been little space for writing it is possible that l. 5, right side, sinistroversely, continued directly on l. 6, left side, dextroversely, suggesting a minimal loss of not much more than 1 word. This being so, it would be possible to combine the traces into a single clause and restore:

$[wa/i-ma-sa-ta \text{ } \alpha + ra/i-i] \parallel [u/a/i-s]u-u \parallel [PES-u]a/i-ri+i \parallel [REL-ti-i] \parallel [(\text{"ANNUS"})u-si-i]$

"and here in [which] year he will [come] well for me ..."

§ 7. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating *tiwatalis*, a measure, and *matu(sa)*, "wine", by reference to AKSARAY, § 4 (see Commentary). The present clause seems likely to be simply a nominal sentence (note *tiwatalis* both times nom. sing. MF): "and to me (there shall be) 100 *tiwatalis* [(of) commodity ... numeral *tiwa*]*talis* (of) wine". It doubtless expresses the high yield of the planted vineyard, repeated as numeral + measure (*tiwatalis*) + commodity. A minimal restoration could assume only the loss of two words, [commodity, numeral + *tiwa*], though probably there would have been space for another complete [numeral + measure + commodity] in between.

1(×)CENTUM: in spite of Hrozný's assertion that the sign before CENTUM may be seen by collation to be a word-divider, my own collation suggests that it is simply a vertical stroke, the numeral 1, indicating "one hundred"; cf. BOHÇA, § 13, for a similar writing.

§ 8. REX-*wa/i-ta-ha-wa/i*: for problem of division of connective particles, see Laroche, loc. cit. (2), who favours REX-*wataba-wa*, "I became king" against REX-*wata-ha-wa*, "and he became king". Certainly the former gives the better sense, and provides a meaningful contrast with § 2; whereas if the latter were accepted, it would be hard to perceive the sense and identify the subject. On the other hand, Hier. has a possible verb REX-*wa/i*-, "be king" (HAMA 4, § 4, see Commentary). Lyc. evidence on the stem *χῆταωατι*-, "king", is now clearly defined (Laroche, loc. cit.):

χῆταωα-/χῆταβα- (verb), "rule, reign"

χῆταωατι- = βασιλεύς, "king".

χῆταωατα- (noun), "rule, reign".

Cun. Luw. provides the exact correspondence *hanta-wati*-, "king", with the abstract *handawatabi*[ša], "kingship"; as Laroche cautiously remarks, Hier. REX-*ti*- and REX-*tabi(sa)* may well represent the same stem, which indeed seems most probable (see KARATEPE, 137, Commentary), *pace* Starke, KZ 94 (1980), p. 77 n. 15; also now *Stammbildung*, § 99 (p. 172). The Hier. verbal stem is problematic if the present attestation is compared with that of HAMA 4 § 4, which leads to Laroche's query "ROI-*wa*- ou ROI-*wata*-?". It is not possible to answer conclusively on these two attestations. Indeed, another possibility in the present context may be considered: the present REX-*wata*- could correspond to the Lyc. nominal form *χῆταωατα*-, "rule, reign", acc. sing. MF, leading to a restoration, "in which year [I assumed] the rule". For a comparable form in Hier., cf. *tarwana*-, "rule, justice", as against *tarwani*-, "ruler".

§ 9. Parallel clauses of "putting under the feet" include KARATEPE, § XXII, and SULTANHAN, § 9 (see Commentary). The subject should be the god; indeed the following (DEUS)TONITRUS may in fact occupy this position, curiously at the end of the clause, as also in § 11.

§ 11. (LONGUS)[a]+[ra/i]-*ia*: restored from KARATEPE, 291, and ÇİFTLİK, § 17; the traces shown by Messerschmidt suggesting *i+ra/i* (new readings) which lie behind the restorations of Meriggi and Laroche, do not exist. The form of the sign LONGUS, instead of being the usual MANUS+MINUS (for which see now Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 39) is actually *69+MINUS; cf. KULULU 3, § 7; KARATEPE, § LXXIII, and Commentaries.

ba-li-i: cf. ÇİFTLİK, § 17, which also has this acc. plur. N, as against KARATEPE, 292, *há-li-ia/iá* (Hu./Ho.). The present form, confirmed as genuine by the second attestation, is presumably a contraction of the KARATEPE form. Cf. also (DIES)*ba-li* (KAR-KAMIŞ A5b, § 1), which may be similarly identified.

X.45. BULGARMADEN (plates 297–299)

Location. Rock inscription *in situ*. On the Ulukışla-Tarsus road 3 km. before Çiftehan, a rough track on right leads to the villages of Alihoca and Madenköy up a steep, narrow valley on the north flank of the Toros Dağ. Some 9 km. up the track, beyond Alihoca, a high outcrop of rock, 20 minutes' walk up the hillside to the right of the track, bears the inscription on its foot. A hole has been dug at the foot of the inscription which renders the upper part not immediately accessible from the ground. In August the inscription is out of the sun by noon. For a recent description of the topography, see Rossner, *Heth. Felsreliefs*, pp. 116–118.

Description. The rough, weathered rock face bears a 5-line inscription of which ll. 3–5 extend further to left than ll. 1–2. The text begins upper right, running sinistroversely, and continues *boustrophedon*, ending on l. 5 left side.

Dimensions: ht., 1.10 m.; w. (short lines), 1.32 m., (long lines), 1.80 m.; line ht., 0.21–0.22 m.; ht. above ground (Grothe, 1911), 1.80 m.

Condition: worn, weathered and difficult; easier to read on squeeze than on rock itself.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: tendency to reverse signs (*na*, *ta*, *ni*, *ka*, *sa*, word-dividers); use of *HWT* for *REL*; rhotacism.

Word-dividers: written fairly consistently.

Discovery. Passed but not visited on 5 June 1875 by Rev. E. J. Davis, who, in his report, quoted a friend's visit in 1876, and reproduced the sketch made then: see Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London, 1879), pp. 221–223 (copy illegible, printed upside down). Visited, squeezed and copied by Hogarth and Headlam in summer 1890. Cf. also Grothe (visited 1906–1907), *BKO* 7 (1909), pp. 102–104 // *Vorderasiensexpedition* I (1911), pp. CCLXIV–CCLXVI (description only, no illustration); Garstang, *LH* (1910), pp. 189 f., 396 = *HE* (1929), pp. 163, 338 (description only, casts in Berlin Museum and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, reported (latter no longer extant); photograph in Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool, published by Hrozný).

Publication. (Ramsay and) Hogarth, *Recueil* 14 (1891), p. 14 [85], pl. II (copy by Hogarth collated from Headlam's; not accurate); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 27 f., Taf. XXXII (copy from incomplete squeeze in Berlin Museum supplemented by 4-part photograph); Charles, *HI* (1911), p. 22, pl. XII (new copy); Hrozný, *HHH* II (1934), pl. XI (Garstang's photograph); Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 8, p. 25, pl. XXII (photograph); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 991–992 (photographs, 1 long distance, 1 part of Berlin squeeze); Kalaç, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 4–5 (1976–77), p. 69 lev. II (new copy from latex squeeze made in September 1973).

Editions. Hrozný, loc. cit. (1934), pp. 266–276; Meriggi, *MLLeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 13, pp. 74–79; id., *Manuale* II/1 (1967), no. 25, pp. 100–103, Tav. VIII (Messerschmidt's text redrawn with collations from Hrozný's photograph and corrections from Bossert (see below, Excerpts), but apparently ignoring Charles's text used in his earlier edition); Kalaç, loc. cit. (1976–77), pp. 61–69.

Excerpts.

- § 1 Hawkins, *An. St.* 29, p. 164, n. 82.
 §§ 1–3 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 84 f.
 § 2 Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.4; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 393.

- §§ 2–3 Bossert, *Or.* NS 23, p. 134 f.; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 95 cit. 5.
 §§ 3–4 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28, p. 105.
 § 4 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 169 cit. 26.
 § 8 Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.3.
 §§ 8–9 Bossert, *MIO* 2, p. 84 f.; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 95 cit. 5; Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 211.
 §§ 10–12 Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9, p. 92.
 § 11 Laroche, *HH* no. 27 b.
 §§ 11–12 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 337; *MIO* 2, p. 84 f.
 § 12 Laroche, *HH* no. 165.I.3; Hawkins, *RHLA* 29, pp. 115/128 cit. ix; Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Szemerényi*, p. 591.
 §§ 13–15 Starke, *Stamm bildung*, § 267.
 § 14 Laroche, *HH* no. 248.
 §§ 14–17 Hawkins, *An. St.* 31, p. 169 cit. 26.
 § 16 Bossert, *JKF* 2, p. 337; id., *Or.* NS 29, p. 432; Laroche, *HH* no. 7.1.

Content. Inscription of the ruler Tarhunazas recording the donation to him of Mount Muti by his overlord Warpalawas. § 1, name, genealogy and title; §§ 2–3, donation; § 4, blessing of gods; §§ 5–6 (unclear); § 7, gift(?) of wild beasts by Runtiyas; §§ 8–9, further donation by Warpalawas; §§ 10–12, future ruler to make offerings and receive blessings; §§ 13–17, protective curse for donation.

The inscription was presumably placed on Mount Muti itself, which will therefore be the name of part, perhaps all, of the Toros Dağ. Tarhunazas may have had his seat at the large site of Porsuk, some 10 km. north-west of the inscription, dominating the road down to the Cilician gates. Curiously, Shalmaneser III mentions a “Mount Muli, mountain of alabaster”, which is suggested by his itinerary to be near the Anatolian plateau end of the Cilician Gates, i.e., in the general vicinity of Porsuk. One wonders whether the similar but not exactly corresponding names could refer to the same mountain: see Tabal, the Historical Context, pp. 426 f., 432 and nn. 29–31, 80.

Date. Reign of Warpalawas of Tuwana, minimally 738–710 B.C. (see BOR, Date).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a latex squeeze, and has been collated against the rock.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. Hatice Gonnet.

Transliteration

1. § 1 á-mu-wa/i-mi-i |TONITRUS-hu-na-(LITUUS)á-za-sá- |IUDEX-ni-sa
 |TONITRUS-hu-wa/i+ra/i-273-sa |(INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-za-sá
 |wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-si-sa |REX-ti-sa |HEROS-ti-i-sá
 |IUDEX-ni-sa SERVUS-ta-sa

Translation

- I (am) Tarhunazas the Ruler,
 Tarhuwara...s's son, servant of
 Warpalawas, the King, the Hero,
 the Ruler.

2. § 2 |a-wa/i-ta |á-mi-i |DOMINUS-ni-i || wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-ia-
|REX-ti-i |("BONUS")wa/-i-sà-za-ha
§ 3 wa/i-mu-u (DEUS)MONS-ti-na |mu-ti-na |pi-ia-ta
- § 4 |wa/i-ma-na (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-pa-
sa-ha |pa+ra/i-na ARHLA |la+ra/i-ta
§ 5 |wa/i-ta- |lara/i-zi-ha
3. § 6 |a-wa/i REGIO-ni |PRAE-i-ha |zi-ra/i-la-mi-i || |("SCALPRUM.
ARGENTUM")su-ha-pa-na-ti |ta-ta-ha |á-mi-ti |IUDEX-na-ti
|á-mi-ia-ti-ha- |ha-tà-sà-tara/i-ma-ti
§ 7 |"PÁ"²-i-sa-pa-wa/i | (DEUS)CERVUS₂-ti-ia-sà-ti-i | (BONUS)
wa/i-sa₅+ra/i-ti-i |á-mi-i |DOMINUS-ni-i |((BESTIA))
HWT-sa₅+ra/i- |pa(+ra/i²)-ti-i u-ta-ti-na-ha-
- § 8 |á-mi-ha-wa/i-ta- |DOMINUS-ni-na wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-na-
|w[a/i-s]u-u || u-sa-nu-sà-ha
4. § 9 |á-p[a]-sa-pa-wa/i-mu-u |("ASINUS")tara/i-ka-sa-ni-ia-za (*92)
za-la-la |("ARGENTUM.DARE")pi-ia-ta-
§ 10 |HWT-sa-pa-wa/i-ti-i mu-ti-ia (DEUS)MONS-ti |ha-[zi]-ia-ni-sà-
|[i-zi]-ia-ti-i
§ 11 a-wa/i |TONITRUS-hu-na-(LITUUS)á-za-sa-za- DEUS-na-za
|"OVIS"-ru-pi |sa₅-sa₅+ra/i-la-i |"ANNUS"-na ANNUS-na||
5. § 12 wa/i-ru-ta |mu-ti-ia-wa/i-ni-zi DEUS-ni-zi |wa/i-su-u |PES-wa/i-
i<-tu?)
§ 13 |za-pa-wa/i-ta- |"CAPERE"-ma-za[a] HWT-sa |ARHLA-
|ha+ra/i-ri+i
§ 14 |á-pa-[x] CAPUT-ti-na (DEUS)TONITRUS-za² DEUS-ni-zi-ha
|ARHLA |"DELERE"-ni-tu
§ 15 |(DEUS)LUNA+MI-pa-wa/i-na |ha+ra/i-tu
§ 16 (DEUS)ni-ka-ru-ha-sa-pa-wa/i-na ARHLA EDERE-[u]
§ 17 (DEUS)ku-pa-wa/i-na "XX"-tu-i

To my lord Warpalawas the King I
was good,
and to me the divine mountain
Muti he gave,
and for me Tarhunzas and Kubaba
prospered it.
I TARZI-ed (them?),
and forth to(?) the ... land I
TATA-ed ... by my justice and
by my wisdom(?).
By the favour of the god Runtiyas
of the IPA(?) I UTATINA-ed
the wild beasts there(?) for my
lord.
My lord Warpalawas I benefited
well,
and he sold to me carts for the
mules.
(He) who shall make himself gover-
nor for the divine Mount Muti,
shall offer to Tarhunzas's gods
kurupi-sheep year (by) year,
and for him <may> the Muti-ea
gods come well.
But (he) who shall smash this con-
tract,
may Tarhunza(s) and the gods de-
stroy that person,
may the Moon-God smash him,
may Nikarugas eat him up,
may Ku(baba) ... him!

Commentary

§ 1. TONITRUS-hu-wa/i+ra/i-*273-: collation of the rock and a squeeze confirms the sign *273, which has the logographic readings *warpi-* (noun), and *tupi-* and *butaili-* (verbs), and as an early usage determines *muwa-* (for which see KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b, Commentary), but it is not known to have a phonetic value. The identification of the second element in the name is uncertain: whether -wa/i+ra/i-*273- (with *273 as phonetic), or simply -*273- (logographic). For another occurrence in a name see ¹LOCUS-ti-*273-wa/i- (SHEIZAR, § 8, and Commentary), for which a reading *Pedantimuwa-* is proposed.

HEROS-ti-i-sa IUDEX-ni-sa: as titles of Warpalawas these recur on NİĞDE 2, § 1 (in reverse order), which confirms the reading HEROS-ti- against the usual HEROS-li-.

§ 2. ("BONUS")wa/i-sà-za-ha: the simple verb *was-*, "be dear; love", is probably found in TOPADA, § 4, perhaps also AKSARAY, § 1 (see Commentaries, and cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 224), and also in the common participle *wasami-* (see CEKKE, § 1, Commen-

tary). The present -za- suffixed form seems likely to be the same as a verb BONUS-si-ia-za- attested in similar contexts (AKSARAY, § 5; KULULU 4, § 6). The verb (BONUS)*usanu-* seems to be caus. of this verb (see below, § 8). Cf. Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9 (1963), p. 105(6); Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.

§ 3. pi-ia-ta: previous editors except Hrozný give *i* for *ia*, yet *ia* is clearly visible on photographs.

§ 4. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., elucidating *arba lara-*, "flourish; prosper (transitive)".

(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za: one wonders whether this was intended as a genuine phonetic writing (= *Tarhunz*?) or whether the nom. sing. MF -s has simply been omitted. Cf. (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-sa (TELL AHMAR 1, § 2; TOPADA, §§ 30, 38, and Commentaries); also below, § 14. Cf. now Starke, *Stammbildung*, §§ 80, 82.

§ 5. tara/i-zi-ha: perhaps full phonetic writing of verb otherwise written (PES₂)tara/i-zi//za-; see TELL AHMAR 1, § 6, Commentary (sense unclear). Kalaç's

reading *za* for *zi* (so also Hrozný) is not supported by collation from my latex squeeze.

§ 6. Extremely obscure due to our ignorance of the main words.

REGIO-*ni* PRAE-*i-ha*, "forth to the land(?)": for PRAE-*i-ha*, cf. SUPER+*ra/i-ha* (ASSUR letter *e*, § 25).

zi+ra/i-la-mi-i: the logogram VIR with the phonetic value *zi* established by KARATEPE 102, 107 and 136, with their alternative writings, was otherwise very rare, but KULULU 4 and 5 have produced some good examples, each time for the case ending nom./acc. plur. MF (4, § 3; 5, §§ 8, 11). Here it could be phonetic as transliterated, or could be logographic, or if the word were a rhotacized derivative of *ziti*, "man", it could be both. Morphologically the word appears to be dat. sing. of participle; does it qualify REGIO-*ni*?

("SCALPRUM.ARGENTUM") *su-ha-pa-na-ti*: morphologically appears to be abl., though the -*t* could belong to the unknown stem. If the logogram ARGENTUM ("silver") is correctly so identified (see CEKKE, §§ 8–12, Commentary), and SCALPRUM is established as standing for "stone" and objects made of it, the juxtaposition of the logograms "stone + silver" in the vicinity of the Bulgarmaden silver mines seems significant, and it may be that we have here an ancient reference to the mines or their ore.

ta-ta-ha: unknown verb; could it be compared with *tà-tà* (KARATEPE, 111) apparently the phonetic rendering of the verb PUGNUS.PUGNUS-? (cf. Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 132 cit. 15; Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 102).

ha-tà-sà-tara/i-ma-ti: Kalaç's and my collations favour reading *tara/i* in place of earlier editions' *273. The word looks to be parallel to ("VAS") *à-ta-na-sa-ma*, "wisdom" (KARATEPE, 92), but is not readily susceptible to analysis.

§ 7. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., elucidating [(BESTIA)] *HWT-sa₅+ra/i-i*, = *hwisara*, "wild beasts", for which see ALEPPO 2, § 5, and MARAŞ 1, § 11, Commentaries. For the new reading *HWT* for former *REL₂*, see below, § 10, and Commentary.

"*P-i*"-*i-sa*: the first sign occurs several times in the context of an epithet of the Stag-God, and is apparently, but not certainly, to be identified with *pā*² (*HH* no. 462, for the reading of which, see Introduction, Appendix 3, above, p. 36 f.). The word here should be gen. sing., agreeing with the gen. adj. (DEUS) *runtiyasati* (abl. sing.). The following attestations should be compared with the present example:

i-pā²-si (DEUS)CERVUS₂/ru-ti-ia-sá (MARAŞ 1, §§ 6, 11).

i-pā² (DEUS)CERVUS₂ (ANCOZ 1, § 2).

i-pā² (DEUS)CERVUS₂-ia-sa/na

i-pā²-sá (DEUS)CERVUS₂-ti-sá } (ŞIRZI, §§ 2, 3, 6).

[See also now the new ANCOZ fragments 5 l. 1; 7, §§ 4, 9; 10 § 5]. In these the sign, whether *pā*² or not, appears to be a syllabogram, yet in the present attestation the signs *i* and *pā*² appear in reverse order and the latter seems to be marked as a logogram. Since this attestation must surely connect with the others, might one suggest that the stone-cutter executed the two signs in the wrong order, and that the "logogram markers", which are rather larger than normal, might be intended instead as a sign to reverse the order? [For the Empire Period, the sign *HH* no. 463, recognized as a logogram writing an epithet of the Stag-God on EMIRGAZI altars, now appears attached in the same way (but reversed) to the goddess Sausga on SÜDBURG: see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 33 f. The epithet shared by these two deities is Cun. LIL, Hitt. *gimras*, Luw. *imrassi*, "of the countryside". One begins to suspect that this may be what lies behind the present epithet, and even a connection between Empire *HH* no. 463 (reversed) and Late *HH* no. 462, though an explanation of the writings listed above is still unclear].

á-mi-i: collations of Charles, Kalaç and myself agree.

DOMINUS-*ni-i*: Kalaç agrees with my readings of first and last signs, Charles with the last.

[(BESTIA)] *HWT-sa₅+ra/i-i*: Charles supports my reading of *HWT*. For BESTIA, I had observed the presence of some kind of animal head when collating the rock, long before the interpretation of the word became apparent (see MARAŞ 1, § 11, Commentary).

pa-ti-i is generally agreed by Charles, Kalaç and myself; but there may also be a +*ra/i* attached to the *pa*, a line which appears for Messerschmidt and Charles as a part of the following *u*. The latter would be preferable since *pa-ti-i* is easy to interpret as "there"; but epigraphically it does not look likely, so we may have to reckon with an unexplained *pa+ra/i-ti-i*.

u-ta-ti-na-ha: verb, *hapax legomenon*. In the contexts in which the wild beasts occur elsewhere, they appear to be gifts of the Stag-God to the author. The context here would suggest a sense "I hunted/caught" or "herded/drove" for the verb.

§ 8. *w[a/i-s]u-u*: taken as nom./acc. sing. N, adverbial usage, as in phrase *wasu awi*, "come well (for someone)", for which see § 12 below. Starke, however, explains as noun "good(s), property".

u-sa-nu-sa-ha: identified as causative of stem *wasu*, "be good, dear"; see KARATEPE, 73, Commentary, with other attestations, = Phoen. *brk*, "bless"; and cf. now Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 235. The KARATEPE context is very similar to the present (adverbial *sanawa/i* parallel to present *wasu*).

§ 9. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., explaining ("ARGENTUM.DARE") *piya*- as "(give), sell"; cf. also ARGENTUM.DARE/*pi-si-ia*, KAR-KAMIŞ A11a, § 17; ARGENTUM.DARE/*pi-ia*

tara/i[...], KARKAMIŠ A12, § 12; (ARGENTUM DARE)*ti-na-tā*, ANCOZ 1, § 2.

(*92) *za-la-la*: the logogram here is written reversed, not surprising in this inscription. Kalaç's and my collations note the two circles under the foot, which places this sign numbered 94 by Laroche together with 91 and 92, which also belong together, mostly determining the stem *zalala-*; see KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 1, Commentary. Starke, loc. cit., identifies the root with Hitt.-Luw. *zalla-*, "gallop" (noun), *zalliya-*, "gallop" (verb), and postulates a formation *zalat-*, "Transportwagen", behind the Hier. attestations (see also KZ 95 (1981), pp. 149 n. 25, 155 n. 58). The translation offered here follows this.

("ASINUS") *tara/i-ka-sa-ni-ia-za*: this *i*-stem word and its accompanying logogram do not exactly square with two other attestations, ASINUS-*na-zi* nom. plur. MF as against (ASINUS₂) *tara/i-ka-sa-ni-sa* (nom. sing. MF), i.e. an *a*-stem and an *i*-stem determined by a slightly different logogram; see ASSUR letter *f+g*, §§ 21, 22, and Commentary. The present *i*-stem has the same logogram as the *a*-stem version there. The distinction was tentatively explained as one between "donkey" and "mule"; see CEKKE, § 7, Commentary.

§ 10. *HWT-sa*: form *HWT* agreed by Charles's, Hrozný's and my collations, as also for *HWT-sa*, below, § 13, where Kalaç also agrees. For the transliteration *HWT* for the sign formerly read by myself REL₂, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, Commentary, where its clear distinction from the logogram REL is emphasized. This distinction is strictly observed throughout most of the Late Hier. corpus, but a few late Tabalian inscriptions do confuse the two, especially SULTANHAN, which interchanges REL and *HWT* (see § 4, and Commentary); and KULULU 2, § 5d, which twice uses *HWT* for REL, as does the present inscription.

ba-[zi]-ia-ni-sá- *||* *i-zi-ia-ti-i*: Charles's and Hrozný's collations agree with mine for these words.

ba-[zi]-ia-ni-sá-: in CEKKE, § 14, (LIGNUM) *ba-za-ni-sa* has been recognized as a loan-word from Akk. into Hitt. ^{LU} *HA-ZA(-AN)-NU/NI*, also ^{LU} *HA-AZ-ZI-LI-AN-NI* (see Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, p. 449 f.). In Akk., the spelling *baḫānu* is largely M. A. and EA, an innovation, possibly popular etymology (see CAD, s.v. *baḫannu*). In the present context, the identification of this as a further attestation of the word in Hier. gives good sense and seems probable.

§ 11. "OVIS"-*ru-pi*: apparently acc. plur. N in *-i*, since otherwise some case ending would be expected (or for acc. sing. N, the particle *-sa*); generally associated since Hrozný (Edition, p. 273 n. 14) with *ku-ru-pi* (ASSUR letters *b*, § 5; *f+g*, § 37), also with (*478) *ku-ti-pi-li-sa*

(KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18d), some kind of sacrificial animal.

§ 12. *wasu awi-*, "come well (for someone)": for phrase, see KULULU 1, § 13, and Commentary with other attestations.

PES-*wa/i-i*: see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit., suggesting that the form should be restored PES-*wa/i-i(-tu)*.

§ 13. Fair agreement between previous editors on faint signs; main innovation of my collation is the logogram markers under CAPERE.

"CAPERE"-*ma-za*: cf. same word on KULULU 2, § 2 (without logogram markers). The occasional marking of CAPERE as a logogram indicates that instead of a syllabic reading as *tā-*, it may be read as *la(la)-*; cf. HAMA 4, § 8; BOHÇA, §§ 3, 9, 13; MARAŞ 1, § 10; MARAŞ 3, § 8, and for the problem generally, KÖRKÜN, § 8, Commentary, and Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Studia Meriggi*, p. 398. In the present attestation, together with that of KULULU 2, § 2, we may read the word *lalama(n)za* and compare with Cun. Luw. (-Hitt.) **lalami-*, translated by CHD, s.v., as "list, accounting, receipt". The Hier. contexts seem to require rather "agreement, contract"; cf. also KULULU 2, § 2, Commentary.

HWT-sa, "who": for usage of sign *HWT* for REL, see above, § 10, and Commentary.

ARHLA- *||* *ba+ra/i-ri+i*: Kalaç's and my collations agree, which gives the same verb as in § 15 below; also TOPADA, §§ 36, 38 (see Commentary there); see now also Starke, loc. cit.

§§ 14–17. See Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 14. *á-pa-[x]* CAPUT-*ti-na* (*x* appears to be *sa*): collations of Hrozný, Kalaç and myself agree on this (except Hrozný reads *sa??* for *ti*); if correct, the connective particles have disappeared.

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*z[a]*: cf. above, § 4, Commentary.

"DELERE"-*nú-* (note logogram markers): for Melchert's elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

§ 16. Cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, § 31, where (DEUS) *ni-ka+ra/i-wa/i* replaces the present (DEUS) *ni-ka-ru-ba-*.

§ 17. (DEUS) *ku-pa-wa/i-na*: see Hawkins, loc. cit.

-pa-wa/i-na (*-na* assured by collation): clearly particles as in two preceding clauses.

(DEUS) *ku*: very attenuated writing of (DEUS) *ku+AVIS-pa-pa-*, Kubaba.

"XX"-*tu-i*: logogram unclear, also purpose of final *-i* (perhaps space-filler, thus *-tu'?*).

X.46. İVRİZ 2 (plate 300)

Location. Stele, Ereğli (Konya) Museum, no. A 1991.

Description. Lower half of white limestone stele. *Obverse* (A): remains of figure of typical İvriz Storm-God, preserving the lower part of the kilt with hem-volute, muscular legs, and decorated boots with up-turned toes. Bottoms of the vine-stock and barley stems springing respectively from the retreated right foot and advanced left foot are visible. The relief figure was executed in a recessed panel leaving a raised frame at the sides. Below the feet there is a smooth plain area down to the bottom of the stele. The upper preserved edge of the stele appears irregularly broken, but three grooves cut down into the front surface suggested to the editor of the stele that the lost upper part might have been executed separately and then attached. The recessed background to the figure is inscribed (see further below).

Inscriptions: the left edge of the stele (B) bears the lowest 13(?) lines of a Phoenician inscription, and the Reverse (C) and right edge (D) the last 7 lines of a Hieroglyphic inscription, below which are a further 7(?) lines of Phoenician. The Hieroglyphic inscription, which runs uninterrupted round the corner C–D *boustrophedon* down the stele, has its odd-numbered lines dextroverse and even-numbered sinistroverse. The inscription on the Obverse in the recessed panel to the figure may be independent: certainly no continuity from the Reverse can be established because of the damage and loss of the top part of the stele. It seems to run in 3 vertical columns down the space (E) between the barley stems and the figure's left leg (signs oriented sinistroverse), then, after one further vertical word, to cross to the space between the legs (F), where it runs *boustrophedon* in 3 lines sinistroverse-dextroverse-sinistroverse to its conclusion (it is not really clear enough for certainty on this point).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 1.30 m.; w., 0.80 m.; th., 0.29 m.

Condition: reverse inscription fair, but worn illegible patches; obverse inscription, in front of leg clear, between legs unclear.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: ?

Word-dividers: very frequent; preservation is not sufficiently good to see whether they were used completely consistently.

Discovery. Found in 1986 together with a colossal statue head during construction of an irrigation channel off the İvriz water-course some 75 m. up-stream from the great İvriz rock relief (see map, Publication, p. 119 fig. 2). These two pieces were recovered under c. 7 m. of gravel deposit. Survey revealed no further fragments of either stele or statue. These operations were conducted by Bay Mehmet Armağan, at that time Vice-Director of Ereğli Museum.

Publication. Dr. Belkis Dinçol, New archaeological and epigraphical finds from İvriz: a preliminary report (*Tel Aviv* 21 (1994), pp. 117–128). A definitive publication by Professor Ali M. and Dr. Belkis Dinçol in collaboration with Professors M. Poetto and W. Röllig is in preparation.

Edition. Forthcoming (see Publication).

Content. C+D, ll. 1, 2, little preserved; l. 3, author benefits oxen and sheep; l. 4, king Warpalawas names father (Muhaharanis) and mother, dedication of local Storm-God; ll. 4–5, offerings to god; l. 5, injunction against neglect; ll. 5–6, unclear, mentions local Storm-God, also Grain and Wine gods; ll. 6–7, regular curse formulae (protases), ...

E (complete?), actions of this Storm-God; F, unclear.

Date. Reign of Warpalawas of Tuwana, see BOR, Date. Later 8th century B.C.

Photographs. Reproduced from Publication, remounted to show order of reading.

X.47. NİĞDE 2 (plate 301)

Location. Stele, Niğde Museum, no. 22.1.75.

Description. Round-topped stele found broken into two parts. *Obverse:* figure of Storm-God facing right, bearded, with hair falling in bunch on nape of neck, wearing a short, fringed, belted tunic, a helmet with pair of double horns, and embroidered boots, his right arm raised behind him holding double-axe, his left in front carrying trident thunderbolt with dependent three-

pronged tassel(?). Above him is an elaborately feathered winged-disc, behind him a vine with bunches of grapes, and in front tall stems of barley. The carving is fine. *Right side:* 4-line inscription, beginning upper right, running sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon*, and ending lower right.

Dimensions (inscription): ht., 0.62 m.; w., 0.30 m.; line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: good, except some damage to edge.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive *ta*, *á* (monumental *mu*, *tà*).

Peculiarities: use of *wá/i*.

Word-dividers: only one visible.

Discovery. On 24 September 1975 in the mosque now called Dışarı Camii (formerly Çelebi Hüsamettin Bey Camii), a few hundred metres from the former museum (Ak Medrese), on the *höyük* of Niğde. The stele was laid on its face covered with earth in front of the threshold of the mosque, and seems from traces to have been used as a step. See Kalaç, loc. cit. (below), p. 239.

Publication, edition. M. Kalaç, I *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1979), pp. 239–243, pls. 135–144

(141–142 (res. 10–12), photographs of inscription; 143 (res. 13), copy).

Content. Dedication of Storm-God by Muwaharanis (with titles and genealogy).

Date. Muwaharanis names his father as Warpalawas, who was still on the throne of Tuwana in 709 B.C. Thus the piece belongs right at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century B.C., and is the latest securely datable Neo-Hittite sculpture and Hier. inscription except KARATEPE.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a photograph, and has been collated.

Photographs. Taken in Niğde Museum in September, 1992.

Transliteration

- (l. 1) *za-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-za-na mu-wa/i-ha+ra/i-[ni]-sa*
 (l. 2) [...] *-[i?]-tâ* |HEROS-*sá* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*bu-ta-ti* DEUS-*na-ti*
 (l. 3) (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-sa* REX-*ti-sa wá/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-si-sa*
 IUDEX-*ni-sa*
 (l. 4) HEROS-*ti-sa* |(INFANS) *ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*

Translation

This Tarhunzas Muwaharanis
 [ma]de(?), the Hero, the King
 loved by Tarhunzas (and) the
 gods, the son of Warpalawas the
 Ruler, the Hero.

Commentary

mu-wa/i-ha+ra/i-[ni]-sa: restoration indicated by recent discovery of full writing on İVRİZ 2.

[...]-*[i?]-tâ*: trace of penultimate sign, if correctly identified, suggests a restoration of the verb as *[i-zi]-[i]-tâ*, “(he) made”.

|HEROS-*ti-sa*: for form, against usual HEROS-*li-sa*, see BULGARMADEN, § 1, Commentary.

X.48. PORSUK (plate 302)

Location. Building block, Niğde Museum, no. 369 or, as more recently given, 52.

Description. Rectangular-faced block of white limestone, clearly a building block since in the upper surface at either end there can be seen a groove for a metal clamp. It bears a 1-line inscription along the upper part of its front face, starting a short distance from the right edge and running sinistroversely all the width of the block to the left edge. An engraved line marks the lower edge of the inscription. Below this, on the left side, a single dextroversely sign (*zi+ra/i*), which does not belong to the final clause of the line above, could suggest that the inscription was intended to continue but was not completed, or that it continued on a lost block to the left and returned *boustrophedon* along l. 2, ending with the one sign overlapping on to the present block.

Dimensions: ht., 0.75 m.; w., 1.30 m.; th., 0.46 m.; line ht., 0.14 m.

Condition: good, apart from some superficial damage.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: generally cursive; but *mu*, *ta*, *á* also have monumental forms.

Peculiarities: many words end at top of line.

Word-dividers: consistently written, especially for words beginning below top of line.

Discovery. Found in west end of Zeyve Höyük, which lies just south of the Ulukışla-Tarsus road, about 8 km. east of Ulukışla, opposite Porsuk village to the north of the road. The stone was reportedly discovered by a bulldozer removing the end of the *höyük* to build a road to the adjoining quarry. It was brought to Niğde Museum from the *muhtar* of Porsuk village in July 1960 (museum register). See Hawkins, loc. cit. (below),

pp. 99 f., 109; also Meriggi, *Q4* 2 (1963), p. 283 f.; Laroche, *Syria* 40 (1963), p. 301 n. 2; Pelon, *Syria* 47 (1970), p. 279 f.

Publication. Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1969), pp. 99–109, pl. IX (photograph and copy).

Editions. Hawkins, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 29, pp. 8–10, Tav. I (redrawn from Hawkins).

Content. Private dedication by army commander. § 1, name and genealogy; §§ 2–4, divine and royal favour; § 5, command of army.

Date. No definite indications, but epigraphically seems late.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photographs.

Photographs. Taken in Niğde Museum in the summer 1990.

Transliteration

1. § 1 EGO-*mu-wa/i-mi* |*pa+ra/i-HWT+ra/i-sa₈* |*á-ti-sa* |INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za-sá* |*nu-na-sa* |(INFANS.NEPOS) *ha-ma-si-sa*
- § 2 |*wa/i-mu-ta* |*á-mi* |DOMINUS-*ni-sa* |(DEUS) *ṢARMÁ-ma-sa*
BONUS-*su-u* |“PES”(-) *wa/i-ma-ta*
- § 3 |*a-wa/i-mu-ta* |REX-*ti-zi* |*wa/i-su* |“PES”(-) *u-za-ma-ta*
- § 4 |*wa/i-mu-ta* [] *ma-sa-MAGNUS+ra/i-bi-sà-sá* |REX-*ti-sa*
|*wa/i-su* |“PES”-*wa/i+ra/i*
- § 5 |*u-mi-i* |EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-sa₈* |MAGNUS+*ra/i-za-sa*
á-sa-ha ||
- ...
2. [...] *zi+ra/i*

Translation

I (am) Parhwiras, Atis's son,
Nunas's grandson.
For me my lord Sarruma WAMA-
ed well,
and for me the kings UZAMA-ed
well,
and for me Masaurhisas the King
came well,
I myself was Commander of the
Army.

...

Commentary

Since my first Edition, Meriggi has reedited the piece, and further the new readings *zi/za* and *i/ia* have been introduced. Some points call for further comment.

§ 1. |*pa+ra/i-HWT+ra/i-sa₈*: the values *sa₈* for the single stroke, proposed by Bossert in 1957 and noted by Meriggi's edition, has been clearly established by its occurrence on the recent KULULU 4, as noted by Kalaç. See KULULU 4, Commentary, beginning. The name *Parhwira* may now be compared with Cun. Hitt. *Parhuiitta* (otherwise read *Mašhuiitta*): see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kadmos* 32 (1993), p. 58 and n. 32.

|INFANS.NEPOS: the second element of NEPOS (*TÍ*) is probably present as noted by Meriggi, although very effaced and missing from my original copy.

§§ 2–4. Verbs “PES”(-) *wa/i-ma-ta* // “PES”(-) *u-za-ma-ta* // “PES”-*wa/i+ra/i*: the last verb is certainly to be identified as *awi-*, “come”, in the well established phrase *wasu awi-*, “come well (for someone)” (for which see KULULU 1, § 13, and Commentary – new readings give *awi-* for former *awa-*). The other two verbs, clearly separated by the new reading *za*, are both *hapax legomena* but presumably classed as verbs of “coming” by the determinative PES, elsewhere used only with *awi-*, “come”; *usa-*, “bring”; and *upa-*, “bring”.

§ 5. |*u-mi-i*: *u-* for *wa-* connective remains an isolated occurrence.

|EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-sa₈*: now confirmed as gen. sing. by the secure establishment of the value *sa₈* (see above, § 1, Commentary). For the reading of EXERCITUS as *ku(wa)lana-*, established by Poetto, see KARA-TEPE, 45–46, Commentary.

X.49. VELİİSA (plate 303)

Location. Fragment, Niğde Museum, no. 53 (formerly 369).

Description. Fragment of lower right-hand part of stele of grey basalt including right edge and bottom, carefully dressed obverse and reverse. *Reverse*: two faces angled out to vertical central line, showing that somewhat over half original width is preserved. *Obverse*: right half of last line of inscription preserved, sinistrovers, with traces of line above and blank space below.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.43 m.; preserved w., 0.44 m.; max. th. (at centre), 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.21 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: one only preserved.

Discovery. Nothing recorded beyond provenance from Veliisa village (see Gelb, below), 15 km. north of Niğde, on eastern slopes of Melendiz Dağ.

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 62, p. 40, pl. XCIV (photograph of inscribed portion).

Editions. Bossert, *MIO* 2 (1954), p. 87 f.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 33, p. 13, Tav. II (drawn from Gelb's photograph).

Excerpts.

§ 1 Laroche, *HH*, no. 165.1.3; Hawkins, *RHA* 29, pp. 115//128, cit. x.

Content. Insufficiently preserved for identification (beyond two normal clauses).

Date. Script and sign forms suggest later 8th century B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of a paper squeeze made in Niğde Museum.

Photograph. Taken in Niğde Museum in the summer 1990.

Transliteration

§ 1 [...-z]a||-sa-pa-wa/i-mu-ta wa/i-su |PES-wa/i-tà
§ 2 wa/i-mu OMNIS-MI BONUS-na-wa/i-ia- CUM-ni [i-z]-ia-[ta ...

Translation

[Tarhun]zas(?) came well for me,
and for me [he did] all good [...

Commentary

§ 1. See Hawkins, loc. cit., elucidating verb PES-wa/i- (= *awi-*, “come”). Subject of the phrase *wasu awi-*, “come well (for) ...”, is normally god(s), once a king (PORSUK, § 4): see KULULU 1, § 13, and Commentary. The traces here suggest the restoration [(DEUS) *Tarhunz*]as-pawamuta.

§ 2. Cf. KARATEPE, § XV, which suggests the restoration of the verb as [i-z]-ia-[ta_s].

OMNIS-MI BONUS-na-wa/i-ia-: second word being clearly acc. plur. N, first word should agree, i.e. should represent *tanima(ia)*; cf. KARATEPE, 77, Hu.//Ho., OMNIS-MI-ma(-ia). Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A19m, l. 2; and for a similar but different clause, KULULU 4, § 12.

X.50. İVRİZ fragments 1–3 (plate 304)

Location. 3 fragments, (1), Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 7454; (2) and (3), Eregli Museum, nos. 1420 and ?.

Description. Three fragments, possibly once part of same monument. (1) Fragment preserving left edge and parts of 2 lines of inscription (l. 1 dextrovers, l. 2 sinistrovers, thus almost continuous). (2) Fragment from upper part of block preserving beginning of 1-line inscription, sinistrovers. (3) Fragment, preserving

part of 1 line of inscription (dextrovers), with traces of line above.

Condition: as fragments, clear.

Dimensions: (1) not given; (2) ht., 0.33 m.; w., 0.55 m.; th., not given; (3) ht., 0.36 m.; w., 0.38 m.; th., 0.12 m.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: apparently regularly employed, notably with words beginning not at top of line (frag. 2).

Discovery. (1) Found during construction of canal from stream at İvriz to power station below; taken to Ankara Museum in 1949; (2) found near İvriz Hydro-electric Power Station, in 1964 or earlier; (3) found in İvriz village, close to great relief, bought by Ereğli Museum in 1973.

Publication. (1) Güterbock, *TTAED* 5 (1949), pp. 53–55 (Turkish) with res. 15.1 (copy), 16 (photograph, upside down), and 60–62 (German). (2 and 3) Kalaç, *Studia Meriggi* (1979), pp. 326–331 with figs. 1, 2, 4 (photographs); 3, 5 (photographs of latex squeezes with texts inked on); also in *Ereğli Müzesi*

Rehberi (Ereğli Müzesi Eski Eserleri Sevenler Derneği: Yayın no. 1; Konya, 1984), p. 13 F 36 (3, photograph, upside down), F 37 (2, unclear photograph).

Edition. 1 only: Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 26, p. 8, Tav. I (drawn from published photograph); 2 and 3: Kalaç, loc. cit., p. 327.

Content. Frag. 2, apparently scribal signature; frags. 1 and 3, insufficiently preserved to identify.

Date. Presumably late 8th century B.C.

Text. The next texts here offered are traced from photographs.

Photographs. Reproduced from publications.

	Transliteration	Translation
Frag. 1.		
l. 1	...-n}a ² x-ru[...]ia[...]ba[...]x	(no fully preserved word)
l. 2	PRAE[-?]-pa-wa/i-m[u ²] u-ru[...]ta[...]	
Frag. 2		
	CAPER+SCALPRUM- <i>ṣa</i> +ra/i ² -pa-wa/i-tà (ras.?) ¹ LITUUS+na-ha- TONITRUS-hu- <i>ṣa</i> -sá- ² ["SA ₄ "](-)REL-na-na-[la ²]-sá	(...)naha-Tarhunzas the KWANANALAS(?) carved (it)
Frag. 3.		
l. 1	...]VAS ² [...]	
l. 2	...]ṣa[-x ²] pa+ra/i-tu-hi[-x ²]-na VIA-wa/i-na REL a-ta SOL ² [...]	(see Commentary)

Comment

Frag. 1.

PRAE[-?]-pa-wa/i-m[u²]: apparently "before me".
u-ru[...]ta[...]: Meriggi compares ("*471")(m)u²-ru-wa/i-tà-*ṣa* (our reading, ALEPPO 2, § 16).

Frag. 2. Scribal signature, could be almost complete in itself, perhaps on part of base.

CAPER+SCALPRUM-*ṣa*+ra/i²-pa-wa/i-tà(ras.?): the *ṣa* appears to have attached +ra/i, and at the end of the particle chain there is a fairly visible but apparently erased *na*; the -tā is awkwardly placed between the column representing the verb and that of the particle chain.

If +ra/i is indeed present, it may be taken as the verbal ending, 3 sing. pret., -(a)ra<-(a)ta, though if it is not, this must be identified in the -tā. If -tā is not the verbal ending it is presumably to be taken at the end of the particle chain, probably representing -ata, "it" (i.e. the inscription, dir. obj.). The "scribal signatures" normally express a dir. object, either a noun for

"inscription" (KARATEPE 4, § 2); -na, representing -an, "it" (acc. sing. MF, see SHEIZAR, § 8; İVRİZ 1, § 4); or -ta/ra, representing -ata, "it", (acc. sing. N, see GAZIANTEP 1, l. 3, which additionally and unusually also seems to have -ta *Ortspartikel*; TOPADA, § 39). In the present inscription we may have -na (= -an) deleted, replaced by -tā (= -ata).

¹LITUUS+na-ha-TONITRUS-hu-*ṣa*-sá-: the whole appears to be personal name, indeed to be marked with personal determinative. "I have seen Tarhunzas" (?) – unusual type of name.

["SA₄"](-)REL-na-na-[la²]-sá: as title of man involved in scribal signature this looks comparable to that on BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 11, and may provide the full phonetic writing KWANANALA-, "stone-mason(?)".

Frag. 3.

pa+ra/i-tu-hi[-x²]-na: unknown word, perhaps complete, perhaps acc. sing. MF.

VIA-wa/i-na: for morphology of (VIA)harwa(n)-, see TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 7 l. 2, Commentary.

X.51. KEŞLİK YAYLA 1 (plate 305)

Location. Stele, Niğde Museum no. 51.

Description. Round-topped stele with figure of Storm-God, facing right, bearded, with hair falling in bunch on nape of neck, wearing a short-skirted tunic with double volute at the hem, a horned helmet, and boots with upturned toes, holding in his right hand a vinestock with grapes and in his left long stems of barley in the manner of the god at İvriz (both the vinestock and the barley spring from the ground at his feet). Faint and illegible traces of an incised inscription of 9(?) lines can be seen on the background to the figure of the god and probably also on the sides of the stele, though with the present position and lighting of the stele it is impossible to be sure.

Dimensions: ht. (with base tenon), 1.45 m.; max. w., 0.69 m.; th., 0.27 cm.

Condition (inscription): probably hopeless, no details discernible.

Discovery. Found in 1962 at Bayındır *yayla* some distance north of the village of Keşlik, itself some 2 km. north-east of Alınhisar on the secondary Bor-Aksaray

road. (The distance between Keşlik and Bayındır *yayla* is given by Publication as 28 km., which is an impossibly large figure – 2.8 km.?). The stele was discovered 1 km. east of a group of houses at Bayındır *yayla*, apparently fallen down from an emplacement on stone blocks. The exact site of its erection could not be identified. See Publication.

Publication. Vural Sezer, *Anadolu* 18 (1974 [1977]), p. 133 f. with pls. I and II (photograph of stele in museum, and of find spot).

Edition. –

Content. –

Date. Presumably the same as other similar monuments of the period of Warpalawas, i.e. later 8th century B.C.

Text, transliteration, translation. Not possible.

Photographs. Taken in Niğde Museum in the summer 1990.

X.52. EREĞLİ

Unpublished. I am grateful to Professor Massimo Poetto for showing me photographs of this inscription and discussing it with me. He will publish it shortly.

XI. ASSUR letters

The Inscriptions

1. ASSUR letter *a*
2. ASSUR letter *b*
3. ASSUR letter *c*

4. ASSUR letter *d*
5. ASSUR letter *e*
6. ASSUR letter *f+g*

The Inscriptions

XI.1–6. ASSUR letters *a-g* (plates 306–313)

Location. 7 strips of lead, 5 formerly in Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul (nos. not ascertainable), which have perished (namely *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *g*; see Bossert, *Bi. Or.* 8 (1951), p. 127); 2 strips, *e* and *f*, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, no. VA 5819.

Description. 7 rectangular lead strips of varying sizes (*a-d*, shorter; *e-g*, longer), each divided obverse and reverse by a central horizontal line into 2 registers on each side and inscribed on both sides. All, except *g*, which is a continuation of *f*, begin upper right side and run sinistroversely along register 1, returning *boustrophedon* along register 2, turning on long axis to continue on reverse upper right (register 3) where *b* and *d* terminate; the others continue *boustrophedon* along register 4, where *c* terminates before the end, while *a* and *e* terminate at lower right edge, thus covering entire surface with writing. For the combination of the texts of *f+g*, see Commentary.

Dimensions: (*a*) ht., 3.6 cm.; w., 9.9 cm.; (*b*) ht., 3.6 cm.; w., 10.4 cm.; (*c*) ht., 4.0 cm.; w., 9.5 cm.; (*d*) ht., 3.8 cm.; w., 8.2 cm.; (*e*) ht., 3.9 cm.; w., 20.2 cm.; (*f*) ht., 3.8 cm.; w., 23.5 cm.; (*g*) ht., 3.9 cm.; w., 15.9 cm.

Condition: good, apart from some small losses.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: preponderantly syllabic writings; comparatively few logograms, normally marked and accompanied by full phonetic writings; use of *i* as well as *a* as word-ender//space filler (both normally written small), a usage observed also on some stone inscription (see MARAŞ 1, § 6, Commentary); rhotacism.

Word-dividers: consistently written, few omissions.

Discovery. Excavated in 1905 by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft excavations at Assur. They were found individually rolled up (*f* and *g* rolled together), buried together with an Old Assyrian alabaster tablet inscription (for which see Grayson, *ARRM* 3 (1985), pp. 9–14; also *RIM* 1, A.O.40.1001), under the floor of a poorly built secondary house in the angle between the

S.E. face of the W. Ziggurat of the Anu-Adad temple and its fronting precinct wall: see Andrae, op. cit. below, Publication, pp. 2–6. The excavator inferred that these dissimilar documents had been buried together by an ignorant house-owner as a magical foundation deposit perhaps late in the 7th century B.C. The presence of the Hier. Luw. documents in Assur is unexplained. An internal reference (letter *a*, § 6) suggests a connection with Karkamiš, probably already an Assyrian province.

Publication. W. Andrae, *Hethitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (*WDOG* 46; Leipzig, 1924), Taf. 1 (strips as found rolled), Taf. 2–7 (parallel copies and photographs of the strips enlarged by 1/3; note that the copies contain a few mistakes).

Editions. Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 5 (1933), pp. 208–232 = *IHH* II (1934), pp. 121–155; Meriggi, *A/O* 10 (1935–36), pp. 113–133, 251–267; Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 10 (1938), pp. 35–49 (*a-d* only); Bossert and Steinherr, *Bi. Or.* 8 (1951), pp. 126–136 (with previous bibliography); Bossert, *Or.* NS 20 (1951), pp. 70–77; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1 (1967), nos. 34–40, pp. 131–142, Tav. XVI–XVIII (redrawn).

(**Excerpts.** Cited, where appropriate, in Commentary).

Content. Correspondence of Taksalas with various addressees.

(*a*) Taksalas to *Kvipatiwaras*: §§ 1–2, address and greeting; § 3, *batura*- clause; §§ 4–9, further expostulation; §§ 10–12, *harwani*- clauses.

(*b*) Taksalas to *Parniwaris*: §§ 1–2, address and greeting; § 3, *batura*- clause; §§ 4–7, *harwani*- passage relating to *kurupi*; §§ 8–10, *harwani*- passage relating to dogs.

(*c*) Taksalas to *Kakas* and *Kwisitimis*: § 1, address; §§ 2–4, *batura*- clauses; §§ 5–7, further expostulation; §§ 8–11, *harwani*- clauses.

(*d*) Taksalas to *Parni...*: §§ 1–3, address and greetings; §§ 4–5, *batura*- clauses; §§ 6–10, *harwani*- clauses.

(e) Haranawizas ("the Haranean(?)", = Taksalas?) to Pihamis: §§ 1–2, address and greetings; §§ 3–9, *hatura*-clauses; §§ 10–17, further expostulation; §§ 18–29, *harwani*-passages; §§ 30–31, marriage(?) demand.

(f+g) Taksalas and *partner*(?) to Iyamis and *partner*(?): §§ 1–2, address and greetings; § 3, *hatura*-clause; §§ 4–8, unclear demands; §§ 9–15, further expostulation; §§ 16–17, marriage(?) discussion; §§ 18–19, *harwani*-passage; §§ 20–26, *harwani*-passage relating to donkeys; §§ 27–35, *harwani*-passage relating to *kapar(r)a*; § 36, *harwani*-passage relating to drinking horns; §§ 37–40, *harwani*-passage relating to *kurupi*; §§ 41–44, *harwani*-passage relating to "wings"; §§ 45–51, *harwani*-passage relating to Haranawaris the *tuni-kearas*; §§ 52–53, marriage(?) discussion.

Date. Epigraphically late, most comparable with SULTANHAN, KULULU etc., thus late 8th century B.C., quite possibly after Karkamiš had become an Assyrian province.

Texts. Tracings from the published photographs, correcting the few mistakes of the original published drawings.

Photographs. New prints of the original published photographs kindly supplied by the Vorderasiatisches Museum. For the photographs not given (letters *a*, obv.; *b*, obv.; *c*, obv.), negatives are no longer available.

	Transliteration	Translation
letter <i>a</i>		
1.	§ 1 á-sa ₅ -za REL-pa-ti-wa/i+ra/i-ia ta-ka-sa-la-sa-wa/i' ("LOQUI")ha-ri+i-ti-i	Say to Kuipatiwaris, Taksalas <i>speaks</i> :
	§ 2 sa-na-wa/i+ra/i PUGNUS.PUGNUS-si	(May) you <i>live</i> (?) <i>well</i> (?) !
	§ 3 a-zi ² -za-ha-wa/i-za á-pi ha-tu-ra+a	(Are) we ourselves to write back?
2.	§ 4 u-nu-ha-wa/i-tu-u-ta u-za-ri+i ARHLA- ¹ pa+ra/i-ra+a-ha	Now I missed you by your (letter).
	§ 5 wa/i-mu ¹ ha-tu+ra/i-na NEG ₂ - ¹ ma-nu-ha ("LOQUI") ^(c) pu-pa-la-ta	You by no means replied to me a letter.
	§ 6 NEG ₂ -a-wa/i tara/i-pa ¹ -mi-i-sa za-na a-pa-ha ("PES ₂ ") a+ra/i-ta- ¹ ka+ra/i-mi-sa(URBS)	Did not Tarpamis come now and then to Kar(ka)mis?
3.	§ 7 (*205)á-tu-ni-na-wa/i-mu REL-za NEG ₂ - ¹ ma-nu-ha VIA- wa/i-ni-ta	Why did you (he?) by no means send me the ATUNI ?
	§ 8 ARHLA-ha-wa/i-mu-u REL-ri+i MORI-ha-na	(As for) me, as (if) <i>we</i> (?) had died,
	§ 9 wa/i-mu-u u-za+ra/i ¹ ("476.*311")a-li-ia-ta	you ALIYA-ed me by your (letter).
	§ 10 u-nu-ha-wa/i-mu-u (BESTIA)HWT-sa-na-ma-ia ha-la+ra/i-la *472(-)ma ¹ -sa ₅ +ra/i-zi ¹ 3-zi-i ni-pa-wa/i 4-zi ("78") a-ru-ti-zi ("LEPUS")ta-pa-sa-la-ia- ¹ ("286.*317") wa/i-ara/i-ma VIA-wa/i-ni ¹	Now send me HWISNAMAYA HALARALA, MASARA's 3 or 4 baskets, urgent(?) demands(?),
4.	§ 11 ("FEMINA(?)")sa-nu-ta-sa-ha-wa/i-mu (*187)su-mi-la-zi-i 50 VIA-wa/i-ni	and send me fifty SUMILA's of SANUTA.
	§ 12 ha-ti-ia-pa-wa/i-mu ("286.*317")wa/i+ra/i-ma- ¹ za-ia VIA-wa/i-ni	Send me these <i>special demands</i> (?) !
letter <i>b</i>		
1.	§ 1 á-sa ₅ -za DOMUS-ni-wa/i+ra/i-ia ta-ka-sa-la-sa-wa/i' LOQUI ... ?	Say to Parniwaris, Taksalas <i>speaks</i> :
	§ 2 sa-na-wa/i+ra/i ¹ PUGNUS.PUGNUS-si	(May) you <i>live</i> (?) <i>well</i> (?) !
	§ 3 á-mu-ha-wa/i-mu á-pi ha-tu-ra+a	(Am) I myself to write back?
	§ 4 u-nu ¹ -pa-wa/i-mu 1-ti-na za-na ("LOQUI")ma-ra+a-ti-na CUM-ni i-zi-ia- ¹	But now do this first(?) <i>order</i> for me:
2.	§ 5 a-wa/i á-pi ku-ru-pi REL-ia ("286.*311") ^(c) wa/i- ra+a-ma LEPUS-pa-sa-la-ia ARHLA- ¹ ("69")sa-ha-na	the KURUPI's which we left behind, urgent(?) demands(?),
	§ 6 wa/i-ra+a ("69")ha+ra/i-za	lay hold of them,
	§ 7 wa/i-ma-ra+a ARHLA- ¹ VIA-wa/i-ni	and send them out to me !
	§ 8 ("CANIS")su-wa/i-ni-zi-ha-wa/i a-pa-zi REL-ri+i ¹ a-sa-ti	And if there are those dogs (to you),
3.	§ 9 a-wa/i 2-zi-i sa-na-wa/i-i-zi ("481")wa/i+ra/i-mu-ta-li-zi PUGNUS-ri+i ¹	raise/pick two good WARMU-TALI's
	§ 10 wa/i-mu-u VIA-wa/i-ni	and send (them) to me !

letter c

1. § 1 |á-sa₅-za-wa/i |ka-ka-ia |REL-si-si-ti-mi-ha |ta-ka-sa-la-sa-wa/i
 ("LOQUI"-') ha-ri+i-ti
 § 2 |á-pi-wa/i-za |ha-tu-ra+a
 § 3 |á-ta₅-mi-sa-sa-ha-wa/i+ra/i
2. § 4 |u-zi²-za-wa/i-ma-za |ha-tu-ra+a
 § 5 |á-pi-ha-wa/i-tu-u-ta |ni-i-'-ARHLA-' |ma-nu-ha pa+ra/i-
 ra+a-wa/i
 § 6 |á-pi-ha-wa/i-mu-ta |NEG₂- |REL-ha-na |u-si-ti-sa
 § 7 |wa/i-mu-ta |*187(-)tu-wa/i-i-za |REL-za |u-si-ti-sà ||
3. § 8 |wa/i-mu-u |10 ha-sà-pi-na |100-ha-wa/i-mu "(*187)sù"-mi-la-
 a-na |VIA-wa/i-ni
 § 9 |("LEPUS.ANIMAL")ta-pa-sà-la-ia-ha-wa/i |(*286.*317)
 wa/i-ra+a-ma-' |REL-ta-ha LITUUS+na-ti-sà 4-zi ||
 |ni-pa-wa/i |5-na-' |(" *78")a-ru-ti-na
4. § 10 |wa/i-mu-u |VIA-wa/i-ni
 § 11 |ha-la+ra/i-la-ha-wa/i-mu-u |sa-na-wa/i-ia |VIA-wa/i-ni

letter d

1. § 1 |á-sa₅-za-wa/i | [DOM]US-ni-*375-[...]-ia-' | [ta]-ka-sa-i-
 [la-s]á-wa/i | ("LOQUI") ha-ri+i-ti-'
 § 2 |sa-na-wa/i+ra/i |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-si
 § 3 |sa-pi-su+ra/i-ha-wa/i-ri+i
 § 4 |á-zi²-za-ha-i-wa/i-za |á-pi ha-tu-ra+a ||
2. § 5 |wa/i-za |NEG₂- |REL-ha-na |ha-tu+ra/i-na-' |ha-tu-ra+a-i
 § 6 |u-nu-pa-wa/i-mu-u |sa-na-wa/i-i-zi-i-zi- |(" *91")á-ti-ti-zi
 |(VIA)ha+ra/i-wa/i-ni
 § 7 |*472(-)ma-sa₅+ra/i-zi-ha-wa/i-mu' |(VIA)ha+ra/i-wa/i-ni
3. § 8 |"SCUTUM"(-)ha+ra/i-ti-ha-wa/i-mu || |hara/i-li-na |sa-na-
 wa/i-zi-na-' |VIA-wa/i-ni
 § 9 |DOMINUS-ni-wa/i |(*91)za-la-la-si-na |REL-ti-sà-mi-na-i
 |(VIA)ha+ra/i-wa/i-ni
 § 10 |ni-wa/i-mu-i |á-pi |NEG₂- |VIA-wa/i-ni-si |

letter e

1. § 1 |á-sa₅-za | [pi-ha-mi |hara/i-na-wa/i-za-sa-wa/i ("LOQUI"-')
 ha-ri+i-ti
 § 2 | [sa-pi-su+ra/i-wa/i-a-ti
 § 3 |u-sa-ta-mu-ti-sà-ha-wa/i-' |ha-tu+ra/i-'
 § 4 |a-zi²-za-ha-wa/i-za |á-pi |ha-tu-ra+a
 § 5 |wa/i-za |NEG₂- |REL-i-ha |ha-tu+ra/i-na |ha-tu-ra+a
 § 6 |wa/i-ma-za |u-zi²-za |ha-tu-ra+a |a-sa-ta-ni
 § 7 |a-wa/i |á-pi |u-zi-na |REL-i |ha-tu+ra/i-na |AUDIRE+ML-
 ta-ra+a-nu
 § 8 |wa/i-za |á-pi |a-zi²-za-ha |ha-tu+ra/i-'
 § 9 |ni-pa-wa/i-na |á-mu |REL-za |i-zi-ia-wa/i |á-mi-na |za-na
 |ha-tu+ra/i-na
 § 10 | (VAS)na-hu-ti-zi-wa/i-mu |za-zi |INFANS-ni-zi |REL-i
 |(" *460")á-sa-ta-ri+i | ("VAS")ta-wa/i-sà-ta-ti-ha |su-ti-
 ri+i-ti |ha+ra/i-ta-ti-ha |PRAE-na |ARHLA-' | (MORI)
 wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-ti
 § 11 |REL-i-sà-wa/i-sa |á-mi-sa |ha-tu-⟨ra+⟩a-sa

Say to Kakas and *Kwis*isitimis, Tak-
 salas *speaks*:

(Are) we to write back?

It (is) ATAMISA- ! (or: (There is)
 ATAMISA- to you !)

You yourselves (are) to write.

Further let me by no means miss
 you,

and *further* you *bring* me nothing !

Why do you *bring* me

TUWI(N)ZA?

Send me ten HASPI and a hundred
 SUMILA,

and, *urgent*(?) *demand*s(?), wherever
 you see four or five *baskets*,

send (them) to me,

and send me good HALARALA !

Say to Parni-...[...], [Ta]ksa[la]s
speaks:

(May) you *live*(?) *well*(?)

and peace (be) to you !

(Are) we ourselves to write back?

We (are) to write no letter !

Now send me good ATUTI's,

and send me MASARI's,

and send me a HARATI-shield (as)
 a good shield !

For the lord send a *approved* chariot-
 thing ! (or: Send an *approved*
 chariot-lord !)

Don't not send (these) back to me !

Say to Pihamis, Haranawizas *speaks* :

Peace (be) to you !

And do you USATAMU- to/for a
 letter/writing?

(Are) we ourselves to write again?

We (are) to write no letter,

(it is) you yourselves (who) are to
 write !

Hear your sort of letter back !

(Are) we ourselves to write again,
 or why do I make it, this letter of
 mine?

For me these NAHU(N)TI chil-
 dren – they shall PARAN
 ARHA WAWARITA- (them?) by
 ASATA- and SUTIRI- of the
 eyes(?) and HARATA.

What (is) it, my letter?

- § 12 |u-nu-ha-wa/i-ma-za-ta |ni-i |ma-nu-ha |ARHLA-
 ("VAS")pa + ra/i-ra + a-ia |DOMINUS-ni-i |a-za-ia-ha-
 |sa-na-wa/i-ia
3. § 13 |wa/i-za-ⁱ |ni-i |ARHLA |("69")sa-tu-ⁱ
 § 14 |ni-pa-wa/i-mu || ARHLA-ⁱ |MORI-nu-ⁱ
 § 15 |ā-ta₅-wa/i-za |REL-sā-ha |a-sa-ti
 § 16 |NEG₂-wa/i-ma-za-ⁱ [|²]u-za²-za
 § 17 |ā-ta₅-ha-wa/i-ma-za |u-za²-za
 § 18 |*179.*347.5(-)wa/i-sā-pa-ha-wa/i-mu |FEMINA-ti-na-ⁱ
 |VIA-wa/i-ni-ⁱ
 § 19 |zi-pa-wa/i-na |("69")sa-na-tu
 § 20 |wa/i-na-ⁱ |*187(-)wa/i-ia-ni-tu
 § 21 |DOMINUS-ni-ha-wa/i |*179.*347.5 |sa-na-wa/i |a-ta-ⁱ
 |PUGNUS-ri+i-ⁱ
 § 22 |a-wa/i |OMNIS-MI-za |CUM-ni |PONERE-u
 § 23 |a-ta-ha-wa/i-ⁱ |*179(-)REL-la-ia-na-na |sa-na-wa/i-zi-na-ⁱ
 |*179(-)sā-la/i/u-ma-sa-ha-wa/i |VIA-wa/i-ni
4. § 24 |a-wa/i |FLUMEN.DOMINUS-ia || ("PES₂")pa-tu
 § 25 |a-wa/i-wa/i-mu-ta |*198(-)kei + ra/i-ra + a-za |*317.CRUS₂-
 pa-sa-za-ha |SUPER + ra/i-ha |"LONGUS"(-)ia-ti-na-ia
 § 26 |*308-mi-sa-ha-wa/i-mu-ⁱ |*351.*406-ia-sa₅ + ra/i-za
 § 27 |sū + ra/i-wa/i-za-ha-ⁱ-wa/i-mu-u |*317-ni-za |VIA-wa/i-ni
- § 28 |bi-pa + ra/i-wa/i-ni-ha-wa/i-za |INFANS-ni-na VIA-wa/i-ni-ⁱ
 § 29 |*198(-)kei + ra/i-ti-zi-wa/i |*317.CRUS₂-pa-sa-ha REL-i-sā
 (LITUUS)u-ni-ti
 § 30 |INFANS-ni-ha-wa/i-mu |tu-wa/i-na CUM-ni |*77-ti-sa
 § 31 |PRAE-wa/i |ā-mu |na-wa/i-ⁱ |REL-na |REL-sā-ha-ⁱ
 (LITUUS)u-ni-ti
- letter f + g
- f1. § 1 |ā-sa₅-za |i-ia-mi |ma-mu-ti-ha |ta-ka-sa-la-sa-wa/i-ⁱ |ma-mu-sa-ha
 |("LOQUI")ha-ti-i-ti
 § 2 |sa-pi-su + ra/i-ⁱ-wa/i-ma-za
 § 3 |a-za²-za-ha-wa/i-za |ā-pi |ha-tu-ra + a
 § 4 |a-wa/i |"VAS"(-)na-bi-zi "VAS"(-)la + ra/i-bi-ri + i-ia-zi-ha
 |PRAE-i |PONERE)sā-ti-nu-ⁱ
 § 5 |wa/i-za-ⁱ |na-a-pa |a-su-nu
 § 6 |*474(-)bi-sā-wa/i |BRACCHIUM)hu-mi + ra/i-ha |zi-ku-
 na-ti |ARHLA |wa/i-la-mi-na-ⁱ |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-nu
- § 7 |*476-wa/i-pa-wa/i |("476.*311")bi-ru-ra + a-ti-ⁱ |ARHLA
 |wa/i-la-u-tu ||
- f2. § 8 |su-ti-ri + i-na-wa/i-ⁱ |ha + ra/i-ta-ha |PRAE-i (PONERE)
 sā-ti-nu-ⁱ
 § 9 |REL-sā-ⁱ-wa/i-sa-ⁱ |a-zi-sa |ha-tu-ra + a-sa
 § 10 |u-nu-pa-wa/i-za |NEG₂-ⁱ |tu-wa/i-ri + i |ha-tu-ra + a
- § 11 |wa/i-ri + i-ⁱ |ku-ma-na |ha-tu-ra + a
 § 12 |wa/i-za |ni-i-ⁱ |ma-nu-ha |ARHLA-ⁱ |("69")sa-si-ⁱ
 § 13 |ni-pa-wa/i-mu |("SIGILLUM")HWT-pa-sa-nu
 § 14 |ā-ta₅-wa/i-za |REL-sā-ha |a-sa-ti
 § 15 |wa/i-tu-u-ta |ni-i-ⁱ |ma-nu-ha |*356(-)[REL-sū]-[...] |2 [...]
 |[...] -za/a/i-... ||
- f3. § 16 |[ā]pi-ⁱ |ha-wa/i-ⁱ |[...] -la-[...] (URBS) |[ā]pa-ti |INFANS-
 ni-i |ha + ra/i-na-i-na |CUM-ni-ⁱ |*77-ha-ⁱ |tu-u
 |VERSUS-na
 § 17 |wa/i-na |ni-i |REL-sā-ha LITUUS + na-ri + i-ⁱ

Now let the lord's and our goods
 by no means miss you,

and do not let them miss us,
 nor (do you) let me die!
 Whoever (is) ATA to us,
 you yourselves (are) not,
 you (are) ATA for yourselves!
 Send me a woman (for? the)
 WASAPA,
 here let them SAN her,
 and let them WIYANI her!
 And for the lord raise also WASAPA
 well,
 and put all together,
 and included send good KWILA-
 YANA, also SALUMASA,
 and let them go to the river-lord!
 Come, he (-)YATINA's me concern-
 ing KIRARI's and ...PASA's,
 (to) me ... ,
 and send me SURAWI(N)ZA
 ...-NI(N)ZA,
 and send us the child Hiparawanis,
 who knows KIRATI's and
 ...-PASA's.
 To me you pledge your child,
 whom before me no one shall
 know!

Say to Iyamis and partner, Taksalas
 and partner speak:
 Peace be to you!
 (Are) we ourselves to write back?
 Cause to put(?) forth NAHI's and
 LARAHIRIYA's,
 cause us good NAPA,
 cause to live(?) the *WASINAS-
 AHI(?) and the HUMIRA dead
 from ZIKUNA -
 ... they died from the oath -

cause to put(?) forth SUTIRI and
 HARATA.
 What (is) it, our letter?
 Now we (are) not to write by your
 (letter).

Since you are to write,
 by no means abandon us,
 nor cause me harm.
 Whoever (is) ATA to us,
 let [...] by no means KWISU[...] to
 you two (fo[ur?]) [...]s.
 Further [in?] the city [A]la[wara?] I
 pledged. HARNAS for that child
 in your presence,
 let no one see her!

- § 18 |pa + ra/i-la-ri + i-|¹ha-wa/i-tu-u |("205")á-tu-na-ri + i
|REL-na- |("69")wa/i-za-na |("69")wa/i-zi-ha-na
- § 19 |wa/i-za |OMNIS-MI-za |"VIA"-wa/i-ni
- § 20 |á-pi-wa/i-za- |NEG₂- |REL-ha-na |a-sa-ti
- § 21 |á-pi-ha-wa/i-za |ASINUS.ANIMAL-na-zi |a-pa-zi |ARHLA-
|MORI-ta ||
- f4. § 22 |u-nu-pa-wa/i-tu-u |(ASINUS₂.ANIMAL)tara/i-ka-sa-ni-sa
|REL-ri + i |a-sa-ti
- § 23 |wa/i-mu-u |VIA-wa/i-ni
- § 24 |a-wa/i-wa/i |("PES")pa + ra/i-ri + i |ARHLA- |("PES₂)
a + ra/i-wa/i
- § 25 |wa/i-ma-na |(VIA)ha + ra/i-wa/i-ni
- § 26 |á-pi-wa/i-ma-na |ni-i- |NEG₂- |VIA-wa/i-ni-si
- § 27 |á-pi-ha-wa/i-za |(*420)wa/i-sa-ha-sa |REL-za |VIA-wa/i-ni-ta
- § 28 |wa/i-za |á-pi 4-zi- |ka-pá² + ra/i-zi |i-sa-u-ta
- g "3". § 29 |wa/i-za-ta |"VAS"-ta-ni |POST-na- *480-ia
- § 30 |PRAE-pa-wa/i-za-ta ||NEG₂- |REL-sà-ha |"PES₂"(-)wa/i-
za-sa-ti
- § 31 |wa/i-za |ka-pá² + ra/i-ra + a-na |REL-i-ha |VIA-wa/i-ni-ⁱ
- § 32 |ni-pa-wa/i-tu-u- |NEG₂- |a]-sa-ti
- § 33 |[a]-wa/i |a]-pi |[DOMUS]-ni-wa/i + ra/i-ia |[X)]á-mu +
ra/i[-]-la/i/u + ra/i- |a]-sa-ti
- § 34 |[wa/i]-tu-u-wa/i-na |[CUM]-ni- |i-ia-sa
- § 35 |wa/i-za-na |VIA-wa/i-ni-i
- g "4". § 36 |a-la-wa/i-ra + a-ti-ha-wa/i-mu(URBS) |("CORNU")sù + ra/i-ni
|| BIBERE-u-na-sa |sa-na-wa/i-ia |MAGNUS + ra/i-ia-
|VIA-wa/i-ni-ⁱ
- § 37 |á-pi-ha-wa/i- |("LEPUS")ta-pa-sà-la-ia |("286.*317")wa/i-
ara/i-ma- |ku-ru-pi |á-mi-i |a-ta-ti |ARHL-1- |("69")
sa-ha-na
- § 38 |á-pa-ⁱ-ia-pa-wa/i |DOMUS-ni-i |a-ta-ti |ARHL-1- |("69")
sa-ha-
- § 39 |wa/i-ra + a- |("69")ha + ra/i-za
- g "1". § 40 |wa/i-ma-ra + a |ARHL-1- |VIA-wa/i-ni ||
- § 41 |á-pi-wa/i-ra + a- |11 ("78")a-ru-ti-sà
- § 42 |ni-pa-wa/i + ra/i- |NEG₂- |wa/i-mi-LITUUS-si
- § 43 |a-wa/i- |LITUUS + na-ti-sa |REL-ta-ha |10 ("78")a-ru-ti-na
- § 44 |wa/i-mu-u |VIA-wa/i-ni-ⁱ
- § 45 |á-pi-ha-wa/i + ra/i-ta |hara/i-na-wa/i + ra/i-sa |("PANIS.
SCUTELLA")tu-ni-ka-ra + a-sa |ARHL-1- |OCCIDENS(-)
la/i/u-si-ta
- g "2". § 46 |wa/i-na- |("69")ha + ra/i-za
- § 47 |wa/i-za-na |ARHL-1- || |VIA-wa/i-ni-ⁱ
- § 48 |a-wa/i-wa/i-za |PANIS-ni-na- |NEG₂- |a-sa-ti
- § 49 |REL-sà-wa/i-za[a] |pi-i[a...] |ha + ra/i-n[a²-...]
- § 50 |á[...]-za[...] (LITUUS)ti-[ia]-ri + i[...]
- § 51 |wa/i-[ri + i]-ia-sa-ta |ni-i- |ARHL-1- |OCCIDENS(-)la/i/u-
si-ti-i
- § 52 |ti-ha-wa/i-za |tu-wa/i-na |INFANS-ni-na CUM-ni *77-ti-sa
- § 53 |wa/i-za LITUUS + na-ri + i

The *request* which we(?) *requested* to
you by/with/from the PARLA-
ATUNI,

send (it) all to us !

To us there remains nothing.

Further, those donkeys have died on
us.

Now if there is a *mule* to you,

send (it) to us !

Come, shall I go out on foot?

(So) send it to me,

don't not send it back to me !

Further, why did they(?) send us

WASHASA?

They(?) bought for us four

KAPARA's.

After us in person, one may ... them,

but before us no one may

WAZASA them.

Send us any KAPAR(R)A,

or (if) to you there is not (any),

and there remains to [Par]niwaris

the AMURALURA,

buy it from him,

and send it to us !

Also from the city Alawara send me

horns of drinking, good (and)

big !

Further – *urgent*(?) *demands*(?) –

we(?) left behind KURUPI's in

my A(N)TATI,

– I left those behind in the

house(hold)'s A(N)TATI –

lay hold of them

and send them out to me !

Further, they (are) eleven *baskets*,

or (if) you do not find(?) them,

wherever you see ten *baskets*,

send (them) to me !

Further, Haranawaris the TUNI-

KARA has *absented* himself.

Lay hold of him

and send him over to us !

Come, there is no *bread* for us,

who will give us HARN[AIS]?

Watch th[at (man)] for us,

let him not *absent* himself !

To us you *pledge* your child.

She will see us.

General Commentary

Several clauses and passages recur in variant forms through all or most of the letters, and are best treated together for the illumination which comparison brings.

(A) Address

- a*, § 1 |*á-sa₅-za* |PN₁ |PN₂-*wa/i*-i |("LOQUI")
|*ha-ri+i-ti-i*
- b*, § 1 |*á-sa₅-za* |PN₃ |PN₂-*wa/i* <"LOQUI"...>
- c*, § 1 |*á-sa₅-za-wa/i* |PN₄ |PN₅-*ba* |PN₂-*wa/i*
("LOQUI") |*ha-ri+i-ti*
- d*, § 1 |*á-sa₅-za-wa/i* |PN₆ |PN₂-*wa/i* [("LOQUI")]
|*ha-ri+i-ti*
- e*, § 1 |*á-sa₅-za* [|PN₇ |PN₈-*wa/i* ("LOQUI")]
|*ha-ri+i-ti*
- f+g*, § 1 |*á-sa₅-za* |PN₉ |*ma-mu-ti-ha* |PN₂-*wa/i*-i
|*ma-mu-sa-ha* |("LOQUI") |*ha-ti-i-ti*

Personal names: the first in each group (in *c*, a pair joined by *-ha*, "and") are clearly dat. sing. ending in *-i(ya)* or *-aya*; the second, Taksalas throughout (except for *e*, Haranawizas) clearly nom. sing. MF ending in *-s* (+ connective *-wa/i*). For the word *mamu(t)*-, apparently a common noun, coupled both to the first and second proper names by *-ha* in *f+g*, § 1, see Commentary there.

The structure of the two constituent halves of the clause is thus clear:

- (i) *á-sa₅-za(-wa/i)* PN(dat.) (PN₂(dat.)-*ba*)
(ii) PN(nom.)-*wa/i* ("LOQUI") |*ha-ri+i-ti-i-ti*

á-sa₅-za: clarified by publication of the end of the KARATEPE bilingual, namely §§ LXII, LXVIII (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975/2, p. 132 f.). This is a verb of speaking, derived directly or indirectly from Luw. *as-*, "mouth", thus "mouth (verb), pronounce", here 2 sing. imp.; for possible ways of derivation, see Melchert, *Studies Cowgill*, p. 198 ff.; Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 57 with Anm. 261. Clause A(i) thus corresponds closely to the Akkadian letter address *ana PN qibi-ma*, "say to So-and-so" (formally instructions to the messenger).

-wa (connective): suffixed only twice in 6 occurrences.

("LOQUI") |*ha-ri+i-ti* // |*ha-ti-i*: the logogram, profile with protruding tongue, clearly indicating "speaking" pictographically, determines elsewhere the following words: (i) *tatariya*-, "curse" (v.); (ii) *pá²+ra/i-ta*- (n.), "word(?), imprecation(?)" ; (iii) *marati*-, "request, order" (n.) (see letter *b*, § 4); (iv) *pupala*- (v.), "answer(?)" (see letter *a*, § 5); (v) *pá²+ra/i-li*- (n.), "?" ; (vi) *lamani-sa*-, "proclaim" (v.); (vii) *ba+ra/i-nu*- (v.), caus. of present stem (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 21)? Here a general verb of "speaking" or "saying" is required, and the clause A(ii) would correspond to the Akkadian formula *umma PN*, "thus (says) So-and-so". The alternation of the forms *hari*-//*hati*- presumably point to an original **hadi*- which rhotacizes. For an etymological analysis, see now Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 240 f. cit. 18.

(B) Greetings (1)

- a*, § 2 |*sa-na-wa/i+ra/i* |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*si*
- b*, § 2 |*sa-na-wa/i+ra/i*-i |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*si*
- c* —
- d*, § 2 |*sa-na-wa/i+ra/i* |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*si*
- e, f+g* —

Greetings (2)

- a, b, c* —
- d*, § 3 |*sa-pi-su+ra/i-ha-wa/i-ri+i*
- e*, § 2 |*sa-pi-su+ra/i-wa/i-a-ti*
- f+g*, § 2 |*sa-pi-su+ra/i*-i-*wa/i-ma-za*

These clauses occur as the second element; letter *d* is the only one to have both; *a* and *b* have (1); *e* and *f+g* have (2); *c* has neither.

B2. *sa-pi-su+ra/i(-ha)-wa/i-ri+i* // *-a-ti* // *-ma-za*: original interpretation by Mittelberger, *Sprache* 9 (1963), p. 93 f.; but see most recently Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 41 f. The particle chain breaks down *-(ha)+wa+ri* // *ti* // *ma(n)za*, i.e. connective(s) with pronouns of 2 sing., *-ti* (> *-ri*), and 2 plur., *-ma(n)za*. The sing. forms are found on the letters with one addressee, the plur. on the letter with two. Note the use of *-ha* only on letter *d*, the only case where clause B2 is preceded by B1, which indicates clearly that B1 is an independent and parallel clause, not an appendage to clause A. In the translation, the widespread and enduring greeting "Peace (be) to you" has been retained, but this does not imply a definitive analysis of the clause's syntax, where it is hard to choose between two possible alternative explanations.

sapisur : clearly to be associated with *sapisata*-// *sapisara*- (KARATEPE, 276, probably = Phoen. *šlm*, "health", rather than *hym*, "life", see Commentary there. The present context may also be argued to favour this equation — see below). The two attestations show alternative forms with the suffixes *-ata*- (> *-ara*-), and *-ur*-. The latter form may be identified as nom. (acc.) sing. N (*sapisur*) or dat. sing. (*sapisura/i*) according to our interpretation of the clause's syntax.

The pronouns. Clearly the same interpretation must be applied both to *-ti* (*-ri*) and to *-ma(n)za*. Elsewhere *-ti* is identified as reflexive of 3 sing., in contrast to *-tu*, indirect case pronoun, "to him/her", but here (and in several other ASSUR letter passages) it must belong to the 2nd person (sing.). The ASSUR letters also provide us with a few examples of *-tu* used as the indirect case of 2 sing. pronoun. The question arises whether we should take *-ti* as purely reflexive in all instances. If so of course, *-ma(n)za* ought also to be interpreted as reflexive (2 plur.). In favour of this view, as argued by Melchert, is the contrast *-tu* // *-ti*, which for the 3 sing. clearly marks a contrast of the personal pronoun, "(to) him/her", with the reflexive, "for him/herself". Against this view, however, are the facts that there is

an orthotonic nominative pronoun *ti*, “thou”, (letter *f+g*, § 52), which is not reflexive, and that we have evidence in the letters for pronouns which are used both reflexively and non-reflexively (e.g. *mu*, which can be orthotonic, “I/me/to me”, or enclitic “me/to me/for myself”). It is conceivable that enclitic *-ti*, 2 sing., started as reflexive and then came also to be used as the personal pronoun (indirect case). In other words, if we have an orthotonic 1st person pronoun *mu*, “I, (to) me”, which in the ASSUR letters is formally identical (or similar?) to an enclitic pronoun *-mu* used both as the indirect case of the pronoun “to me” and as a reflexive, it is conceivable that next to the orthotonic *ti*, “thou”, and the enclitic reflexive *-ti*, an indirect case non-reflexive *-ti*, “(to) thee”, was created. The objection is of course that this was not needed since *-tu* existed with that function. On the other hand the new *-mu* reflexive was equally not needed, since (before ASSUR) *-mi* existed with that function. Certainty is not possible, but we must choose between two interpretations of our clause: if *-ti* (and thus also *-manza*) is not reflexive, we may translate “health to thee/you”; if *-ti* can only be reflexive, we must take *sapisura/i* as a dative and then compare this clause with the various *hatura*-clauses (see below, clause C). This leads to Melchert’s translation “you (shall be) in health”, where *sapisura/i* must be the dative singular of a noun in *-ur*. There is one possible objection: should we expect an orthotonic pronoun as in letter *b*, § 3, *amu-wa-mu api hatura*, i.e. should we expect **ti-wa-ti sapisura* or the like? Independent pronouns are normally present in the *hatura*-clauses with the exception of letter *c*, § 2, and of the negative clauses in letters *d*, § 5, and *e*, § 5 (both of which follow clauses with the expected orthotonic pronouns). Once again certainty is not possible, and as Melchert points out, this is not a conclusive argument. We must leave the problem open: “peace to you” is supported by the parallelism with Akkadian greetings formula, *lū šulmu ana káša*, “peace (be) unto you” etc., for which see E. Salonen, *St. Or.* 38 (1967), pp. 60 f., 64 f., 72 ff., 77 f., 86–112 *passim*; “(you shall be) in health” is grammatically possible, and perhaps necessary, if *ti* can only be a reflexive.

B1. PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*si*: double logogram attested elsewhere only as verb, apparently intransitive in KARATEPE, 111 (Phoen. equivalent *’bd kn l-*, “be servant to”, perhaps not exact), but transitive in SULTANHAN, § 43 (see Commentaries there, with other references); cf. below PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*nu* (letter *f+g*, § 7). As a verb here, its ending *-si* should be 2 sing. pres., and a general sense of “live” has been suggested as appropriate to all occurrences. The present formula might correspond to Akk. *lū balāta*, “may you live!”, though this is largely Old Babylonian, and most Akk. formulae involving *balātu*, “live”, and derivatives involve the gods, i.e. “may the gods give you life” etc.;

see Salonen, *St. Or.* 38 (1967), pp. 21–50, 86 f., 91–93, 96–103, 106–112. Against a sense “live”, the recent appearance of the verb on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription in contexts suggesting “fight” will have to be taken into consideration; see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, Appendix 6 cit. 5.

sa-na-wa/i+ra/i: has been identified as abl. sing., *san-aw-i*, “good”, i.e. “with good(ness), well”. Yet connective particles would be expected after *hariti//hati(n)ti*, which could prompt us to identify them in *-wa/i+ra/i*; this could only arise from *-wa+ata* (> *ara*) or *-wa+ti* (> *ri*), and would surely be the latter, since the former would give a difficult direct object. This analysis, which seems probable, leaves an otherwise unknown element *sa-na(-)*, perhaps adverbial (cf. A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 102), and perhaps also connected with *sanaw-i*, “good”.

(C) *hatura*-clauses.

- a*, § 3 |*a-ṣu²-ṣa-ha-wa/i-ṣa* |*á-pi* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
b, § 3 |*á-mu-ha-wa/i-mu* |*á-pi* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
c, § 2 |*á-pi-wa/i-ṣa* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
 (§ 4 |*u-ṣu²-ṣa-wa/i-ma-ṣa* |*ha-tu-ra+a*)
d, § 4 |*a-ṣu²-ṣa-ha¹-wa/i-ṣa* |*á-pi* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
 (§ 5 |*wa/i-ṣa* |NEG₂- |REL-*ha-na* |*ha-tu+ra/i-na¹* |*ha-tu-ra+a¹*)
f+g, § 3 |*a-ṣu²-ṣa-ha-wa/i-ṣa* |*á-pi* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
e, § 3 |*u-sa-ta-mu-ti-sà-ha-wa/i-* |*ha-tu+ra/i-*
 § 4 |*a-ṣu²-ṣa-ha-wa/i-ṣa* |*á-pi* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
 § 5 |*wa/i-ṣa* |NEG₂- |REL-*i-ha* |*ha-tu+ra/i-na* |*ha-tu-ra+a*
 § 6 |*wa/i-ma-ṣa* |*u-ṣu²-ṣa* |*ha-tu-ra+a* |*a-sa-ta-ni*
 § 7 |*a-wa/i* |*á-pi* |*u-ṣi-na* |REL-*i* |*ha-tu+ra/i-na* |AUDIRE+*MI-ta-ra+a-nu*
 § 8 |*wa/i-ṣa* |*á-pi* |*a-ṣu²-ṣa-ha* |*ha-tu+ra/i-*
 § 9 |*ni-pa-wa/i-na* |*á-mu* |REL-*ṣa* |*i-ṣi-ia-wa/i* |*á-mi-na* |*ṣa-na* |*ha-tu+ra/i-na*

Clauses of this type occur in all letters, though in *e* they form part of a more elaborate and potentially informative sequence. In *a* (§ 3), *b* (§ 3), *c* (§ 2), *d* (§ 4) and *f+g* (§ 3), the basic clause, which also occurs in *e* (§ 4), is of the following pattern:

- CI, (i) orthotonic pronoun (1 plur. (except *b*, 1 sing.))
 (ii) *-ha-wa/i-* (connective)
 (iii) enclitic pronoun (1 plur. (except *b*, 1 sing.))
 (iv) |*á-pi*
 (v) |*ha-tu-ra+a*

(*c* varies exact pattern by replacing (i) with (iv); no *-ha-* in (ii)).

Letters *d* (§ 5) and *e* (§ 5) follow this with almost identical clauses:

- CII, (i) $|wa/i-za$ (i.e. connective + pronoun, 1 plur.)
 (ii) $|NEG_2-|REL-ha-na//REL-i-ha |ha-tu+ra/i-na$
 (iii) $|ha-tu-ra+a$

Letter *e* (§ 6) follows this with:

- CIII α , (i) $|wa/i-ma-za$ (i.e. connective + enclitic pronoun, 2 plur.)
 (ii) orthotonic pronoun (2 plur.)
 (iv) $|ha-tu-ra+a$
 (v) $|a-sa-ta-ni$

Letter *c* (§ 4) has closely similar variation:

- CIII β , (i) orthotonic pronoun (2 plur.)
 (ii) $-wa/i-ma-za$ (i.e. connective + enclitic pronoun, 2 plur.)
 (iii) $|ha-tu-ra+a$

The similarity of all the patterns listed above, with two further examples, *f+g*, §§ 10–11, cited below under (D), is obvious. Basic features are: an orthotonic pronoun of first or second person singular or plural (present in 8 clauses, missing apparently in 5), the usual particles, an enclitic pronoun (corresponding in person to the orthotonic pronoun and never missing) and the word *ha-tu-ra+a*. Crucial is the presence in *e*, § 6 of an additional element, viz. the verb *a-sa-ta-ni*, “you are”, which is 2 plur. (pres.), corresponding to the pronoun $u-zi^2-za$ in the same clause. Letter *e*, § 6, is generally parallel to *c*, § 4; the only serious difference (apart from word order) is the absence of the verb “be” in *c*, § 4. If the verb “be” can be both present and absent in virtually identical clauses, it should follow that in the vast majority of the cases, when it is not there, we are dealing with nominal clauses. Are these paralleled elsewhere in Hier. Luwian? The clearest example of a similar construction is found at the beginning of the monumental inscriptions with the formulaic clause *amu-wa-mi* PN, “I (am) So-and-so”. Here we have an orthotonic pronoun (always present), followed by an enclitic pronoun, which matches it in person, followed by a predicate (the verb “be” is normally absent, but note particularly KULULU 4, § 1). The enclitic *-mi* has long since been recognized as a reflexive (in contrast with the non-reflexive *mu*, “me, to me”). Hoffner (in *JNES* 28 (1969), pp. 225–230) has shown that in Hittite in clauses where a verb “be”, in 1st or 2nd person, is either present or understood (as in nominal clauses), the reflexive particle *-za* is constantly present. If we can assume that the Hier. Luwian constructions match this Hittite construction, the presence of *-mi* in the *amu-wa-mi* sequence just discussed can now be justified, and this also opens the way to an understanding of the pronominal sequences of the *hatura*-clauses listed above. In these nominal clauses, we expect on the Hittite model a subject, a reflexive pronoun and a predicate (if, of course, the understood verb is in the 1st or 2nd person). As already suggested by Melchert, it then seems

possible to assume that the function of the reflexive is taken by *-mu* (in conjunction with the orthotonic *amu*), *-a(n)za* (in conjunction with the orthotonic *a-zi^2-za*), *-ma(n)za* (in conjunction with the orthotonic *u-zi^2-za*). For the 2nd person sing. we only have one example of *-ri* (< *-ti*) with no orthotonic pronoun. The presence of *-mu* instead of the expected *-mi* can be explained by the observation that *-mi* is nowhere present in the ASSUR letters; it is likely to have been preserved only in fossilized formulae and to have been replaced by *-mu* in the current language – at the least at the time of our letters.

In general in our clauses, the orthotonic pronouns must act as subjects and *hatura* as predicate – as shown by *e*, § 6, where *asatani* cannot agree with *hatura*. If so, a typical clause can be rendered as “I/we/you myself/ourselves/yourselves (am/are) *hatura*” (note that the translation signals the presence of the orthotonic pronoun with “myself” etc.). But what is *hatura*?

hatura. Cf. recently Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 30.

The writing. The identification as a form of the verb “write”, related to Hitt. *batrai-*, goes back to Meriggi (*AJO* 10 (1935–36), pp. 113, 116 f.). Melchert’s demonstration (*An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 29–32) that the writing *a+ra/i* internally and finally represents *ra+a* (i.e. *ra*, parallel to *ri+i = ri*) means that *ha-tu-ra+a* should represent *hatura*. In the writing *ha-tu-ra+a-i* (*d*, § 5), where *-i*, written large, might be thought to represent the final vowel, we have to suppose that as elsewhere written small, it in fact serves as word-ender/space filler; cf. (“*69”) *sa-tu(-i)*, written large (*e*, § 13). The writing *ha-tu+ra/i-* (*e*, §§ 3 and 8) should be a simple variant representing the same form (see below). A related or identical noun identified already by Meriggi as “letter” (*OILZ* 36 (1933), p. 76), is written:

ha-tu-ra+a-sa (nom. sing. MF: *e*, § 11 (<*ra+*>); *f+g*, § 9)

ha-tu+ra/i-na (acc. sing. MF: *e*, §§ 5, 7, 9; *a*, § 5; *d*, § 5)

The nom. form, following Melchert’s rule, may be read *haturas*, an *-a*-stem. For the relation of this word to *hatura*, see below.

The form. In the *hatura*-clauses, the form *hatura* can be seen both to be invariable and to act as a verb, i.e. to govern the acc. sing. MF *haturan* in clause CII (*d*, § 5; *e*, § 5). Its usage in clauses CII and CIII α however preclude the identification as 2 sing. imp. offered by Neumann (*apud* Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, p. 569 n. 17), since the first contains the factual negative *NEG*₂, and the second the finite verb *astani*. The syntax, clearly visible in clause CIII α (and implicit for all the other *hatura*-clauses), consisting of an unvarying verbal form construed with the verb “be”, shows *hatura* to be a verbal noun apparently formed with an *ur*-suffix and ending in *-a*, to be identified as dat.-loc. sing.

The stem. If the foregoing analysis of the form is correct, we identify a stem *bat-*, “write”. We may note that

Hitt. *hatrai-*, “write”, has been derived from *hatta-*, “cut, stab, strike” (Oettinger, *MSS* 34 (1976), pp. 124–126; see also Tischler, *HEG*, s.v. *hatta*–², *hatrai-* for bibliography; and now Puhvel, *HED*, s.v. *hat(t)-*, *hatta-*, *hazziya-*), and the cognate *hazziya-*, “pierce, strike, engrave”, passed through a similar semantic development (Neu, *StBoT* 18 (1974), pp. 82–85). The latter form finds its counterpart in Hier. *hazzi-* (see CEKKE, § 15, and Commentary). We should also note that Oettinger further interprets Hier. (“LOQUI”) *ha-ti-i-ti* as “they write(?)” (*Stamm-bildung*, p. 346 n. 176), but this form normally rhotacizes, thus represents **hadi-* (see above, clause A); and this fact, together with the consistent use of the determinative LOQUI indicating a verb of speaking with *hati-* (> *hari-*) but never with *hatura*, advises against an identification of the two stems.

The construction. We thus appear to have a verbal noun, dat. sing., of a stem “write”, construed with the verb “be”, giving the sense “be for writing”, “be to write”. This construction matches that of Hitt. infinitive with verb “be”, as noted by Anna Morpurgo Davies (*KZ* 94 (1980), p. 91). In Hier. Luwian a possible parallel would be the *sapisura/i*-clause discussed above, if Melchert’s interpretation were accepted. Cf. also perhaps CRUS-*wa/i+ra/i* *á-sa-ti*, “... they are to stand” (KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 9, and Commentary).

Relationship of *hatura-*, “letter”, to *hatura*, “for writing”: do these belong to the same paradigm, as suggested by Melchert? We have identified *hatura* as the dative of a verbal noun **hatur* (presumably neuter), while *hatura-* is clearly of common gender. It is possible to identify the latter as a derived form of the former, and this indeed would seem the most plausible solution. The alternative view, taking *hatura* as dat.-loc. sing. of *hatura-*, seems syntactically less probable.

api. It has been noted that this occurs regularly as CI, element iv. Terumasa Oshiro now identifies this as a preverb, equivalent of Hitt. *appa*, “back, again”, and translates *api hatura* as “to write back”: see *Ar. Or.* 56 (1988), pp. 246–252. The sense seems appropriate to the present contexts; for a general assessment of this interpretation of the rather numerous occurrences of *api* in the ASSUR letters, see the end of the Commentary, Appendix, cit. 1 (below, p. 554 f.).

Translation and interpretation of clauses CI, II, III.

From the foregoing analysis, Clause CI, which in slightly divergent forms introduces the body of each letter, emerges as:

“We (ourselves) (are) to write” (var. “I myself (am) ...”) This is best interpreted, in view of the following contexts, as a rhetorical question:

“Are we ourselves to write?”

Clause CII, which follows Clause CI in *d* and *e*, emerges as:

“We (are) not to write any letter.”

i.e. an indignant denial of Clause CI.

Clause CIII, which follows Clause CI in *c* (after an intervening clause; see *c*, § 3, Commentary) and Clauses CI + II in *e*, emerges as

“You yourselves are to write.”

i.e. an assertion that it is the addressee’s not the sender’s turn to write.

Remaining clauses of letter e (§§ 3, 7–9, see above)

These all contain the word written *ba-tu+ra/i-*, twice clearly the noun, acc. sing. MF, identified as “letter” (§§ 7, 9).

§ 7. Other features considered below, Commentary.

§ 8. A variant form of Clause CI, repeating § 4, perhaps in a more emphatic way, i.e. repeating the indignant rhetorical question. The fact that the usual *ba-tu-ra+a* is replaced here with *ba-tu+ra/i-* suggests that the two forms are graphic variants (see above). Note the presence of *api* as in Clause CI, to be interpreted “back, again”, following Terumasa Oshiro.

§ 3. *ba-tu+ra/i-*: here either “for writing, to write” as above, or possibly “for a letter”, if this produces easier sense.

u-sa-ta-mu-ti-sà: possibly noun, nom. sing. MF, has been suspected of being a personal name (e.g. Meriggi, *Glossar*, s.v.); this would yield “and *ustamutis* (is) to write”, possible but not obvious sense. Alternatively, a verb *ustamu-* + *-tisa* ending, 2 sing. pres. (see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 90 (1984), pp. 104–107); this would yield “and you *ustamu-* for a letter”, perhaps a question, where an interpretation “wait, ask” or the like would give plausible sense.

(D) Further *hatura* and related clauses:

- e*, § 11 REL-*i-sà-wa/i-sa* | *á-mi-sa* | *ba-tu-⟨ra+⟩a-sa*
 § 12 | *u-nu-ba-wa/i-ma-za-ta* | *ni-i* | *ma-nu-ba* | AR-
 HA- (“VAS”) | *pa+ra/i-ra+a-ia* | DOMI-
 NUS-*ni-i* | *a-za-ia-ha-* | *sa-na-wa/i-ia*
 § 13 | *wa/i-za-i* | *ni-i* | ARHA | (“*69”) *sa-tu-i*
 § 14 | *ni-pa-wa/i-mu* | ARHA- | MORI-*nu-i*
 (§ 15 | *á-ta₅-wa/i-za* | REL-*sà-ha* | *a-sa-ti*)
- f+g*, § 9 | REL-*sa-i-wa/i-sa-i* | *a-zi-sa* | *ba-tu-ra+a-sa*
 § 10 | *u-nu-pa-wa/i-za* | NEG₂- | *tu-wa/i-ri+i*
 | *ba-tu-ra+a*
 § 11 | *wa/i-ri+i-i* | *ku-ma-na* | *ba-tu-ra+a*
 § 12 | *wa/i-za* | *ni-i* | *ma-nu-ba* | ARHA- (“*69”) *sa-si-i*
 § 13 | *ni-pa-wa/i-mu* | (“SIGILLUM”) HW^T-*pa-sa-nu*
 (§ 14 | *á-ta₅-wa/i-za* | REL-*sà-ha* | *a-sa-ti*)

Cf. immediately following *hatura*-clauses cited above, (C):

- a*, § 4 | *u-nu-ba-wa/i-tu-u-ta* | *u-za-ri+i* | ARHA-
 | *pa+ra/i-ra+a-ha*
 § 5 | *wa/i-mu-u-i* | *ba-tu+ra/i-na* | NEG₂- | *ma-nu-ba*
 | (“LOQUI”) *pu-pa-la-ta*

c, § 5 |á-pi-ha-wa/i-tu-u-ta|ni-i-‘|ARHLA-‘|ma-nu-ha
pa+ra/i-ra+a-wa/i

e, §§ 11–14, *f+g*, §§ 9–13: see Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 115–117 cit. 5, 6.

e, §§ 12–13, *f+g*, §§ 11–12: see Melchert, *KZ* 102 (1989), p. 36.

a, § 4–5, *c*, § 5: see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 101 f., 104.

These passages too must be considered together because of similar contexts and vocabulary, principally the further occurrence of *hatura* and the pair of verbs *ARHLA* (“VAS”) *pa+ra/i-ra+a-* and *ARHLA* (“*69”) *sa-* (all attestations of the former are quoted here, and of the latter the 3 further attestations are examined under letter *b*, § 5, Commentary).

ARHLA (“*69”) *sa-*: Melchert, loc. cit., has now plausibly identified this word with Cun. Luw. *ša-* (with redupl. *šāšša-*), and shown that this verb is the equivalent of Hitt. *lai-* and *tarna-*, “let go”. His interpretation is strongly supported by the recent appearance of (“*69”) *sasa-* as the Hier. form of Cun. Luw. *šāšša-*: see MALPINAR, § 5, and Commentary.

ARHLA (“VAS”) *pa+ra/i-ra+a-*: Melchert, loc. cit. n. 20, has further interpreted this verb contextually as meaning “be missing, miss, lack”, and suggested an etymological link, Hitt. *parai-*, “appear” (the negative sense “dis(appear)” would be supplied in this case by *ARHLA*). (Subsequently in a letter Melchert expresses reservations about his interpretation).

With the benefit of these recognitions, we may offer the following translations:

e, § 11 “What (is) it, my letter?
§ 12 Now let the lord’s and our goods by no means be missing to you,
§ 13 may they not ‘let us go’,
§ 14 nor (do you) cause me to die!
(§ 15 Whoever (is) for ATA for us ...”)

f+g, § 9 “What (is) it, our letter?
§ 10 Now we (are) not to write by your (letter).
§ 11 Since you (are) to write,
§ 12 by no means abandon us,
§ 13 nor cause me harm!
(§ 14 Whoever (is) for ATA for us ...”)

a, § 4 “Now I missed you by your (letter),
§ 5 you by no means replied to me a letter.”

c, § 5 “... let me by no means miss you!”
(for *apil(-hawa-)*, see below, Commentary)

Commentary (letter *a*)

§ 1. See above, General Commentary (A).

§ 2. See above, General Commentary (B1).

§ 3. See above, General Commentary (C).

§§ 1–9. See Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 101–103, cit. 13, elucidating *-ta*, 2 sing. pret.

§ 4. *u-nu-*: also § 10; *b* § 4; *d* § 6; *e* § 12; *f+g*, §§ 10, 22; probably to be associated with **nuu*, “now”, Hitt. *kinun*, Cun. Luw. *nanun* (for which formations see Neumann, *MSS* 16 (1964), pp. 47–49; Hamp, *RHL* XXVII/84–85 (1969), p. 132 f.). Thus Hier. *unu(n)* would show yet another prefix.

-tu-u-: pronoun, 2 sing., probably dat.; cf. letter *e*, § 12, where the parallel context has *-manza-*, (2 plur.). For identification see A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 89 and n. 9.

u-za-ri+i: cf. *u-za+ra/i-i*, below, § 9; also *tu-wa/i-ri+i*, letter *f+g*, § 10. These forms are understood as abl. sing. of *unzi-*, “your”, and *tuwi-*, “thy”, respectively, sc. *haturati*, “by your/thy (letter)”. There seem to be some discrepancies of usage in “my/your letter”: besides this example and *f+g*, § 10, both of which seem to use “your (letter)” to mean “my letter to you”, cf. a more explicit example of the same phenomenon in letter *e*, § 7.

ARHLA-‘pa+ra/i-ra+a-ha: see above, General Commentary (D).

For an alternative interpretation of this clause, see Carruba, *SME* 24 (1984), p. 62 n. 13.

§§ 5–7. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 136 cit. 29, elucidating the negatives.

§ 5. (“LOQUI”) *pu-pa-la-ta*: form identified by Morpurgo Davies as probable 2 sing. pret.; the verb, found also in CEKKE, § 3 (*pu-pa-li-ta*, 3 sing. pret.), is tentatively compared with the Lyc. (*p*)*pu(we)-*, “write” (cf. also *pu-*, KARABURUN, § 13, and Commentary?). But possibly the logogram “LOQUI” is more likely to determine a verb of “speaking” (e.g. “dictate(?)” etc.) than of “writing”; cf. (“LOQUI”) *hari-/hati-*, and the remarks above, General Commentary (A).

§ 6. NEG₂’: unusual position at beginning of clause would seem likely to introduce question.

|*tara/i-pa-‘mi-i-sa*: the supposition that this may be a personal name is confirmed by its occurrence as such on KULULU lead strip 3, side ii, *Tarpamis*. The present name could be identical, or perhaps *Tarpaimi-* (but the *-i* appears written small in the manner of the space filler in these letters).

| (“PES₂”) *a+ra/i-*: same verb in letter *f+g*, § 24, appears to be intransitive and is identified as a verb of “coming”, Hitt. *ar-*, “arrive”. Identification of the expected intransitive use here will depend on the possibility of explaining the two preceding words, apparently acc. sing. MF, as representing something other than the direct objects.

zan apa(n)-ha, “this and that” (both apparently acc. sing. MF): since the verb should be intransitive, these should not be direct objects. Perhaps understand as ex-

pression of time with accusative, and translate "now and then".

ka+ra/i-mi-sa(URBS): certainly a writing indicating Karkamiš as noted by Bossert with parallels; see KAR-KAMIŠ A2+3, § 5, Commentary.

§§ 7–9. See Carruba, *SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 61 f., identifying verbal ending *-ha-na* (§ 8) as 1 sing. pret. with nasalization.

§ 7. (*205)*á-tu-ni-na*: cf. also *f+g*, § 18, but the logogram and noun stem are alike opaque; note the rare writing of *-n*, acc. sing. MF, before enclitics.

VIA-*wa/i-ni-ta*: pret. verb could be 3 sing., subject *Tarpamis*, but quite possibly one of the 2 sing. forms identified in §§ 5 and 9. For the verb, see § 10.

§§ 8–9. See Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 114 cit. 4, elucidating verb *ARHL MORI*-, "die".

§ 8. MORI-*ha-na*: ending *-ha-na* identified by Morpurgo Davies as 1 plur. pret. in spite of enclitic *-mu*, pronoun 1 sing. (*KZ* 94 (1980), p. 99 f. cit. 12). Carruba however (loc. cit.) identifies the form as 1 sing. pret. + nasalization.

REL-*ri+i*: the other 2 attestations in the ASSUR letters both gain from context the interpretation "if"; see letters *b*, § 8, *f+g*, § 22.

§ 9. *u-za+ra/i-i*: see above, § 4, and Commentary.

(*476.*311)*a-li-ia-ta*: form identified as probable 2 sing. pret. The verb is unknown and the logograms opaque; context perhaps requires some such meaning as "neglect, slight".

§ 10. VIA-*wa/i-ni* (*harvani*), "send": logogram and sense identified since Hrozný (1933); amplified by KARATEPE, 180, "VIA"-*wa/i-na* = Phoen. *drk*, "way, road". For the somewhat uncertain stem lying behind this denom. verb in Hier., see TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 2, frag. 7, Commentary. This form of the verb, 2 sing. imp., is found in a series of clauses ("*harvani*-clauses") in all letters demanding the sending of goods: *a*, §§ 10–12; *b*, §§ 7, 10; *c*, §§ 8, 10, 11; *d*, §§ 6*, 7*, 8, 9*; *e*, §§ 18, 23, 27, 28; *f+g*, §§ 19, 23, 25*, (26), 31, 35, 36, 40, 44, 47 (* indicates full phonetic writing). The objects to be sent, sometimes recurring from letter to letter, are only partially identified.

ha-la+ra/i-la: unknown; cf. letter *c*, § 11, *ha-la+ra/i-la sa-na-wa/i-ia*, "good HALARALA", which identifies the word clearly as acc. plur. N.

(BESTIA)*HWI-sa-na-ma-ia*: cf. BESTIA-*sa-na-mi-zi* (TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 2. frag. 3). Clearly a derived form of (BESTIA)*HWI-sar(a)-//tar(a)-*, *hwisar(a)-//hwitar(a)-*, "wild animals" (see MARAŞ 1, § 11, Commentary, for attestations). The present form, *hwisna-maia*, showing the *r/n* alternation seldom observed in Hier. Luwian, may be formally analysed as the acc. plur. N of participle of a denom. verb *hwisna-*, but what sense

would arise from this formation? Starke (pers. comm.) suggests "jagen", adducing the analogy of Greek θήρ, "wild beast", θηρεύω etc., "hunt". In any case, this qualification seems to point to *halarala* as being animals.

*472(-)*ma-i-sa+ra/i-zi*: recurs in *d*, § 7, otherwise unknown; *472 presumably a logogram. Melchert now seeks to identify with (FEMINA. FEMINA)*anamasri* (TELL AHMAR 2, § 16) and interpret "harlot, concubine": see *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 224 f. n. 18. But this includes a rather idiosyncratic explanation of the logogram *472, and the resulting sense is by no means obviously appropriate. See further below.

(*78)*a-ru-ti-zi*: also requested in varying quantities in *c*, § 9 ("4 or 5") and *f+g*, §§ 41 and 43 ("11 or 10"). Cun. Luw. *arutati* (abl. sing./plur.) indicates a part of birds, including eagles, by which they are bound (thus "wing(s)"), as snakes are by their tails (*ISTU KUN^{HLA}-ŠUNU*; *KBo* XII, 100 obv. 9, rev. 5 – see Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 244 f.; *Bi. Or.* 43 (1986), p. 161); and it corresponds in a parallel Hitt. passage with Luwisms to *partianza* (Luw. acc. sing. N//acc. plur. MF?; see *KBo* III, 8 iii 6 and 24). The fact that the Hier. *aruti-* in all its occurrences is determined by the sign *78 which is clearly the pictogram of a bird's wing (cf. e.g. the wings of the Karkamiš and Karatepe griffins; Akurgal, *AH*, pls. 111, 149) makes a link with the Cun. Luw. *aruta/i-* in its contexts inevitable. The relevant words in Hitt. are *partawar*, = Akk. *ABRU*, "wing", and *pattar*, = Akk. *KAPPU*, "wing, feather". The word *partianza* is identified as a Cun. Luw. form meaning "wing" by Starke (pers. comm.), doubtless the cognate of Hitt. *partawar*. The combination of the Cun. Luw. context and the Hier. logogram assign *aruti-* to a similar sense, possibly corresponding to Hitt. *pattar*. Yet the Hier. contexts of the ASSUR letters remain problematic: how can repeated demands in letters for a number of "wings" or "feathers" be understood? One can only assume that the word here must be used in a transferred sense. Melchert now ingeniously interprets (*KZ* 101 (1988), p. 224 f.), "(wing;) basket", by analogy with Hitt. *pattar*, "wing; basket".

("LEPUS")*ta-pa-sa-la-ia* ("*286.*317")*wa/i-ara/i-ma*: this phrase recurs in the context of other demands, linked again with *aruti-* (letter *c*, § 9), and with *kurupi* (letters *b*, § 5; *f+g*, § 37). Since it does not occur on its own, but only in context of these other objects, one may suspect that it does not so much represent a demanded object itself, but instead qualifies the demands. This would seem to fit with the variation *ha-ti-ia* ("*286.*317")*wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-ia* (below, § 12).

(*286.*317")*wa/i-ara/i-ma*: note variant writings *wa/i-ra+a-* (*b*, § 5; *c*, § 9); *wa/i+ra/i-* (*a*, § 12); *f+g*, § 37, repeats *wa/i-ara/i-*. The determining logograms are completely opaque, but the form is acc. plur. N, perhaps of a *-mi-* participle or of coincident forms identified by Starke as *nomina rei actae* in *-mman-* (see

Stammbildung, Anhang A.I.3c). The writing *wa/i-ra + a-ma* indicates a form *warama*, i.e. a form derived from an *-a*-stem verb *wara-*. The translation “demands(?)” is offered simply from the context as interpreted.

(“LEPUS”) *ta-pa-sà-la-ia*: in spite of the writing (“LEPUS.ANIMAL”) in letter *c*, § 9, it is hard to believe that in the context the logogram can indicate anything to do with actual “hares”. It is likely to be used as elsewhere as a rebus-indicator of words beginning *tapa-*. In Cun. Luw. a form *tapasallati-* is derived by Starke from *tappas-*, “sky” (see *Stammbildung*, § 56); but the present Hier. word can hardly be this, since Hier. “sky” is *tīpas*, which would in any case doubtless be determined by “CAELUM”, even in its derived forms. Contextually more promising may be an association with Hitt.-Luw. **tapašša-*, “heat, fever”, which could have a transferred sense of “haste, urgency”; for a comparable semantic range, cf. Akk. *hamātu* (A), “hasten, be quick”; (B) “burn, be inflamed”, considered by CAD perhaps to be the same verb. Thus provisionally *tapasali-*, “(hot, feverish), urgent”.

§ 11. (“FEMINA(?)”) *sà-nu-ta-sa*: the sign FEMINA is normally an oval without central line (cf. letter *e*, § 18), but forms with the line are clearly established (see KARKAMIŠ A1a, § 22, and Commentary), which renders the identification of the present sign most probable. The present word is a *hapax legomenon*, presumably gen. sing.

(*187) *sū-mi-la-zi-i*: cf. (*187) *s[ū]-mi* “*la-a-na* (letter *c*, § 8); also (*187) *s[ū]-mi-la-[x]* (AZAZ, l. 2). The word is otherwise unknown and the determining logogram opaque. For writing of logogram markers below logogram + syllabogram, cf. “CAELUM”-*si-i-sa*// “CAELUM-*si*”-*i-sa*, TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 2, 25.

§ 12. *ha-ti-ia* | (“*286.*317”) *wa/i + ra/i-ma*’ *za-ia*: seems to reiterate previous requests rather than introduce a new one; cf. *1-ti-na* | *za-na* | (“LOQUI”) *ma-ra + a-ti-na*, letter *b*, § 4.

ha-ti-ia: perhaps recognize as Hitt.-Luw. *hanti-*, “first, prime, special”, for which see TOPADA, § 19; also perhaps KÖRKÜN, § 3; and Commentaries.

Commentary (letter *b*)

§ 1. See above, General Commentary (A).

§ 2. See above, General Commentary (B1).

§ 3. See above, General Commentary (C).

§§ 4–7. See Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), p. 98 cit. 9, with parallel passage (letter *f+g*, §§ 37–40), elucidating verbal ending *-ba-na* (1 plur. pret.). For §§ 4–5, see further Carruba, SME 24 (1984), p. 61, with alternative explanation of *-ba-na* ending (1 sing. pret. + nasalization). A different analysis of § 5, particularly relating to the word *kurupi*, is offered in the present comment.

§ 4. Cf. letter *a*, § 12.

u-nu-: see letter *a*, § 4, Commentary.

1-ti-na: the word “one” (cardinal) is unknown and could have *-ti-* as phonetic complement; yet some Hitt.-Luw. ordinals end in *-ti-* (for 9-*ti-*, “ninth”, see HISARCIK 1, § 3, and Commentary), and we should consider whether *1-ti-* is also ordinal, “first”. Luwian might be expected to use *hantili-* for “first”, as Hitt. *hantezzi-*, but a form *hanti-* also seems to have this sense: see *ha-ti-ia*, letter *a*, § 12, Commentary. Possibly the present writing could actually represent *hantin*.

(“LOQUI”) *ma-ra + a-ti-na*: perhaps to be associated with Lyc. root *mar-*, “order” (*mara*, “laws”; *maraza*, “judge”; *marazije*, “law-court” – see Laroche, FdX VI, pp. 73 f., 98). Melchert further seeks to associate the present word with (“LOQUI”) *pá² + ra/i-ta-* (reading *ma_x* for *pá²*), but this encounters difficulty; see An. St. 38 (1988), p. 36 f. and n. 13.

§ 5. *api*: for Terumasa Oshiro’s identification as form corresponding to Hitt. *appa*, “back, after”, see below, p. 554, Appendix, cit. 5.

ku-ru-pi: long associated with “OVIS”-*ru-pi* (BULGARMADEN, § 11) and (“*478”) *ku-ti-pi-li* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18 d), both clearly a kind of sacrificial sheep; but it remains necessary to demonstrate the suitability of this identification. In Morpurgo Davies’ treatment, *kurupi* was identified as dat. sing., also in the parallel passage letter *f+g*, § 37. Now, however, it is argued that *ami* is to be taken with the following word (see letter *f+g*, Commentary), which opens the way for a different interpretation of *kurupi*. In the BULGARMADEN passage, “OVIS”-*ru-pi* is certainly direct object, and rather than sing. N lacking the usual *-an + sa* ending, is likely to be a plur. N in *-i*, paralleled by *surni*, “horns” (*f+g*, § 36), also perhaps *atamani*, “name(s?)” (BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 19). *surni*, also *atamani* if correctly identified, appear to be genuine nom./acc. plur. N in *-i*, presumably parallel to same form in Hitt., for which see Kammenhuber, Hb. Or., p. 304. Hier. also shows an *i*-stem contracted form *hali*, “days” (< *haliya*); see BOR, § 11, and Commentary. It seems appropriate to identify *kurupi* as one or other of these nom./acc. plur. N in *-i*, and to take it as direct object of the clause, and the antecedent of REL-*ia* (also of *apaia*, “those”, *f+g*, § 38). *tapasalaia warama* may then be seen, as argued in letter *a*, § 10, Commentary, to be not the main object(s) requested but a phrase acc. plur. N in apposition to and qualifying that request. As to the sense, a demand for the sending of sacrificial sheep, perhaps “lambs” (see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 18 d, Commentary) seems quite possible, especially linked as here with a request for dogs.

|-IRH-1 | (“*69”) *sa-ba-na*: identical form in the parallel letter *f+g*, § 37; and |-IRH-1 | (“*69”) *sa-ba-*, ibid., § 38. For forms in *-ba-na* as 1 plur. pret., see Morpurgo Davies, loc. cit.; contra Carruba, loc. cit.

The verb *ARHLA* (“*69”) *sa-*, found in 2 other parallel passages (letters *e*, § 13//*f+g*, § 12), was considered in the General Commentary (D), above, where Melchert’s identification with Cun. Luw. *śa-*, shown to be equivalent of Hitt. *lai-* and *tarna-*, “let go”, was accepted.

§§ 6–7. Identical to *f+g*, §§ 39–40 (parallel passage); cf. also letter *f+g*, §§ 46–47, the only other occurrence of (“*69”) *ba+ra/i-za* ... *ARHLA* VIA-*wa/i-ni*. It is probably significant that in these contexts, and only these, *harwani* is preceded by *ARHLA*.

(“*69”) *ba+ra/i-za*: from context must indicate in some way “get into your possession”. Could it perhaps be associated with Hitt. *har(k)-*, “have, hold”? Alternatively, Melchert suggests a meaning “collect” by etymological association, KZ 101 (1988), p. 220 ff.

§ 8. |REL-*ri+i-* |*a-sa-ti*, “if there are (to you) ...”: i.e. “if you have any ...”. Cf. letter *f+g*, § 22, “if there is to you ...”; § 32, “(if) there is not to you ...”.

§ 9. (“*481”) *wa/i+ra/i-mu-ta-li-zi*: opaque logogram, no obvious etymology, but must indicate kind of dog.

PUGNUS-*ri+i-*: for similar context, see letter *e*, § 21; the verb, elsewhere argued to mean “rise, raise” (see JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 2, and Commentary), could here fall into the range of “choose, select”, or perhaps “bring up, rear”.

Commentary (letter *c*)

§ 1. See above, General Commentary (A).

§§ 2–4. See above, General Commentary (C).

§ 3. *á-ta₅-mi-sa-sa-ba-wa/i+ra/i*: attribution of the syllabic value *mi* to HH no. 420, which occurs elsewhere in the ASSUR letters only determining *washa-* (letter *f+g*, § 27), is justified by the observation that *420 (◇) seems to be an ASSUR letter version of *419 (◇), which elsewhere determines *washa-* (see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 11, and Commentary), and is used with the syllabic value *mi* in KARATEPE, also TOPADA, KAYSERİ, and KULULU 3 (see KARATEPE, The Syllabary, p. 68). Yet *mi* remains an unexpected intrusion into the regular ASSUR letter syllabary. The resulting *á-ta₅-mi-sa-sa* seems to be a noun, nom. sing. MF.

-*wa/i+ra/i*: can only be analysed as -*wa+ata* (“it (is) ATAMISA-”); or -*wa+ri* (<*ti*, 2 sing. reflexive, thus “you (are) ATAMISA-”). Contextually, standing between the 2 *batu*-clauses (“(are) we to write? ... You (are) to write!”), this clause is likely to emphasize the reproach contained in them; thus a sense for *atamisa-*, “disgrace etc.”, or the like could be envisaged. We may note that this letter is the only one lacking the greetings formulae examined in General Commentary (B1–2).

§§ 4–8. See Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), p. 104 cit. 14, elucidating -*ti-sa* verbal endings in §§ 6–7 as 2 sing. pres.

§§ 5, 6. *api-ba(wa-)*: see below, letter *f+g*, § 16, Commentary.

§ 5. |*ARHLA-* |*pa+ra/i-ra+a-wa/i*: see General Commentary (D), above, where Melchert’s suggested meaning “miss, lack” is accepted.

§ 6. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 140, cit. 39, elucidating negative (NEG₂). Cf. Carruba, *SME* 24 (1984), p. 63, for the form REL-*ba-na*.

u-si-: still unclear whether this can be associated with (“PES”) *usa-*, “bring” (KARATEPE, 146; ANDAVAL, § 3).

§ 7. *187(-) *tu-wa/i-i-za*: logogram opaque (cf. (*187) *sumila-*, following clause), word *hapax legomenon*, apparently acc. sing. N in -*i(n)za*.

§§ 8–11. *harwani*-clauses: in this letter Taksalas asks for almost the same articles as in letter *a*, §§ 10–11, (where see Commentary for individual items) –

a, § 10 *hwisnamaya halarala*

(-) *masara/i-*

3-*zi nipawa* 4-*zi aruti-*

§ 11 50 *sumila-* of *sanuta-*

c, § 11 good *halarala*

–

§ 9 4-*zi nipawa* 5-*na aruti-*

§ 8 10 *haspi-* + 100 *sumila-*

The omitted (-) *masara/i-* are requested in letter *d*, § 7.

§§ 9–10. See Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 133 cit. 12, with the parallel passage, letter *f+g*, §§ 41–44, *ibid.*, p. 132 cit. 11, elucidating LITUUS+*na-*, “see”, and quoting Starke’s evidence, *aruti-* = “wing?”.

Also Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), p. 104 f. cit. 15, elucidating -*ti-sa* ending (cf. above, §§ 6–7).

tapasalaya warama, also *aruti-*, “(wing;) basket”: see also above, letter *a*, § 10, Commentary.

REL-*ta-ba*, “wherever” (also parallel passage, *f+g*, § 43): interpreted by association with REL-*i-ta-na*, KARATEPE, 104, 178, = Phoen. (*b*)-*š*, “where(ver)”; also REL-*i-ta*, for which see KARKAMIŠ A1b, § 2, and Commentary, with other attestations.

Commentary (letter *d*)

§ 1. See above, General Commentary (A)

[DOM]US-*ni*-*375-[...]-*ia*’: 1st element fairly certain, [*pa*]rni-; *375 is a rare and undeciphered syllabogram (see SULTANHAN, § 47, and Commentary). It does not seem possible that the present name could be a variant writing of *Parniwari-*, the recipient of letter *b*.

For a recurrence of the personal name, see KARKAMIŠ A16e frag. 1.

§§ 2–3. See above, General Commentary (B1–2).

§§ 4–5. See above, General Commentary (C).

§ 5. |NEG₂-|REL-*ha-na* |*ha-tu+ra/i-na*': the almost identical letter *e*, § 5, has REL-*i-ha* for REL-*ha-na*; see Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 140 cit. 40*a-b*. See also General Commentary (C) above, where these 2 passages were designated clause CII. Letter *e*'s *na kwi(n)ha haturan*, "not any letter", is varied by letter *d* to "not anything (as) a letter", i.e. REL-*ha-na* should be acc. sing. N, as against MF REL-*i-ha*, according to my previous interpretation; but cf. now Carruba, *SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 62, who identifies the -*na* as simple nasalization, and can thus take REL-*ha-na* too as acc. sing. MF. For REL-*ha-na*, see further letter *f+g*, § 20, Commentary.

§ 6. *u-nu*-, "now"; see letter *a*, § 4, Commentary.

("*91")*á-tu-ti-zi*: the logogram markers were omitted in Andrae's *editio princeps*, but are visible on the photograph and were included by Meriggi in his edition. All other attestations of this logogram (i.e. "foot+ladder") have 2 circles under the foot (§ 9 below; also BULGARMADEN, § 9), the circles clearly being wheels in more elaborate forms (TOPADA, § 4; KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 1, where see Commentary). All these attestations however determine the stem *za-la-la*-. It is possible here that the "logogram markers" actually replace the same circles/wheels. The word *atuti*- is a *hapax legomenon*, but is presumably assigned by the logogram to something within the sphere of "chariot"; cf. below, § 9.

§ 7. *472(-)*ma-sa₅+ra/i-zi*: cf. above letter *a*, § 10.

§ 8. "SCUTUM"(-)*ha+ra/i-ti- hara/i-li-na*: KARATEPE, 49–50, gives ("SCUTUM")*hara/i-li* = Phoen. *mgn*, "shield" (thus logogram *272 is transcribed SCUTUM); cf. also KARKAMIŠ A12, § 12, with same writing. Since SCUTUM elsewhere determining *hara/i-li* here determines the word (-)*ha+ra/i-ti-*, the latter may be assumed to have a similar meaning, especially in direct proximity to the word *hara/i-li*. Indeed, if one assumed some form of dissimilation, it might even be the same word.

§ 9. See Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 211.

DOMINUS-*ni(-wa/i)*: writing does not indicate whether acc. or dat. sing. Letter *e*, written by "Harana-wizas" (perhaps an ethnicon concealing the person of Taksalas), asks for objects to be sent "for the lord" (§§ 12, 21, also 24), and this may also be indicated here. We should note that all *harvuni*- clauses demand goods "for me/us" (-*mu//za*), except the present clause, and letter *e*, § 23 (certainly a context of sending "for the lord"). This renders the interpretation as dat. sing. the most likely. Alternatively, it is conceivable that we have DOMINUS-*ni(n)*, acc. sing. MF, qualified by *zalalasin* REL-*tisamin*.

(*91)*za-la-la-si-na*: for the logogram, which normally determines the root *za-la-la*-, see above, § 6. The stem has been identified by Starke with Hitt.-Luw. *zalla*-,

"gallop (n).", *zalliya*-, "gallop (v.)", and Hier. *zalala* (acc. plur. N) analysed as a derivative in -(*a*)*l*, *zalal*-, "cart" (see BULGARMADEN, § 9, and Commentary). The gen. adj. *zalalasi*-, "(that) of a *zalal*", could in the context after a demand for a shield indicate a meaning "chariot", perhaps "(man) of a chariot, charioteer" (cf. letter *f+g*, §§ 45–47, for another demand to send a person). If the interpretation DOMINUS-*ni(n)* were chosen, we would have a "master of a chariot" (Akk. *bēl narkabti*). We should note also (CURRUS)*warazani*-, interpreted as "chariot" (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 7; 12, § 4).

REL-*ti-sà-mi-na*: cf. REL-*ti-sà-ma-za* (EĞREK, § 2 and Commentary), the pair being acc. sing. MF and N respectively of a -*mi*- participle of a verb *kuitisa*-. Both contexts imply the sense "made good" in some way (note here two of the other demands qualified as "good"); the precise sense must depend on the identification of the verb, for which no obvious comparable form suggests itself.

§ 10. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 145 cit. 52*a-b*, with parallel passage, letter *f+g*, § 26, elucidating the curious prohibitive + negative, "don't not ...", i.e. "don't fail to ...".

api: for Terumasa Oshiro's identification as the form equivalent to Hitt. *appa*, "back, after", see below, p. 554, Appendix, cit. 3.

Commentary (letter *e*)

§ 1. See above, General Commentary (A).

|*hara/i-na-wa/i-za-sa*: the recognition of this name as essentially an ethnicon by Bossert (*Or. NS* 20 (1951), p. 71) seems likely; i.e. *Harana(wa)*, "Harran" (cf. *Adana(wa)*, "Adana"), +-(*i*)*za*-, ethnic suffix; cf. also *ha+ra/i//hara/i-na-wa/i-ni//ni*-, "Haranean", epithet of Moon-God, and *hara/i-na*-, common onomastic element (cf. letter *f+g*, § 45). This recognition could mean that letter *e* along with all the other letters was written by Taksalas, here designated "the Haranawean".

§ 2. See above, General Commentary (B2).

§§ 3–9. See above, General Commentary (C).

§ 3. *u-sa-ta-mu-ti-sà*: see above, General Commentary (C), for consideration of this word, either noun (proper name?) nom. sing. MF, or more likely verb *ustamu*-, with ending -*ti-sà*.

§§ 4–6. See Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 91 cit. 2, elucidating *hatura* (+ verb *asa*-), "be to write".

§ 5. See above, parallel clause, letter *d*, § 5, and Commentary.

§ 7. See Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 92 f. cit. 3, examining ending -*ranu*, probably <-*tanu*, 2 plur. imp. Neumann now compares Lyc. *lawitēnu* (in E. Vineis

(ed.), *Le Lingue Indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione* (Pisa, 1983), p. 145).

REL-*i*: as noted by Morpurgo Davies, this cannot be a relative introducing a subordinate clause; perhaps indefinite – cf. REL-*i-ia*, KARKAMIŠ A6, § 8, and Commentary; also REL-*i*, below, § 10.

api (also in the *hatura*-clauses §§ 4, 8): for Terumasa Oshiro's identification as a form equivalent to Hitt. *appa*, "back, after," see below, p. 554, Appendix, cit. 6.

§§ 9–10. See Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 117 cit. 7, examining the obscure |ARHLA-| (MORI) *wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-*.

§ 10. See Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 39 f. and n. 17, identifying ("*460") *á-sa-ta-* as "hunger" (= Hitt. *kašt-*), and considering morphology of verb (MORI) *wawarita-*. Clause standing between interrogative *hatura*-clauses, obscure largely on account of the almost unknown vocabulary, though the syntax is also uncertain (subject/object?).

(VAS) *na-hu-ti-zi*: cf. *na-hu-ti-na* (KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 6, obscure context). The Hitt.-Luw. verb **nabhuwa-* is generally regarded as denom. from root **nabhu-*, probably to be associated with Hitt. *nabḥ-*, "fear", rather than *nakki-*, "heavy; important; precious" (see Weitenberg, *HUS*, § 453 and nn. 471–473). This stem could be recognized in the present word: *nahu(n)ti-* < **nahuwanti-*?

REL-*i*: possibly indefinite as only other attestation in ASSUR letters (§ 7 above). Melchert interprets "as (it were), nearly".

|*su-ti-ri+i-ti*| *ha+ra/i-ta-ti-ha*: this pair, abl. sing./plur., recurs as |*su-ti-ri+i-na*| *ha+ra/i-ta-ha* (acc. sing. MF; letter *f+g* § 8, see further Commentary there); here "by/with SUTIRI and HARATA".

("VAS") *ta-wa/i-sà-ta-ti*: an apparent (VAS) *ta-wa/i+ra/i*, "with the eyes", on KÜRTÜL, § 4 (see Commentary), suggests the identification of this word with *tawī-*, "eye", +*-asi-* (gen. adj.), +*-a(n)t-(?)*; the resulting form would be paralleled by Cun. Luw. *dawaššanzati*, apparently a simple variant of *dawaššati*, "by (that) of the eye(s)" (for the form see Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 15; also Melchert, *Memorial Offerings for Charles Carter*, forthcoming). Thus here "and by/with the SUTIRI of the eyes".

("*460") *á-sa-ta-ri+i*: the logogram, a form not listed by Laroche, is probably to be identified as *460, attested in the writing *460-*ti-zi* CORNU+*R-1/I-ti-zi* (TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1, frag. 3, § i). In the latter phrase, acc. plur. MF, it may be possible to identify 2 words of the present context, namely *asati-* and *suriti-//sutiri-* (< **sudidi-*). Melchert's interpretation of *á-sa-ta-* as "hunger" is based on a combination of context and etymology, supported by analysis of the logogram *460. If this interpretation is correct, one might further suggest that the logogram *460 should be analysed as a

cursive form of EDERE (cf. MARAŠ 3, § 4, and Commentary) negated by Melchert's MINUS.

(MORI) *wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-ti*: cf. *wa/i-wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa*, participle, nom. sing. MF, in a context which suggests "dying" (KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 3), as does the use here of the logogram MORI and the resemblance of the stem to *ARHA wala-/wara-*, "die". For the reduplicated, augmented root Melchert suggests analysis as a denom. verb formed on the base of a verbal noun in *-ta-*, differing little in meaning from the original base verb.

§§ 11–14. See above, General Commentary (D), with reference to earlier treatment by Hawkins, and recently by Melchert, examining the verbs *arha parara-*, contextually (following Melchert) "miss, lack", and *arha sa-*, (also following Melchert) "leave, let go"; also elucidating *arha* |MORI-*nu-*, (**walanu-*), "cause to die". A parallel passage occurs on letter *f+g*, §§ 9–13.

§ 12. |DOMINUS-*ni-i*| *a-za-ia-ha-*| *sa-na-wa/i-ia*: my earlier interpretation, "the goods to the lord and our", has been refined by Melchert's "the lord's and our goods", where DOMINUS-*ni-i* (emended to *-i(a)*) is taken as a derived adj. in *-i(ya)-*, "that of the lord" (*KZ* 102 (1989), p. 36 n. 20). Note that Melchert's interpretation of the verbs in this and the following clause (§ 13) necessitates taking *sanawiya*, "goods", as subject of both.

§§ 15–17. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 135 cit. 26, elucidating the negative. An identical clause with different sequel (damaged) is given in the same context on letter *f+g*, §§ 14–15.

Since my earlier tentative interpretation in the context of the identification of the negative, we may perhaps move somewhat further. In these three clauses, the first contains a verb which must be 3 sing. (or plur.) pres. of the verb "be", and this must be governed by the nom. sing. MF REL-*isha*, "whoever". This leaves *-anza* as a possible dative of advantage, "to/for us", and the obscure *á-ta₅(-)* as predicate, possibly dat. sing. §§ 16 and 17 strongly recall the constructions discussed above (General Commentary (C)), characterized by orthotonic pronoun + reflexive pronoun (corresponding to Hitt. *-za*) + predicate. Following this recognition, we may identify here too nominal sentences in which, as expected, the 2 plur. pronoun *u-zi²-za* calls for the reflexive *-manza*, in contrast with the 3 sing. construction in § 15 where no reflexive is needed. A possible translation is thus:

§ 15. "Whoever is for ATA for us,

§ 16. you (are) not,

§ 17. you (are) for ATA for yourselves."

Two queries remain: what is the meaning of ATA, and what allows us to translate *-manza* as "for yourselves" in § 17, but not in § 16? In the context ATA may mean something like "good, advantage", or the like. It might possibly be associated with the word ATA

appearing as an epithet(?) of gods, especially Kubaba (see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 10, etc.).

§ 16 must mean: "You (are) not (sc. for ATA (good) for us)". But if we translate *-manza* in § 17 as "for yourselves", must we not also so translate in § 16? In fact it seems likely that *-manza* is required in both §§ 16 and 17 with reflexive value (as the *-mi* in *amu-wa-mi*), but § 17 requires in addition the same pronominal form with more emphatic value. Rather than have two identical forms repeated consecutively, only one has been used.

§§ 18–24. These clauses concern a demand for a commodity *179.*347.5(-) *wa/i-sà-pa-* (§§ 18, 21) and the presumably connected *179(-)REL-*la-ia-na-* and *179(-) *sà-la/i/u-ma-sa-*, both *hapax legomena*. The first word is found on CEKKE, § 12, as part of an obscure phrase expressing what is given in payment, *179.*347.5-*sà-pa-sà* (case uncertain but perhaps gen. sing.). The phonetic writing (-) *wa/i-sà-pa-* suggested the possibility of identifying with Hitt.-Luw. *waššapa-*, "clothing", but the subsequent supposition that *179 represents "barley" may point rather to the word's indicating some kind of cereal, as also the other two words determined by *179 alone. To add to the uncertainty, the case of the word cannot be determined, whether acc. sing. MF, acc. plur. N or dat. sing.: cf. the considerations of FEMINA-*ti-na* (§ 18), and *sa-na-wa/i* (§ 21).

§ 18. FEMINA-*ti-na*': for identification of the logogram cf. letter *a*, § 11, Commentary. The present clause could simply be demanding a woman, in which case (-) *wa/i-sà-pa-* has to be taken as dat. sing. Alternatively, if the latter word is acc. sing. MF, FEMINA-*ti-na* could qualify it as "woman's" or "female". It is hard to see how (-) *wa/i-sa-pa-* could in this clause be acc. plur. N, but cf. § 21.

§ 19. ("*69") *sa-na-tu*: previously considered by me to be same verb as (ARHL-1) ("*69") *sa-* (see KZ 94 (1980), p. 115), which was taken to show that the verb was *san-*, with the nasal stem written only in the present form before 3 plur. imp. ending *-a(n)tu*. With Melchert's identification of Hier. (ARHL-1) ("*69") *sa-* with Cun. Luw. *ša-*, "leave, let go" (see above, General Commentary (D)), the present verb, though determined by the same logogram *69, should be different; note also that it lacks ARHL-1, which is always found with ("*69") *sa-*. Perhaps my original interpretation "seek" (Hitt. *šanb-*) may be maintained for this verb alone, separated from ARHL-1 ("*69") *sa-*.

§ 20. *187(-) *wa/i-ia-ni-*: *hapax legomenon* with opaque logogram in unclear context.

§ 21. *sa-na-wa/i*: the paradigm of this word causes difficulty. Securely identified forms are:

sa-na-wa/i-za-sa (nom. sing. MF: KARATEPE, 193)

sa-na-wa/i-zi-na (acc. sing. MF: letters *d*, § 8; *e*, § 23)

sa-na-wa/i(-i)-zi (acc. plur. MF: letters *b*, § 9; *d*, § 6)

sa-na-wa/i-ia (acc. plur. N: KARATEPE, 78; letters *c*, § 11; *e*, § 12; *f+g*, § 36).

Probable forms include (see Commentaries):

sa-na-wa/i-sa/sà/sa₈ (acc. sing. N: KARATEPE, 295; TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1, frag. 2a, § iv; KULULU 4, § 12).

sa-na-wa/i-ia-za (acc. sing. N or dat. plur.? SULTANHAN, § 18)

The present form without recognizable ending seems less likely to be acc. plur. N (cf. forms in *-ia*) than an adverbial form "well", as also KARATEPE, 72. Cf. Starke, *Stammbildung*, § 242.

*179.*347.5: presumably again represents (-) *wa/i-sà-pa-*, but is not likely to be qualified by *sa-na-wa/i*, so there is no further evidence as to its gender and number.

|*a-ta* | PUGNUS-*ri+i-*: cf. parallel clause, letter *b*, § 9, and Commentary.

§ 22. OMNIS-*MI-za*: acc. sing. N (= *tanimanza*); see letter *f+g*, § 19, and Commentary.

PONERE-*u*: apparently 2 sing. imp., = *tu < tuwa*? (so Meriggi, *Glossar*, s.v. *tu(wa)-*, comparing forms PONERE-*u-ha/ta* (1/3 sing. pret.; BOR, §§ 3, 9).

§ 24. FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ia*: see BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 2, Commentary, for this title.

("PES₂") *pa-tu*: verb attested elsewhere in *-za*- suffixed form (PES₂) *pa-za-*; KARKAMIŠ A5b, § 1 (see Commentary for paradigm); A12, §§ 10–12; SHEIZAR, § 2; TOPADA, § 23; also BABYLON 1, § 10? – see Commentary; cf. *pa-nu-wa/i-*, SULTANHAN, § 36? It is certainly a verb of motion, perhaps to be associated with Hitt. *pai-*, "go".

§ 25. *a-wa/i-wa/i-*: cf. also letter *f+g*, §§ 24, 48. These seem to attest the separate existence of a particle *awa/i*; cf. Cun. Luw. *a-a-wa*, "hey!" (KUB XXXV, 133 ii 27, 41); or interpret *awi*, "come!" (2 sing. imp.).

|*198(-) *ki+ra/i-ra+a-za* | *317.CRUS₂-*pa-sa-za-ha*: clearly dat. plur. of |*198(-) *ki+ra/i-ti-zi* | *317.CRUS₂-*pa-sa-ha* (acc. plur. MF and N, below § 29). The latter context informs us that this pair of things can be "known", but beyond that there is no obvious point of penetration of the words.

"LONGUS"(-) *ia-ti-na*: for logogram, cf. "LONGUS"(-)REL-*sà*- (KULULU 3, § 7); it appears to be a cursive form of MANUS (*69), + MINUS (i.e. LONGUS) – see Commentary there. The phonetically written verb is a *hapax legomenon*, with a possible sense "solicit" from the context.

§ 26. *308-*mi-sa*: completely obscure (first sign appears to write verbal ending *-ha* or *-ta*, KARKAMIŠ A18j).

*351.*406-*ia-sa₅+ra/i-za*: opaque logograms, unknown verb, perhaps 2 sing. imp.

§ 27. |*sù+ra/i-wa/i-za* |*317-*ni-za*: completely unknown *hapax legomena*.

§ 28. |*hi-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni*: recognition as a personal name rather than ethnonym seems likely (so Meriggi). Recognition of the goddess Hebat in the form would indicate that its bearer was female.

§ 29. |(LITUUS)*u-ni*-, “know”: cf. § 31, below.

§§ 30–31. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 131 f. cit. 14, identifying *na-wa/i-* as negative, also elucidating (LITUUS)*u-ni*-, “know”; cf. Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 126 cit. 1, identifying LITUUS as determining verbs of perception. Also Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 105 f. cit. 17, identifying verbal ending *-ti-sa* (2 sing. pres.).

This passage is parallel by two other pairs in letter *f+g*, §§ 16–17, and 52–53. The contexts appear to be ones of “pledging” children, expressed by a verb of unknown reading, *77-.

§ 30. Almost identical to parallel clause, letter *f+g*, § 52. If the writer of this letter is indeed the same as Taksalas, the writer of the others, he receives the pledge of children from different persons. “Your child” is perhaps the already mentioned Hiparawanis.

*77-*ti-sa*: another attestation of the logogram has now been identified in TILSEVET, § 3, where it appears that it represents a downward-pointing hand with crossed forefingers. For the implications of the new attestation for the interpretation, see Commentary there.

§ 31. (LITUUS)*uni*-, “know”: for recognition of *uni*- as full phonetic form, see KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 20, Commentary.

Commentary (letter *f+g*)

Order of reading. Bossert pointed out that Andrae in his original edition had, in ignorance of the reading and by a simple misconception, mistakenly identified the point at which the text of *f* joined to that of *g*. Thus the context showed clearly that *f*4 continued directly on *g*3 not *g*1, because (1) *f*4 + *g*3 gives § 30, which has a proper clause structure, where *f*4 + *g*1 would produce two successive words with suffixed connectives and the corresponding *g*2 + *g*3 would produce a clause with two verbs; and (2) because the general context produced by *f*4 + *g*3 coheres around the subject of the demand for the object *ka-pa²+ra/i(-ra+a-)*. See *Or. NS* 20 (1951), pp. 70–77. This is clearly correct, though doubted by Meriggi in his Edition.

§ 1. *ma-mu-ti*, *ma-mu-sa*: hardly proper names, but common nouns dat. and nom. sing. respectively, designating unnamed persons associated with the recipient and sender. Morphologically the word could be parallel to *taru(sa)*, dat. *taruti*, “(wood), statue”, in which case it

would be neuter, perhaps surprising in the designation of a person. The sense of *mamu(t)-* must be something like “partner” (whether a term of kinship, administration or commerce); thus “company” (Forrer followed by Meriggi). Perhaps closer to Akk. *tappū*, “partner”, attested as Akkadogram in Hittite, ^{LU}*T-AP-PU*//Hitt. ^{LU}*ara*-; see von Soden, *AHW*, s.v. *tappū(m)* (A4); Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb²*, s.v. ^(LU)*ara*-; Puhvel, *HED*, s.v. *ara*-.

§ 1. See above, General Commentary (A).

§ 2. See above, General Commentary (B2).

§ 3. See above, General Commentary (C).

§§ 4–8. Passage inserted between usual *hatura*- clauses of remonstrance, very unclear because of our almost total ignorance of the vocabulary. The verbs of all but one clause (§ 7) end in *-nu* and look as if they must be 2 sing. imp. of causatives in *-nu*, but the stems of these, as of their mostly paired objects, are largely unknown.

§§ 4 and 8. Closely parallel, same verbs, only paired objects differ.

|PRAE-*i* |(PONERE)*sà-ti-nu*: verb determined by “putting hand” (PONERE), used elsewhere only to determine *tu(na)-*, “put” (see letter *e*, § 22); does this point to a general sense “(cause to) put” for the present verb too? The simple form of the verb, (PONERE)*sà-ti*- is now found on MALPINAR, § 6, taking as object *su-tu+ra/i-*, apparently the same word as the first object in § 8 here; see Commentary there.

|“VAS”(-)*na-hi-zi* “VAS”(-)*la+ra/i-bi-ri+i-ia-zi-ha*: two items, presumably categorized as similar by the determinative, parallel to the pair *su-ti-ri+i-na(-wa/i) ha+ra/i-ta-ha* (for which see also letter *e*, § 10), found in the same context in § 8. Neither context, stem identification, or morphological analysis provides any obvious entries for the interpretation of these words.

§ 5. *na-a-pa*: presumably dir. obj., acc. plur. N.

a-su-nu, causative, for which cf. perhaps KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 4, and Commentary. Could it be associated with Hitt. *aššu-*//Luw. *wašš(u)-*, “good”, parallel to Hitt. *aššanu-*, as implied by the translation? (For these stems, see Puhvel, *HED*, s.v. *ass-*, *assiya-*; Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 182–206).

§§ 6–7. See Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 117 f. cit. 8, considering the connection of the present verb *arha wala-* with *arha* (MORI)*wala-/wara-*, “die”, which looks likely but awaits confirmation from the establishment of the sense of this passage.

§ 6. “*474”-*bi-sà* (logogram clearly not a separate sign *473 as listed by Laroche): *474 occurs only determining the word *wasinasi-/usinasi-*, “attendant, eunuch” (for which see KARKAMIŠ A6, § 30, and Commentary), thus here the writing should represent **wasinasabisa*, ab-

stract formation in *-abi(sa)*, “eunuch-hood”, i.e. “the eunuchs”?

BRACCHIUM(-)*bu-mi+ra/i-ha*: = BRACCHIUM+*mi+ra/i-ri+i-i* (abl. sing., CALAPVERDĪ 1, l. 3); the form here is probably acc. sing. MF., qualified by *walamin*. The logogram occurs elsewhere as a word BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-*; see JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 3, and Commentary.

zi-ku-na-ti: apparently abl. (sing.) of verbal noun in *-una-* from otherwise unattested root *zik-*; thus “from ZIK-ing”?

arha walamin: if this is indeed the participle of *arha wala-*, “die”, as looks likely, then the noun BRACCHIUM(-)*bu-mi+ra/i-* must be something that can “die”, literally or figuratively; beside the meaning “dead”, possibly also “dying” should be considered.

PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*nu*: the simple verb is suggested to mean “live” (see above, General Commentary (B1), note on PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*si*). “Cause to live” here could in combination with *arha walamin* give the metaphorical topos of “reviving the dying/dead”, common in Neo-Assyrian letters (see CAD B, s.v. *balātu* 6 b; M, s.v. *mitu* e1, also with Boğazköy Akkadian parallels).

§ 7. “*476”-*wa/i*: completely obscure form, recurring on TELL AHMAR frag. 5, l. 2.

(“*476.*311”) *bi-ru-ra+a-ti-i*: this should represent *birurati* < **birudati*, cf. Cun. Luw. *bi-i-ru-ū-ti-ti* (StBoT 30, pp. 178 no. 15 l. 3', 181 no. 18 iii 20'), “from the oath”; see also KARKAMIŠ A5a, § 9, and Commentary.

Melchert utilizes this writing to establish the reading *ra+a* for *a+ra/i*, i.e. *bi-ru-ra+a-ti-i* = *birurati* < *birudati* (An. St. 38 (1988), p. 29 f.); cf. also *ha-tu-ra+a* = *hatura*.

arha wa/i-la-u-ta: difficult to dissociate from the *arha walamin* of preceding clause and verb “die”; yet how to explain *-u-*? Could it perhaps arise from a (late) phonetic development (*-ant-* > *-aut-*, foreshadowing Lyc. *-an* > *-u* (for which see Neumann, Hb. Or., p. 375 § 12)? Cf. also below, § 28, *i-sa-u-ta*.

§ 8. See § 4 above; and compare now MALPINAR, § 6: *a-u/a/i su-tu+ra/i-na* (PONERE) *sā-ti-tu-u-* (see Commentary there).

§§ 9–13. See above General Commentary (D), with reference to Hawkins KZ 94 (1980), p. 115 f. cit. 6; also Melchert, KZ 102 (1989), p. 36 (§§ 11–12 only), interpreting the verb *arha* (“*69”) *sa-* as “leave, let go, abandon”.

§ 9. *a-zi-*: recognized as possess. pronoun from parallel *ami-*, letter *e*, § 11; phonetic shape defined by new reading *zi*, i.e., *anzi-*, parallel to *u-zi-* (*unzi-*), the pair identified as 1 and 2 plur. (see HHL, p. [36] f.). See further *a-za-ta* (*anzaya*, nom./acc. plur. N, letter *e*, § 12); also *i-zi-ia-ti*, abl. sing., IZGIN 1, § 16.

§ 10. See Hawkins, An. St. 25 (1975), p. 135 cit. 28, elucidating the negative. The clause like the following is a variant of the ordinary *hatura*-clause meaning “I/we/you (am/are) to write ...”. In sense it seems to parallel letters *d*, § 5 and *e*, § 5.

tu-wa/i-ri+i: for interpretation as abl. sing. of *tuwi-*, “thy”, sc. *haturati*, “by your (letter)”, see above, letter *a*, § 4, Commentary. The word seems to replace the “any letter” of the parallel clauses.

§ 11. Further variant of the *hatura*-clause; thus introductory particles *wa/i-ri+i* must contain the necessary pronoun, here *-ti* > *-ri*, 2 sing.

§ 13. Parallel clause to letter *e*, § 14.

(“SIGILLUM”) *HWI-pa-sa-nu*: paralleled by *arha MORI-nu*, “cause to die”, this is the causative of a simple verb in *-sa-*, with a probable reading *hwapasa-*, permitting association with Hitt. *hwapp-*, “harm” (so also Neumann, *apud* Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, p. 502 n. 16). For the reading of the sign *HWI*, see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 8, Commentary.

§§ 14–15. Parallel to letter *e*, §§ 15–17 (first clauses identical), following clauses which are also parallels.

§ 15. “*356”¹(-)*REL-sū-[-...]*: must be verb, probably only ending missing, doubtless pres. (prohib.) after *ni manuha*, but what person; i.e. who is subject? In the general unclearness of the context it is by no means easy to guess, nor does the pronoun *-tu-u-* (either acc./dat. 2 sing. or dat. 3 sing.) assist. The presumed phonetic rendering of the verb is *kwisu-*; for the word cf. *356-*sū-ha(-)[ta]-mi-i[-...]*, TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 4 (+3), l. 5; and the adj. *356-*wa/i-zi*, KARKAMIŠ A31, § 8. No interpretation at present suggests itself.

[2[...]] | [...]-*za/i-[-...]*: apparently numeral “two” (or possibly restore to “fo[ur]”), followed by noun with acc. plur. MF ending, probably dir. obj. of verb.

§ 16. [*a*]-*pi-[-ha-wa/i-]*: Melchert points out to me (pers. comm.) that *api-ha(wa)* is used repeatedly throughout this letter to introduce a new topic (see §§ 21, 27, 37, 45), and that even *-ha(wa)* by itself has a similar force (§§ 36, 52). *api-ha(wa)* occurs elsewhere only in letter *c*, §§ 5 and 6, and *api-pa(wa)* is not found. Now Terumasa Oshiro's identification of *api* as the Hier. equivalent of Hitt. *appa*, “back, behind”, substantiates this observation and permits us to recognize a usage parallel to Hitt. *appa-ma*: for discussion, see below, p. 554 f., Appendix, cit. 2.

The present clause introduces the real body of the letter and with § 17 corresponds to §§ 52–53 at the end in that they both show the same pair of verbs. Both pairs seem to refer to the same incident, the promise of a child to the writer, and to frame a series of requests connected with the event.

[...]-*la-[-...]*(URBS): § 36 may imply that the addressee is in the city Alawara. A restoration of the place

name here looks possible, [a]-la-[wa/i+ra/i...], "[in] [A]la[wara]", and would fit well with the supposition that this was the recipient's location.

apati INFANS-*ni*, "that child": the overall context of the letter is most easily understood if the child in question is the same as "your child", below, § 52, i.e. the daughter of the addressee pledged to Taksalas.

ha+ra/i-na-i-na: a combination of this context and a proposed restoration of the word in § 49 below suggests that this is something connected with the act of betrothal. One is reminded of Hitt. *barnai-*, a substance used in the Birth Rituals, very much confused with the like-sounding *barnau-*, "birth-stool"; for these see especially Beckman, *StBoT* 29, pp. 102–104; Weitenberg, *HUS*, §§ 702–709. One could understand that such might be an important adjunct to betrothal ceremonies.

*77-*ha-*: verb recurs below in § 52, which further, with § 53, corresponds closely to letter *e*, §§ 30–31; *77 is now also identified in TILSEVET, § 3. See Commentaries there.

§ 17. As noted, closely parallel to letter *e*, § 31, which prohibits anyone "knowing" the child "before me". Here the prohibition on anyone "seeing" the child seems likely also to refer to sexual contact.

§ 18. See Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 99 cit. 11, considering the ending *-ha-na* (1 plur. pret.?).; and Carruba, *SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 61, suggesting ending to be 1 sing. pret. + nasalization.

|*pa+ra/i-la-ri+i* |(*205)|*a-tu-na-ri+i*: clearly abl. sing./plur.; for *atuni-*, see letter *a*, § 7, where it is something not sent.

|(*69)|*wa/i-za-na* |(*69)|*wa/i-zi*: to WAZI- a WAZA- seemed likely to mean something like "request a request", and this permitted Melchert to suggest a connection with Hitt. *wēk-*, "want, demand", and to compare the verb *wa/i-zi* (KULULU 1, § 7); see *Studies Cowgill*, p. 198, § 2.3.4.

§ 19. OMNIS-*MI-za*: clearly acc. sing. N, like the same form in letter *e*, § 22, standing for *tanimanza*; cf. the writings *ta-ni-ma-za* (BABYLON 1, § 4); OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* (KARATEPE, 298); also writings of dat. plur. *tanimanza*, OMNIS-*MI-ni-i-ma-za*//OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* (KARATEPE, 281 Ho.//Hu.); OMNIS-*MI-za* (KARATEPE, Ho. 301).

Context. §§ 18–20 seem to commence a series of requests each introduced by *api-ha(wa)*: §§ 21–26, donkey(s); §§ 27–35, *KAP-AR(R)-i(?)*; § 36 (without *api-*), drinking-horns; §§ 37–40, *tapasalaya warama* (and) *kurupi*; §§ 41–44 (without *-ha-*), ARUTi's; §§ 45–51, Haranawaris the *tunikaras*.

§§ 20–25: See Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 110 f. cit. 1, elucidating verb *arha* (MORI) *wala-//wara-*, "die"; and noting the difference between ASINUS-*na-* and (ASINUS₂-ANIMAL) *tarkasni-*, i.e. between *-a-* and *-i-* stem forms of the same stem, perhaps to be explained as the

difference between "donkey" and "mule" (see BULGARMADEN, § 9; CEKKE, § 7, and Commentaries).

§ 20. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 140 cit. 38, elucidating negative; also identifying REL-*ha-na* as nom. (acc.) sing. N of indefinite pronoun (here certainly nom. – the subject). Note that Carruba, in considering this form, does not give this attestation the prominence that it would seem to warrant (*SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 63).

api: Terumasa Oshiro's identification as form corresponding to Hitt. *appa*, "back, behind", gives a very plausible phrase *api asa-*, "be behind, remain" (cf. § 33). For discussion, see below, p. 554, Appendix, cit. 4.

§ 21. |*ARHA-* |*MORI-ta*, "they died": for further attestations of MORI, see letters *a*, § 8; *e*, § 14 (caus.); and with phonetic complements *wa/i-la-*, TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 10, 18, and *wa/i+ra/i-*, KULULU 2, § 3. For *wa/i-la-* without logogram, see letter *f+g*, §§ 6–7. Cf. also (MORI) *wawarita-*, "?", letter *e*, § 10. For possible connection with adverb (CRUX) *wala*, "fatally(?)", see KULULU 5, § 8, Commentary, with attestations. [New attestation of MORI now on TELL AHMAR 5, § 7].

§ 24. *a-wa/i-wa/i*: the introductory *a-wa/i* recurs below, § 48, also letter *e*, § 25, where see Commentary, suggesting an identification with Cun. Luw. *a-a-wa*, "hey!", or possibly as 2 sing. imp., *awi*, "come!".

|*ARHA-* |("PES₂") *a+ra/i-wa/i*: identification as verb of motion, = Hitt. *ar-*, "come, arrive", seems very appropriate to this context; cf. letter *a*, § 6, and Commentary.

§ 26. See above, letter *d*, § 10, and Commentary, for closely parallel clause.

§ 27. (*420) *wa/i-sa-ha-sa*: for logogram *420, an ASSUR letter elaboration of the sign *419, see above, letter *c*, § 3, Commentary. The word *washa-* here could be taken as subject, nom. sing. MF, yet it seems in its other occurrences not to designate a person and not to be likely to stand as subject (see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 11; TUNP 1, § 6, and Commentaries). Alternative interpretations here could be gen. sing./plur. (partitive) or acc. plur. N of gen. adj. in *-asi-*.

REL-*za*: elsewhere in ASSUR letters conveniently translated "why?" (letters *a*, § 7; *c*, § 7; *e*, § 9).

VIA-*wa/i-ni-ta*: if *washa-* is not the subject, the verb could be 3 plur. pret., subject "they" (indefinite), or possibly 2 sing. pret., for which ending see Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), pp. 101–104.

§ 28. *api-*: see below, p. 554, Appendix, cit. 7.

ka-pa²+ra/i-zi: cf. *ka-pa²+ra/i-ra+a-na*, below, § 31. Note that it was in order to bring these two contexts into juxtaposition, as well as to obtain a proper clause junction, that Bossert correctly proposed the sequence letter *f/4* + *g³*. An identical word *ka-pa²+ra/i-sa* is found as a personal name (CEKKE, § 17e). Meriggi

noted the similarity to Hitt. ^{TUG}*gapari* (= ^{TUG}E.ÍB, “girdle” (see Friedrich, *HWb*, Erg. 1, s.v.; Tischler, *HEG*, s.v.), and Akk. *miserru* (see *CAD* M, s.v.)), but while the sense might fit here, the doubt over the value *pá*² must be remembered (see KULULU 2, § 6, Commentary).

i-sa-u-ta: for ending *-auta*, perhaps a phonetic development < *-anta*, cf. *walauta*, above, § 7, and Commentary. The verb here seems likely to be identical with *i(ya)sa-*, “buy”, found in § 34 below (see Commentary there).

§§ 29–30. Clearly balanced clauses: *wa+anza+ata* ... POST-*na* ... // PRAE+*pa+wa+anza+ata* ..., “them after us ... // but them before us ...”; object “them” in each case is presumably the *ka-pá*²+*ra/i-zi* of § 28.

§ 29. “VAS”-*ta-ni*: the alternation of VAS-*tara/i-* and VAS-*ni-* in closely connected contexts (KULULU 4, §§ 4 and 9, see Commentary there), suggests that the latter may represent an alternative form from the same stem, or a synonym. If so, the present form may be a more extended writing of VAS-*ni-*, representing *atni-*; the sense “self, person” can easily be accommodated here.

*480-*ia*: first sign otherwise unknown, presumably a logogram.

§ 30. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 141 f. cit. 45, elucidating the negative.

“PI:S₂”(-)*wa/i-’-za-sa-*: iterative in *-sa-* of PES₂(-)*wa/i-za-*, for which see KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, § 6, and Commentary.

§§ 31–35. See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Neumann*, p. 92 f., elucidating verb CUM-*ni iyasa-*, “buy from”; cf. also Melchert, *KZ* 102 (1989), p. 42 ff.

§ 31. *ka-pá*²+*ra/i-ra+a-*: perhaps simply alternative spelling rather than extended form of *ka-pá*²+*ra/i-* (above, § 28). Melchert’s interpretation of the ligature *ra+a* suggests that this writing specifically represents *kap(?)arra-*.

§ 32. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 135 cit. 27b, elucidating the negative.

§ 33. *api*: cf. above, § 20.

§ 34. *i-ia-sa*: identified as 2 sing. imp. of verb (CONTRACTUS)*i(ya)sa-*, “buy”, attested in § 28 above; also CEKKE, § 6; TÜNP 1, § 1.

§ 36. (“CORNU”) *sü+ra/i-ni*: re-reading of *ni* with *i*-vocalization would appear to give here a form showing an unambiguous (nom.) acc. plur. N in *-i*, qualified as it is by *sananiya uriya*, both unquestionably (nom.) acc. plur. N. Starke however finds such a form unacceptable and therefore attempts to take it as (nom.) acc. sing. N of a stem in *-i(t)-* (see *Stammbildung*, § 251 a), but this does not seem to be the most plausible interpretation

in view of the adjectives. For other apparent nom./acc. plur. N in *-i*, cf. *kurupi* (following clause, also letter b, § 5); and perhaps *atamani*, “name(s)” (BOYBEYPI-NARI 2, § 19, and Commentary). The form *ba-li(-i)*, “days”, acc. plur. N, is apparently contracted from the also attested *ba-li-ia* (see BOR, § 11; ÇİFTLİK, § 17, and Commentaries).

MAGNUS+*ra/i-ia-*: this acc. plur. N form seems to represent *uriya*, with stem form *uri(ya)-*, to be contrasted with an extended form *uraža-*, attested also in Cun. Luw. Cf. KULULU 2, § 5; CEKKE, § 14, and Commentaries.

§§ 37–40. See Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 98 cit. 10, with parallel passage, letter b, §§ 4–7, elucidating *-ba-na* ending. Here a somewhat different analysis of the structure of §§ 37–38 is proposed. See also Melchert, *KZ* 102 (1989), p. 35 f., elucidating the verb *ARHL* (“*69”) *sa-*.

§ 37. |“(LEPUS”) *ta-pa-sa-la-ia* | (“*286.*317”) *wa/i-ara/i-ma-*: see letter a, § 10, and Commentary.

ku-ru-pi: identified as acc. plur. N; see parallel passage, letter b, § 5, Commentary.

|*á-mi* | *a-ta-ti* (phrase absent from parallel passage): most appropriately taken together, since *ami-*, “my”, seldom follows word governed except with *tati-*, “father”, and DOMINUS-, “lord” (*tati-*: see JISR EL HADID frag 1, l. 2 (also with FRATER-*la-i-*); KARKAMIŠ A21, §§ 4, 7, 13, but cf. § 2; DOMINUS: see KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 21; KULULU 4, § 6, but cf. §§ 5, 10; others: see HAMA 4, § 4(?); MARAŞ 2, § 3). Compare also following clause, |DOMUS-*ni-i* | *a-ta-ti*.

a-ta-ti: if this is indeed a noun, dat. sing., qualified by *ami*, as argued, its sense may be determined by association with *a-tá-ti-li-i*, “internal” (BABYLON 1, § 11). A Hier. sequence *anta* // *antati-* // *antatili-* may be identified, parallel to Hitt., *anda* // **andur* (> *andurza*) // *anturiya-*; cf. also Hier. *arba* // **arhati* (> *arhariya-*, *arbiti-na-*, CEKKE, § 15; KARKAMIŠ A6, § 3, and Commentaries) // *arbitili-* (BABYLON 1, § 12). This *antati-* (with further possible attestations on KAYSERİ, §§ 12, 21, see Commentary) would be morphologically very close to Lyc. *ñtata-*, “chamber(?)”, a term with specifically funerary application found inscribed on rock-cut tombs (TL 6, 1; 63, 2; 118, 1, 4; 124, 7; 150, 4) and sarcophagi (TL 23, 1; 29, 2; 36, 4; 143, 2–4). Cf. also Hitt. *antaka/i-*, “chamber” (Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb*², s.v.; Puhvel, *HED*, s.v.). The present two contexts are not sufficiently clear to lend unambiguous support to this interpretation.

|*ARHL*:1 (“*69”) *sa-ba-na*: see parallel passage, letter b, § 5, Commentary, for Melchert’s interpretation of this verb.

§ 38. |*á-pa-i-ia* | DOMUS-*ni-i* | *a-ta-ti*: in preference to our earlier interpretation, “those houses”, an analysis “those (*kurupi*) in the house’s *antati*” is now offered. This has

the advantage of discarding the dubious interpretation of *parni* as acc. plur. N beside the well attested *parna*, and also of providing a parallel phrase to “my *antati*” of the preceding clause.

DOMUS-*ni-i*: identified as derived adjective in -*i(ya)*-, parallel to DOMINUS-*(na)ni(ya)*-, “lord’s” (see KARATEPE, 70, and Commentary), also to *tati(ya)*-, “father’s”.

§§ 39–40. See the identical passage, letter *b*, §§ 6–7, and Commentary there. Cf. Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 221 cit. 8.

§§ 41–44. See Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 132 f. cit. 11, elucidating the verb LITUUS+*na*-, “see”; also Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 105 cit. 16, for ending -*ti-sa*; also Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), p. 31, for analysis of connective particles of § 41 as -*wa+ara* (< -*ata*, “they”).

§ 41. *api(-wara)*: perhaps used in the same way as *api-ha(wa)*, for which see above, § 16, to introduce new topic. See also below, p. 555, Appendix, cit. 8.

-*wa/i-ra+a-*: our previous interpretation as -*wa+ri* (< *ti*), “to you”, has been discarded by Melchert (loc. cit.) on both epigraphic and morphological grounds. Epigraphically his interpretation of the ligature *ra+a* excludes the possibility of extracting -*ri* from the writing; and he argues (p. 42) that -*ti* cannot be taken as dat., a variant of -*tu*, but only as nom. (reflexive). His analysis of the particles as -*wa+ara* (< -*ata*) follows from this.

(“*78”) *a-ri-ti-*: see above, letter *a*, § 10, Commentary, for identification of this word as “wing”, and Melchert’s recognition of its transferred usage as “basket”.

Sense: resulting nominal sentence appears as “they (are) 11 baskets”. “They” must be the things requested in §§ 37–40, i.e. the *tapasalaya warama* and/or the *kurupi*, which implies that these must be the sort of item(s) which come in *baskets*.

§ 42. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 135 cit. 27 c, elucidating the negative.

wa/i-mi-LITUUS-: for the verb, provisionally identified with Hitt. *wemiya*-, “find”, see KARABURUN, § 6, and Commentary.

§ 43. REL-*ta-ha*, “wherever”: see parallel passage letter *c*, § 9, and Commentary.

§§ 45–48. See Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 222 cit. 9.

§ 45. -*ha-wa/i+ra/i-ta*: in § 51 below, containing the same verb, the particle chain is *[wa/i-[ri+i]-ia-sa-ta* (for restoration, see there). These two particle chains serve to elucidate each other: the only mutually compatible analysis is (§ 45) -*ha+wa+ri* (< *ti*) + *ta*, (§ 51) *wa+ri* (< *ti*) + *as+ta*. Thus the verb in both cases requires the reflexive pronoun -*ti* and -*ta Ortspartikel*.

[ha-ra/i-na-wa/i+ra/i-sa: accepted as personal name by Laroche (*HH* no. 290.1) and Meriggi (*Glossar*, p. 53), though not listed by Laroche, *Noms* (1966) or *Suppl.* (1981). Both onomastic elements are attested on CEKKE: *hara/i-na*-, “Harran”, or “eagle” (Starke, *Stammbildung*, p. 76), in *Haranam(wa)*- (§ 17a); and -*wa/i+ra/i-*, probably = *wari*-, “help”, in *Tarhunta/i-wara/i-* (§§ 17a, b), *Adala(?) -wara/i-* (§ 17d), *Huha-wara/i-* (§ 17j); cf. also *Parniwari*- (ASSUR letter *b*, § 1).

(“PANIS.SCUTELLA”) *tu-ni-ka-ra+a-*: obviously identical with (SCUTELLA) *tu-ni-ka-la-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17c, see Commentary), one of the listed “masters of crafts”, apparently a maker of *tunik*-bread. For a detailed consideration of this artisan and for the elucidation of the logogram PANIS.SCUTELLA, see Melchert, *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 225 ff.

[ARH-] |OCCIDENS(-)la/i/u-si-: though the logogram is opaque and the verb perhaps not fully written (but perhaps *lusi-*), the context suggests a general sense of “absent oneself”, with reflexive -*ti* and -*ta Ortspartikel*. The recurrence of the expression in a prohibitive (§ 51) indicates it to represent an undesirable act, thus more specifically “escape, flee”?

§§ 46–47. Passage exactly paralleled by §§ 39–40 above; also letter *b*, §§ 6–7, where see Commentary.

§ 48. See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 135 cit. 27 a, elucidating the negative.

a-wa/i-na/i-za: for initial *a-wa/i*, “hey!” or “come!”, see above § 24, and Commentary.

PANIS-*ni-na*: as subject, must be nom., thus most easily plur. N; cf. PANIS-*ni-na* apparently acc. sing. MF (KULULU 3, § 4, and Commentary). Melchert speculates whether this writing might represent some form of the *tuni(n)k*-bread, for which the *tunikara-* was responsible (loc. cit. above, § 45).

§§ 49–50. Division and restoration somewhat conjectural, but appears to give good sense.

§ 49. *[pi-i[a...]]*: top of *i* fairly certainly identifiable; if correct, is likely to represent verb *piya-*, 3 sing., probably pres. thus *pi-i[a-i]*.

[ha+ra/i-n[a²...]]: restoration *ha+ra/i-n[a-i-na]* clearly envisaged by Meriggi (*Glossar*, p. 52 s.v. *ha-r-n.-a-n*), taken from § 16 above. The present clause marks a return to that topic.

§ 50. *á-[...]-za[...]*: if *pi-i[a...]* of the preceding clause and (LITUUS) *ti-[...]-ri+i[...]* here are correctly identified as verbs, the connective particles between the two clauses must be sought here. A restoration *á-[pi-wa/i]-* is unlikely, since in every other occurrence *á-pi(-)* occupies the whole height of the line, and if -*wa/i* follows, it is placed at the top of the next column. But good sense would be given by *á-[pa-wa/i]-za[-]*, i.e. *apa(n)+wa+an²za*, “that (man) (acc.) for us”.

(LITUUS) *ti-[ia]-ri+i[...]*: restoration of verb *tiya-ri(ya)*-, which is now recognized on TOPADA, § 16,

and TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 5, frag. 12, § ii; also (without LITUUS) on KULULU 5, § 13 (where see Commentary). The identification of LITUUS as determining verbs of perception, combined with the contexts, suggests the sense “regard, watch, guard”. Restoration of the ending as [-ia-] or the like envisaged, to give 2 sing. imp.

§ 51. *[wa/i-ri+i]-ia-sa-ta*: cf. remarks on the parallel particle chain, above, § 45. Here *-ia-sa-* must represent *-as-*, “he” (nom. sing.), preceded by [-Ci-]; cf. *wa/i-ti//mi-ia-ta*, i.e. *wa+ti//mi+ata* (MARAS 4, §§ 9–10). The only possible particle ending in *-i* to be restored before a verb in 3 sing. is *-ti* (reflexive), and the spacing seems to demand [-ri+i]-, the rhotacized form, for which cf. *wa/i-ri+i* (above, § 11).

§§ 52–53. Closely parallel to §§ 16–17 above, and to letter *e*, §§ 30–31, which like the present pair stand at the end of the letter: thus each has in the first clause the verb CUM-*ni* *77- in a context relating to “child”, and in the second the verbs LITUUS+*na-*, “see”, or (LITUUS)*uni-*, “know”. See Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 126 f. cit. 2 and 3 elucidating the verb LITUUS+*na-*, “see”; also Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), p. 105 f. cit. 17 and 18, elucidating the ending *-ti-sa* (2 sing. pres.).

§ 52. CUM-*ni* *77-: see letter *e*, § 30, and Commentary; and for a newly recognized attestation of the verb, TILSEVET, § 3, and Commentary.

§ 53. LITUUS+*na-ri+i*: parallel clause, letter *e*, § 31 has (LITUUS)*uni-*, “know”, in context implying sexual connotation; the same is presumably to be understood for present verb “see”, here and above, § 17. The present clause could be understood as a question.

Appendix. *á-pi(-i)* = Hitt. *appa*, “back, after”?

A frequent occurrence in the ASSUR letters is the word *á-pi*, which has not been clearly understood in the past, but has generally been regarded as some form of the demonstrative *apa-* and left untranslated. This was supported by the fact that *apa-* does indeed show some examples of a by-form *api-*: see HAMA 4, § 5; TELL TAYINAT 2, l. 1 frag. 2, § ii, and Commentaries. Now Terumasa Oshiro has very plausibly suggested that we should recognize in it the equivalent of Hitt. *appa*, “back, behind”: see *Ar. Or.* 56 (1988), pp. 246–252. Hitherto only the equivalent of Hitt. *appan* has been recognized in Hier. POST-*na/ni*, for which two full phonetic writings *á-pa-(na)* have been identified (SULTANHAN, § 32; ISKENDERUN, § 2).

Besides the ASSUR letters’ attestations of *api*, it is found elsewhere several times in SULTANHAN, an inscription closely agreeing with the ASSUR letters’ orthographic style (see Tabal, *The Historical Context*, p. 430), notably in their practice of full phonetic writ-

ings with or without determining logograms. We may note the occurrences POST-*na* (ASSUR letter *f+g*, § 29); also POST+*ra/i-ta* (SULTANHAN, §§ 27, 28), compared with the phonetic *á-pa+ra/i-ta* (§ 34), as well as the phonetic *á-pa-na* already noted (§ 32).

In seeking to determine the validity of the identification of *api*, we should review the occurrences and their contexts. Some of the ASSUR letter attestations are found in recurring groups of clauses.

1. *hatura-* clauses (letters *a*, § 3; *b*, § 3; *c*, § 2; *d*, § 4; *e*, §§ 4, 8; *f+g*, § 3; see above, General Commentary (C); Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 1). The context here is always *á-pi ha-tu-ra+a*, “for writing back, replying”, a sense which fits the contexts well. Cf. the examples of Hitt. *appa hatrai-*, “write back”, in the Maşat letters, presented by Sedat Alp (*Studies Tahsin Özgüç*, pp. 4–8).

2. *api-ha(wa)* (letters *f+g*, §§ 16, 21, 27, 37, 45; also *c*, §§ 5, 6; see letter *f+g*, § 16, Commentary). Melchert had already pointed out that this served repeatedly to introduce new topics, and he now observes, in accepting Terumasa Oshiro’s identification, that this corresponds convincingly with the Hitt. usage *appa-ma*.

3. double negative clauses (letters *d*, § 10; *f+g*, § 26): the sense “don’t not send back/again to me” seems very appropriate.

4. *api asa-*, “be behind, remain” (letter *f+g*, §§ 20, 33; Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 6). Again the sense arising is entirely plausible. Anna Morpurgo Davies notes a very comparable use of Hitt. *appan* with verb “be” understood: see her remarks in A. Heubeck and G. Neumann (ed.), *Res Mycenaeae* (Göttingen, 1983), p. 308 and n. 60, with ref. to *StBoT* 4, pp. 44 (col. v 5, 11), 78.

Other occurrences of *api* are found in individual contexts, and require separate examination.

5. letter *b*, § 5: this corresponds closely to letter *f+g*, § 37, which was listed under cit. 2 above, the clauses introduced with *api-ha(wa)* marking a new topic. But letter *b*, § 5, differs in beginning *awa api*, and is also a relative clause. Anna Morpurgo Davies tentatively suggests that the distinction between the two clauses may reside in that between *arha sa-*, “leave”, and *api ... arha sa-*, “leave behind”. Thus *f+g*, § 37: “Further ... we left the KURUPI’s in my A(N)TATI”; *b*, § 5: “The KURUPI’s which ... we left behind.”

6. letter *e*, § 7 (see Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 2): “listen again to your letter” seems acceptable sense.

7. letter *f+g*, § 28: the sense is somewhat doubtful but appears to be “they(?) bought four KAPARA’s for us”. The addition of *api* looks possible but not obvious sense. We should note that the following clause, § 29, has *wa/i-za-ta ...* POST-*na*, interpreted as “after us”,

contrasted with § 30, PRAE-*pa-wa/i-za-ta* ..., "but before us ...".

8. letter *f+g*, § 41: the clause begins *api-(wa-)*, but occurs in the series of clause groups where new topics are introduced by *api-ha(wa)* (see cit. 2 above). The group of clauses introduced by § 41 also appears to be a new topic, so perhaps *api-(wa-)* is simply the equivalent of *api-ha(wa)*, and may be rendered "further ...".

The SULTANHAN attestations also require individual attention.

9. SULTANHAN, § 3: see Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 7, who points out that the sense (§ 2) "I set up this Tarhunzas of the Vineyard, (§ 3) and afterwards we will set (him) up with an ox ...", is very plausible. Such a contrast between present and future offerings recurs below in §§ 25–26 as against §§ 27–29.

10. SULTANHAN, § 12: the sense may be understood as similar to the preceding case, thus (§ 10) "When I set him up, (§ 11) and when in the land 2 sheep stood (for) 80 (measures of) barley, (§ 12) afterwards I presented him with a TAWANI-bird". The repeated "when" (REL-*i*) seems in some way to connect with the *api*.

11. SULTANHAN, § 41: see Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 5, who points out the appropriateness of the sense "we shall requite them with royal authority" (identifying Hier. *api iziya-* with Hitt. *appa iya-*).

12. SULTANHAN, § 45: see Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 4, who translates "but Sarwatiwara did (= strength-

ened) it again ...". The verb is *api a-*, "make again", by which we may rather understand "repair, re-make".

The only certain attestation of *api* outside the ASSUR letters and SULTANHAN is in a very obscure clause of BOYBEYPINARI 2: see Terumasa Oshiro, loc. cit., cit. 8 with n. 17. His interpretation is not satisfactory since the verb *arha i-*, "go away", can hardly take the obscure SCRIBA+RA/I-*wa/i-ma-za* as direct object.

Besides this, ANKARA, § 4, has *á-pi-i* [...], which could represent the word under consideration, but may be something other, e.g. a form of *api-*, by-form of the demonstrative *apa-* noted above. HAMA 4, § 9, introduces a clause only half-preserved with *á-pi-pa-wa/i*...

Some at least of the evidence examined supports Terumasa Oshiro's conclusions, and since there is little doubt that we are dealing with the same word in all the passages, that would indicate a similar interpretation even in the most doubtful occurrences.

Terumasa Oshiro points out that Hier. *api/apan* matches Hitt. *appa/appan*, but he does not discuss the origin of the form. Laroche has already argued on the basis of Lyc. *epi* that Common Luwian must have had a form **appi* with an *-i* locative ending similar to that found in Hitt. *katti* (vs. *katta*, *kattan*) and in Lyc., *bri* < *sarri* (vs. Hitt.-Luw. *šar(r)a*); see *Studia Meriggi* II (Pavia, 1979), p. 350 f. A. Morpurgo Davies' suggestion (*Res Mycenaee*, op. cit., pp. 305–308) that the Anatolian evidence can also lead to the reconstruction of an earlier **e/opi* or *?H₁epi/H₁opi*, which in its turn may be responsible for Greek ἐπι/όπι-, must also be considered in this context.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. BOROWSKI 1 (stele fragment) | 9. TÜN P 2 (fragment) |
| 2. BOROWSKI 2 (fragment) | 10. NINEVEH 1 (tablet) |
| 3. BEIRUT (stone bowl fragment) | 11. NINEVEH 2 (stone fragment) |
| 4. ANKARA (block fragment) | 12. GELB (block) |
| 5. ISTANBUL (block fragment) | 13. ALIŞAR (ostrakon) |
| 6. ALEPPO 3 (fragment) | 14. TRAGANA (LOCRI) (bronze bowl) |
| 7. GAZIANTEP (stele fragment) | 15. NIMRUD (silver bowl) |
| 8. ASMACIK (stele) | 16. PERSEPOLIS (bowl sherd) |

When the Hieroglyphic inscriptions have been assigned to their geographically based groups, normally on the external criterion of known provenance, but occasionally on the basis of internal evidence of connection, there remain some inscriptions without any evidence surviving to permit their attribution to established groups. Most have passed through the hands of antiquities dealers, and it is usually at that point that the piece's provenance is lost, often deliberately, in order to remove the piece from the control of the antiquities laws of Turkey or, less often, Syria. Once this has happened, unless the piece has internal evidence to link it, it can only fall into the present miscellaneous group. Fortunately, all the pieces here are comparatively minor fragments, though few are without interest.

BOROWSKI 1, an orthostat or stele fragment, shows a script of unusual character, and preserves protective curse formulae. BOROWSKI 2, a corner fragment, shows a script comparable to the finest KARKAMIŞ style. The BEIRUT stone bowl fragment resembles the BABYLON bowls, is unusual in

being dedicated to the god Santas, and preserves the beginning of the text and part of the final curse formula. It also shows the interesting logogram AM- PLECTI. ANKARA, apparently part of a monument originally inscribed around four sides of a block, also preserves only the protective curse. İSTANBUL seems to be a similar fragment but barely preserves any connected sense, though it mentions Kubaba. ALEPPO 3, another fragment in fine KARKAMIŞ style, has some rather unusual clauses and the important form (VAS)ḫartiyas, "of the heart(?)". GAZIANTEP, a fragment of Storm-God stele, has part of the curse formula (protasis) and a scribal signature. ASMACIK, another Storm-God stele, does not preserve enough inscription to yield anything intelligible, and TÜN P 2, a fragment preserving parts of two adjoining faces, though it has somewhat more visible text, is equally opaque. NINEVEH 1 and 2, though both illegible, are remarkable both for their provenance and as being unique types of Hieroglyphic text, a clay tablet and a stone tablet respectively.

The Inscriptions

XII.1. BOROWSKI 1 (plates 314–315)

Location. Fragment, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

Description. Fragment of orthostat or stele, upper and lower parts lost, bearing 3 fairly preserved lines with traces of another above and another below; 1. 2 sinistroverse, continuing *boustrophedon* ll. 3–5. The right and left edges of the inscription remain as raised bands, as are also the line-dividers, which have in addition an incised horizontal line dividing them in two.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.40 m.; w., 0.38 m.; th., 0.21 m.; line ht., 0.08 m.

Condition: fair – poor, signs unclear.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive.

Peculiarities: general characteristic reminiscent of MEHARDE-SHEIZAR (without the peculiar *ta*).

Word-dividers: frequent.

Discovery. Antiquities market, acquired by Borowski Collection; no information available, no internal evidence for provenance.

Publication. Poetto, *Stud. Med.* 3 (1981), Tav. XLIX–LII (photographs); cf. id., in Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven* (1981), no. 231 (photograph, upside down).

Edition. Poetto, loc. cit., pp. 49–52.

Content. Curse formula only preserved.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone while the piece was on exhibition in Ottawa in the autumn 1983.

Photographs. Supplied by the Lands of the Bible Foundation.

Transliteration

Translation

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. § 1 ...] x x [ḫa² a²] x x x [...] na² [...] </p> <p>2. (PES₂.PES) tara/i-pa (CRUS) ta-i</p> <p>3. § 2 ma-pa-wa/i-mu-ta "PRAE"² "x.x"(-) sa₅² + ra/i-ka² -ḫa i-ḫi-i-tà</p> <p>4. § 3 pa-sa-pa-wa/i- LOCUS(-) x-x-ḫa á-mi-i-s[a²] x[... ...]</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">(VACUUS) ta²-na-tà-tu</p> <p>§ 4 wa/i-tu-² ²("MALLEUS"²) á-bu²-li-na ARHLA DELERE-nu-wa/i-tu</p> | <p>[...]</p> <p>he shall stand for TARPA,</p> <p>whether(?) he has made ...</p> <p>before(?) me,</p> <p>his place(?) may my ... [... the</p> <p>god(?) ...] devastate,</p> <p>and for him may he destroy the ... !</p> |
|--|--|
- (1. 5: no certainly identifiable sign except 3 word-dividers)

Commentary

Context. Since §§ 3–4 may be identified as apodoses of a curse formula, it is clear that §§ 1–2 are the protases; but § 2, introduced by a *ma(n)*-, “whether”, is unusual usage, and, with a verb in pret. as opposed to pres., is unexpected.

§ 1. (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pa*: this word in this common phrase is elsewhere determined by “CORNU” (ALEPPO 2, § 25; TILSEVET, § 6; and cf. KARKAMIŠ A18b, § 4); or SCALPRUM (CEKKE, § 22); or nothing (SULTANHAN, § 21; KARKAMIŠ A5a, §§ 12–13). The present occurrence serves to link this word firmly with the verbal stem (PES₂.PES) *tarpa/i-*.

(CRUS) *ta-i*: Poetto’s order of reading CRUS-*i-ta*, chosen in order to produce a 3 sing. pret. in view of the following verb, produces, as he recognizes, an unparalleled form. But it is the pret. verb which in the context requires special consideration, and here it is preferable to read a readily recognizable form (cf. SULTANHAN, § 39; HISARCIK 1, § 3; and for writing (“CRUS”) *ta-*, i.e. determinative followed by full phonetic writing, KARATEPE, 403 (Hu.).

tarpa ta-: for this phrase, see Morpurgo Davies, *Fs Risch*, pp. 134 f., 145. The present context appears to be a normal curse formula protasis: cf. e.g. ALEPPO 2, § 25, “or (he) who stands TARPA for Arpas ...”.

§ 2. *ma-pa-wa/i-mu-ta*: *ma(n)* would normally be preceded by another *ma(n)*, always in the context “whether he (be) ... or he (be) ...” etc. It is possible that the previous clause was so introduced, but the present verb *ixita*, being pret., is difficult to understand in the context, as noted by Poetto.

“PRAE²”: so identified by Poetto; possible, although normally a projecting tongue is visible in this sign.

“x.x”: signs appear to be surmounted by logogram markers, perhaps with word divider between. Surface markings suggest first sign could be PANIS, second could be *pu*; these observations make Poetto’s suggestion ANNUS (i.e. lid + pithos) less probable.

(-) *sa₅² + ra/i-ka²-ḫa*: first two signs very uncertain; possibly read -*sa₅² + ra/i* MALUS-*ḫa*?

§ 3. LOCUS(-) *x-x-ḫa*: it would be natural to suppose that this was LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-ḫa*, “place”, which fits the context (for forms, see KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 23–24, Commentary), yet the traces, possibly *á-x-ḫa*, as noted by Poetto, are hard to reconcile with this. A full phonetic writing *pi-ta₄/ta₅-ḫa* would be interesting to establish, but while *pi* could be read here, this would leave no obvious space for *ta₄/ta₅*.

á-mi-i-s[a²]: Poetto’s reading of the last sign as -*tà* would give an impossible form and in any case does not look probable. I prefer to identify a slightly lopsided and damaged *s[a]*, which gives *amis*, “my”, introducing the subject, in the context presumably a god preceded by title (which is not the usual DOMINUS, “lord”).

(VACUUS) *ta²-na-tà-tu*: VACUUS, *na*, *tà* seen by Poetto, also *tu* read in different grouping. The present reading provides a clear verb from a known stem (for which see MARAŞ 1, § 4, Commentary), and this may be confirmed by the correct identification of the following connective particles *wa/i-tu-*.

§ 4. |²(“MALLEUS²”) *á-bu²-li-na*: readings also envisaged by Poetto (except for possible presence of word divider); but the word, if correctly read, is a *hapax legomenon*, and the logogram, if correctly identified, does not assist the understanding.

DELERE-*nu-wa/i-tu*: for Melchert’s elucidation of the logogram and identification of the verb, see KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 14, Commentary.

XII.2. BOROWSKI 2 (plate 316)

Location. Fragment, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

Description. Upper left corner fragment of orthostat(?), preserving parts of upper surface, left side and left end of l. 1 (sinistaverse) with traces of beginning of l. 2 (dextroverse).

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.20 m.; preserved w., 0.23 m.; th., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.10 m.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: monumental.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: three preserved, probably frequent.

Discovery. Antiquities market, acquired by Borowski Collection; no information available.

Publication. Poetto, *Stud. Med.* 3 (1981), Tav. XLVII–XLVIII (photographs).

Edition. Poetto, loc. cit., p. 48 f.

Content. Unclear – no complete clause preserved.

Date. Uncertain within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made direct from the stone while the piece was on exhibition in Ottawa in the autumn 1983.

Photograph. Supplied by the Lands of the Bible Foundation.

Transliteration

- l. 1. ... x x |CAPERE₂-tā CAPUT-ti-sa |LEPUS+
ra/i-ia-sa ||
l. 2. | [...]DOM[INUS?] DE[US ... w]a/i[...] EGO//EDERE//BIBERE(?) x[...]

Commentary

Fragment aptly compared by Poetto with fragment KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2, l. 1.

CAPERE₂-tā: the verb in the parallel passage is rendered by antithetic hands of the present form; a possible interpretation “protect” is considered there.

CAPUT-ti-sa: subject? – or if not, what?

LEPUS+ra/i-ia-sa: gen. sing., or gen. adj. (nom.) acc. plur. N?

“[my] lo[rd] the god [...]”: Poetto’s restoration seems likely, but what case?

[w]a/i[...]: probably beginning of new clause.

EGO?: so Poetto, probably correctly, though EDERE and BIBERE are also possibilities.

XII.3 BEIRUT (stone bowl) (plate 317)

Location. Fragment, present location unknown.

Description. Fragment from rim of stone bowl with inscription. The upper surface of the rim is decorated with a continuous line of rosettes and the body with an apparently continuous pattern of fingers with nails and cuticles carefully rendered (seven preserved). Of the inscription, the sinistaverse l. 1 is placed on the projecting vertical face of the rim bounded by a line above and below; and the dextroverse l. 2 on the concave surface below the rim above the finger pattern. The beginning of l. 1 is preserved on the right, but it breaks off on the left; the returning l. 2 probably preserves the last clause of the inscription but lacks the verb, the last one or perhaps two words.

Dimensions: unknown.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Script: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (sā, tā, mu, a).

Peculiarities: sa written as plain semicircle; see KARKAMIŠ A18e, Date.

Word-dividers: none preserved, perhaps not used.

Discovery. Known only from Beirut antiquities dealer’s photograph.

Publication, edition. Here for first time.

Excerpts.

§ 1 Hawkins, *JAN. St.* 22, p. 114.

§ 3 Hawkins, *JAN. St.* 31, p. 174 cit. 31b.

Content. Presumably dedication of bowl. § 1, Name and epithet; § 2, relations with god [lacuna]; § 3, curse apodosis.

Date. Resembles early Karkamiš style of Suhis-Katuwas, thus 9th century B.C.?

Text. The text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photographs.

Photographs. Antiquities dealer's prints.

Transliteration	Translation
1. § 1 EGO- <i>mi-i i-ia-sá</i> (DEUS) <i>sá-ta-sa</i> AMPLECTI- <i>mi-sa</i> SERVUS- <i>ta₄</i>	I (am) Iyas, beloved servant of Santas.
§ 2 <i>wa/i-mu á-mi-sá</i> DOMINUS- <i>ni-sa</i> [(DEUS)] <i>s[á-ta-sa ...</i>	Me my lord S[ant]as ...
2. § 3 <i>pa-ti-pa-wa/i</i> (DEUS) <i>kar-bu-ba-sá</i> (DEUS) <i>ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sá</i> (DEUS) <i>sá-ta-s[a]-b[a ...</i>	... against him [may] the gods Karhu- has, Kubaba and Santas [...

Commentary

§ 1. AMPLECTI-*mi-sa*, “embraced”: context clearer than its parallels KARKAMIŠ A21, § 1; A13c + *a + b*, § 1; also KIZILDAG 4 (see Hawkins, loc. cit.). Verb, here participle, is also attested in caus., KARKAMIŠ A21, § 5. The only comparable epithet applied to “servant” is *wasami-* (BONUS-*mi-*), “beloved” (see CEKKE, § 1, and Commentary), of which a caus. *usa-nu(wa)-* is identified (see KARATEPE, 73, and Commentary). It is possible that the verb *wasa(nu)-* lies be-

hind the logogram AMPLECTI, which would then be a logographic alternative to the common BONUS. Otherwise a verb like (LITUUS)*azami-*, “loved”, could also be considered.

SERVUS-*ta₄*: for such endless forms, cf. CEKKE, § 1, Commentary.

§ 3. Probable restoration of verb [LIS...-*tu*], “let them be the prosecutors!”.

XII.4. ANKARA (plate 318)

Location. Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 150 (Gelb's designation “CARCHEMISH” is here discarded: see Discovery).

Description. Fragment of monument of indeterminate form, bearing on 3 sides part of inscription preserved for parts of 3 lines (lower part of top line, middle line, upper part of lower line). Sequence and reading make better sense if lost fourth side was also inscribed (so Meriggi; contra, Gelb). Clearly the corner between “front” and “right side” formed an edge of the inscription: “front” l. 2 continues on “front” l. 3, while “right side” l. 3 must have continued on “right side” [l. 4], but “left side” ll. 2–3 continue to/from “front” ll. 2–3. Thus either the right side formed a separate part of the inscription, or, more likely, it continued from the missing inscription on the “back” to form the left side of the inscription. The inscription would originally have begun on the “front” (side A), upper right and run sinistroversely along side A, continuing “left side” (side B), [“back”] (side C), “right side” (side D), where it would have descended to l. 2 and continued *boustrophedon*. Side A is preserved for its full width; sides B and D are truncated for an indeterminable distance on their left and right sides respectively by the loss of side C. The first line does not appear to have been l. 1 of the inscription (traces, upper right, do not suggest beginning of inscription), so must have been preceded by at

least 2 lines. Bottom line could have been the last line (thus inscription would end on side D left edge, which looks very possible). Text sequence would thus be: [lacuna] A1+B1 [lacuna C1] +D1+D2 [lacuna C2] +B2+A2+A3+B3 [lacuna C3] +D3 end(?).

Dimensions: preserved ht., c. 0.35 m.; w., (A) 0.46 m.; preserved th., c. 0.20 m. (B), c. 0.33 m. (D); line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: incised.

Sign forms: consistently cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: apparently consistently written (4 possible omissions).

Discovery. Seen in the Citadel Museum in Ankara by Cameron in May 1926, and by von der Osten in July 1926; both scholars thought that it had been found in Ankara. Seen by Gelb in 1932 and Hrozný in 1934 in the Augusteum Museum. Hrozný supposed a Karkamiš provenance from appearance and style. Gelb made exhaustive enquiries, which elicited only that the piece had been taken to the Citadel Museum “together with many other Carchemish monuments”, and had remained there when the latter were transferred to the Augusteum. He too accepted, from observation of the texture of the stone, a Karkamiš provenance. Barnett, however,

noted that the piece did not come from the British excavations, which throws further doubt on the alleged provenance. Because of the uncertainty, it seems preferable to abandon the designation of the piece as "CARCHEMISH" and refer to it as ANKARA from its present location. See Cameron, *JRAS* (1927), pp. 320–321; von der Osten, *OIC* 2 (1927), p. 24, fig. 14 (photograph of side A); Hrozný, loc. cit. (Publication), p. 344; Gelb, loc. cit. (Publication), p. 25; Barnett, *apud* Woolley, *Carchemish* III (1952), p. 274.

Publication. Cameron, loc. cit. (1927) (drawing); von der Osten, loc. cit. (1927), fig. 14 (photograph of side A); Hrozný, *Ar. Or.* 7 (1935), pp. 184–188, pls. XLI–XLII (photographs of sides A, B, D; copy) = *IHH*.III (1937), pp. 344–348, pls. XLVI–XLVII; Gelb, *HMM* (1939), no. 9, p. 25, pl. XXIII (photographs and copies of sides A ("B"), B ("C") and D ("A")).

Editions. Meriggi, *MVLeG* 39/1 (1934), no. 9, pp. 69–71; Hrozný, loc. cit. (1935//1937); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 276, p. 202 f., Tav. XXXVI (redrawn from Gelb).

Excerpts.

§§ 7–8 Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3, p. 11 f., Abb. 1; *Or.* NS 30, p. 117 and Abb. 4.

Content. Only preserved passage, protective curse (§§ 4–11).

Date. The only KARKAMIŠ monuments which this piece resembles are KARKAMIŠ A4a and A18e (incised script, sign forms). The comparison suggests a mid-8th century B.C. date.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from photographs and has been collated against the stone in Ankara Museum depot in the summer, 1987. The "right side" (D) of the stone has been placed on the left of the drawing and the lost side C included to show probable original extent of text.

Photographs. Prints from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb (published by him, loc. cit.).

Transliteration

1. § 1 ...
 § 2 [a]-*wa/i* [...] [*ia* [...] -*ti-ha* [RE]X²-*ti* (B) [...] x x x x [...] -*ni-na* [...] -*mi-sa* [...] x-*sa* [...] (C?) ...
 § 3 (D) |ANIMAL² [...] -*i-na* [...] -*ha* + *ra/i* [...] ||
 2. § 4 |*za-pa-wa/i-ta* |("STELE") *wa/i-ni-za* |*a-pi-i* [...] (C?) ...
 § 5 ... (B) ... (SA₄) *sa-ni-ti* |
 § 6 |*ni-pa-ta* |*za-ia pa²* + *ra/i-ta* |.ARHLA [MALLEUS-*i*]
 § 7 (A) | [*wa/i-sa*] |*ma-na* |REX-*ti-sa*
 § 8 |*ma-pa-sa* |POST + *ra/i-sa* |CAPUT-*ti-sa*
 3. § 9 *a-pa-ti-wa/i-ta* (+ *ra/i²*) - || [REX²] - [*ti*] |CAELUM-*sa*-[*si*]-*i-zi* [*i*]
 |TERRA-RE[L + *ra/i*]-*si*-[*zi*] DEUS-*n* [*i-zi*] |*wa/i-la* |PE[S ...]
 § 10 (B) |*wa/i* [...] |CAELUM.D[EUS² ...] |CAELUM [...] | [...] (C?)
 ...
 § 11 ... (D) ...] (DEUS) *ku* [+ AVIS] -*pa-pa*-[*sa*] |*46+ [...]
 |PES₂.PES [...]

Translation

[l. 1, §§ 1–3: see Commentary]

This stele ... [...]
 [or ...] shall overturn,
 or shall erase these *words*,
 whether he (is) a king,
 or he (is) a lesser man,
 against that ki[ng?] may the heaven's
 and the earth's gods come fatally,
 and the celestial god [Tarhunzas(?]
 and] the the celestial [god Sun(?]

...
 and ... may] Kubaba TARPI-
 ruinously(?)!

Commentary

l. 1. No single complete word or even recognizable context to support any restoration. Meriggi's attempt to identify the beginning of a text here does not look plausible.

[...] -*ri+i-ta*: apparently verb, identify as [PUGNUS]-*ri+i*, "rise, raise"?

[a]-*wa/i*: apparently copula introducing new clause.

[...] -*ti-ha* [REX²]-*ti*: looks very like REL-*ti-i-ha* REX-*ti*, "to any king" (KARKAMIŠ A6, § 25), but the reading is not supported by any visible context.

§ 4 (side D). Clause seems to begin protasis of curse formula, epigraphically does *not* run on from side A l. 2, therefore descends from line above, and contextually should precede the sequence sides B l. 2 + A ll. 2+3 + B l. 3.

§§ 6, 8. *ni-pa-ta*, *ma-pa-sa*: for omission of connective -*wa*-, cf. KARKAMIŠ A18e, § 2, Commentary, with parallels.

§ 9. *a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* (+ *ra/i²*) -: the apparent + *ra/i*- is superfluous to sense and out of place; -*ara* < -*ata*, "it,

them" would precede *-ta Ortspartikel*. It is probably accidental damage and should be omitted (as done by Hrozný).

[REX²]-[ti]: reading seems likely (so Meriggi; Hrozný, URBS), if correct, implies differential punishment for "king" and for "lesser man".

[wa/i-[la] |P[ES...]: for phrase "come ill for", see KULULU 5, § 8, and Commentary, with other

attestations. Like the present context, KULULU 5, § 8, and KARKAMIŠ A4d, § 2, both have *-ta Ortspartikel*, but CEKKE, § 24, does not.

§ 11. Traces indicate occurrence of same clause as found on KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 11; ŠIRZI, § 6; KARKAMIŠ A16a1, §§ 6, 7.

XII.5. İSTANBUL ("ATHENS") (plate 319)

Location. Block fragment, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, no. 12469. Formerly designated "ATHENS", see Discovery.

Description. Bottom part of rectangular block bearing inscription on all four faces. The bottom of the block is preserved and the lower edge of the inscription marked with engraved line. Along the top of the line it is probable, as noted by Meriggi, that a substantial slice, the height of 1–2 signs, has been lost: see Commentary to §§ 3, 4. Because of general obscurity of reading and context, it is not clear where the inscription began and ended: the sense presumably descended from a lost part above, and since the piece is the bottom of a block, the text may include the end, but this is not clear.

Dimensions: max. preserved ht., c. 0.21 m.; w. (B, D), 0.39 m.; th. (A, C), 0.25 m.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-divider: incised.

Sign forms: cursive apparently.

Peculiarities: words begun not at top of line.

Word-dividers: several visible before words beginning not at top of line.

Discovery. Provenance unknown ("Umgebung von Kayseri": Bossert, 1935–36, on unclear authority). First reported as being in hands of Athens antiquities dealer, hence designation "ATHENS", which is here discarded; photographs were sent by Makridi Bey to Meriggi, and by him to Bossert and Hrozný. Acquired by Istanbul Museum at unknown date and in unknown circumstances.

Publication. Bossert, *AO* 10 (1935/36), p. 284 f. with Abb. 7–10 (Makridi Bey's photographs), 11–14 (copies from photographs), and n. 5.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* 11/2 (1975), no. 328, p. 256 f., Tav. XLVII (drawing based on photographs of cast in Ankara Museum).

Content, date. Obscure.

Text. The new text here offered was traced direct from the stone in Istanbul Museum in September 1993.

Photographs. Prints from the collection of the late I. J. Gelb.

Transliteration

- (A) § 1 ...s]a-na/i-sa[...]mu¹ á-na-sá [...]-nu-ta
 § 2 [...]x-ru-ta [...]x-ba-su[... (B) ...]-zi-i |.ARHL4 [...]tu
 § 3 |(DEUS)ku[...]-pa-sa-pa-na/i [...]ra+a-sa [... w]a/i-ni-za
 á-ru[...]-ma-ru-ti
 § 4 [...]x-pa-na/i [(C) ...]pá²+ra/i-sa[...]-i
 § 5 [...]na/i-na |ka[...s]a² |ba-[...
 (D) § 6 [... w]a/i-x VAS²-ni-na [...]ba- [...]pa-tu
 § 7 [z]a-pa-na/i [...]za ... [...]

Translation

...Anas caused to [...] (to) me(?),
 [...] for him ... [the ...]s (nom./
 acc.?) may he/they [...] away,
 and Kubaba the ... shall(?) ...[the
 ste]le(?),
 and [...] ... shall(?) [...],
 and him ... [...],
 and [for him(?)] may he/she/they
 [smi]te(?) the body and [...],
 but this ... [...]

Commentary

§ 1. All very uncertain.

§ 2. Ending seems somewhat clearer.

[...]-*zi-i*: subject or object.

ARHLA [...] *-tu*: verb stem should have been accommodated in missing upper part of line; cf. § 3.

§ 3. (DEUS) *ku*[...] *-pa-sa(-pa-wa/i)*: Meriggi considered that the sign AVIS should be restored and would indicate the amount lost from the top of line.

... *w/a/i-ni-za*: Meriggi identifies as "stele".

§ 6. VAS² *-ni-i-na*: cf. KULULU 4, § 9, and Commentary.

[...] *-ha-*: possibly [*AR*] *HLA-*?

[...] *-pa-tu*: possibly [*tu*]-, cf. KULULU 5, § 9?

XII.6. ALEPPO 3 (plate 320)

Location. Fragment, National Syrian Museum, Aleppo, no. 6422.

Description. Fragment of black basalt slab(?), bearing 3-line inscription. It would seem that the top and bottom of the inscription are preserved, but neither edge, nor is it possible to estimate the loss on either side. Thus each line represents an isolated fragment, ll. 1 and 3 dextroverse, l. 2 sinistroverse.

Dimensions: ht., 0.56 m.; preserved w., c. 0.28 m.; line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: ll. 1–2, as preserved, good; l. 3 signs partially erased, outlines recognizable.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: mixed, monumental *ta*, *mu*, cursive *u*, *tà*.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: apparently frequent.

Discovery. Bought by police in 1972 in "region of Euphrates"; no further details. Style of piece indicates Karkamiš as provenance (see Date); the Tell Ahmar group are all much earlier, so it is not likely to come from there.

Publication. Walid Khayata and Shawki Sha'ath, *Guide to the Museum of Aleppo – Ancient Oriental Department* (Aleppo, 1977), pl. 26; Poetto, *SMEA* 22 (1980), pp. 127–132, Tav. I–II (photographs of complete piece and detail of l. 3).

Edition. Poetto, loc. cit.

Excerpt.

§§ 1–2 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studi Pugliesi Carratelli*, p. 171 cit. 2.

Contents. Insufficiently preserved to be clear.

Date. 8th century B.C.? Stylistically the piece belongs closest with the KARKAMIŠ style of Yariris as seen particularly on KARKAMIŠ A6.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from tracing of photograph.

Photograph. Taken in Aleppo Museum in the summer 1971.

Transliteration

Translation

1. § 1 [...] */a + x - [n] u² - na* DOMINUS-*ni-sa* (VAS) *za + ra / i - ti - ia - sa* | *sa - ta*

§ 2 *ua / i - tu - u* [SUB²] *- na - [na ... ||*

2. § 3 [...] *- ua / i ta - ti - i* | *mi - i* REL-*zi* "FINES"-*hi - zi* | *za - la - na* PONERE-
MI - na s[a] - t[a ... ||

3. § 4 [*m*] *u - pa - [u] a / i - [n] a* | SUB-*na - ta - u a / i - na* SUB-*na - a - na - ' i - zi - i - ha*

§ 5 "CRUS + CR[US]" [...

...] to prosper(?) was of the lord's heart(?),
and [un]der him [...

... which frontiers were to my father to put ZALAN ...

but I demoted him (as) a subordinate(?),
...

Commentary

§§ 1–2: treated by Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, loc. cit.

§ 1. *la+x-[n]ú²-na*: *nú* only sign to fit traces, i.e. originally 5 strokes + 4 strokes, for which cf. CEKKE, § 9. Sign *la+x* unattested elsewhere in exactly this form, but obviously paralleled by the sign *la+ra/i+a* (HH no. 178), found in the MARAŞ dynastic name *Larama-* (see MARAŞ 1, § 1 b, Commentary), and the verb *laramu-* (KARATEPE, 19), caus. of *la+ra/i-//la-tà-*, “be good, prosper” (see SULTANHAN, § 6, Commentary). Because the ligatured +x resembles the lower part of *ia*, Poetto transliterates *la-ja-*, producing an unknown word. But perhaps we should recognize simply a more elaborate monumental form of *la+ra/i+a-*, in which case we may have the caus. infinitive (cf. DELERENU-*u-na*, BABYLON 1, § 15) of the verb “prosper” already mentioned.

DOMINUS-*ni-sa*: nom. or gen. sing.?, cf. DOMINUS-*na-sa*, KÖRKÜN, § 3, and Commentary. The present form is perhaps a derived adj. in *-i(ya)-*, for which cf. KARATEPE, 70, 75; ASSUR letter *e*, § 12, and Commentaries.

(VAS) *za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá*: cf. verb (“VAS”) *za+ra/i-ti-*, TELL AHMAR 1, § 20, and Commentary with other attestations. It is proposed to identify the present form as gen. sing. of *za+ra/i-za*, (nom.) acc. sing. N (KULULU 5, § 11), = Cun. Luw. ^{UZU} *zarza*, to be interpreted as “heart”; cf. also *za+ra/i-ti*, dat. sing. (KARABURUN, § 12); *za+ra/i-ta-si*, gen. adj., (KÖRKÜN, § 10). For the sense “be of the heart” (i.e. “of the intention”), cf. Hitt. *kardiyas iya-*, “do (that) of the heart”; also *ZI-as iya-*, “do (that) of the soul”; *ZI-as kis-*, “be of the soul” (KBo III, 7 i 26; VII, 60 iii 13–14; KUB XVI, 43 obv. 10). Thus, translate either “the lord was of the heart to ...”; or “it was of the lord’s heart to ...”.

§ 2. [SUB¹]-*na-[na]*: cf. forms below, § 4, for restoration.

§ 3. *za-la-na* PONERE-: apparently offensive act, found elsewhere twice in similar contexts of curse formulae protases; KARKAMIŞ A13a–c, § 3//BOYBEYPINARI 2, § 14. It is not clear whether *za-la-na* represents

an acc. sing. MF or something else; a word *za-la* is also found, KARKAMIŞ A2+3, § 9 (= *za₄-la*, KARKAMIŞ A21, § 4), apparently adverbial. Starke regards the form *zalan* too as adverbial and identifies with Cun. Luw. *zalla-*, “diagonal”, translating here “verschiedenartig (= nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin?)” (pers. comm.; cf. *Stammbildung*, § 223 and Anm. 1241). [For a new attestation of the phrase, see ANCOZ 7, § 5.]

“FINES”-*hi-zi* PONERE-, “establish frontiers”: cf. CEKKE, § 19; TOPADA, §§ 6, 9.

PONERE-*MI-na*: could be verb with ending *-min(a)*, 1 plur. pres., “we shall put”. On the other hand, the following *s[á]-t[a]* looks likely to be verb, and if so, this form must be otherwise explained. Participle, acc. sing. MF (cf. PONERE-*mi-i-na*, KARKAMIŞ A15b, § 12), is formally possible, but would have no apparent place in grammar of clause. If we compare PONERE+*MI tu-wa/i-i[a]* (MARAŞ 7, side A), which can hardly represent anything other than *tuwaya*, 3 sing. pres. of *tuwa-*, we may perhaps read PONERE-*MI-na*, recognizing an apparently functionless $\pm MI$ as in SOLIUM+*MI* (see KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 16, Commentary), and the form as an infinitive (cf. AEDIFICARE-*MI-na*, “to build”, KARATEPE, 216; KARKAMIŞ A1a, § 23).

s[á]-t[a]...: if verb, construction would be (*a*)*sa-*, “be”, + infinitive, “be to do ...”; cf. *ha-tu-ra+a asa-*, “be to write” (ASSUR letter *e*, § 6; see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (C)).

§ 4. Signs all identifiable in spite of damage.

[*m*]*u-pa-[u]a/i-[n]a*, i.e. *mu+pa+wa+an*, “and him I ...”

[SUB-*na-a-na-*’*i-zi-i-*, lit. “make down, under”: sense parallel to Hitt. *katterabb-*, “subject, subordinate”; opp. *šara-zziyabb-*, “promote”, also *šara/šer iya-*.

[SUB-*na-ta-wa/i-na*: in context must be noun/adj., acc. sing. MF, apposition to *-an*, “him”; clearly derivative of *anan*, “under”, apparently of form *ana(n)tawa/i-*, “subordinate”, or the like.

§ 5. “CRUS+CR[US]”[...: so identified by Poetto; logogram serves to write verb (-)*ni(ya)za-*, “follow”, and derived forms (-)*niyasatala-*, “successor”; (-)*niyasha-*, “procession” (see KARKAMIŞ A6, § 25, Commentary).

XII.7. GAZIANTEP (plate 321)

Location. Stele fragment, lost?

Description. Fragment from left side of stele, preserving part of sculpture on front and inscription on left side. *Front*: lower back part of short kilt with upward-curved back border and bare right leg broken off below knee, representing striding male figure, presumably

Storm-God. *Left side*: parts of 3 lines of inscription, l. 1 lower parts of signs only, l. 2 full height preserved, l. 3 preserved almost to bottom. The right edge of inscription (corner with front) is preserved on all 3 lines; left edge is preserved on l. 2 according to Garstang (from photograph this looks possible but not certain). For sequence, l. 1 presumably ran dextroverse and contin-

ued on l. 2 (sinistroverse), which must have run on to back of stele (not preserved) and concluded, since it does not continue on l. 3 (also sinistroverse), which begins again on its own with a scribal signature, presumably the concluding element of the inscription.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.50 m. (Garstang).

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: monumental? (*tà*)

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: one preserved.

Discovery. “Seen and photographed by Messrs. Linton Smith and Schliephack near a school at the place mentioned [Gaziantep]”, 2 July 1907; Garstang, *L-4-4-1* 1 (1908), p. 7 f. Bossert sought the piece, but could not find it; he speculated that its provenance might have been Karkamiš (*Sprache* 5 (1959), pp. 9–15).

Publication. Garstang, loc. cit. (1908), p. 7 f. (copy), pls. X–XI (photographs); id., *LH* (1910), pp. 106 f., 395, pl. XLI (photograph, inscription only); cf. *HE* (1929), p. 312 f. (no photograph).

Editions. Bossert, loc. cit. (1959), pp. 9–11, Abb. 1–2 (drawings, following Garstang); Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 150, p. 94 f., Tav. XVI (redrawn from Garstang).

Excerpt.

l. 3. Meriggi, *Fs Friedrich*, p. 335 f., Abb. 3 b.

Sculpture. Orthmann, *USK (Gaziantep 1)*, pp. 51, 483.

Content. l. 2, protasis of curse formula; l. 3, scribal signature.

Date. Early, thus 9th century B.C. (cf. also Orthmann, loc. cit.).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph.

Photographs. Reproduced from published prints of Garstang by kind permission of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Liverpool, where the negatives are preserved.

Transliteration

- l. 1. ...] x[...] x[...] *wa/i* [...] x||
- l. 2. REL-*i-sa* VERSUS-*ia-na* |PES-*wa/i-i-ti-i* [...
- l. 3. (CAPERE+SCALPRUM)REL-*za-tà-pa-wa/i-tà-ta li²*- x x [...

Translation

...
... (he) who approaches ...
Li[...] carved it [...

Commentary

l. 1. Context of l. 2 suggests that we should expect “this ... with badness” here, though surviving traces do not suggest any specific identifications. A visible *-wa/i* is presumably the enclitic connective particle.

l. 2. Garstang’s observation that the left edge of the line was preserved must, if correct, imply that the inscription continued on the reverse of the stele but was completely erased.

PES-*wa/i-i-ti-i*: the two *i*’s visible on the left are perhaps best taken as *scriptio plena* with *wa/i* and *ti* respectively, representing *aviti*. It is hard to envisage them

beginning a new word, and to take them together at the end of the word, *-ti-i-i*, would give an unusual writing.

l. 3. (CAPERE+SCALPRUM)REL-*za-ta*: for other such scribal signatures, see KARATEPE 4, § 2, and Commentary.

-pa-wa/i-tà-ta: would have to be analysed *pa+wa+ata+ta*, but none of the other examples show a *-ta Ortspartikel*.

A personal name, and perhaps title, could have completed this appended signature, and could all have been contained on the left side.

XII.8. ASMACIK (plate 322)

Location. Stele, Gaziantep Museum, no. 5596.

Description. Broken stele, upper part and lower left corner missing, obverse flat, reverse curved. *Obverse*: figure of Storm-God facing right, worn, detail unclear, head, right arm, right leg missing; traces of beard and pigtail, short belted tunic with sword at waist, boot(s)

with upturned toes; [thunderbolt] in left hand largely destroyed. *Reverse*: traces of last 3 lines of inscription, running sinistroverse-dextroverse-sinistroverse, apparently terminating lower left. If the original l. 1 was, as normal, sinistroverse, it is likely that 2 lines have been lost. Substantial blank space below inscription.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.80 m.; w., 0.41 m.; th., 0.20 m.; line ht., 0.12 m.

Condition: very worn, signs recognizable only on left side.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms, peculiarities, word dividers: not recognizable.

Discovery. Found in house of Halet Güvenç, in village of Asmacık (Til Halit), on the road running south-east from Gaziantep to Akcakoyunlu Station on the Syrian frontier, 2 km. before Akcakoyunlu. It is possible, in view of its provenance, that ASMACIK should be classed as a KARKAMIŞ inscription, as are KÖRKÜN, TÜNP 1 and TİLSEVET on the basis of their provenances and contents. Taken to Gaziantep Museum on 5 June 1980.

Publication. M. Kalaç, *CRR-4I* 20 (1975), p. 187 f., pls. XLII–XLIII figs. 5–7 (photographs of obverse, reverse left and right sides), 8 (photograph of latex squeeze with recognizable signs drawn on); Meriggi and Poetto, *Or.* NS 49 (1980), p. 267 (collations), Tav. XXIX nr. 36 (photograph of reverse).

Edition, content. Insufficiently preserved.

Date. 9th century B.C.?

Text. None offered.

Photographs. Taken in Gaziantep Museum in the summer 1987, except for that of the obverse, which is taken from Kalaç's publication.

Transliteration

- l. 1. (no complete word, some signs possibly identifiable)
 ll. 1–2. *ARHL-1* || -*pa-wa/i-tu-wa/i-tà-ta²* REL-*sa* [||*tà²-i*] ...
 l. 3. ... *wa/i-tu-u²* ... *tu-wa/i-ti wa/i-tu-tà²* ...

Translation

(He) who [takes?] it/them away ...
 ... and to him ... they put, and to him ...

Comment

Readings and interpretation very uncertain.

XII.9. TÜNP 2 (plate 323)

Location. Fragment, Gaziantep Museum, no. 3955.

Description. Corner fragment of block of gray basalt, bearing on 2 adjacent sides remains of 3 lines of inscription, of which ll. 1 and 3 have lost respectively top and bottom; lines run sinistrovers, dextrovers, sinistrovers.

Dimensions: preserved ht., 0.40 m.; preserved w., 0.34 m. (side A) + 0.37 m. (side B); line ht., 0.16 m.

Condition: as preserved, fair.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: cursive?

Peculiarities: (not apparent)

Word-dividers: apparently frequent.

Discovery. Seen by Kalaç in September 1965 in house of Hüseyin Ceylan in village Tünp (alias Yazılı), c. 25 km. south-east of Gaziantep. No details of discovery available, but provenance from *höyük* of Tünp considered certain. Bought and taken to Gaziantep Museum

(see Publication). Possibly, like TÜNP 1, this fragment should be classed as a KARKAMIŞ inscription.

Publication. Kalaç, *Belleten* 32 (1968), pp. 317 f. (Turkish), 325 f. (German), Res./Abb. 4–5 (photographs), 8 (copy).

Editions. Kalaç, loc. cit.; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 154, p. 104 f., Tav. XVII (redrawn from Kalaç's photographs).

Content. Insufficiently preserved to identify.

Date. Unclear within 9th–8th centuries B.C.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of photographs.

Photographs. In default of better ones, these are reproduced from the publication.

	Transliteration	Translation
1. 1.	(A) ... <i>w</i> [<i>a/i</i> ...] <i>na</i> [...] <i>ba</i> [...] <i>wa/i</i> [...DOM]INUS [?] [...] (B) ... <i>x</i> [... <i>z</i>] <i>a</i> ² [...] <i>x</i> [...]- <i>la-li</i> [- <i>z</i>] <i>i</i> ² [... <i>z</i>] <i>a</i> ² [...]	(no connected sense emerges).
1. 2. § 1	...]NEG ₂ - <i>sa</i> *308-	
§ 2	<i>a-wa/i</i> FEMINA [?] .IUDEX [?] - <i>mi</i> ² - <i>ni</i> PURUS [?] - <i>mi-ia-há</i> PONERE- <i>ba</i>	
§ 3 (A)	["X+RA/I"(-) <i>pi-pa-wa/i</i> MAGNUS+ <i>ra/i-nu-wa/i</i> [-...]	(Connected translation not attempted).
1. 3. § 4	<i>x</i> <i>x</i> [... ... (B) ...] <i>x wa/i-mi-i</i> [<i>a</i> ²]- <i>tà-t</i> [<i>a</i> ²] CASTRUM [?] [...] <i>ba</i> [...] <i>x-z</i> <i>a</i> [...]	

Commentary

1. 1. No certainly identifiable word.

§ 1. Apparently negative statement, verb ending with sign *308, found elsewhere as a verb ending on KAR-KAMIS A18j (see Commentary). Can we recognize here an attestation of the verbs (*a*)*sa*-, "be", or *sa*-, "leave, let go" (for which see ASSUR letters, General Commentary (D))?

§ 2. |FEMINA[?].IUDEX[?]-*mi*²-*ni*: apparently linked to following word by copula -*há*, which implies that it too is an object, thus acc. plur. N?

PURUS[?]-*mi-ia*(-*há*): cf. ANCOZ 1, § 1, and Commentary.

1. 3. *wa/i-mi-i*[*a*²]-*tà-t*[*a*²] (signs so identified by Meriggi): could represent *wa* + *mi* + *ata* + *ta* *Ortspartikel*, "and I it/them ..."

XII.10. NINEVEH 1 (plate 324)

Location. Clay tablet, BM 128335.

Description. Oblong clay tablet bearing faint but identifiable Hier. inscription. The inscription appears to begin on side i (thus "obv.(?)"), upper left and run dextroverse (some signs so identifiable), probably returning *boustrophedon* along l. 2 (not confirmed by any identifiable signs), and continuing and terminating on side ii (thus "rev.(?)"), reached by turning the tablet on its long axis (though this again is not confirmed by any identifiable signs). The lower half of "rev.(?)" is uninscribed. Vertical rulings seem to divide the lines into compartments, as on the KULULU lead strips. The British Museum photographs (see Meriggi, Edition, also republished here) do in fact show up the signs better than personal examination of the tablet.

Dimensions: ht., 35 mm.; w., 76 mm.; th., 14 mm.; line ht., about 1/2 height of tablet(?).

Condition: very poor and faint.

Script: incised (scratched in clay with point).

Sign forms: presumably cursive.

Peculiarities, word-dividers: not visible.

Discovery. Excavated at Nineveh in 1932 by Thompson and Mallowan, in the "Building on the Flats below Koyunjik", taken by excavators to be site of Sennacherib's house for his son (middle of S.H.2, 2'-3' below surface; see Thompson and Mallowan, below, Publication).

Publication. Thompson, *Illustrated London News*, 16 July 1932, pp. 99 figs. 9, 10 (photographs; fig. 10 reproduced by Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), p. 77, Abb. 970); Thompson and Mallowan, *L.-L.-I* 20 (1933), p. 78 f., pl. CV (drawing of both sides only).

Edition. Cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 322, p. 255 and addendum, p. 338, Tav. XLVII (redrawn) and Tav. fuori testo III, figs. 4-5 (British Museum photographs).

Content. Uncertain. It is possible that the first few compartments visible contain divine names (so observed by Bossert, loc. cit., Publication), and thus that the document was a register of gods or their offerings.

Date. Presumably from Nineveh provenance Sargonid period, i.e. after the destruction of the Neo-Hittite states.

Text. Not offered. Isolated signs are tentatively identifiable on "obv.(?)", l. 1, especially 2 or 3 "god" signs (DEUS), but apart from (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS at beginning, no single complete word or name.

Photographs. British Museum prints reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

XII.11. NINEVEH 2 (plate 325)

Location. Stone fragment, lost? (Possibly in Iraq Museum, although enquiries have failed to locate it).

Description. Part of limestone "tablet", bearing Hier. inscription on both faces and the two preserved sides. The lines on all four inscribed areas are divided up into compartments by vertical lines between the horizontal line-dividers. The "obverse" (in fact no clear evidence identifies obverse/reverse) has parts of 4 lines, 1 and 3 dextroverse, 2 and 4 sinistroverse; the ends/beginnings of the odd/even lines are missing, and the text breaks off with l. 4. As preserved, each line is divided into at least 4 compartments. The "reverse" has its 4 last lines preserved, ll. 1 and 3 dextroverse, ll. 2 and 4 sinistroverse, and the ends/beginnings are missing from odd/even lines. As preserved, ll. 1, 2 and 3 each have at least 3 compartments, l. 4 at least 5. Side A, running dextroverse along the left side of the tablet, continues directly on side B along top/bottom of "obverse/reverse"; as preserved, side A has at least 8 compartments, side B, at least 3.

Dimensions (as preserved): ht., c. 9 cm.; w., c. 10 cm.; th., c. 1.8 cm.

Condition: poor.

Script, line-dividers: incised faintly.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: not discernible.

Word-dividers: some possibly on edge.

Discovery. Excavated in Nineveh in 1932, same provenance as NINEVEH 1.

Publication. Thompson, *Illustrated London News*, 16 July 1932, p. 99 fig. 11 (photographs of both sides; photograph of obverse only reproduced by Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 972); Thompson and Mallowan, *LAA 20* (1933), p. 78 f., pl. CV (drawing of both faces and sides).

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 321, p. 255, Tav. XLVI ("obverse" redrawn from Bossert).

Content. Unclear, no word clearly identifiable.

Date. From Nineveh provenance, presumably Sargonid, i.e. after the destruction of the Neo-Hittite states.

Transliteration, translation. Not offered.

Text. Campbell Thompson's idiosyncratic copy only.

Photographs. Prints from excavation negatives (nos. 267040 a-b, 267041, 267042) preserved in the British Museum, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees.

XII.12. GELB (plate 326)

Location. Orthostat, whereabouts unknown, lost?

Description. Orthostat preserved to full original height, bearing apparently separate inscriptions on each of two faces. *Side A* (broad face): right side uninscribed, left side bearing 4 line inscription broken off at the left, ll. 1 and 3 sinistroverse, ll. 2 and 4 dextroverse. The ll. 2-3 do not show continuous sense, nor does l. 4 show the end of the text, which implies that the inscription was continued on a lost element abutting the side at right angles over the area of the uninscribed space. *Side B* (narrow face): this apparently adjoins side A at its right edge. It bears down its right side parts of 3 line inscription, but the left side has either been erased or was not inscribed (ll. 1 and 3 are sinistroverse, l. 2 dextroverse). The inscription on side B with its 3 lines could never have matched up with that of side A with its 4 lines, and it is hard to see how and on what elements side B's 3 lines could have continued either on the left or the right.

Condition: as preserved, good.

Dimensions: unknown.

Script, line-dividers: relief.

Sign forms: mixed, cursive (*u*), monumental (*sà*, *ta*, *mu*).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: some visible.

Discovery. Unknown. Photographs existed in the collection of I. J. Gelb, who gave copies to me.

Publication, edition. Here for the first time.

Content. Insufficiently preserved to permit much certainty, seems to contain usual dynastic narrative and curse formula.

Date. Uncertain, perhaps 8th century; appears to resemble inscriptions of Kamanis of Karkamiš, especially KARKAMIŠ A31.

Text. Traced from photographs.

Photographs. Prints provided by courtesy of the late I. J. Gelb.

Transliteration	Translation
Side A	
1. § 1 ...] DEUS- <i>ní-sa-ti-i</i> LEP[US ...	...] by divine authority [...]
2. § 2 ... <i>t[á-ti-ta]-za</i> (“LIGNUM”) <i>sà+ra/i-ha-za pi-i<a>-ta</i>	...] they gave the father's succession,
§ 3 <i>a-wa/i</i> [...]	and [...]
3. § 4 ...]- <i>sa</i> (URBS) (DEUS) <i>ku-AVIS-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>hara/i-x-w[a/i...</i>	... Karkamisea]n Kubaba, the Har[an]ean god [...]
4. § 5 ...] CUM- <i>ni</i> (“CRUS”) <i>ta-tú</i>	...] may he/they stand with [...],
§ 6 <i>á-pa-sa-ha-wa/i-tá</i> ...	and he [...]
Side B	
1. 1. ...] <i>wa/i-mu-u</i> [...]	...] and me [...]
1. 2. ...] “CRUS+CRUS” [...]	...] follow [...]
1. 3. ...] <i>ARHA</i> x x DELERE [...]	...] destroy [...]

Commentary

§ 2. (“LIGNUM”) *sà+ra/i-ha-za*: interesting variant spelling of the usual *sà-la-ha-za* (for which see TELL AHMAR 1, § 4, Commentary), a further example of the interchange of *l* and *r*.

§ 4. (DEUS) *hara/i-x-n[a/i...]*: the Haranean Moon-God appears regularly in sequences of gods, and for the writing (DEUS) *hara/i-na-wa/i-ni-* (i.e. with divine determinative) see KULULU 5, § 1 (twice). Less likely

here is (DEUS) *hara/i-[ma-na]-wa/i-[ni-]*, “the Haranean God” (for whom see KARKAMIŠ A15b, § 10), since the traces hardly support *[-ma-na-]*.

§ 5. (“CRUS”) *ta-*: unusual and useful combination of logographic and syllabic writings for this verb *ta-*, “stand”; cf. (“CRUS”) *ta-za-* (KARATEPE, 403, Hu.), and the alternation of CRUS-*i* with *ta-i* (SULTANHAN, §§ 38, 40 and 39).

XII.13. ALIŞAR (ostracon) (plate 327)

Location. Ostracon, lost?

Description. Part of ring-base of vessel of wet-smoothed buff ware bearing graffito of 2 words (one only partially preserved), a right-hand 5-sign group of sinistroverse signs arranged vertically from top to bottom and a corresponding left-hand group of which only 2½ signs, also sinistroverse, are preserved. The first is a personal name as the second may also be.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Dimensions: 56 × 55 mm. (Publication).

Script: incised.

Sign forms: cursive (*sà*, *ma*).

Peculiarities: —

Word-dividers: none.

Discovery. “Alişar No. C1154, from 012, Level 4bM (lower Phrygian)” (see Publication).

Publication. I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity* (OIP 27; Chicago, 1935), p. 73 and pl. LI no. 65 (photograph and drawing); cf. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 971.

Edition. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 61, p. 18, Tav. III (redrawn).

Content. Graffito, personal name(s).

Date. Sign forms appear to be 8th century B.C., and stratification of discovery supports late date.

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Transliteration

ha-tu-sà-mu-wa/i-s[a] [...] *x-ku-la-* [...]

Comment

Hatusamuwa : while the formation of the personal name is perfectly normal, it is very surprising to find the toponym *Hattusa* occurring as an onomastic element more than four centuries after the city's destruction. As Laroche who lists the name (*Noms*, no. 346) notes, it is uncertain whether the final *-sa* indicates nom. or gen. sing.

[...]x-*ku-la*-[...] : a further name (patronym?) or ethnic or professional designation? Meriggi (Edition) compares the personal name *Kukulana* (cf. Laroche, *Noms*, no. 604), but the initial traces do not particularly support this.

XII.14. TRAGANA (LOCRI) (plate 327)

Location. Bronze bowl, Lamia Museum, Greece, no. M 3510.

Description. Bronze omphalos bowl, ht. 0.07 m., diam. 0.21 m., bearing on outer surface immediately below rim a 4-sign sinistroverse epigraph. A similar epigraph is reported on a silver bowl recently discovered at Nimrud, Iraq (see following inscription).

Dimensions (inscribed area) : ht., 26 mm.; w., 29 mm.
Condition : excellent.

Script : incised.

Sign forms : cursive.

Peculiarities : –

Word-dividers : not used.

Discovery. The modern village of Tragana lies in the coastal plain of the *Eparchia* of Locris (*Nomos* of Phthiotis), Greece, on the gulf of Atlanti (anc. Opuntian Gulf). There in 1981 a geometric cemetery was discovered which was excavated in 1982–1983 by Dr. Artemis Onasoglou. Among the 14 pithos burials and 21 amphora burials, the richest was pithos 9 (designated π-9), containing the body of a young woman with much jewellery (12 bracelets, 20 rings, a necklace of 375 beads, 8 pins and 8 fibulae), and with two bronze

bowls placed below the feet, the upper being that with the Hieroglyphic inscription, designated π-9, 59. I am much indebted to Professor G. Neumann for informing me of this discovery and sending me a copy of the publication.

Publication. Artemis Onasoglou, *To Arkhaiologikon Deltion* 36 (1981, publ. 1989), pp. 21, 22 fig. 14 (drawing), 50 f. (discussion) (all Greek), 59 (French summary), pl. 21β-γ (photographs of bowl), δ (photograph of epigraph).

Content. Epigraph, name of original owner?

Date. From cursive style probably 8th century B.C.

Text. Reproduced from Publication.

Photograph. I am much indebted to Dr. Onasoglou for this print and for other information about the object.

Transliteration, translation

mu-wa/i-zi-sa, “(of?) Muwizis”.

Comment

The excavator, acknowledging the advice of G. Neumann, E. Masson and A. Müller-Karpe, has already noted the main features of the epigraph, namely that it is probably to be regarded as standing in the gen. sing., and that the name is found also as that of a ruler of Gurgum (on the Hier inscriptions MARAŞ 4, § 10, and MARAŞ 1, § 1 f.). In my Commentary on the latter

passage, I have given reasons for supposing that the form of the name indicated is *Muwizi*. Dr. Onasoglou speculates on the possibility of the ruler of Gurgum being the same person as the owner of the bowl, and considers as a possible objection the absence of title attached to the latter name. There is nothing to add to her discussion of this question.

XII.15. NIMRUD (plate 327)

Location. Silver bowl, Iraq Museum, Baghdad?

Description. Silver omphalos bowl, diam. *c.* 0.17–0.20 m. is reported as bearing on the outer surface immediately below the rim a 5-sign sinistaverse inscription.

Dimensions: diam., *c.* 18–20 cm.

Condition: clear.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word-dividers: –

Discovery. In August 1989 the third of the under-floor tomb vaults was discovered in the North-West Palace, Nimrud, by Iraqi archaeologists under the direction of Dr. Muzahim Mahmud. This was found in a previously unexcavated room, numbered 57 by the excavators, adjoining room 49 where the previous tomb vault had been discovered in April 1989. The entrance shaft, sealed by an inscribed stone slab, led into a brick-built ante-chamber and tomb chamber. In the latter was a large stone sarcophagus, empty, and bearing on its lid the inscription of the queen of Aššurnāširpal II (883–859 B.C.). In the antechamber were three bronze coffins of apparently late 8th century B.C. type, containing

bones and very rich grave goods, including the present bowl. See the report by John Curtis, Dominique Collon and Georgina Herrmann, in *BANE-4 newsletter* 2 (1989), p. 26; also A. R. George, *Minerva* 1/1 (1990), p. 31.

Publication, edition. –

Content. Epigraph, name of original owner?

Date. 8th, or possibly 7th century B.C. (latter would depend on identifying name with attested ruler – see Comment).

Text. Sketch made from memory by Dr. Dominique Collon, to whom I am indebted for the information concerning this inscribed object. I accompany this with a suggested reconstruction of what the inscription may have given (see further, Comment).

Photographs. Not currently available.

Transliteration, translation

sà-ta-Š·1R·M·1-ma_x[?]-sa, “(of?) Santasarmas(?)”.

Comment

In reconstructing the inscription following Dr. Collon's sketch from memory, we find that only the form of the *-ma-* is problematic, in that it does not obviously correspond to a known form. All the other signs were remembered in exact or easily recognizable forms. It thus seems that the name represented is pretty certainly *Santasarmas*. The name is probably to be construed as gen. sing., possessive, as the name in the previous inscription, and others on seals.

While the name may well be a common one, its only attested bearer is *Sandasarme* (written *1sa-an-da-šar-me*) king of Hilakku in the reign of Assurbanipal, to whom he submitted some time in the 650's: see Cilicia, the Historical Context, p. 43 and n. 75. We have to consider whether

this dynast could be identified as the sender of the bowl. The chronology and dating of the objects within the relevant tomb have not been worked out in detail. Clearly the identification of a present from Sandasarme would be an important piece of chronological data, and nothing so far published suggests that it would be impossible. On the other hand, an attribution to Sandasarme of Hilakku would make this inscription almost half a century later than the latest datable Hieroglyphic inscriptions (NİĞDE 2, İVRİZ 2, KARATEPE). Yet Cilicia, especially Rough Cilicia, is certainly the place where Hieroglyphic writing might be expected to have survived the longest. All in all, the identification seems possible but it makes a rather flimsy dating criterion.

XII.16. PERSEPOLIS (plate 327)

Location. Stone sherd, lost at sea.

Description. Inscribed rim sherd from haematite bowl with everted lip, and below, three encircling striations. The 6-sign, apparently sinistaverse inscription is found on the belly of the bowl. It appears complete on the left, but may have continued on the lost right part.

Condition: as preserved, clear.

Dimensions: preserved ht., *c.* 4 cm.; preserved w., *c.* 6 cm.

Script: incised.

Sign forms: apparently cursive.

Peculiarities: –

Word dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. Excavated by the expedition of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, at Persepolis in 1938 in Hall 41 of the Treasury: see E. Schmidt, *Persepolis I* (*OIP* 68; Chicago, 1953), p. 179. The piece bore the field no. PT6 246, and was found in Hall 41, plot HF69 centre S.

Publication. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II* (*OIP* 69; Chicago, 1957), p. 84 and pl. 49.2 (drawings of sherd and bowl outline, photograph showing inscription); cf. *ibid.*, Index of Field nos., p. 154.

Editions. Gelb *apud* Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no. 327, p. 255 f., Tav. XLVII.

Content. Presumably dedication of bowl.

Date. 8th century B.C.? (so Gelb).

Text. Traced from photograph.

Photograph. Supplied by courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Transliteration, translation

DEUS.MONS REX *pi-i<a>-tá*

(To?) the divine Mountain King he/they gave.

Comment

MONS.REX (without DEUS) is a title of the god Šarruma from the Empire Period (HANYERĪ, see Cilia, the Historical Context, n. 15), surviving into the Late Period (MALATYA 7, see Commentary; and AN-COZ 1, § 4).

pi-i<a>-tá: Gelb, who presumably did not see the piece itself but only the photograph, identified the last two signs as *-i-tá*, apparently correctly. It is not clear who the subject is: it could be lost from the fragment. The “divine Mountain-King” is more likely to be the recipient of the dedication.

XIII. SEALS¹

Introduction

The Inscriptions

Rulers' seals

1. LIDAR bullae
2. MALATYA bulla (MALATYA 15)
3. ZINCIRLI signet

Kubaba seals

4. PORADA seal
5. DELAPORTE seal
6. BOROWSKI seal 1
7. NINEVEH seal
8. HOGARTH seal 1
9. HOGARTH seal 2
10. GULBENKIAN seal

Ownership seals

- 11 a-c. GELB seals
12. NINEVEH bullae 1-7
13. KHORSABAD bullae

Name seals

14. BOROWSKI seal 2
15. HOGARTH seal 3
16. DE CLERCQ seal

Miscellaneous

- 17-18. DÜLÜK/GAZIANTEP seals
19. BOSSERT seal
20. VOLLENWEIDER seal
21. YALE seal

Introduction

Curiously few seals with Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age are known. This is in marked contrast to the very large number, typically of the two-sided lentoid type, which characterizes the Late Bronze Age. This latter huge group, though inscribed in the Hieroglyphic script, contribute little to the knowledge of the Luwian language. They seldom contain more than the name and title of their owners, and while the names may be assigned to various languages (Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian, Semitic, etc.), the titles are normally written logographically and thus provide no evidence for the language in which they are to be read. One group of Empire Period seals which are of great importance to the Hieroglyphic script, if not the Luwian language, are the digraphic seals of Boğazköy, Ras Shamra and Meskene, which either themselves bear the Cuneiform equivalents to the Hieroglyphic inscriptions, or are identified by means of a Cuneiform epigraph of the type ^{𐎶𐎵}KIŠIB PN, "seal of So-and-so".

The signary of the Empire Period seal inscriptions diverges markedly from that of the stone inscriptions. Many seals are poorly preserved and it is often difficult to determine whether a given glyph is an element of writing ("Hieroglyph" to us), or of decoration. But a large proportion of the seal inscription signary is not found at all on stone inscriptions. This dichotomy is well illustrated by Laroche's signary, *HHH*, in which some 70 signs (or about 14% of the total) are found only on seals, and many of these are of dubious form and/or identification.

For these reasons, the corpus of Hier. Luwian inscriptions of the Empire Period should exclude the contemporary seal inscriptions, which require a separate corpus of their own. Much useful work is currently in hand for collections of such glyptic material.²

For the Iron Age on the other hand, what few inscribed seals have been identified have much closer relations with their contemporary stone inscriptions, and because of their comparative paucity it is practical to include them in this Corpus of Hier. Luwian inscriptions. The reasons for this rarity may be a subject for conjecture.³ The regular excavations of Iron Age sites have produced very little in the way of contemporary seals and/or sealings. Thus, for example, Karkamiš and Malatya produced virtually nothing (except (XIII.2) MALATYA bulla, below). The handful of glyptic material from Hama⁴ consists mainly of low quality lentoid seals, typical of the Late Bronze Age, apart from such oddities as HAMA fragment 4, an impression of a seal with substantial but unfortunately illegible inscription, and fragments 7-11, bullae with stamp seal impressions showing some Hieroglyphs.⁵ Seals of this period are equally lacking from single-period Iron Age sites such as Tell Tayinat and Karatepe, and the multi-period sites such as Tarsus and Samsat.

1 I am much indebted to Dr. Dominique Collon for advice on this section.

2 Principally by Profs. Belkis and Ali Dincol, and Massimo Poetto. A corpus with complete bibliography is in preparation, of which the preliminary volume has appeared: N. Boysan, M. Marazzi and H. Nowicki, *Sammlung Hieroglyphischer Siegel*, Band I, Vorarbeiten (Würzburg, 1983). See also C. Mora, *La Glittica Anatolica del II Millennio A.C.: Classificazione tipologica. I. I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica* (*Studia Mediterranea* 6; Pavia, 1987); with *Primo Supplemento* (1990).

3 Dr. Collon points out to me that there is a comparable lack of inscribed Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals.

4 The material has been made available to me by the courtesy of Professor P. J. Riis and the Carlsberg Foundation.

5 This Iron Age Hama material is treated above under HAMA (IX.18 and 21 a-d).

Iron Age seals with Hier. inscriptions included in this Corpus fall into four main types, to which is appended a fifth miscellaneous group.

(1) *Rulers' seals*: very few but not insignificant. Recently discovered are impressions from the magnificent seal of Kuzi-Tešub (XIII.1), strictly speaking an Empire Period type, but included here for practical considerations of relevance to the Late Period corpus, both because Kuzi-Tešub's position as a transitional figure between the Empire and Neo-Hittite periods is now apparent, and also because his seal, uniquely for such a type, bears an important phonetically written Hier. Luwian phrase. An excavated bulla bears impressions of a Malatya king's signet (XIII.2). Finally, the signet of the Aramean Bar-Rakib from Zincirli (XIII.3) has the curiosity of the writing of his name in Hieroglyphs, which qualifies it for inclusion here.

(2) *Kubaba seals* (XIII.4–10). This second identifiable group of seals, small but increasing, is so designated because they are all inscribed with the name of this goddess, sometimes linked with another deity (the Storm- and Sun-Gods), or alone. These seals may bear other decoration, or solely the inscription. Their purpose, and the reason for the focus on Kubaba, remain matters for speculation. None of these seals is provenanced except one from Nineveh (XIII.7), but they are undoubtedly characteristic of the Iron Age, to which they may be dated by both epigraphic and stylistic criteria. No examples of such seals are known from the IIInd millennium B.C. A further example of this type, to which I have had no access, seems to exist or have existed at Velletri (see Fig. 1).⁶

(3) *Ownership seals*. This term is applied to a peculiar small group of seals, XIII.11–13, which simply write

*Calcedony
in the Museum
Borgia at Velletri*

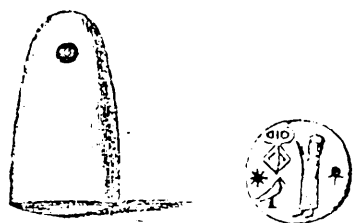


Fig. 1. Drawing of seal, from J. Landseer, *Observations on the Engraved Gems brought from Babylon to England by Abraham Lockett Esq.* (*Archaeologia* 18 (1817), pp. 371–384). I am indebted to Dr. Dominique Collon for drawing my attention to this piece. The present illustration on a sheet with two other items is bound in at the end of this article, and appears to be a version of the “foreign print” referred to on p. 372.

“This seal (is) of So-and-so”, or “Seal of So-and-so”. Three good examples were collected by Gelb (one apparently from Malatya, one perhaps from Cilicia, and one unprovenanced). Curiously, they are paralleled by a series of impressions excavated at Nineveh and Khorsabad, but not by anything excavated at any Neo-Hittite site.⁷ A dating of this type to the Late Period is guaranteed both by sign forms and the Nineveh-Khorsabad provenances. Recently a series of very comparable Phoenician inscribed seals from Cilicia has been published, on which it is notable that the personal names are mostly recognizable not as Semitic but as Anatolian, specifically Luwian.⁸

(4) *Name seals* (XIII.14–16). There are three seals decorated with a figure and showing Hieroglyphs writing the owners' plain Luwian names. They are thus comparable in content, though different in format, to the seals of the preceding group (3), but they do not resemble the simple name seals of the IIInd millennium B.C., which are found in such quantities. The peculiarity of the present group resides mainly in the fact that so few are known, though we may well expect further examples to appear. There is probably even one Kubaba seal which on its second side (base) has a simple name inscription, associated with a pegasus as is the name on XIII. 16 (see XIII. 5).⁹

6 A yet further example of a Kubaba seal is reported to me by Prof. Sir John Boardman as appearing in Frank Sternberg AG Zurich Auktion 27 (1994), no. 677 pl. 37 (“creamy marble scaraboid, 1.35×0.8 cm.”).

7 Unless the inscription of the cylinder seal impression HAMA frag. 4 (IX.18) is correctly identified as such, though on a seal of a different type to other examples. Meriggi, as cited by Poetto (*Stud. Med.* 3 (1981), p. 37 n. 65), proposed the reading *za-wa/i SIGILLUM-sa-za* ..., “this seal ...” (see Commentary on the piece).

8 A. Lemaire, *Essai sur cinq sceaux phéniciens* (*Semitica* 27 (1977), pp. 29–40 and pl. VI).

9 A further such seal, pegasus + Hier. name, is probably to be recognized in the National Museum, Copenhagen (no. 1586), drawn to my attention by Prof. Sir John Boardman. Above the pegasus' head is a good Hier. *mu*, and above its tail possibly two *sa*'s written together. Below the pegasus is a sign not recognized as a Hieroglyph. See Fig. 2.



Fig. 2. National Museum, Copenhagen, no. 1586. Haematite scaraboid acquired in Beirut.

(5) *Miscellaneous* (XIII.17–20). Beyond the four recognizable groups noted above, there are four Hieroglyphic inscriptions on seals of this period, which can-

not definitely be grouped under any of those headings. Further finds may in future permit the recognition of other groupings.

The Inscriptions

XIII.1. LĪDAR bullae (plate 328)

Location. Seal impressions, Urfa Museum, nos. unknown. Another less complete impression from the same seal on a bulla was circulating on the antiquities market, and is now in the Rosen Collection in the U.S.A. (see below, *Discovery*).

Description. At least three impressions on bullae from the same seal (see *Discovery*). Two fairly complete impressions from Lidar höyük (registered as Li. 85-F. Nr. 246, 247) show the circular central field of the seal and a damaged outer ring of Cuneiform legend. *Central field.* In the centre, the figure of the Storm-God facing right, bearded, with long pigtail, wearing horned helmet, short, belted kilt with crescent-pomelled sword at waist, and boots with upturned toes, and holding in his right hand a mace over his shoulder, stands on the bowed heads of two mountain-men wearing pointed hats and long skirts with points representing the mountains. In front of him above his outstretched left hand is his name (A) written with 2 signs, with a rosette to the right, and at the bottom in front of the mountain-men, a prancing bull. *Main inscription.* This occupies the rest of the field in front of and behind the Storm-God: *in front*, below arm, (B) a 4-sign sinistroverse group representing royal name framed by 2 “king” signs (REX), and to right, a 5-sign dextroverse group representing country name; *behind, above*, (C) 4-sign group representing royal name framed by 2 “king” signs, followed (left) by 5-sign group representing country name (both groups sinistroverse); *behind, below*, (D) 8-sign group, also sinistroverse, representing epithet.

Outer ring, Cuneiform legend. Damaged, deserves further collation; appears to give Kuzi-Tešub (with titles), son of Talmi-Tešub (with titles). For reading and correction, see Sürenhagen and Hagenbuchner, loc. cit. below.

Dimensions: full diam., 5.4 cm.

Condition: good.

Script: relief (impression).

Sign forms: Empire Period (especially *TEŠUB*, *pa*, *sà*, *ní*, *tí*, *u*).

Discovery. The two Lidar bullae were excavated in the autumn 1985 during the operations of the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Vorderasiatische Archäo-

logie der Universität Heidelberg, led by Professor Harald Hauptmann. Lidar is situated on the east bank of the Euphrates a few kilometres up-stream from Samsat. The bullae come from a considerable destruction level marking the end of the Bronze Age settlement. They were found in area P50 of the north section of the *höyük*, in a storeroom of level 7, near a pithos in burnt debris above the floor. See Sürenhagen (below, *Publication*). A further bulla with an incomplete example of the same seal was known to me from a photograph sent by an antiquities dealer to the British Museum in 1981. It was accompanied by a further photograph of a tablet, now in Japan, recording an agreement between a woman in Emar and Kunti-Tešub the prince, sealed with five impressions of a stamp-seal with Hier. legend and Cuneiform epigraph “Kunti-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš”: see Hawkins, loc. cit. (below, *Edition*), n. 1. The provenance of the tablet appears to be Meskene, and it is possible that the bulla also came from here. Professor G. Beckman now kindly informs me that the “bulla” (in fact perhaps the raised central portion of an official tablet) is now in the Rosen Collection, and will be published by himself.

Publication. D. Sürenhagen, Ein Königssiegel aus Kargamis (*MDOG* 118 (1986), pp. 183–190 (p. 184, photographs of both bulla, obv. and rev.; p. 185, composite drawing reconstructed from both)).

Edition. Sürenhagen, loc. cit.; Hawkins, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 99–101.

Content. Royal seal inscription: name, title, affiliation, epithet.

Date. c. 1200 B.C., before and/or after the fall of the Hittite Empire.

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph of exemplar A, collated from those of exemplars B and C.

Photographs. For photographs of exemplars A and B I am much indebted to Professor Harald Hauptmann; for C to Professor G. Beckman and the Collection of Jonathan Rosen, New York City.

Transliteration

Translation

(Hieroglyphic)

(A) (DEUS)TONITRUS

Storm-God.

(B) (REX)*ku-zi/a-TEŠUB-pa* REX *kar-ka-mi-sà* (REGIO)

Kuzi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš,

(C) (REX)*tal-mi-TEŠUB-pa* REX *kar-ka-mi-sà* (REGIO)son of Talmi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš,
recognized by the god(s).(D) DEUS-*ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa* (x+) INFANS

(Cuneiform)

¹*ku-zi-^Dte-šub* LUGAL [KUR][*kar*]-*ga-miš* UR.SAG [DUMU]

Kuzi-Tešub, king of the land of [Kar]kamiš,

¹[*tal*]-*mi-^Dte-šub*] LUGAL KUR *kar-ga-[miš]* UR.SAG.Hero, son of [Tal]mi-[Tešub], king of the land
of Karkamiš, Hero.

Comment

Some points may be recapitulated from my *Edition*.

Hier. *ku-zi/a-TEŠUB-pa*//Cun. *ku-zi-^Dte-šub*: the exact correspondence Hier.//Cun. *ku-zi-* stands in contrast to that in the name of the prince of Karkamiš known from the Meskene tablet (see above, Discovery), where Cun. *ku-un-ti-* = Hier. *ku-ti-*. Are Kuzi-Tešub and Kunti-Tešub different princes of Karkamiš, or are these different forms of the same name belonging to a single individual? Hurr. elements *kundi* and *kunzi* are recognized by Laroche, (*Gloss. Hourr.*, s.v.). The Cun. *ku-zi-* implies *kuzi-* not *kunzi-*, and a stem *kuz-*, “garder, retenir”, is recognized, to which *kuzi-* may perhaps be attributed. Further Hurrian research may elucidate this problem.

(x+) INFANS: first element remains unidentified.

DEUS-*ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa*: second word provides welcome pure phonetic writing of verb *uni-*, “know”, written

in the Late Period (LITUUS)*u-ni-* (see KAR-KAMIŠ A15b, § 20, and Commentary), i.e. LITUUS is a determinative of the Late Period only; cf. Empire *á-zi/a-*, Late (LITUUS)*á-za-*, “love”. To whom does the epithet apply, Kuzi-Tešub or his father, i.e. is *unimis* nom. or gen. sing.? A word fully phonetically written like this is unparalleled on Empire Period royal seals, so it cannot be conclusively established that *-sa* must represent the gen. sing. ending rather than nom., which would not be written. On the other hand, the obvious Hitt. parallel *šuniti k[anešša]ndaš* NUMUN-*aš*, “of the seed recognized by the god(s)” (*KBo* VI, 28 obv. 5), is certainly gen. sing. applying to a forebear. Against this we would expect the gen. sing. of the participle *unimi-* to be *unimas* and to be spelled as such. Provisionally then, it is identified as nom. sing. in apposition to *Kuzi-Tešub*.

XIII.2. MALATYA bulla (MALATYA 15) (plate 329)

Location. Bulla, whereabouts uncertain, Ankara Museum? Enquiries there have so far failed to locate it.

Description. Bulla bearing 5 incomplete signet impressions, A–E, from which a fairly complete, antithetically symmetrical seal inscription can be reconstructed. In the centre a stag, left-facing (in impression), with below, a dextroverse sign *ti*, is flanked first by a pair of “king” signs, then by a pair of *ma* signs (sinistroverse on left, dextroverse on right). The left side is not preserved from this point but is probably to be restored symmetrically from the right side, which has “land”, then a 2-headed spread-eagle (not an element of the script).

Dimensions: max. ht., 8 mm.; reconstructed w., 5.4 cm.
Condition: reconstruction fair.

Script: relief (impression).

Sign forms: monumental (CERVUS) and cursive (*ma*).

Discovery. Surface find during cleaning by Italian operations in 1962 of area excavated by Delaporte: see Meriggi, Publication.

Publication. (For preliminary announcement, see Meriggi, *Glossar* (1962), p. 238). Meriggi, *O4* 2 (1963), pp. 275–278, fig. (drawn reconstruction), Tav. XLVI (photographs of bulla and of flat cast made from it), = Meriggi, in Puglisi and Meriggi, *Malatya* I (1964), pp. 45–48, fig. 6, Tav. LXXIII. See also Mora, *Glittica Anatolica* (1989; see above footnote 2), Gruppo X, 1.5, pp. 249, 255 and Tav. 69.

Edition. Meriggi, loc. cit.

Content. Seal inscription of king of Ma(lizi) (Malatya).

Date. King probably to be identified (following Meriggi) with the CERVUS (Runtiyas), author of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, thus late 12th century B.C.(?): see GÜRÜN, Date.

Text. In the absence of the piece itself a new drawing cannot be offered.

Photograph. I am much indebted to Professor Massimo Poetto for the print of the original excavation photograph of the impressions taken from the bulla.

Transliteration, translation

[(REGIO)]*ma* REX CERVUS-*ti* REX *ma*(REGIO)

Runti(yas) king of the land of Ma(lizi).

Comment

CERVUS-*ti*: identification with the CERVUS, author of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE seems very likely. We may now compare the writing with the very similar CERVUS-*ti* found on the seal of Kurunta (of Tarhuntassa) from Boğazköy, for which see Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1987, p. 401 ff., Abb. 20 a–b; Otten, *StBoT*, Bh. 1 (1988), p. 5 Abb. 1.

ma(REGIO): abbreviated writing comparable with (“*mi*(REGIO)”) *mi-za + ra/i*-(URBS), “Egypt” (KAR-KAMIŠ A6, § 4), in contrast to the usual writing of the name of Malatya as *MA_x.LI_x*(-zi)(URBS), for which writing see GÜRÜN, § 1b, Commentary.

XIII.3. ZİNCİRLİ signet (plate 329)

Location. Signet ring (excavation no. S3705), Berlin Museum?

Description. Gold signet ring set with black and white onyx bearing a 4-sign inscription (sinistroverse on seal).

Dimensions: inner diam. (ring) 19 mm.; outer, 25 mm. Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. Excavated in small room J9 of Kulamuwa-building in 1902: see von Luschan, *ÄS* IV (1911), p. 248 and Taf. L.

Publication. Andrae, *ÄS* V (1943), p. 95 f., Taf. 451 (drawing), 47 i (photograph of impression).

Edition. Cf. Barnett, *Carchemish* III (1951), p. 261, n. 1; id., *An. St.* 3 (1953), p. 89 n. 6; Laroche, *HH* (1960), no. 446; Meriggi, *Glossar* (1962), p. 93.

Content. Name of Bar-Rakib (king of Sam'al).

Date. Reign of Bar-Rakib, 732 – B.C.

Text. Reproduced from the publication, with restoration of + *ra/i*.

Photograph. Reproduced from the publication.

Transliteration, translation

pa + ra/i-ki-pa-sa, (of) Parakipas.

Comment

Bar-Rakib's Aramaic signet has been reproduced alongside the Hieroglyphic for comparison. The formulation *l-br-rkb* (*br-pnmw*), “(belonging) to Bar-Rakib (son of Panammu)”, suggests that *Parakipas* is to be taken as gen. sing., “of Parakipas”.

+ *ra/i*: collation of the original, if still extant, should establish whether this is present or must be restored;

the photograph of the impression (see above, Publication) suggests that it probably was there, and it has been restored in the drawing.

-*ki*: important in establishing the correct vocalization of the final syllable of the name *Bar-Rakib*, attested elsewhere only in the consonantal alphabetic writing.

XIII.4. PORADA seal (plate 330)

Location. Cylinder seal, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, *Porada* no. 1102.

Description. Carnelian cylinder seal bearing 3-word Hieroglyphic inscription alternating with (i.e. framed by) a group of 3 items (stag-headed snake and human

figure in Assyrian dress, both left-facing on impression, and a tasselled crescent staff). The inscription (dextroverse on impression) consists of 2 groups of 3 signs each, written vertically, followed by a group of 4 signs, also vertical.

Dimensions: ht., 20 mm.; diam., 11 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. Originally property of W. H. Ward, acquired shortly before 1898, but stated by Ward in 1910 to belong to the Metropolitan Museum, New York (see Ward, *Publication*); acquired by Pierpont Morgan subsequently (Note: not included in Ward, *Cylinders ... Pierpont Morgan* (1909)).

Publication. Ward, *AJA* 2 (1898), p. 163 fig. 3 (drawing); id., *ibid.* 3 (1899), p. 18 fig. 19 (drawing); Rylands, *PSB* 1 21 (1899), p. 225 (drawing); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 40, Taf. XLI.1 (drawing from impression lent by Jensen); Ward, *Seal Cylinders* (1910), no. 796, p. 267 f. (drawing); Porada, *Corpus* I (1948), no. 1102, p. 156, pl. CLXVIII (photograph of impression).

Edition. Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), p. 174 f. cit. 32.

Content. Two divine names, second with epithet.

Date. Late Neo-Assyrian. Porada dates it, from the robe of the human figure, to the early part of the 7th century B.C. One wonders whether this is really an example of the Hieroglyphic script still in use after the political annihilation of the Neo-Hittite states during the later 8th century B.C.

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photograph. I am much indebted to Professor Edith Porada for making a new impression of the seal and sending me the excellent photograph here published.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu* (DEUS)*ku* + AVIS
na-wa/i + ra/i-li-sa

Tarhu(nzas) (and) foreign Kubaba.

Comment

na-wa/i + ra/i-li-sa: compared in my Edition with Cun. Luw. *ninwaralli-*, "not-own, alien, hostile", < Cun. Luw.-Hier. *waral(i)-*, "own, proper". The ending *-sa*

presumably represents nom. sing. MF *-s*, and indicates that the divine names were regarded as being in this case.

XIII.5. DELAPORTE seal (plate 331)

Location. Stamp seal, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Delaporte* no. 650.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal, side cut in, of yellow agate, drilled horizontally through long axis, with longer convex top and smaller flat base, each bearing a Hier. inscription (probably – that of the base is not certain). *Top*, centre above: god in "winged disc" (disc not clearly rendered), facing left (impression); below, left (impression), 3-sign group; right, 2-sign group. *Base*: a pegasus with spread wings, facing left (impression), occupies most of field; 3 items (above quarters, above head, below forelegs) could represent a Hier. inscription (sinistroversed) or could be filling motifs. Single drilled hole (below head) and pair (below hind legs) are filling motifs.

Dimensions: ht., 16 mm.; w., 21 mm.; th., 8 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. Acquired by Bibliothèque Nationale in 1844 from former collection of Lajard.

Publication. Lajard, *Mithra* (1847), pl. XLIV 3–3a (drawing of impression); Rylands, *PSB* 1 6 (1884), pl. facing p. 111 (drawing, after Lajard); Wright, *EH* (1884/1886), pl. XVI bottom (reengraved from Rylands); Perrot and Chipiez, *HA* IV (1887), p. 767 fig. 376 (after Lajard); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 45, Taf. XLIII.8 (reproduced from Wright); Delaporte, *Catalogue* (1910), p. 334, no. 650, pl. XXXVIII (photographs of impressions of either side).

Edition. –

Content. *Top*, two divine names; *base*, owner's name(?).

Date. 1st Millennium B.C., both on grounds of scaraboid form of seal, and the motifs.

Text, photographs. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photographs and checked by a personal examination of the seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I am indebted to the Bibliothèque Nationale for the photographs of the seal and impressions here published.

Transliteration, translation

Top. (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS (DEUS)SOL, Kubaba (and) the Sun.
 Base. *u*(?)*-na*(?)*-sa*(?), Of Unas(?)

Comment

Kubaba linked with the Sun also on following seal.
u²-na²-sa²: uncertain Hieroglyphs would presumably render personal name (in gen. sing?). They resemble the writings of personal names on seals seen below on XIII.14–16, especially the last which is placed similarly on the background to a pegasus, and tends to confirm the recognition of a Hier. inscription here. In these two

cases (XIII.5 and 16), the final *-sa* of the names may represent the ending gen. sing. (cf. XIII.11 and 12, Comment), though it is also possible that the names are given in the stem form ending in *-sa-*; for the appearance of names in the stem form, see XIII.14, Comment.

XIII.6. BOROWSKI seal 1 (plate 330)

Location. Stamp seal, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, no. Lam. 1102.

Description. Conoid stamp seal of blue chalcedony with oval convex base. The seal is drilled through the longer horizontal axis in the upper part. On either side of the body of the seal is a human figure rendered in the Assyrian style in an attitude of prayer (one figure vertical, one horizontal along lower edge). The base is inscribed with (left, impression) a 3-sign dextroverse group surmounted by star filling motif, and (right) 2-sign group, surmounted by crescent filling motif.

Dimensions: ht., 26 mm.; max. w., 12 mm.; max. th., 24 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. No details available for the acquisition of this seal by the Borowski Collection.

Publication. Poetto, *Stud. Med.* 3 (1981), no. 22, p. 27 f., Tav. XXII (photographs of sides, base, impression).

Edition. Poetto, loc. cit.

Content. Two divine names.

Date. 1st millennium B.C. from style of figures?

Text, photographs. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photograph. For the photographs, I am much indebted to Prof. Massimo Poetto.

Transliteration, translation

(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS (DEUS)SOL, Kubaba (and) the Sun.

XIII.7. NINEVEH seal (plate 331)

Location. Stamp seal, British Museum, London, no. 120243 (S.O.C.22).

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal of grey limestone, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing 3-sign dextroverse (impression) inscription.

Dimensions: ht., 10 mm.; w., 12 mm.; th., 10 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive (AVIS).

Discovery. Found by Layard at Nineveh; no further details available.

Publication. Rylands, *PSB* 16 (1884), p. 228 (drawing of impression); Wright, *EH*² (1886), p. 157, pl. XX.4 (Ryland's drawing reengraved); Perrot and Chipiez, *HL* IV (1887), p. 765 fig. 371 (after Rylands–Wright); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 39, Taf. XXXIX.10 (redrawn from Wright).

Edition. –

Content. Divine name.

Date. The Nineveh provenance confirms the dating to 1st millennium B.C.

Text, photographs. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photograph and checked against the seal. For the photographs and permission to reproduce them I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum.

Transliteration

(DEUS)*ku*-AVIS, Kubaba.

XIII.8. HOGARTH seal 1 (plate 331)

Location. Stamp seal, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1913.769.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal, flattened top, side quite cut in, of haematite, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on flat base (right, impression) a 3-sign sinistroverse inscription, and (left) 5 filling motifs (crescent, bisected lozenge, 8-pointed star, the "Seven", "mirror"/ankh(?)).

Dimensions: ht., 19 mm.; w., 16 mm.; th., 8 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive (AVIS).

Discovery. Bought in Aleppo in 1913 by Lawrence, said to be from Maras (see Hogarth, Publication).

Publication. Hogarth, *HS* (1920), no. 306, pp. 45 (drawing), 87, pl. IX (photograph of impression);

Kennedy, *RH4 XVI/63* (1958), no. 26, p. 74 (drawing); Buchanan and Moorey, *Catalogue III* (1988), no. 257, p. 35, pl. IX (photograph of seal and impression).

Edition. Kennedy, loc. cit.; Buchanan and Moorey, loc. cit.

Content. Divine name.

Date. 1st millennium B.C. from scaraboid form of seal.

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photograph and checked against the seal. For the photograph and permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to the Trustees of the Ashmolean Museum.

Transliteration

(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS, Kubaba.

XIII.9. HOGARTH seal 2 (plate 331)

Location. Stamp seal, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1913.175.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal, side cut in, of mottled red jasper, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on flat base a 3-sign dextroverse (impression) inscription.

Dimensions: ht., 14 mm.; w., 12 mm.; th., 9 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive (AVIS).

Discovery. Bought by Lawrence in 1913 at Gebel Abu Galgal (see Publication).

Publication. Hogarth, *HS* (1920), no. 305, pp. 45 (drawing), 87, pl. IX (photograph of impression); Kennedy, *RH4 XVI/63* (1958), no. 25, p. 74 (drawing); Buchanan and Moorey, *Catalogue III* (1988), no. 258, p. 36, pl. IX (photographs of seal and impression).

Edition. Kennedy, loc. cit.; Buchanan and Moorey, loc. cit.

Content. Divine name.

Date. 1st millennium B.C. from scaraboid form of seal.

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing made from the photograph and checked against the seal. For the photograph and permission

to reproduce it, I am indebted to the Trustees of the Ashmolean Museum.

Transliteration

(DEUS)*ku*-AVIS, Kubaba.

XIII.10. GULBENKIAN seal (plate 331)

Location. Stamp seal, Gulbenkian Museum of Modern Art, University of Durham, no. NH2303.

Percy on travels in the Near East in 1895, 1897 or 1899 (see Lambert, Publication).

Description. Oval double convex disc stamp seal of grey stone, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on one face figures of cow suckling calf and design of drilled holes, and on other a 3-sign dextroverse (impression) inscription with filling motifs (left, comb-pattern; lower right, sign like figure 3).

Publication. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), no. 106, p. 32, pl. XII (photographs of seal and of impressions of each side).

Dimensions: ht., 17 mm.; w., 13 mm.; th., 9 mm.

Edition. Hawkins, *apud* Lambert, loc. cit.

Condition: good.

Content. Divine name.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Date. 1st millennium B.C. from motif?

Sign forms: AVIS pictographic.

Discovery. The seal is from the collection of the Dukes of Northumberland and was probably acquired by Earl

Text, photographs. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph, which has been reproduced from the publication.

Transliteration

AVIS (DEUS)*ku*, Kubaba.

Comment

AVIS: Lambert positively identifies bird-form as eagle. In other writings of Kubaba's name this is unclear, as is also the function of the sign within the writ-

ing (heraldic – symbolic of the goddess, or rebus-writing (-*papa*- or the like?).

XIII.11a–c. GELB seals (plate 332)

Location. Three seals, seen originally in private possession, present whereabouts of *a* and *c* unknown; *b* still in private collection (see Publication, Mora)

called 'button' seals with inscriptions on both the obverse and the reverse [i.e. a lentoid stamp]. One side contains several symbols of no importance for our problem. The other contains an inscription reading ...” (Gelb, see Publication). The oval stamp bears a 7-sign sinistroverse inscription; (c) scaraboid stamp seal, drilled horizontally through long axis, made of chestnut-brown, brightly speckled jasper. The oval stamp bears a 3-line inscription (the lines separated by 2 line-dividers), running sinistroverse-dextroverse-sinistroverse. The inscription resembles those of (a) and (b), but bears a more detailed text.

Description. Three stamp seals (a–c), bearing similar Hieroglyphic inscriptions. (a) “Das Material des Siegels besteht aus einer glänzend polierten Eisensteinart, die man für Meteoreisen halten könnte. Der Stein ist im Silber gefaßt, der Griff weggebrochen. Er setzte an Seitenflächen in je zwei Spiralen an” (Bossert, see Publication). The oval stamp bears a sinistroverse inscription of 7 signs; (b) “It belongs to the class of the so-

Dimensions: (a) and (b) not given; (c) “about 23 × 17 × 13 millimeters” (Gelb, see Publication).

Condition: all good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: Late Period (Note, *ṣa* on all); (c) shows cursive *ta*.

Discovery. (a) stated by Bossert to come from Malatya (see Publication); (b) seen by Gelb in private possession in Mersin in 1947; Mora confirms (see below, Publication); (c) in a private collection in Rome (photographs supplied to Gelb by the Pontifical Biblical Institute).

Publication. (a) Bossert, *Asia* (1946), p. 184 Abb. 38 (drawing, linear transcription of signs), republished by Gelb; (b) and (c) I. J. Gelb, *The Word for Seal in Hieroglyphic Hittite*, *Or. NS* 18 (1949), pp. 68–72 with pls. I–II (p. 69 and fig. 4 (a, drawing following Bossert only); p. 70 and fig. 5 (b, drawing only; see also Gelb, *Gs Bossert* (1965), p. 226, pl. XXVIII.9 (drawing republished, also drawing of 2nd side)); p. 70 f. and fig. 6 (c,

photographs of stamp, impression, top and narrow side with drilling)). (b) only: Steinherr, *MSS* 32 (1974), p. 152 no. 4, pl. 4 a–b (photographs of seal and impression, either side); Mora, *Glittica Anatolica* (1987; see above, footnote 2), Gruppo XII(b), 1.92, pp. 325, 343 and Tav. 106 (photographs); the seal is described as being “Proprietà Ulug”.

Editions. Gelb, loc. cit.

Content. Statements of seal ownership: “this seal (is) of PN”.

Date. Late Period: diagnostic form *ṣa*; also scaraboid form of (c).

Texts. The texts here offered are reproduced from Gelb’s publication (a), and tracings of the photographs (b, c).

Photographs. Reproduced from the publications of Gelb (c) and Steinherr (b); (a) not available.

Transliteration

- (a) *ṣa-ua/i* SIGILLUM-*ṣa tā-mi-sa*
 (b) *ṣa-ua/i* SIGILLUM-*ṣ<aʷ> x-sa₅-bi*
 (c) l. 1 *ṣa-ua/i* (“SIGILLUM”) *sa-sa-ṣa*
 l. 2 *ta-a-sa-pu-ni-sa* DEUS *ba-*
 l. 3 *su-sa* SIGILLUM x x x

Translation

- This seal (is) of Tamis.
 This seal (is) to? ...sahis.
 This seal (is) of Taspunis ...

Comment

(a) construction, “this seal (is) of PN”, recognized by Gelb, i.e. *tā-mi-sa* should be gen. sing. with the ending -*ṣ* recognizable in -*sa*.

(b) would deserve collation if its whereabouts were known.

x-sa₅-bi: Gelb commented on the lack of case ending, but here identified the word as nom. (sing. MF), while translating as gen. sing. Conceivably the form could be dat. sing. Gelb in his re-publication suggests alternative readings. The signs on the 2nd side look as if they might constitute an alphabetic inscription.

(c) (“SIGILLUM”) *sa-sa-ṣa*: correctly identified by Gelb as phonetic writing for “seal”, thus now to be read *sasanṣa* (nom./acc. sing. N). For the form, see now Starke, *Stamm-bildung*, § 150.

ta-a-sa-pu-ni-sa: apparently full writing of name of owner, gen. sing. The plene use of -*a*- is strange.

DEUS *ba-su-sa*: divine name? what case? Title, “priest (etc.) of the god ...”, might be expected, but it is not clear how this could be extracted from the signs.

XIII.12. NINEVEH bullae 1–7 (plate 332)

Location. Seven bullae, British Museum, London, nos. BM 84590 (here 1), 84584 (2), 84587 (3), 84585 (4), 84589 (5), 84588 (6), 84591 (7). The numbers employed here correspond to the numbering of Rylands (also Wright, Messerschmidt – see below, Publication) as follows: 1 = Rylands 8; 2 = Rylands 7; 3 = Rylands 6; 4 = Rylands 2; 5 = Rylands 4; 6 = Rylands 5; 7 =

Rylands 3. Two further bullae found and catalogued with this group are here omitted: BM 84583 (= Rylands 1) bears a single sign, not identified as a Hieroglyph (though listed by Laroche, *HH*, no. 146); BM 84586 (unpublished?) shows a couchant animal not a Hieroglyph.

Description. Clay bullae, NINEVEH bullae 1–7, bearing impressions of signets with Hier. inscriptions. (1–3) Impressions probably from the same signet with 4-sign sinistaverse (impression) inscription (1, complete; 2, top missing; 3, upper right corner missing); (4) part of a dextroverse inscription preserving 2 last signs (right edge only), probably impression from same signet as KHORSABAD bullae, which have a 4-sign dextroverse inscription duplicating NINEVEH bullae 1–3 but reverse direction; (5) part of an inscription, upper 2 signs only preserved, direction not determinable; (6) 4-sign dextroverse inscription (damage to edges); (7) impression with (right) left-facing human figure and (left) 3(?)-sign inscription, direction not determinable.

Dimensions: (1) ht., 10 mm.; w., 10 mm.; (2) preserved ht., 8 mm.; w., 10 mm.; (3) preserved ht., 9 mm.; preserved w., 9 mm.; (4) preserved ht., 9 mm.; preserved w., 4 mm.; (5) preserved ht., 7 mm.; preserved w., 8 mm.; (6) ht., 8 mm.; preserved w., 9 mm.; (7) preserved ht., 8 mm.; w., 9 mm.

Condition: all fair.

Script: relief (impression).

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. Excavated by Layard in September 1851 among the archives of Sennacherib's Palace at Kuyunjik: see Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853), pp. 153–155.

Publication. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* II (1853), pl. 69 (engraved drawings), nos. 21 (composite text of bullae 1–3?); 22 (bulla 5), 23 (bulla 6); 24 (bulla 7). [Note also no. 9, bulla Rylands 1, here omitted]; Rylands, *TSA* 7 (1882), p. 438 f., pl. V, 1–8 (engraved drawings, = Wright, *EH* (1884/1886), pl. XIII, 1–8 (reengraved), cf. pp. 153 f./148, 155); Messerschmidt, *CIH* (1900), p. 38 f., Taf. XXXIX.2–9 (redrawn from Wright); Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), Abb. 975–982 (British Museum photographs, = Rylands 4, 7, 3, 8, 2, 6, (1), 5).

Edition. –

Content. Names of signet owners.

Date. Presumably (from Nineveh provenance) Sargonid period; cf. KHORSABAD bullae (Date), which bear impressions of same signet as NINEVEH bulla 4.

Text, photographs. The new texts here offered are taken from tracings of the photographs collated against the bullae. For the photographs and permission to reproduce them, I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum.

Transliteration, translation

1–3.	SIGILLUM TONITRUS- <i>pa-sá</i> ,	Seal of Tešubas
4.	[SIGILLUM TONITRU]S- <i>pa-sá</i> ,	[Seal of Tešu]bas
5.	TONITRUS- <i>bu</i> -[...],	Tarhu[...]
6.	TONITRUS- <i>si</i> ² - <i>mi-sa</i>	(see Comment).
7.	(See Comment).	

Comment

Bullae 1–4 (also KHORSABAD bullae 1–2)

TONITRUS-*pa-sá*: presumably to be read *Tešubas* (cf. the names in -TONITRUS-*pa-sa*//*-ti-sa-pa-sa/sá*, KARKAMIŠ A7, §§ 7, 9, 10, 13). Also it seems more likely that this is the personal name of the signet owner, rather than the name of the old Hurrian Storm-God. The form must be understood as gen. sing.

Bulla 5

Unclear how much missing: simply a personal name compounded with *Tarhu*?

Bulla 6

Complete except for doubtful sign?

Bulla 7

Read [x]-TONITRUS-x?

XIII.13. KHORSABAD bullae (plate 332)

Location. Two bullae, Oriental Institute, Chicago, nos. A 7037 and (field no. only) DS 1932:25.

Description. Two bullae bearing impressions of same stamp seal, with a 4-sign dextroverse inscription. The impressions bear the same text as NINEVEH bullae 1–3 (sinistroverse), and appear to be made by the same signet as NINEVEH bulla 4.

Dimensions: ht., 1.0 cm.; w., 1.0 cm.

Condition: good.

Script: relief (impression).

Sign forms: Late Period.

Discovery. One excavated by Chiera in 1929 in Room 12 of Khorsabad Palace: see Loud, *Khorsabad I* (*OIP* 38, 1936), p. 23 f.; other found in 1932 in unrecorded circumstances (Loud stated to Gelb that "it probably

comes from the Nabû Temple" – see Gelb, *Publication*).

Publication. Gelb, *HHM* (1939), no. 39, pp. 17, 34 f., pl. LIX (photographs of bullae and their stamped faces, copy of inscription).

Edition. –

Content. Name of signet owner (see NINEVEH bullae 1–4, *Comment*).

Date. Presumably (by provenance from Khorsabad) reign of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.)

Text, photographs. The text here offered is traced from the photographs, supplied by courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Transliteration, translation

SIGILLUM TONITRUS-*pa-sá*, Seal of Tešubas

Comment

See NINEVEH bullae 1–4, *Comment*.

XIII.14. BOROWSKI seal 2 (plate 333)

Location. Stamp seal, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, no. Lam. 1101.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal, side slightly cut in, of blue chalcedony, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on flat base a left-facing (impression) composite beast surrounded by a zig-zag border. In the field in front of and below the beast is a 3-sign inscription (1st and 3rd signs sinistroverse (impression), 2nd dextroverse).

Dimensions: ht., 14 mm.; w., 16 mm.; th., 8 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive (*pi*).

Discovery. No details available for the acquisition of this seal by the Borowski Collection.

Publication. Meriggi and Poetto, in Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven* (1981), no. 239, p. 272 (photograph of seal and impression); Poetto, *Stud. Med.* 3 (1981), no. 21, p. 27, Tav. XXI (photographs of seal and impression).

Edition. Meriggi and Poetto, and Poetto, loc. cit.

Content. Name of seal owner.

Date. Ist millennium B.C. from scaraboid form of seal, also from motif, and from sign forms (especially *pi*).

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph. For the photograph, I am indebted to Prof. Massimo Poetto.

Transliteration

hara/i-na-pi, Haranapi(yas)

Comment

Name presumably to be recognized as compound of place name, *Harran* (common onomastic occurrence), + *pi(ya)*-, "give". The name is given in stem form, as on the following seal (XIII.15); but the third of the

type (XIII.16) ends in *-sa*, which could be gen. sing. ending (or nom. sing.?); and cf. also the doubtful personal name on XIII.5, base.

XIII.15. HOGARTH seal 3 (plate 333)

Location. Stamp seal, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1912.971.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal, side slightly cut in, of brown and red mottled jasper-agate, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on flat base a left-facing (impression) sphinx, with a 5- or 6-sign dextroverse (impression) inscription placed in the field in front of, above and behind sphinx.

Dimensions: ht., 10 mm.; w., 12 mm.; th., 7 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms: cursive.

Discovery. Bought (by Hogarth?) at Mustaha, south-east of Membij.

Publication. Hogarth, *HS* (1920), no. 304, pp. 45, 87, pl. IX (photograph of impression); Kennedy, *RHL* 4

XVI/63 (1958), no. 3, p. 66 (drawing); Buchanan and Moorey, *Catalogue III* (1958), no. 256, p. 35, pl. IX (photographs of seal and impression).

Edition. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29 (1951), p. 35; Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1952), p. 319, Abb. 6 (drawing); Kennedy, loc. cit.; Buchanan and Moorey, loc. cit.

Content. Name of seal owner.

Date. 1st millennium B.C. from scaraboid form of seal, also motif, and sign forms.

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph and has been checked against the seal. For the photograph and for permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to the Trustees of the Ashmolean Museum.

Transliteration

(LITUUS)á(-ni²)-ti-wa/i+ra/i, A(ni?)tiwara(s)

Comment

Meriggi identified the name as a form of Azatiwata-/Azatiwara-, and Bossert identified the third sign as *HH* no. 386 (i^c), which he equated with the usual *i* (*za* for us). This was tentatively followed by Laroche, *HH* no. 386.II.4 (cf. 20.1(a)), and Meriggi, (*Glossar*, s.v. *Áx²-i²-ti-wa-r*). We have identified the LITUUS as a determinative of verbs of perception (*a²za*-, "love"; also *uni*-, "know"; *-na*-, "see"; *wami*-, "find"; *tiyari(ya)*-, "watch"). We would therefore indeed expect to identify the first element of the name as *a²za*-, "love". Bossert's identification of the third sign as *HH* no. 386 on the

basis of Hogarth's photograph (which does indeed seem to support this) is shown by examination of the seal to be incorrect; in fact only the *c*-shaped element is there, not the preceding vertical stroke. Thus if this is a sign, it can only be identified as *ni*, giving an onomastic element *ani*(?)-. Alternatively it is possible that the "*ni*" is not actually a Hieroglyph, and thus that the name is *Atiwara*-, which could be compared with the *Atiwarami*- of KULULU lead strip 2, § 3.20. Either way the presence of LITUUS is unexplained.

XIII.16. DE CLERCQ seal (plate 333)

Location. Stamp seal, present whereabouts unknown.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal, side cut in, of grey moss agate, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on base a pegasus facing left (on seal), and in field

a 3-sign Hieroglyphic inscription (one sign above head, one below forelegs, one below belly).

Dimensions: ht., not given; w., 15 mm.; th., 11 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Sign forms : cursive, Late Period.

Discovery. Formerly collection de Clercq, no details of acquisition available.

Publication. De Clercq, *Catalogue* II (1903), p. 41, pl. V.111.

Edition. –

Content. Name of seal owner.

Date. Ist millennium B.C., from scaraboid format, style of pegasus (cf. XIII.5, base), and sign forms.

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the published photograph, which is reproduced here.

Transliteration, translation

tu-ki-sa, (of) Tukis.

Comment

Form of name *Tuki-* not otherwise attested. As with others of this type, it is unclear whether *-sa* represents

ending of nom. or gen. sing., or is part of the stem.

XIII.17–18. DÜLÜK/GAZİANTEP seals (plate 333)

Location. Two stamp seals, Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, nos. not available, seals not locatable.

Description. No details of seals available. The impressions show (DÜLÜK) inscription of 5 signs, dextroverse, only; (GAZİANTEP) inscription of 5(?) signs with further uncertain signs above and to left.

Dimensions : not given.

Condition : good.

Script : relief (impression).

Sign forms : cursive (especially *sà*).

Discovery. Acquired by Istanbul Museum with alleged provenances of Dülük and Gaziantep.

Publication. Steinherr, *WdO* 2 (1954–59), p. 366 f. Abb. 17 (linear transcription of signs), Taf. 10 Abb. 17

(photographs of impressions); Mora, *Glittica Anatolica* (1987; see above footnote 2), Gruppo XII(b) 1.47 and 48, p. 313 and Tav. 100 (Steinherr's photographs).

Edition. Cf. Steinherr, loc. cit.

Content. Names of owners?

Date. Ist millennium from sign forms (especially *sà*).

Text. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the published photographs.

Photographs. Reproduced from Steinherr's publication.

Transliteration

DÜLÜK

ku-ki-sà-ti-sa

GAZİANTEP

(x) *ku-ki-sà+ra/i-sa* x

Comment

DÜLÜK: clearly writes the word *kukisati-*, elsewhere recognized as a profession or trade; see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17, and Commentary. Here it could have the

same significance, which would seem somewhat unexpected on a seal; or perhaps it is simply the professional name used as a personal name.

GAZIANTEP: in view of the general similarity of this seal inscription to DÜLÜK, it is hard to suppose that it does not give the same word, though the identification is not entirely straightforward. The four strokes at the top, read by Steinherr as *mi* and incorporated into the writing of the word, must be supposed to be

an extraneous element. Also the *sà* is not as obvious as might be wished, and the following sign is unclear but apparently not *ti*; a reading *sà+ra/i* would however allow this word to be identified as a form of *kukisati* showing rhotacism, *kukisari*. A further sign(?) is also not identified.

XIII.19. BOSSERT seal (plate 333)

Location. Private collection in Rome (1952–1965); present whereabouts unknown.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal bearing 5-sign Hieroglyphic inscription, dextroverse (Gelb, Publication); no further details available.

Publication. Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1952/53), p. 294 Abb. 1 (linear transcription only); id., *Or* NS 26 (1957), p. 116 pl. III Abb. 5 (linear transcription repeated); Gelb, *Gs Bossert* (1965), p. 225, pl. XXVII.6 (photograph of impression).

Edition. Cf. Bossert, loc. cit.

Content. Epithet + divine name.

Date. Ist millennium B.C. from sign forms.

Text, photograph. The text here offered is taken from a tracing of Gelb's photograph, which is here reproduced.

Transliteration, translation

AUDIRE + *MI-sa* (DEUS)SOL, The famous Sun

Comment

The dextroverse orientation of AUDIRE indicates that the whole group is dextroverse, thus that AUDIRE + *MI-sa* is the first word. Bossert's attempt to equate the group with (DEUS)SOL-*ua/i-tà-mi-i-sa* (for which see KULULU 2, § 1, and Commentary) falls down both on the order of reading, and on the identification of AUDIRE + *MI*, which does not = *tà-mi* as he

suggests. The inscription is apparently to be taken as epithet + divine name, "the famous (lit. heard) Sun", for which cf. LITUUS + *namis Tarhunzas*, "the beheld Storm-God" (KARKAMIŠ A17b, § 5); and for divine name + epithet on a seal, "the foreign Kubaba" (XIII.4).

XIII.20. VOLLENWEIDER seal (plate 333)

Location. Stamp seal, Museum of Art and History, Geneva, no. 1950/19217.

Description. Scaraboid stamp seal (back damaged) of green jasper, drilled horizontally through long axis, bearing on flat base (above) pair of antithetic sphinxes flanking sacred tree, and (below) pair of antithetic lions flanking Hieroglyph.

Dimensions: ht., 15 mm.; w., 21 mm.; th., 10 mm.

Condition: good.

Script: incised for relief impression.

Discovery. Bought in Istanbul by Boissier in 1894, and donated with his collection to the Museum in 1950.

Publication. Boissier, *Journal Asiatique* 6 (1895), p. 570 f. (engraved drawing); id., *R* 36 (1939), p. 61 f., fig. 1 (photograph); Sollberger, *Musées de Genève* 8^e année, no. 2 (1951), p. 2 (photograph); Werner, *RHA* XII/54 (1952), p. 17 f., fig. 3 (sketch); Vollenweider, *Catalogue* (1967), no. 144, p. 114, pl. 59.4, 6, 7 (photographs of base, seal, and impression).

Edition. —

Content. ?

Date. 8th century B.C. by Vollenweider on stylistic grounds. Form of *sa* is also certainly of the Late Period.

Text, photograph. The new text here offered is taken from a tracing of the photograph, for which I am indebted to the Museum of Art and History, Geneva.

Comment

The appearance of the single Hieroglyph *sa* (in a perfectly clear late form) is curious, and might lead to some suspicions as to the authenticity of the seal, but these seem justified neither by the provenance of the seal as recorded, nor by its execution. How then to

explain *sa*? Possibly the name of the owner is written with "lion" (twice, antithetically), and the *-sa* represents the phonetic complement, either nom. or gen. sing. ending (the usual problem of a final *-sa* on these seals).

XIII.21. YALE seal (plate 333)

Location. Yale Babylonian Collection, no. NCBS 890 (Newell Collection).

Description. "Scaraboid with high, straight walls, convex top, and flat base. Brown, yellow, rust and white banded agate. 17.0×14.5×9.0 mm. Pierced (diameter, 3.5 mm.). Early first millennium. North Syria or South-Western Anatolia.

This seal, featuring a sphinx with a bird's head tail, belongs to a group of related scarabs and scaraboids which will soon be studied elsewhere in detail by A. Brown. It bears an inscription of six signs in "Hittite hieroglyphs". Beginning immediately before the sphinx and reading below from left to right in the impression, we have *La-wa-tà-s(a)*, that is, a genitive, "of, (belonging) to Lawata". Although this personal name is not otherwise attested, a town Lawa(n)ta is known. As for the two remaining signs (to the rear and above the sphinx), they do not correspond closely to any known hieroglyphs, and are perhaps best left for possible future interpretation. Plain line border, now mostly want-

ing because of extensive chipping along the edge" (Beckman and Brown, see Publication).

Publication. G. Beckman and A. M. Brown, Some New Stamp Seals from the Yale Babylonian Collection (*O-A* 24 (1985), no. 1, pp. 241 f., 245 (drawing by A. M. Brown)).

Discovery. No details of acquisition by Newell.

Edition. Beckman and Brown, loc. cit.

Content. Name of seal owner.

Date. 1st millennium B. C. from scaraboid form of seal, also from motif, and from sign forms.

Text. A. M. Brown's original drawing, copy kindly supplied by author.

Photographs. Kindly supplied by Dr. U. Kasten and the Yale Babylonian Collection.

Transliteration, translation

la-wa/i-tà-sa, (of) Lawatas.

Comment

The existence of this seal was only drawn to my attention at a late stage. Its connection with a group of related scarabs and scaraboids, including (XIII. 20) VOLLENWEIDER, was noted by Beckman and Brown. Properly it belongs with what I have classified as "Name seals" (XIII. 14–16). Its links with VOL-

LENWEIDER support the suggestion made there that the name on the latter is represented by the antithetic lions, with *-sa* representing the case ending, probably gen. sing., thus read LEO-*sa*, "(of) Mr. Lion" (= *uwalwis*, as for Empire Luwian?). VOLLENWEIDER thus should also be classified as a Name seal.

Appendix 4. ALTINTEPE pithos inscriptions

Location. Six pithos inscriptions and two fragments, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

Description. Eight rim or neck and shoulder sherds of Urartian pithoi, bearing volume measure inscriptions. The following information is taken from J. J. Klein, *Hieroglyphic inscriptions From Aluntepe* (*An. St.* 24 (1974), pp. 77–94). Klein's numbering of the pieces is followed here.

no. 1. Single large rim sherd, max. preserved ht., 35.5 cm., w., 39.0 cm.; 4 columns of drilled numerals and groups of 3–4 incised signs (sinistroverse).

no. 2. Two large joining fragments, including part of the rim, max. preserved ht., 51.5 cm., w., 39.0 cm.; 3 columns of drilled numerals and groups of 3–4 incised signs (sinistroverse) (in Laroche's publication of this piece, a further sherd has been added, which gives the drilled numerals of the first column).

no. 3. Six joining fragments from neck and shoulder, max. preserved ht., 23.0 cm., w., 45.2 cm.; 3 columns of groups of 3–4 incised signs (sinistroverse).

no. 4. Single neck sherd, max. preserved ht., 32.0 cm., w., 32.0 cm.; 1 column of drilled numerals (incomplete?) and group of 4 incised signs, with traces of further group (sinistroverse). Laroche (Publication, below) suggests joining no. 7, which adds drilled numerals and 1 incised sign to the second column, and completes the drilled numerals of the first column.

no. 5. Single neck sherd, max. preserved ht., 19.5 cm., w., 20.5 cm.; 1 column of drilled numerals and group of 3 incised signs and to the right group of 4 incised signs only preserved (sinistroverse).

no. 6. Single neck sherd, max. preserved ht., 28.5 cm., w., 20.5 cm.; 1 column of drilled numerals and group of 3 incised signs and (to right) traces of further column of signs (sinistroverse).

no. 7. Single rim sherd, max. preserved ht., 21.5 cm.; w., 25.6 cm.; 1 column of drilled numerals only, and (to left) 1 column of drilled numerals and single incised sign (sinistroverse). Laroche (Publication, below) suggests joining to no. 4 to complete its losses.

no. 8. Single sherd, max. preserved ht., 19.5 cm.; w., 14.0 cm.; single incised sign only.

Discovery. The partially preserved pithos-building at Aluntepe was excavated by Tahsin Özgüç and his team in the years 1960–1962 (*Anatolia* 7 (1963), p. 48). It lay on the north-east edge of the excavated area, on the

shoulder of the mound, and its north-east end had been destroyed by later building. The better preserved eastern room had had a roof supported on 4 columns standing on well dressed stone bases (3 *in situ*), and the pithoi were arranged in regular rows, 10×6, totalling 60. The less well preserved western room, connected by a doorway, had two rows of 4 pithoi and one of 3. The pithoi were of regular Urartian type but for the most part only the lower body sections were preserved. Six of the best preserved however showed the measure inscriptions on the shoulder.

T. Özgüç, *Altuntepe II* (Ankara, 1969), plan facing p. 8 (square XI–XV: 16–20, north-east corner, marked (4)); pp. 34–37 (Turkish), with figs. 34 (plan), 35 (pithos), = pp. 75–77 (English).

Publication. Özgüç, op. cit., pls. LIII–LIV (photographs); Laroche, *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 15 (1971 [1973]), pp. 55–61 (signs drawn in linear dextroverse arrangement (p. 56), photographs (pls. I–IV)); Klein, loc. cit., pp. 80, 82–84 (accurate copies). It is convenient to tabulate Klein's numbering (followed here) with those of Özgüç and Laroche:

Klein	Özgüç	Laroche	
no. 1	pl. LIII.3	no. 2	pl. I.2
no. 2	pl. LIII.2	no. 1	pl. I.1 (+ frag.)
no. 3	pl. LIV.1	no. 4	pl. II.2
no. 4	—	no. 5 (+ 6)	pl. III.1 (+ no. 7)
no. 5	pl. LIII.1	no. 3	pl. II.1
no. 6	pl. LIV.2	no. 7	pl. IV.1
no. 7	pl. LIII.4	no. 6 (+5)	pl. III.1 (+ no. 4)
no. 8	—	—	pl. IV.2

Editions. Laroche, loc. cit., pp. 55–59; Klein, loc. cit., pp. 80–86; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2–3 (1975), no. 121a (addenda, p. 332 f.), Tav. XLVIII (nos. 1–6, = Klein, nos. 5, 2, 1, 7, 3, 6).

Content. Pithos measurements in form of numbered *aharku* and *turuza/turaza*, which correspond to Urartian Cun. *aqarqi* and *terusi*.

Date. Probably 8th century B.C., the main period of the westward expansion of Urartu: see Klein, loc. cit., p. 92 f.

Texts. Drawings of Klein, loc. cit., reproduced on page opposite.

Transliteration

1.	4	<i>â-ha+ra/i-ku</i>	6	<i>tu-ru-za</i>	1	<i>â-ru-za</i>	1	<i>tu-ru-pi</i>
2.	[4]	<i>â-ha+ra/i-ku</i>	5	<i>tu-ru-za</i>			1	<i>tu-ru-pi</i>
3.		<i>â-ha+ra/i-ku</i>		<i>tu-ru-za</i>		<i>â-ru-za</i>		
7+4.	5 ⁺	<i>â-ha+ra/i-ku</i>	2	<i>tu-[r]u-zi[a]</i>				

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 5. | [...] | <i>á-ha+ra/i-ku</i> | 5 | <i>tu+ra/i-za</i> |
| 6. | [...] | <i>á]-ha<+ra/i>-ku</i> | 6 | <i>tu+ra/i-za</i> |
| 8. | ... |]×[... | | |

Commentary

Hier. *á-ha+ra/i-ku* // Cun. *a-qar-qi*.

Correspondences Hier. *h* // Cun. *q* and Hier. *ku* // Cun. *qi* discussed by Laroche.

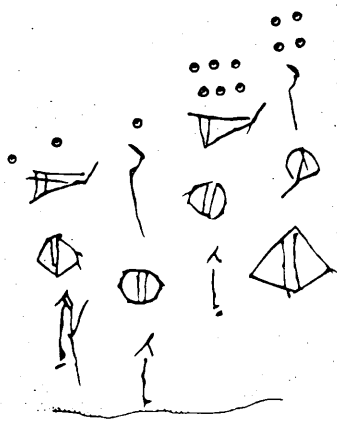
Hier. *tu-ru-za* // *tu+ra/i-za* // Cun. *té/tè-ru-si*.

For the usual Cun. *té* (HI), once *tè* (NE), see Klein, loc. cit., p. 79 n. 10.

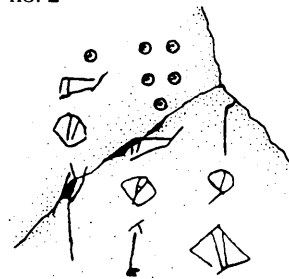
Correspondence Hier. $\uparrow$ // Cun. *si* provided the basis for the "new readings", the re-evaluation $\uparrow\uparrow$ as *zi*, *za*.

á-ru-za, *tu-ru-pi*: treated by Klein (loc. cit., p. 81 f.) as erroneous writings of *aharku*, *turuzá*; but by Laroche (loc. cit., p. 59) as genuine forms, interpreted as "j'ai mesuré" (*turupi*) and "le contenu" (*aruzá*).

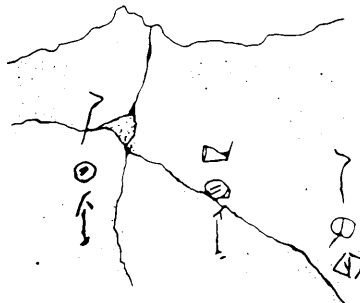
no. 1



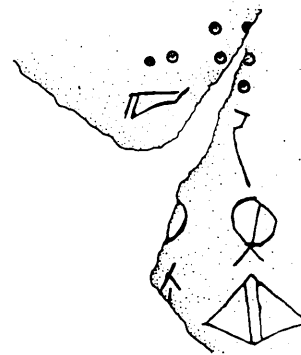
no. 2



no. 3



nos. 7 + 4



no. 5



no. 6



no. 8



Addendum

II.74. KARKAMIŠ frag. a/b

Location. (a) Fragment, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara, no. 10948; (b) paper squeeze, British Museum.

Description. The squeeze (b) bears parts of two lines of relief inscription (sinistroverse-dextroverse); the top of the first line is lost, while the bottom of the second may be more or less fully preserved. At the right side of the squeeze is pencilled “proper end” and at the left side “break”, indicating that the maker of the squeeze considered that the right edge of the inscription was preserved and the left side lost. The fragment (a) preserves only the left part of line 1, the line-divider below, and traces of the tops of the signs in the centre of line 2. It seems likely that the squeeze does belong with the fragment and preserves the right edge and most of line 2 which were subsequently lost: a tracing on acetate of the 4 surviving signs on line 1 and the traces below on line 2 fits almost exactly with the same area on the squeeze. It is probably correct that the right edge of the squeeze preserves the original right edge of the piece, also that line 1 was the original first line.

Dimensions: (b), preserved ht., 0.16 m.; preserved w., 0.23 m.; (a) preserved ht., 0.11 m.; preserved w., 0.16 m.

Script, line-divider: relief.

Sign forms: monumental (3).

Peculiarities: insufficiently preserved to identify.

Word-dividers: none preserved.

Discovery. No details recorded.

Publication. (Barnett, in *Carchemish* III (1952), addendum slip between pp. 264–265). Meriggi *Manuale* II/3 (1975), no. 266 p', p. 329, Tav. XVI (drawing of frag., drawing of squeeze – not to scale).

Edition. Meriggi, loc. cit.

Content. Inscription of a [Great(?)] King Tudhaliya, King of the land of [Karkami]s, presumably the same individual as the author of KARKAMIŠ A16a.

Date. As for KARKAMIŠ A16a. Note the late criterion of the form *ia* (so Meriggi).

Text. The squeeze is reproduced from a photocopy, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The new text of the surviving fragment is redrawn from a tracing on acetate made in Ankara Museum in September 1996. The traces of the tops of the signs preserved on line 2 of the fragment permit a significant correction to the squeeze which is confirmed by an examination of its reverse side, namely the personal determinative ¹ before *pi-ia-si-l*[i... .

Photographs. Taken in Ankara Museum at the same time as the tracing.

Transliteration

1. 1 [MAGNUS(?) R]EX(?) MONS+*tu* [MAGN]US(?). REX
IUDEX(?) ...
1. 2 [...*kar-ka-mi-s*]à REGIO REX ¹*pi-ia-si-l*[i...

Translation

- (([Great(?)] King(?)) Tudhaliya
[Great(?)] King, Labarna (?) [...
... king of the land [Karkami]s,
Piyasili[']s ...

Commentary

1. 1. MAGNUS(?) REX: Meriggi (who incorrectly identified the line as dextroverse) observed traces of a the left-hand MAGNUS and identified the right-hand REX, doubtless correctly.

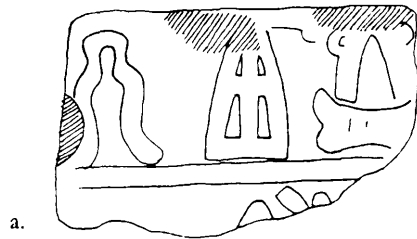
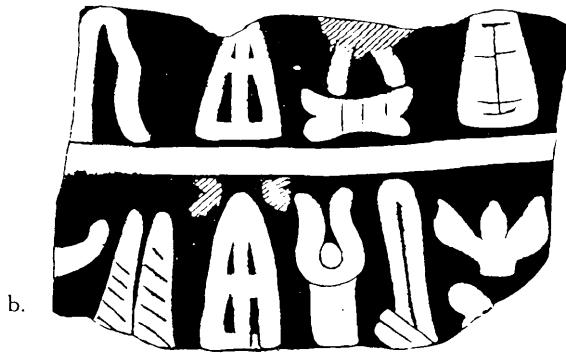
IUDEX(?): the squeeze has incorrectly straightened out the left side of this sign, which is probably to be identified as a transitional form between Empire *L-ABARNA* (*HH* no. 277) and Late IUDEX (*HH* no. 371): for the derivation of the later sign from the earlier, see Hawkins, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 111.

1. 2. [*kar-ka-mi-s*]à REGIO: Meriggi correctly identified the trace before REGIO as the ...-s]à of [*Kar-ka-mi*]s. For the archaic, Empire character of this writing, as well as for the use of REGIO instead of URBS, see KARKAMIŠ A4b, § 1, Commentary.

¹*pi-ia-si-l*[i... : the occurrence of this PN, that of the first Hittite king of Karkamiš, the son of Suppiluliuma I, in this context is remarkable, all the more so since in Karkamiš he seems to have been known under his Hurrian throne name of Šarri-Kušuh (Güterbock, *JCS*

10 (1958), p. 120 f.). The context seems most likely to be a genealogy, so this Tudhaliya was tracing his ancestry back either to the founder of the Hittite dynasty in Karkamiš (via Kuzi-Tešub, Piyassili's great-great-grandson), or to an otherwise unknown Dark Age king of

Karkamiš who himself revived the name of that founder. We may note here that the last king of Karkamiš, deposed by Sargon II in 717 B.C., who appears in Assyrian sources as Pisiri(s), was apparently a late bearer of the name.



0.2 m

- b. Squeeze preserved in the British Museum.
a. Tracing of stone Ankara no. 10948.



- Photographs of Ankara no. 10948 taken in
Ankara Museum in summer 1996.

INSCRIPTIONS LISTED ALPHABETICALLY (repeated)

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.
DELA PORTE 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 TILSEVET)			
[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
HACİBEBEKLİ	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
HİNES	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
İSPEKCÜR	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
İZGİN 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	
KARKAMIŠ A1a	II.6.	87	6-7
KARKAMIŠ A1b	II.7.	91	8
KARKAMIŠ A2	II.13.	108	18-19
KARKAMIŠ A3	II.14.	108	20-21
KARKAMIŠ A4a	II.28.	151	44
KARKAMIŠ A4b	II.1.	80	1
KARKAMIŠ A4c	II.48.	186	67
KARKAMIŠ A4d	II.10.	100	12-13
KARKAMIŠ A5a	II.45.	181	64-65
KARKAMIŠ A5b	II.46.	185	66
KARKAMIŠ A6	II.22.	123	31-33
KARKAMIŠ A7a-j	II.23.	128	31-35
KARKAMIŠ (A8 =) A11a	II.9.	94	10-12
KARKAMIŠ (A9 =) A11b	II.11.	101	14-15
KARKAMIŠ (A10 =) A11c	II.12.	101	16-17
KARKAMIŠ A12	II.15.	112	22-23
KARKAMIŠ A13a-c	II.36.	167	54-55
KARKAMIŠ A13d	II.16.	115	24-25
KARKAMIŠ A14a	II.5.	83	3-5
KARKAMIŠ A14b	II.4.	83	3
KARKAMIŠ A15a	II.50.	188	68-69
KARKAMIŠ A15b	II.24.	130	36-37
KARKAMIŠ A15c	II.51.	189	70
KARKAMIŠ A15d	II.60.	197	78
KARKAMIŠ A15e	II.38.	170	57
KARKAMIŠ A16a	II.52.	190	71
KARKAMIŠ A16b	II.21.	122	30
KARKAMIŠ A16c	II.2.	82	2
KARKAMIŠ A16d	II.61.	197	78
KARKAMIŠ A16e	II.62.	198	78
KARKAMIŠ A16f	II.49.	187	
KARKAMIŠ A17a	II.53.	191	72
KARKAMIŠ A17b	II.41.	175	60
KARKAMIŠ A17c	II.54.	192	73
KARKAMIŠ A17d	II.55.	193	74
KARKAMIŠ A18a	II.56.	193	74
KARKAMIŠ A18b	II.63.	199	78
KARKAMIŠ A18c	II.64.	199	
KARKAMIŠ A18d 1	II.3.	83	2
KARKAMIŠ A18e	II.57.	194	75
KARKAMIŠ A18f	II.47.	186	67
KARKAMIŠ (A18g =) A4a	II.28.	151	(44)
KARKAMIŠ A18b	II.44.	180	63
KARKAMIŠ A18i	II.65.	200	78
KARKAMIŠ A18j	II.58.	195	76
KARKAMIŠ A19	II.67.	201	80-81
KARKAMIŠ A20a 1-2	II.19.	118	28
KARKAMIŠ A20b 1-13	II.32.	157	48-49
KARKAMIŠ A21b+a (= A22b+a)	II.31.	157	48-49
KARKAMIŠ A22c	II.33.	164	50-51
KARKAMIŠ A23	II.17.	116	26-27
KARKAMIŠ 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
SUVAŞA	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
ZİNCİRLİ signet	XIII.3.	576	329

LOCATION OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
TURKEY		
Adana		
Adana Museum		
ADANA	no. ?	I.8.
ANCOZ 1	no. 1336	VI.5.
(joins frag., Adiyaman no. 684)		
HACIBEBEKLİ	no. 1297	IV.15.
MARAŞ 10	no. 1724	IV.18.
MARAŞ 11	no. 1721	IV.8.
Karatepe-Aslantaş, open air museum		
KARATEPE 1 bilingual		I.1.
KARATEPE 2		I.2.
KARATEPE 3		I.3.
KARATEPE 4		I.4.
DOMUZTEPE 2		I.7.
Adiyaman		
Adiyaman Museum		
ADİYAMAN 1	no. 493	VI.4.
ADİYAMAN 2	no. 492	VI.11.
ANCOZ 5	no. 364	VI.9.
ANCOZ 7	no. 686	VI.16.
ANCOZ 8	no. 682	VI.17.
ANCOZ 9	no. 683	VI.18.
ANCOZ 10	no. 485	VI.19.
ANCOZ frag. (joins ANCOZ 1)	no. 684	VI.5.
SAMSAT 1	no. ?	VI.12.
SAMSAT frags. 1	no. 4771	VI.15.
2	no. 4772	VI.15.
3	no. 3452	VI.15.
4	no. 2147	VI.15.
5	no. 4735	VI.15.
6	no. 1685	VI.15.
7	no. 4733	VI.15.
8	no. 1860	VI.15.
9	no. 3813	VI.15.
10	no. 2274	VI.15.
Aksaray		
Aksaray Museum		
AKSARAY	no. 1-1-77	X.16.
Ankara		
Anatolian Civilizations Museum		
ANDAVAL	no. ?	X.42.
ANKARA	no. 150	XII.4.
BOYBEYPINARI 1	no. 21 + 22	VI.1.
BOYBEYPINARI 2	no. 24 + 23	VI.2.
ÇALAPVERDİ 1	no. 18	X.28.
ÇALAPVERDİ 2	no. 42	X.29.
DARENDE	no. ?	V.5.
IVRİZ frag. 1	no. 7454	X.50.
KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan)	no. 10754	V.1.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
KARKAMIŠ A1a	no. 10067	II.6.
KARKAMIŠ A1b	no. 10075	II.7.
KARKAMIŠ A2	no. 82	II.13.
KARKAMIŠ A3	no. 81	II.14.
KARKAMIŠ A4a frags. 1+2+7	nos. 144, 10912, 2026	II.28.
KARKAMIŠ A4b	no. 34	II.1.
KARKAMIŠ A4d (frag. only)	no. 160d	II.10.
KARKAMIŠ A5a	no. 10102	II.45.
KARKAMIŠ A5b	no. 10961	II.46.
KARKAMIŠ A6	no. 90	II.22.
KARKAMIŠ A7a, b	no. 91	II.23.
c, d, f-i	no. 92	II.23.
j	no. 93	II.23.
KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) (frags. only)	no. 10900 a-b	II.9.
KARKAMIŠ A11b (A9)	no. 113	II.11.
KARKAMIŠ A11c (A10)	no. 99	II.12.
KARKAMIŠ A12 (+ frags. -, 10, 12)	no. 106 A (B, C, D)	II.15.
KARKAMIŠ A13a	no. 10960	II.36.
KARKAMIŠ A13d	no. 89	II.16.
KARKAMIŠ A14a	no. 60	II.5.
KARKAMIŠ A14b	no. 69	II.4.
KARKAMIŠ A15a	no. 39.	II.50.
KARKAMIŠ A15b	no. 100	II.24.
KARKAMIŠ A15c	no. 88	II.51.
KARKAMIŠ A16a (frags. 1, 3, 5, 9 (lost?))	no. 10898 a-d	II.52.
KARKAMIŠ A16c 1	no. 2	II.2.
KARKAMIŠ A16c 2	no. 10910 (lost?)	II.2.
KARKAMIŠ A16d (right frag. only)	no. 10897	II.61.
KARKAMIŠ A16e (frag. 1 only)	no. 10896	II.62.
KARKAMIŠ A17a	no. 146	II.53.
KARKAMIŠ A17b	no. 134	II.41.
KARKAMIŠ A17c	no. 10962	II.54.
KARKAMIŠ A17d	no. 10947	II.55.
KARKAMIŠ A18e	no. 10963	II.57.
KARKAMIŠ A18b	no. 10092	II.44.
KARKAMIŠ A18j	no. 10911	II.58.
KARKAMIŠ A19b	no. 10914	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19d	nos. 10927, 10904, 10898, 10929, 10930	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19i	no. 10905	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19j 2	no. 10907	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19l	no. 10933	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19m	no. 10928	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19n 1, 2	nos. 10920, 10902	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19o	no. 10901	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19s	no. 10903	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A20a1	no. 130	II.19.
KARKAMIŠ A20a2	no. 10909	II.19.
KARKAMIŠ A20b1	no. 10876	II.32.
1a	no. 11144	II.32.
3	no. 10883	II.32.
4	no. 10875	II.32.
14	no. 10932	II.32.
KARKAMIŠ A24a1	no. 11 (lost?)	II.25.
2+3	nos. 131+140	II.25.
4	no. 20 (lost?)	II.25.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
KARKAMIŠ A24a10	no. 11172	II.25.
11	no. 10895	II.25.
13	no. 10891	II.25.
15	no. 10886	II.25.
18	no. 11166	II.25.
19	no. 10892	II.25.
20	no. 10893	II.25.
22	no. 11146	II.25.
KARKAMIŠ A25a1	no. 137	II.20.
KARKAMIŠ A27e1	no. 10878	II.35.
2	no. 10938	II.35.
KARKAMIŠ A27f	no. 10846	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27b	no. 10956	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27j	no. 10879	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27k	no. 10877	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27o	no. 10889	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27r	no. 10887	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27t	no. 10908	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27u (frag. only)	no. 10899	II.34.
KARKAMIŠ A27v	no. 10894	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27ee	no. 10885	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27ff1-2	nos. 10882, 10881	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27mm	no. 10888	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27oo	no. 10890	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27uu	no. 10952	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27xx	no. 10958	II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A29a 2, 4	nos. 11149, 11168	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29b	no. 11163	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29d	no. 10874	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29f2	no. 10884	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29b4	no. 11175	II.71.
6	no. 11181	II.71.
7	no. 11164	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29o4	no. 11176	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29p1	no. 10945	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29q1	no. 10937	II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A30a2	no. 10880	II.72.
KARKAMIŠ A30e	no. 6941	II.72.
KARKAMIŠ A30f7	no. 11197	II.72.
KARKAMIŠ B33	no. 10079	II.59.
KARKAMIŠ B39a	no. 103	II.66.
KAYSERİ	no. 38	X.15.
KULULU lead strips	no. 115-1-81 (strip 1)	X.36.
	no. 115-2-81 (strip 2)	X.37.
	no. 115-3-81 (strip 3 + frag. 2)	X.38.
	no. 115-4-81 (frag. 1)	X.39.
	no. 155-5-81 (frag. 3)	X.40.
MALATYA 1	no. 12245 (formerly Istanbul, no. 7704)	V.16.
MALATYA 2	no. 12246 (formerly Istanbul, no. 7705)	V.21.
MALATYA 4	no. 1802	V.17.
MALATYA 5	no. 12249 (formerly Istanbul, no. 7789)	V.6.
MALATYA 6	no. 12248 (formerly Istanbul, no. 7788)	V.7.
MALATYA 7	no. 12247 (formerly Istanbul, no. 7790)	V.8.
MALATYA 8	no. 55	V.9.
MALATYA 9	no. 12252	V.10.
MALATYA 10	no. 12251	V.11.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
MALATYA 11	no. 12253	V.12.
MALATYA 12	no. 12254	V.13.
MALATYA 13	no. 10304	V.22.
SULTANHAN	no. 37 (base)	X.14.
	no. 12132 (stele)	X.14.
Ereğli		
Ereğli Museum		
EREĞLİ	no. ?	X.52.
İVRİZ 2	no. A.1991	X.46.
İVRİZ frags. 2, 3	no. 1420, no. ?	X.50.
Gaziantep		
Gaziantep Museum		
ASMACIK	no. 5596	XII.8.
KARKAMIŞ A20b2	no. 290	II.32.
KÖRKÜN	no. 4136	II.40.
TİLSEVET (EKİNVEREN)	no. 1719	II.43.
TÜNP 1	no. 1987	II.29.
TÜNP 2	no. 3955	XII.9.
Istanbul		
Ancient Oriental Museum		
BABYLON 1	no. 7816	VIII.1.
BOR	no. 7695 (formerly 837)	X.44.
DÜLÜK seal	no. ?	XIII.17.
EĞREK	no. 7766 (formerly 1217)	X.23.
GAZİANTEP seal	no. ?	XIII.18.
HAMA 1	no. 7688	IX.8.
HAMA 2	no. 7690	IX.9.
HAMA 3	no. 7689	IX.10.
HAMA 4	no. 7692	IX.1.
HİSARCIK 1	no. 7762 (formerly 1193)	X.19.
İSKENDERUN	no. 7691	IV.3.
İSTANBUL	no. 12469	XII.5.
IZGIN (1 and 2)	no. 7693	IV.15.
KARABURÇLU	no. 7729 (formerly 872)	IV.13.
KARKAMIŞ sherd	no. 6975	II.73.
MARAŞ 1	no. 7698 (formerly 840?)	IV.4.
MARAŞ 2	no. 7694 (formerly 836)	IV.10.
MARAŞ 4	no. 7772 (formerly 1625)	IV.2.
MARAŞ 5	no. 7781	IV.7.
NİĞDE 1	no. 7774	X.41.
PALANGA	no. 7764 (formerly 1215)	V.20.
Sadberk Hanım Museum		
KARKAMIŞ A26a1	no. 6869	II.18.
Kayseri		
Kayseri Museum		
BOHÇA	no. 6	X.17.
ÇİFTLİK	no. 11	X.11.
EĞRIKÖY	no. 9	X.26.
ERKİLET 1	no. 4	X.24.
ERKİLET 2	no. 5	X.25.
KULULU 1	no. 2241	X.9.
KULULU 2	no. 2340	X.21.
KULULU 3	no. 5515	X.22.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
KULULU 4	no. 76/248	X.10.
KULULU 5	no. 77/537	X.20.
KULULU 6 frags. 1+2	nos. 4845 and ?	X.33.
KULULU 7	no. ?	X.35.
KULULU 8	no. 5723	X.34.
KURUBEL	no. 25	X.32.
TEKIRDERBENT 1	no. 7	X.30.
TEKIRDERBENT 2	no. 8	X.31.
Malatya		
Malatya Museum		
MALATYA 14	no. 625	V.14.
Maraş		
Maraş Museum		
KÜRTÜL	no. 228 (or 197)	IV.9.
MARAŞ 12	no. 229	IV.12.
MARAŞ 13	no. 2215	IV.14.
MARAŞ 14	no. 1/1/85	IV.5.
MARAŞ 15	no. 11.2.89	IV.19.
MARAŞ 16	no. ?	IV.20.
Niğde		
Niğde Museum		
NIĞDE 2	no. 22.1.75	X.47.
KEŞLİK YAYLA	no. 51	X.51.
PORSUK	no. 52.	X.48.
VELİİSA	no. 53.	X.49.
Sivas		
Sivas Museum		
İSPEKÇÜR	no. 342	V.4.
Urfa		
Urfa Museum		
LİDAR bullae	no. Li. 85 – F. 246 – 247 (field nos.)	XIII.1.
SYRIA		
Aleppo		
National Syrian Museum		
ALEPPO 2	no. 2460	III.5.
ALEPPO 3	no. 6422	XII.6.
ʾAZAZ	no. ?	VII.9.
CEKKE	no. 2459	II.27.
QALʾAT EL MUDIQ	no. M 6525	IX.4.
MEHARDE (upper)	no. 5051	IX.13.
TELL AHMAR 1	no. 2	III.6.
TELL AHMAR 5 (+ frags.)	nos. ?	III.3.
TELL AHMAR frags. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9	nos. ?	III.8.
TELL AHMAR, frag. 10	no. ?	III.9.
Hama		
Hama Museum		
HAMA 5	no. ?	IX.2.
HAMA 6	no. ?	IX.11.
HAMA 7	no. ?	IX.12.
SHEIZAR (lower part)	no. ?	IX.14.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
LEBANON		
Beirut		
Beirut Museum		
SHEIZAR (upper)	no. ?	IX.14.
GREAT BRITAIN		
Durham		
University of Durham, Gulbenkian Museum of Modern Art		
GULBENKIAN seal	no. NH2303	XIII.10.
London		
British Museum		
BABYLON 2	no. 125004	VIII.2.
HAMA 9 (NIMRUD) <i>b</i>	no. 133016	IX.7.
<i>c</i>	no. 133018	IX.7.
<i>d</i>	no. 133011	IX.7.
<i>f</i>	no. 133015	IX.7.
<i>h</i>	no. 133021	IX.7.
<i>i</i>	no. 133014	IX.7.
<i>l</i>	no. 133023	IX.7.
(<i>m</i>)	no. 134325 (1963-12-14,11)	IX.7.
KARKAMIŠ A11 <i>a</i> (A8) (frag. only)	no. 117916	II.9.
KARKAMIŠ A20 <i>b</i> 9	no. 131688	II.32.
11	no. 125000 <i>g</i>	II.32.
12	no. 125001 <i>c</i>	II.32.
KARKAMIŠ A21 <i>a</i>	no. 125009 (1881-10-9)	II.31.
KARKAMIŠ A21 <i>b</i>	no. 125003 (1879-8-19)	II.31.
KARKAMIŠ A23	no. 125002	II.17.
KARKAMIŠ A26 <i>a</i> 2	no. 125000 <i>d</i>	II.18.
KARKAMIŠ A26 <i>f</i>	no. 125005 (1882-10-15)	II.37.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>a</i>	no. 125000 <i>b</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>b</i>	no. 125000 <i>c</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>c</i>	no. 125001 <i>a</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>d</i>	no. 125001 <i>b</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>e</i>	no. 125001 <i>d</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>f</i>	no. 125001 <i>e</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>g</i>	no. 125001 <i>f</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>h</i>	no. 125001 <i>g</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>i</i>	no. 125001 <i>h</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>j</i>	no. 125001 <i>j</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>k</i>	no. 125001 <i>k</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>l</i>	no. 125000 <i>a</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>m</i>	no. 125000 <i>h</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A28 <i>n</i>	no. 125001 <i>i</i>	II.70.
KARKAMIŠ A30 <i>c</i>	no. 125013	II.72.
KARKAMIŠ A30 <i>b</i>	no. 125008	II.42.
KARKAMIŠ A31	no. 125007	II.26.
NINEVEH 1	no. 128335	XII.10.
NINEVEH seal	no. 120243	XIII.7.
NINEVEH bullae 1	no. 84590	XIII.12.
2	no. 84584	XIII.12.
3	no. 84587	XIII.12.
4	no. 84585	XIII.12.
5	no. 84589	XIII.12.
6	no. 84588	XIII.12.
7	no. 84591	XIII.12.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
Inked/uninked(+) squeezes of lost inscriptions in British Museum.		
KARKAMIŠ A4c		II.48.
KARKAMIŠ A15d		II.60
KARKAMIŠ A15e		II.38.
KARKAMIŠ A16f		II.49.
KARKAMIŠ A18a		II.56.
KARKAMIŠ A18f		II.47.
KARKAMIŠ A18i		II.65.
KARKAMIŠ A19c		II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19e ⁺		II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19f		II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A19h		II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A26b-e		II.68.
KARKAMIŠ A27a		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27c		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27l ⁺		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27m		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27n ⁺		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27p ⁺		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27q		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27s ⁺		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27aa		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27gg		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27bb ⁺		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27qq		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27ss		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27tt		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27uu		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A27vv		II.69.
KARKAMIŠ A29a1, 3		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29f1		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29b1 ⁺ , 2 ⁺ , 3, 5 ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29i ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29k ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29l ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29n ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29o1 ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29p2 ⁺ , 3 ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A29q2 ⁺		II.71.
KARKAMIŠ A30a1 ⁺ , 3 ⁺ , 5 ⁺ , 6 ⁺		II.72.
KARKAMIŠ A30d2 ⁺		II.72.
KARKAMIŠ A30j1 ⁺ , 2 ⁺ , 3 ⁺ , 4 ⁺ , 6 ⁺ , 8 ⁺ , 9 ⁺ , 10 ⁺		II.72.
Oxford		
Ashmolean Museum		
HOGARTH seal 1	no. 1913.769	XIII.8.
HOGARTH seal 2	no. 1913.175	XIII.9.
HOGARTH seal 3	no. 1912.971	XIII.15.
KARKAMIŠ A19r	no. 1913.913	II.67.
KARKAMIŠ A25b	no. 1913.914	II.30.
U.S.A.		
Chicago		
Oriental Institute		
JISR EL HADID frags. 1-3	no. A2342 ⁻ -9	VII.5.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
KHORSABAD bullae 1	no. A7037	XIII.13.
2	(field) no. DS 1932:25	XIII.13.
TELL TAYINAT 1	(excav.) no. T 1260	VII.1.
TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 1	(excav.) nos. T 3277u + T 199 + T 598 + T 3277e + T 3277t	VII.2.
frag. 2	nos. T 3277a + T 201	VII.2.
frag. 3	nos. T 3277b + T 398 + T 3277n	VII.2.
frag. 4	no. T 3277k	VII.2.
frag. 5	no. T 125	VII.2.
frag. 6	no. T 3277d	VII.2.
frag. 7	nos. T 3277g + T 3277j	VII.2.
frag. 8	nos. T 3277h + T 3277i	VII.2.
frag. 9	no. T 3277f	VII.2.
frag. 10	nos. T 2584 + T 623	VII.2.
frag. 11	no. T 300	VII.2.
frag. 12	no. T 3277c	VII.2.
TELL TAYINAT VII.12, 13, 15–19	(excav.) nos. T 327 l, m, o–s	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.1: see TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 1		
TELL TAYINAT VIII.26: see TELL TAYINAT 2 frag. 10		
TELL TAYINAT VIII.2.	(excav.) no. T 200	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.6.	(excav.) no. T 550	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.7.	(excav.) no. T 551	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.8–15, 17, 18	(excav.) nos. T 553–556, 559, 577–579, 671:1–2	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.19	(excav.) no. T 690	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.28.	(excav.) no. T 2610	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.51–52	(excav.) nos. T 2898, T 2899	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.3 + 21	(excav.) no. T 202, T 834	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.4–5	(excav.) no. T 203, T 206	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.16, 20	(excav.) nos. T 624, T 693	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.25, 38–50	(excav.) nos. T 2347, T 2656:1–13	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.22, 23	(excav.) nos. T 846, T 1040	VII.4.
TELL TAYINAT VIII.24, 27 [29], 30, 31–34, 35–[37], 53	(excav.) nos. T 2164, T 2595, T 2611, T 2618, T 2623–26, T 2640–42, T 2957	VII.4.
TULEIL 1	no. A 23430	VII.6.
TULEIL 2	no. A 23431	VII.7.
New York		
Metropolitan Museum of Art		
MARAŞ 7	no. X.196 (formerly 1906?)	IV.17.
MARAŞ 8	no. 90.21 (formerly 1904)	IV.1.
Pierpont Morgan Library		
PORADA seal	no. ?	XIII.4.
Yale		
Yale University		
YALE seal	no. NCBS 890	XIII.21.
GREECE		
Lamia		
Lamia Museum		
TRAGANA (LOCRI)	no. M 3510	XII.14.
ISRAEL		
Jerusalem		
Bible Lands Museum		
BOROWSKI 1	no. ?	XII.1.
BOROWSKI 2	no. ?	XII.2.

Inscription	Museum Inv. no.	Corpus no.
BOROWSKI 3	no. ?	III.2.
BOROWSKI seal 1	no. Lam. 1102	XIII.6.
BOROWSKI seal 2	no. Lam. 1101	XIII.14.
KARKAMIŠ stone bowl	no. ?	II.25a.
VATICAN CITY		
Museo Missionario, Collezione Gauttieri		
KARKAMIŠ A25a3	no. 164	II.20.
KARKAMIŠ A30b1	no. 159	II.26.
FRANCE		
Paris		
Louvre Museum		
KARKAMIŠ A6, 7 (frags.)	AO 10886, 10829	II.22, 23.
MALATYA 3	AM 255	V.18.
MARAŞ 9	AO 19222	IV.11
RESTAN	AO 4539A	IX.3.
TELL AHMAR 2	AO 11505	III.1.
TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE)	AO 26.533.	III.7.
TELL AHMAR frag. 6	no. ?	III.8.
Bibliothèque Nationale		
DELAPORTE seal	no. ?	XIII.5.
GERMANY		
Berlin		
Vorderasiatisches Museum		
ASSUR letters <i>e-f</i>	VA 5819	XI.5-6.
BABYLON 3	VA Bab. 1507	VIII.3.
KELEKLI	VA 8477	II.8.
KIRÇOĞLU	VA 3009	VII.8.
MARAŞ 3	VA 973	IV.6.
SWITZERLAND		
Geneva		
Biblioteca Bodmeriana		
KARKAMIŠ A4a frag. 4	no. ?	II.28.
Museum of Art and History		
VOLLENWEIDER seal	no. 1950/19217	XIII.20.
RUSSIA		
St. Petersburg		
Hermitage Museum		
MARAŞ 6 (LENINGRAD)	no. 18589	IV.16.
DENMARK		
Copenhagen		
National Museum		
HAMA frag. 2	(excav.) no. 7A 526	IX.16.
HAMA frag. 4	(excav.) no. 5A 496	IX.18.
HAMA frags. 7, 8, 9, 10	(excav.) nos. 8A 198, 8A 436, 6A 383, 8A 4a-c	IX.21a-d.

Inscription	Corpus no.
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS	
GELB seals (b) (unknown)	XIII.11b
LIDAR (bulla) (Rosen)	XIII.1.
TELL AHMAR 4 (unknown)	III.4.
ROCK RELIEFS etc. <i>IN SITU</i>	
BULGARMADEN	X.45.
BURUNKAYA	X.8
DOMUZTEPE 1	I.6.
GÜRÜN	V.2.
İVRİZ 1	X.43.
HİSARCIK 2	X.27.
KARABURUN	X.18.
KARADAĞ 1	X.6.
KARADAĞ 2	X.7.
KIZILDAĞ 1	X.1.
KIZILDAĞ 4	X.5.
KÖTÜKALE	V.3.
MALPINAR	VI.3.
SUVASA	X.13.
TOPADA	X.12.
LOST/UNKNOWN LOCATION	
ALIŞAR sherd	XII.13.
BEIRUT bowl frag.	XII.3.
BOSSERT seal	XIII.19.
DE CLERQ seal	XIII.16.
GAZİANTEP	XII.7.
GELB	XII.12.
GELB seals (a, c)	XIII.11a, c
HAMA 8	IX.6.
HAMA frags. 1, 3, 5, 6	IX.15, 17, 19, 20
KIZILDAĞ 2–3(?), 5	X.2–3, X.4.
MALATYA bulla 1 (MALATYA 15)	XIII.2.
MEHARDE (lower)	IX.13.
NIMRUD	XII.15.
NINEVEH 2	XII.11.
PERSEPOLIS	XII.16.
SAMSAT 2	VI.13.
SAMSAT 3	VI.14.
TELL TAYINAT 3	VII.3.

CONCORDANCE

Publication no.	Inscription	No. in this Corpus
Messerschmidt, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum</i>		
<i>CIH</i> 1,3-4	BABYLON 2	VIII.2.
<i>CIH</i> II	BABYLON 1	VIII.1.
<i>CIH</i> IIIB	HAMA 1	IX.8.
<i>CIH</i> IVA	HAMA 2	IX.9.
<i>CIH</i> IVB	HAMA 3	IX.10.
<i>CIH</i> V-VI	HAMA 4	IX.1.
<i>CIH</i> VII	KIRÇOĞLU	VII.8.
<i>CIH</i> VIII	İSKENDERUN	IV.3.
<i>CIH</i> IX	KARKAMIŞ A23	II.17.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> X	KARKAMIŞ A21 <i>b</i>	II.31.
<i>CIH</i> XI	KARKAMIŞ A31	II.26.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XII,1	KARKAMIŞ A21 <i>a</i>	II.31.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XII,2	KARKAMIŞ A20 <i>b</i> 9	II.32.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XII,3-4	KARKAMIŞ A26 <i>a</i> 2	II.18.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XII,5	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>b</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XII,6	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>k</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,1	KARKAMIŞ A20 <i>b</i> 11	II.32.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,2	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>g</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,3	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>c</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,4	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>d</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,5	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>m</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,6	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>e</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,7	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>j</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,8	KARKAMIŞ A20 <i>b</i> 12	II.32.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIII,9	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>b</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,1	KARKAMIŞ A30 <i>c</i>	II.72.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,2	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>f</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,3	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>n</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,4	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>i</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,5	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>l</i>	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,6	KARKAMIŞ A28 <i>a</i> 1	II.70.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIV,7	KARKAMIŞ A22 <i>c</i>	II.33.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XV <i>A</i>	KARKAMIŞ A26 <i>f</i>	II.37.
<i>CIH</i> XV <i>B</i>	KARKAMIŞ A1 <i>b</i>	II.7.
<i>CIH</i> XVI <i>A</i>	MALATYA 1	V.16.
<i>CIH</i> XVI <i>B</i>	MALATYA 2	V.21.
<i>CIH</i> XVI <i>C</i>	"Menant"	(forgery)
<i>CIH</i> XVII	SAMSAT 1	VI.12.
<i>CIH</i> XVIII	GÜRÜN	V.2.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XIX	IZGIN	V.15.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XX	PALANGA	V.20.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XXI	MARAŞ 1	IV.4.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XXII	MARAŞ 2	IV.10.
<i>CIH</i> XXIII <i>A</i> -B	MARAŞ 3	IV.6.
<i>CIH</i> XXIII <i>C</i>	MARAŞ 6 (LENINGRAD)	IV.16.
<i>CIH</i> XXIV	MARAŞ 7	IV.17.
<i>CIH</i> XXV	MARAŞ 8	IV.1.
<i>CIH</i> XXVI	KARABURÇLU	IV.13.
<i>CIH/CIH'</i> XXXI <i>A</i> -B	EĞREK	X.23.
<i>CIH</i> XXXI <i>C</i>	ANDAVAL	X.42.
<i>CIH</i> XXXII	BULGARMADEN	X.45.

Publication no.	Inscription	No. in this Corpus
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<i>CIH/CIH² XXXIII A,C</i>	BOR	X.44.
<i>CIH/CIH² XXXIV</i>	İVRİZ 1	X.43.
<i>CIH XXXIX.3-9</i>	NINIVEH bullae	XIII.12.
<i>CIH XXXIX.10</i>	NINIVEH seal	XIII.7.
<i>CIH XLI.1</i>	PORADA seal	XIII.4.
<i>CIH XLIII.8</i>	DELAPORTE seal	XIII.5.
<i>CIH¹ XLVI</i>	KARABURUN	X.18.
<i>CIH² XLVII</i>	MALATYA 3	V.18.
<i>CIH² XLVIII</i>	HİSARCIK 1	X.19.
<i>CIH² LI</i>	BOHÇA	X.17.
<i>CIH² LII</i>	MARAŞ 4	IV.2.
<i>CIH² LIII</i>	NİĞDE 1	X.41.

Charles, *Cornell Expedition* (Plates, Figs.)

<i>CE I, 1-3</i>	KARADAĞ 1	X.6.
<i>CE V, 11</i>	KARABURUN	X.18.
<i>CE VI, 13</i>	HİSARCIK 2	X.27.
<i>CE VII, 14</i>	TEKİRDERBENT 1	X.30.
<i>CE VIII</i>	TEKİRDERBENT 2	X.31.
<i>CE IX-X, 15-19</i>	BOHÇA	X.17.
<i>CE XI, 21</i>	İVRİZ 1C	X.43.
<i>CE XII</i>	BÜLGARMADEN	X.45.
<i>CE XIII, 24</i>	EĞRİKÖY	X.26.
<i>CE XV, 27-29</i>	KURUBEL	X.32.
<i>CE XVI, 30-31</i>	GÜRÜN	V.2.
<i>CE XVII, 32</i>	ARSLATANAS (Elbistan)	V.23.
<i>CE XVIII-XIX, 33-39</i>	İSPEKÇÜR	V.4.
<i>CE XX</i>	KÖTÜKALE	V.3.
<i>CE XXI, 40</i>	MALATYA 4	V.17.
<i>CE XXII, 42, 41</i>	MALATYA 5, 6	V.6, 7.
<i>CE XXV</i>	KELEKLİ	II.8.
<i>CE XXVI</i>	SAMSAT 1	VI.12.
<i>CE XXVII</i>	MARAŞ 8	IV.1.

(inscription, previous name)

(inscription, current name)

Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*

<i>HHM 3</i>		ANDAVAL	X.42.
<i>HHM 4-5</i>	BOYBEYPINARI I-II	BOYBEYPINARI 1	VI.1.
<i>HHM 6-7</i>	BOYBEYPINARI III-IV	BOYBEYPINARI 2	VI.2.
<i>HHM 8</i>		BÜLGARMADEN	X.45.
<i>HHM 9</i>	CARCHEMISH I	ANKARA	XII.4.
<i>HHM 10</i>	CARCHEMISH II	KARKAMIŞ A24a2-3	II.25.
<i>HHM 11</i>	CARCHEMISH III	KARKAMIŞ A20a1	II.19.
<i>HHM 12</i>	CARCHEMISH IV	KARKAMIŞ A25a1	II.20.
<i>HHM 13</i>	CARCHEMISH V	KARKAMIŞ A14a, frag.2	II.5.
<i>HHM 14</i>	CARCHEMISH VI	KARKAMIŞ B39a	II.66.
<i>HHM 15</i>		ÇALAPVERDİ 1	X.28.
<i>HHM 16</i>		ÇALAPVERDİ 2	X.29.
<i>HHM 17</i>		ÇİFTLİK	X.11.
<i>HHM 18</i>		DARENDE	V.5.
<i>HHM 19</i>		EĞRİKÖY	X.26.
<i>HHM 20</i>		ERKİLET 1	X.24.
<i>HHM 21</i>		ERKİLET 2	X.25.
<i>HHM 23-24</i>		GÜRÜN	V.2.
<i>HHM 25</i>		HİNES	IX.5.

Publ. no.	(Inscription, previous name)	(Inscription, current name)	No. in this Corpus
HHM 26		HİSARCIK 2	X.27.
HHM 28		İSPEKÇÜR	V.4.
HHM 29		İVRİZ 1	X.43.
HHM 30-32	JISR EL HADID I-III	JISR EL HADID frags. 1-3	VII.5.
HHM 33	KARABURNA	KARABURUN	X.18.
HHM 36	KARAPINAR	TOPADA	X.12.
HHM 38		KAYSERİ	X.15.
HHM 39		KHORSABAD bullae	XIII.13.
HHM 40		KÖTÜKALE	V.3.
HHM 44		KURUBEL	X.32.
HHM 45	MALATYA I	MALATYA 8 (Relief K)	V.9.
HHM 46	MALATYA II	MALATYA 4 (Relief F)	V.17.
HHM 47		RESTAN	IX.3.
HHM 49		SULTANHAN (base)	X.14.
HHM 50		SUVASA	X.13.
HHM 52	TELL TAYINAT I	TELL TAYINAT 1, frags. 1-6	VII.1.
HHM 53	TELL TAYINAT II	TELL TAYINAT 3	VII.3.
HHM 54	TELL TAYINAT III	TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 5	VII.2.
HHM 55	TELL TAYINAT IV	TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 11	VII.2.
HHM 56	TELL TAYINAT V	TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1 (part)	VII.2.
HHM 57	TELL TAYINAT VI	TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 10	VII.2.
HHM 58	TELL TAYINAT VII.21 + 5, 1, 2 + 14, 11, 4, 7 + 10, 9 + 8, 6, 3	TELL TAYINAT 2, frags. 1 (part), 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12	VII.2.
HHM 59	TELL TAYINAT VIII	TELL TAYINAT fragments	VII.4.
HHM 60		TULEİL 1	VII.6.
HHM 61		TULEİL 2	VII.7.
HHM 62		VELİİSA	X.49.

Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico*

Prima serie

1		NİĞDE 1	X.41.
1a		BABYLON 2	VIII.2.
2	"coppa II"	BABYLON 3	VIII.3.
3		ERKİLET 2	X.25.
4		ERKİLET 1	X.24.
5		RESTAN	IX.3.
6	"Apamea"	QAL'AT EL MUDIQ	IX.4.
7		İVRİZ 1 A-B	X.43.
8		HAMA 1-3	IX.8-10.
9		KARKAMIŞ A7a-j	II.23.
10		KARKAMIŞ A6	II.22.
11		KARKAMIŞ A15b	II.24.
12		BABYLON 2	VIII.2.
13		BABYLON 1	VIII.1.
14		KARKAMIŞ A5b	II.46.
15		KARKAMIŞ A18b	II.44.
15a		KARKAMIŞ A18f	II.47.
16		KARKAMIŞ A1b	II.7.
17		KULULU 2	X.21.
18		KULULU 1	X.9.
19		KARKAMIŞ A2	II.13.
20		KARKAMIŞ A3	II.14.
21		KARKAMIŞ A11a	II.9.
22		KARKAMIŞ A9 (A11b)	II.11.
23		KARKAMIŞ 10 (A11c)	II.12.
24		KARATEPE 1 (bilingual)	I.1.

Publ. no.	(Inscription, previous name)	(Inscription, current name)	No. in this Corpus
25		BULGARMADEN	X.45.
26		KARABURUN	X.18.
27		BOHÇA	X.17.
28		CEKKE	II.27.
29		KARKAMIŞ A1a	II.6.
30		SULTANHAN	X.14.
31		TOPADA	X.12.
32		MARAŞ 4	IV.2.
33		MARAŞ 1	IV.4.
34		ASSUR letter <i>d</i>	XI.4.
35		ASSUR letter <i>b</i>	XI.2.
36		ASSUR letter <i>c</i>	XI.3.
37		ASSUR letter <i>a</i>	XI.1.
38		ASSUR letter <i>e</i>	XI.5.
39		ASSUR letter <i>f</i>	XI.6.
40		ASSUR letter <i>g</i>	XI.6.

Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico*

Seconda serie

25		İVRİZ 1C	X.43.
26	"İvriz II"	İVRİZ frag. 1	X.50.
29		PORSUK	X.48.
30		BOR	X.44.
32		ANDAVAL	X.42.
33		VELİİSA	X.49.
34		ÇİFTLİK	X.11.
61		ALIŞAR ostrakon	XII.13.
63		ÇALAPVERDİ 1	X.28.
64		ÇALAPVERDİ 2	X.29.
67		KAYSERİ	X.15.
68	"Hisarcık I"	HİSARCIK 2	X.27.
69	"Hisarcık II"	HİSARCIK 1	X.19.
70		TEKİRDERBENT 1	X.30.
71		TEKİRDERBENT 2	X.31.
72		EĞRİKÖY	X.26.
76		KURUBEL	X.32.
78		EĞREK	X.23.
89! (88)	"Kululu IV"	KULULU 6 (part only)	X.33.
89-92	"Kululu V-VIII"	KULULU lead strips	X.36-40.
93-94	"Kululu IX, X"	KULULU 6 (other part), 7	X.33,35.
94a	"Kululu XI"	KULULU 3	X.22.
97		GÜRÜN	V.2.
98		DARENDE	V.5.
99		PALANGA	V.20.
102		IZGIN	V.15.
103		İSPEKCÜR	V.4.
104		KÖTÜKALE	V.3.
105		MALATYA 1	V.16.
106		MALATYA 2	V.21.
107		MALATYA 3	V.18.
108		MALATYA 4	V.17.
109		MALATYA 5	V.6.
110		MALATYA 6	V.7.
111		MALATYA 7	V.8.
112		MALATYA 8	V.9.
113		MALATYA 9	V.10.

Publ. no.	(Inscription, previous name)	(Inscription, current name)	No. in this Corpus
114		MALATYA 10	V.11.
115		MALATYA 11	V.12.
116		MALATYA 12	V.13.
117		MALATYA 13	V.22.
118		MALATYA 14	V.14.
119		ŞIRZI	V.19.
122		ADİYAMAN 1	VI.4.
123		ADİYAMAN 2	VI.11.
124		ANCOZ 1	VI.5.
125		ANCOZ 2	VI.6.
126		SAMSAT 1	VI.12.
127		SAMSAT 2	VI.13.
128-129	"Boybeypınarı I-II"	BOYBEYPINARI 1	VI.1.
130-131	"Boybeypınarı III-IV"	BOYBEYPINARI 2	VI.2.
133		MARAŞ 2	IV.10.
134		MARAŞ 3	IV.6.
136		MARAŞ 5	IV.7.
137		MARAŞ 6	IV.16.
138		MARAŞ 7	IV.17.
139		MARAŞ 8	IV.1.
140		MARAŞ 9	IV.11.
141		MARAŞ 10	IV.18.
142		MARAŞ 11	IV.8.
143		MARAŞ 12	IV.12.
144		HACİBEBEKLİ	IV.15.
145		KÜRTÜL	IV.9.
146		KARABURÇLU	IV.13.
150	"Gaziantep I"	GAZİANTEP	XII.7.
152		KÖRKÜN	II.40.
153		TÜNP 1	II.29.
154		TÜNP 2	XII.9.
155	"Ekinveren"	TİLSEVET	II.43.
157		KELEKLİ	II.8.
162		KARKAMIŞ A4a + A18d2	II.28.
164		KARKAMIŞ A4c	II.48.
165		KARKAMIŞ A4d	II.10.
166		KARKAMIŞ A5a	II.45.
173		KARKAMIŞ A12	II.15.
174		KARKAMIŞ A13a-c	II.36.
175		KARKAMIŞ A13d	II.16.
176		KARKAMIŞ A14a	II.5.
177		KARKAMIŞ A14b	II.4.
178		KARKAMIŞ A15a	II.50.
180		KARKAMIŞ A15c	II.51.
181		KARKAMIŞ A15d	II.60.
182		KARKAMIŞ A15e	II.38.
183		KARKAMIŞ A16a	II.52.
184		KARKAMIŞ A16b	II.21.
186		KARKAMIŞ A16d	II.61.
187		KARKAMIŞ A16e	II.62.
188		KARKAMIŞ A16f	II.49.
189		KARKAMIŞ A17a	II.53.
190		KARKAMIŞ A17b	II.41.
191		KARKAMIŞ A17c	II.54.
192		KARKAMIŞ A17d	II.55.

Publ. no.	Inscription	No. in this Corpus
193	KARKAMIŠ A18 _a	II.56.
194	KARKAMIŠ A18 _b	II.63.
195	KARKAMIŠ A18 _c	II.64.
197	KARKAMIŠ A18 _e	II.57.
200	KARKAMIŠ A18 _i	II.65.
201	KARKAMIŠ A18 _j	II.58.
202	KARKAMIŠ A19 _{a-c}	II.67.
203	KARKAMIŠ A19 _d	II.67.
204	KARKAMIŠ A19 _{e-g}	II.67.
205	KARKAMIŠ A19 _b	II.67.
206	KARKAMIŠ A19 _i	II.67.
207	KARKAMIŠ A19 _j	II.67.
208	KARKAMIŠ A19 _{k-m}	II.67.
209	KARKAMIŠ A19 _n	II.67.
210	KARKAMIŠ A19 _o	II.67.
211	KARKAMIŠ A19 _p	II.67.
212	KARKAMIŠ A19 _q	II.67.
213	KARKAMIŠ A19 _r	II.67.
214	KARKAMIŠ A19 _s	II.67.
215	KARKAMIŠ A23	II.17.
216	KARKAMIŠ A20 _a	II.19.
217	KARKAMIŠ A20 _b + 21 _{a-b}	II.32-31.
218	KARKAMIŠ A22 _c	II.33.
219	KARKAMIŠ A20 _{b2} , 3, 5, 7-13	II.32.
220	KARKAMIŠ A24	II.25.
221	KARKAMIŠ A25 _a	II.20.
222	KARKAMIŠ A25 _b	II.30.
223	KARKAMIŠ A26 _a	II.18.
224	KARKAMIŠ A26 _{b-e}	II.68.
225	KARKAMIŠ A26 _f	II.37.
226	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{a-d}	II.69.
227	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{e1-2}	II.69.
228	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{f-i}	II.69.
229	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{j-n}	II.69.
230	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{o-t}	II.69.
231	KARKAMIŠ A27 _u	II.69.
232	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{aa-ee}	II.69.
233	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{ff}	II.69.
234	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{gg-ll}	II.69.
235	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{mm}	II.69.
236	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{nn}	II.69.
237	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{oo}	II.69.
238	KARKAMIŠ A27 _{pp-xx}	II.69.
239	KARKAMIŠ A28 _{a-g}	II.70.
240	KARKAMIŠ A28 _{b-n}	II.70.
241	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{a1-4}	II.71.
242	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{b-c}	II.71.
243	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{d + i}	II.71.
244	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{f1-2}	II.71.
245	KARKAMIŠ A29 _g	II.71.
246	KARKAMIŠ A29 _h	II.71.
247	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{j-m}	II.71.
248	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{n1-4}	II.71.
249	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{o1-4}	II.71.
250	KARKAMIŠ A29 _{p1-3}	II.71.

Publ. no.	(Inscription, previous name)	(Inscription, current name)	No. in this Corpus
251		KARKAMIŠ A29 ^q 1-2	II.71.
252		KARKAMIŠ A30 ^a	II.72.
253		KARKAMIŠ A30 ^{c-e}	II.72.
254		KARKAMIŠ A30 ^f	II.72.
255		KARKAMIŠ A30 ^g	II.72.
257		KARKAMIŠ A31 + A30 ^b	II.26.
258	Kargamis A33 ^{e-f}	KARKAMIŠ B33	II.59.
258	Kargamis A33 ^g	KARKAMIŠ B39 ^a	II.66.
263	"10.932"	KARKAMIŠ A20 ^b 14	II.32.
(266 ^p)	"10.945"	= KARKAMIŠ A29 ^p 1	II.71.)
268 ^{aa}	"11.144"	KARKAMIŠ A20 ^b 1 ^a	II.32.
(271 ^q)	"11.172"	= KARKAMIŠ A24 ^a 10	II.25.)
(271 ^t)	"11.176"	= KARKAMIŠ A29 ^o 4	II.71.)
(273 ^e)	"11.197"	= KARKAMIŠ A30 ^f 7	II.72.)
275		KARKAMIŠ sherd	II.73.
276		ANKARA	XII.4.
280	"Til Barsip I"	TELL AHMAR 1	III.5.
281	"Til Barsip II"	TELL AHMAR 2	III.1.
282	"Til Barsip III (sic! - VIII) 1-4"	TELL AHMAR frags. 1-4	III.8.
283	"Til Barsip VIII 5"	TELL AHMAR, frag. 5	III.8.
284	"Til Barsip VIII 6-9"	TELL AHMAR, frags. 6-9	III.8.
286		'AZAZ	VII.9.
288		ISKENDERUN	IV.3.
289		KIRÇOĞLU	VII.8.
290-292		JISR EL HADID frags. 1-3	VII.5.
293	"TTa'j. I"	TELL TAYINAT 1, frags. 1-6	VII.1.
295	"TTa'j. III"	TELL TAYINAT 2, frags. 5a-b	VII.2.
296	"TTa'j. IV"	TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 11	VII.2.
297	"TTa'j. V"	(joins TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 1	VII.2.)
298	"TTa'j. VI"	TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 10b	VII.2.
299	"TTa'j. VII"	TELL TAYINAT 2, frags. 1b, 2a-b, 3, 6, 7, 8a-b, 9, 12	VII.2.
300	"TTa'j. VIII"	} TELL TAYINAT fragments	VII.4.
301	"TTa'j. VIII, fr. ti 38-50"		
302	"TTa'j. VIII, fr. ti 51-53"		
303		TULEIL 1	VII.6.
304		TULEIL 2	VII.7.
307		ALEPPO 2	III.5.
312		HAMA 4	IX.1.
313		HAMA 5	IX.2.
314	"Hamath VI"	HAMA 9	IX.7.
315	"Hamath VII"	HAMA frag. 3	IX.17.
316	"Mahrada"	MEHARDE	IX.13.
320		HINES	IX.5.
321		NINEVEH 1	XII.10.
322		NINEVEH 2	XII.11.
327		PERSEPOLIS	XII.16.
328	"Athènes"	İSTANBUL	XII.5.
Meriggi, <i>Manuale di eteo geroglifico</i>			
Terza serie			
12		KARADAĞ 1	X.6.
13		KARADAĞ 2	X.7.
14		KIZILDAĞ 1	X.1.
15		KIZILDAĞ 2	X.2.

Publ. no.	(Inscription, previous name)	(Inscription, current name)	No. in this Corpus
16		KIZILDAĞ 3	X.3.
17		KIZILDAĞ 4	X.5.
18		KIZILDAĞ 5	X.4.
36		SUVASA	X.13.
100		ARSLANTAŞ (Elbistan)	V.23.
101		KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan)	V.1.
163		KARKAMIŞ A4 <i>b</i>	II.1.
185		KARKAMIŞ A16 <i>c</i>	II.2.
196		KARKAMIŞ A18 <i>d</i> 1	II.3.
256		KARKAMIŞ A30 <i>b</i>	II.42.
266	"p' Kark. 10.948"	KARKAMIŞ frag. a/b	II.74.
294	"Tell Ta'jināt II"	TELL TAYINAT 3	VII.3.
Addenda			
121a	"Aluntepe III"	ALTINTEPE pithoi	Appendix 4
93	"Kululu IX"	KULULU 6	X.33.
94	"Kululu X"	KULULU 7	X.35.
94a	"Kululu XI"	KULULU 3	X.22.
89–92		KULULU lead strips	X.36–40.

LIST OF SIGNS

Cf. Introduction, pp. 23–34 with Tables 1–4.

- * (prefixed to a numeral) Laroche, *HH* sign nos.
- † (prefixed to a numeral) Laroche, *HH* sign nos., abolished.
- * (postfixed to a numeral) new entry additional to existing one
- ** (postfixed to a numeral) second new entry additional to previous one
- ^E Empire period signs, not frequently appearing in this Corpus
- ^P Transcriptions adopted by the Procida Colloquium (see Preface) which could not be used in this Corpus.

In this Sign List, the numbers are those of Laroche's *HH*. The transcriptions used in this Corpus are given, along with additional transcriptions of Empire period signs which seldom appear in it; and further transcriptions adopted by the Procida Colloquium, which could not be used in the present text because of the advanced stage of the typesetting in 1995. These latter consist mostly of (1) further transcriptions into Latin; and (2) more detailed distinctions of different renderings of the same sign, particularly in the case of animals where either the head alone may be shown, or the whole animal (distinguished by a diacritical subscript 2, thus OVIS (head), OVIS₂ (whole animal), etc.).

The large quantity of Laroche's entries which being poorly known or understood have no new transcription are the following:

3, 5, 11, 23, 30, 33, 37, 38, 47, 48, 50, 54, 61, 67, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 106, 117, 118, 122, 123, 127, 129, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 171, 180, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 194, 195, 198, 203, 205, 206, 208, 211, 217, 218, 219, 220, 234, 240, 259, 261, 262, 263, 265, 271, 273, 274, 275, 279, 282, 283, 284, 293, 308, 311, 314, 317, 321, 324, 333, 347 (1), 348, 349, 350, 351, 356, 357, 361, 365, 373, 375, 396, 398, 403, 405, 406, 407, 409, 414, 418, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 431, 436, 437, 440, 441, 442, 443, 449, 452, 457 (2), 458, 459, 460, 461, 463, 464, 466, 468, 469, 471, 472, 475, 476, 478, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 489–497.

Syllabograms in bold type belong to the regular syllabary

- *1 EGO
- *2 ^PEGO₂
- *4 ^E, see *207, ^PMONS₂
- *6 ADORARE
- *7 EDERE
- *8 BIBERE
- *9 (†444) AMPLECTI
- *10 CAPUT
- *10* CAPUT + SCALPRUM
- *12 STATUA

- *13
- *14 (*13)
- *15
- *16
- *1[–]
- *18
- *19
- *20
- *21
- *22
- *24
- *25
- *26 (†113)
- *2[–]
- *28
- *29
- *31
- *32
- *34
- *35
- *36
- *39 (*40)
- *39*
- *41
- *42
- *43 (†136)
- *44
- *45
- *45*
- *46
- *46*
- *46**
- *49
- *51
- *52
- *53
- *55
- *56
- *5[–]
- *58
- *59, *60
- *62 (*68)
- †63, †64
- *65
- *66
- *66*
- *66**
- (*68
- *69 †63, †64)
- *70
- *73 †1[–]0)
- †6
- *78
- ^E, see *14
- PRAE; *pari*
- DOMINA
- MAGNUS.DOMINA
- REX
- MAGNUS.REX
- á
- (LITUUS)á (^PLITUUS + á/
LITUUS + á)
- HEROS
- LOQUI
- LIS
- OCULUS
- FRONS
- LIBARE
- FORTIS
- ^ETÁ; tá
- LIGARE (= PUGNUS + PUGNUS)
- BRACCHIUM
- POST
- na
- LITUUS + na
- PUGNUS
- ^PPUGNUS + X
- CAPERE; tá
- CAPERE₂.CAPERE₂
- CAPERE₂
- see *59?/*39?
- INFANS (^PFILIUS), FRATER
- FILIA
- REX.INFANS (^PREX.FILIUS)
- ^EREX.FILIA
- ^EMAGNUS.FILIA
- a-tá (^Pa + tá)
- ^PPUGNUS.URBS
- MANUS.CULTER
- ^EENSIS (^PMANUS + CULTER)
- ^Eni
- ^E, = *57; *ka*
- INFRA, SUB
- CUM
- MANUS
- LONGUS (= MANUS + MINUS)
- see *69
- PONERE
- DARE; pi
- ^EMANDARE (= DARE.DARE)
- ^EMANDARE₂
- see *62)
- cursive form of *59 (*60)
- SUPER
- AUDIRE (= AURIS + *TL* + *MI*)
- see *221
- ALA

*79 (*408)	FEMINA, MATER	*151	^E TELIPINU
*80, *81	ŠARMA (^P ŠARMA, ŠARMA ₂)	*153	nu
*82	CRUS; <i>ta</i> ₆	*160	VITIS; ^E <i>ui</i>
*83	CRUS + FLUMEN	*165 (*320)	BONUS; <i>wā/i</i>
*84	CRUS ₂	*166	<i>wā/i</i>
*85	^P GENUFLECTERE, in (TONI- TRUS.) *85 (- <i>pa</i>) = <i>HL-LPA</i>	†167	see *107
*86, *87	CRUS.CRUS	†168	see *329
*88	^E tu	†169	see *382
*89	tu	†170	see *73
*90	PES; ti	*172	ta ₅
*91 (*92, *94)	PES.SCALA.ROTAE	*173	^E HASTARIUS
*92	see *91	*174	si
*93	PES ₂	*175	LINGUA; la
*94	see *91	*176	<i>L-A + L-A</i>
*95	PES ₂ .PES ₂	*177	^E LINGUA + CLAVUS
*96	PES ₂ .PES	*178	<i>la + ra + a</i>
*97	BESTIA (^P LEO/LEO ₂)	*179 (†453, †454)	HORDEUM; <i>hwi_x</i>
*98	CANIS (^P CANIS/CANIS ₂)	*181	PANIS; <i>pa_x</i>
*99	EQUUS	*182	CAELUM
*100 (*116)	ASINUS; ta	†183	see *423
*101	ASINUS ₂	*186	^E , see *445
*102	CERVUS (^P CERVUS/CERVUS ₂); rú	*190	SOL ₂
*103	CERVUS ₂ (^P CERVUS ₃); rú	*191 (†465, †467)	SOL
*104	GAZELLA (^P CAPRA/CAPRA ₂ / CAPRA _{2A}); sà	*192	ORIENS
*105	BOS (^P BOS/BOS ₂); u	*193	LUNA
*107 (†167)	mu (^P BOS + MI/BOS.MI/BOS ₂ .MI)	*196	^E HLATTI; há
*108	CORNU; sú	*197	^E HLATTI + <i>li</i> ; <i>HL-A + LI</i>
*109	VITELLUS (<i>MA_x</i> in <i>MA_x.LI_x</i> – <i>xi</i> , “Malatya”)	*199	TONITRUS
*110	ma	*200	FULGUR
*111 (*518?)	OVIS (^P OVIS/OVIS ₂)	*201	TERRA, LOCUS; <i>wa/i</i> ₆
*112	LINGERE; <i>xi</i> ₄	*202	^P VIA + TERRA + SCALPRUM; ^P VIA + TERRA.SCALPRUM; ^E (DEUS)VIA + TERRA
†113	see *26	*204	<i>wa/i</i> ₅
†114	= LITUUS + <i>u</i> (*378 + *105)	*207 (*4)	MONS (^P MONS ₂); <i>wa/i</i> ₄
*115 (†124)	LEPUS (^P LEPUS/LEPUS ₂); <i>tapa</i>	(*207*)	^E LEO + MONS.TU + LEO)
*116	^E , see *100	*209	i (^E i(a))
†119	see *246	*210	ia
*120	GRYLLUS	*212, *213	FLUMEN
*121	SPHINX	*214 (†143)	ni
†124	see *115	*215 (1)	FONS
*125	LI _x (^P UNGULA) in <i>MA_x.LI_x</i> – <i>xi</i> , “Malatya” (see *109)	*215 (2)	ha
*126 (*45 ⁻ (1))	<i>li</i>	*216	FINES; (FINES + <i>ha</i> =) <i>ARHLA</i>
*128	AVIS; <i>xi</i> ₄	*221, *222 (†76)	VIA
*130	AVIS ₃	*223	<i>sa</i> ₆
*131	^E AVIS ₅	*224	<i>ha?</i> / <i>pa?</i>
*132	AVIS ₂	*225	URBS
*133	AQUILA (= ^P AVIS ₄); ara/i	*226	^E ISLW _A (URBS)
*134	ara/i	*227	URBS + <i>R-A/I + li</i> ; URBS + <i>RA/I-li</i> ; URBS + <i>li</i> ; URBS- <i>li</i>
*135	^E AVIS _x	*228, 230	REGIO; <i>tu</i> ₄
†136	see *43	(*229)	MI.REGIO)
*137	^E LIBATIO	*231, *232, *233	CASTRUM
*138	PISCIS	*235	^P TURRIS?
†143	see *214	*236	^P MURUS?
*148	^E IANUS	*237, *238, *239	PORTA; (^P PORTA ₂)
		*241	<i>ki</i> ₄

†242	see *432	*316	<i>sa₇</i>
*243	CUBITUM	*318	^E <i>TEŠUB</i>
*244	AEDIFICIUM	*319	ta₄
*245 (†359 (2))	VACUUS (= AEDIFICIUM + MINUS)	*320	^E , = *165
*246 (†119)	AEDIFICARE (= AEDIFICIUM. PONERE)	*322, *323	PURUS
*247	DOMUS	*325	tú
*248	DELERE (= DOMUS + MINUS)	*326	SCRIBA; <i>tù</i>
*249	DEUS.DOMUS	*327	SIGILLUM; sa₅
*250	^E MAGNUS.DOMUS	*328	pu
*251	DOMUS + X	*329 (†168)	REL; <i>kwi/a</i>
*252, *253	DOMUS + SCALA	*330	CAPERE + SCALPRUM
*254	^E EUNUCHUS ₂	*331	AVUS
*255, *256	^P HORREUM	*332 a	NEG
*257, *258, *260	ARGENTUM	*332 b	NEG ₂
*264	PODIUM	*332 c	NEG ₃
(†266	= PES.REGIO!)	*334	pa
*267	STELE (= LAPIS + SCALPRUM)	*335	<i>zà</i>
267 (5, 7, 8)	LAPIS	*336	ANNUS (= PITHOS(.SCUTELLA)); <i>zì</i> (^P + *450, <i>zax</i> ; *378 + *336, <i>zà</i>)
*268	SCALPRUM	*337	PITHOS
*269	EXERCITUS	*338	CULTER
*270	^E , = *70	†339	= *319!
*272	SCUTUM	*340	ANNUS + ANNUS
*276	^E FRATER ₂	*341	VAS
*277	IUDEX + <i>lu</i> (^P IUSTITIA/IUDEX. <i>L-4</i>)	*342	= *307
*278	li	*343	PITHOS (^P -)
*280	MALLEUS; <i>wa/i₃</i>	*344	CONTRACTUS
*281	ASCIA	*345	URCEUS
*285	^E <i>zu(wa)</i>	*346	POCULUM
*286	<i>wa/i-</i>	*347 (2)	<i>hú</i>
†287	see *399	*352 – *354	^E , see *345
*288	CURRUS	*355	SACERDOS
*289	^E AURIGA	*358, *359 (1)	DIES
*290	<i>hara/i</i>	†359 (2)	see *245
*291	<i>li</i>	*360	DEUS
*292	ROTA; ^E <i>HL-4</i>	*362	<i>má</i>
*294	THRONUS/MENSA	*363	MAGNUS; ^E <i>ur</i>
*295	*190.THRONUS	*364 (1, 2)	<i>u, mu</i>
*296, *297	^E (DEUS)MONS.MENSA (^P (DEUS) MONS. <i>ŠAR-4</i>)	*366	OMNIS
*298	THRONUS ₂	*367	^E <i>TAL-4</i>
*299	SOLIUM; <i>i</i> (+ *450 = <i>ia</i>)	*368	MALUS, MALUS ₂ (= ^P *368*)
*300	(*300 + <i>TÍ</i> =) NEPOS; ^E (MANUS + *300 =) NEPOS	*369	^E VITA
*301	LECTUS	*370	^E BONUS ₂ ; su
†302	see *399	*371	IUSTITIA, IUDEX; <i>tara/i_x</i>
*303	<i>sara/i</i> (^P also <i>ŠAR-4/I</i>)	*372	^E SACERDOS ₂
*304	<i>ma_x</i> (^P <i>mà</i>)	(*374	= *216?)
*305	FUSUS	*376	zi (^E <i>zi/a</i>)
*306	^E <i>hi</i>	*377	za
*307 (*342)	hu	*378	LITUUS
*309	CRUX	*379	OCCIDENS; <i>ià</i>
(*310	archaizing form of *201?)	*380	UNUS; <i>sa₈</i>
*312	^E , see *313	*381	MINUS
*313 (*312)	VIR; <i>zì</i>	*386 + *381	MORI (VIR ₂ .MINUS)
*314	log.; <i>ha_x</i>	*382 (†169)	LIGNUM
*315	<i>kar</i>	*383	<i>ra/i</i>
		*384, *385	(num.) 2
		*386	^E VIR ₂ ; (word-divider)

*387	SERVUS; <i>mi</i> ?	*430	^P OMNIS ₂ ; ^P <i>pú</i>
*388	(num.) 3	*432 (†242)	<i>zu</i> ²
*389	<i>tara/i</i>	*433	<i>sá</i>
*390	DOMINUS	*434	<i>ka</i>
*391	(num.) 4; <i>mi</i>	*435	<i>á_x</i>
*392	(num.) 5	*438	^E PASTOR
*393	(num.) 8	*439	<i>wa/i</i>
*395	(num.) 9; <i>nú</i>	†444	= *9
*397	DECEM	*445 (*186)	<i>la/i/u</i>
*399 (†287, †302)	CENTUM	*446	<i>ki</i>
*400	MILLE	*447	(*447.FRONS =) VERSUS; <i>ni_x</i>
(†401	= *477)	*448	<i>sú</i> (see Appendix 2)
*402	SCUTELLA; <i>sa₄</i>	*450	<i>a, ' </i>
*404	ANIMAL	*451	^E <i>hur</i>
(*408	^E , see *79)	†453, †454	= *179
*410	“ ” (log. markers)	*455	<i>la_x</i>
*411	<i>ni</i>	*456	<i>si</i> ²
*412	<i>ru</i>	*457 (1)	= *126
*413	<i>hi</i>	*462	<i>pá</i> ² (see Appendix 3)
*415	<i>sa</i>	†465	= *191
*416	^E , = *319	†467	= *191
*417	<i>sa_x</i>	*470	(num.) 12 (10 + 2)
*419, *420	<i>mi</i>	*473, *474	EUNUCHUS
*421	^E <i>US</i>	*477, *479 (401)	FLAMMAE (?)
*422	PANIS.SCUTELLA	*486	^P FALX (?)
*423 (†183)	<i>ku</i>	*487	= *1?
*429	<i>TAN:4</i>	*488	<i>ti</i>

LIST OF LOGOGRAMS TRANSCRIBED INTO LATIN

See also Table 2, p. 26 f.

- * (prefixed to a numeral) Laroche, *HH* sign no.
- E Empire period signs, not frequently occurring in this Corpus
- P Transcriptions adopted by the Procida Colloquium (see Preface) which could not be used in this Corpus.

ADORARE	*6
AEDIFICARE	*246
AEDIFICIUM	*244
(AEDIFICIUM + MINUS	see VACUUS)
(AEDIFICIUM.PONERE	see AEDIFICARE)
ALA	*78
AMPLECTI	*9
ANIMAL	*404
ANNUS	*336 (*337)
ANNUS + ANNUS	*340
(AQUA	see FLUMEN)
AQUILA	*133
ARGENTUM	*257
ASCIA	*281
ASINUS	*100
ASINUS ₂	*101
AUDIRE	*73
^E AURIGA	*289
(AURIS + TU + MI	see AUDIRE)
AVIS	*128
AVIS ₂	*132
AVIS ₃	*130
^P AVIS ₄	see AQUILA
^E AVIS ₅	*131
^E AVIS _X	*135
AVUS	*331
BESTIA	*97
BIBERE	*8
BONUS	*165
^E BONUS ₂	*370
BOS, (^P BOS ₂)	*105
(^P BOS + MI, BOS.MI, BOS ₂ .MI	*107)
BRACCHIUM	*32
CAELUM	*182
CANIS, (^P CANIS ₂)	*98
CAPERE	*41
CAPERE ₂	*43
CAPERE + SCALPRUM	*330
CAPERE ₂ .CAPERE ₂	*42
^P CAPRA/CAPRA ₂ /CAPRA _{2A}	*104
CAPUT	*10
CAPUT + SCALPRUM	*10 + *268
CASTRUM	*231
CENTUM	*399
CERVUS, (^P CERVUS ₂)	*102
CERVUS ₂ (^P CERVUS ₃)	*103

CONTRACTUS	*344
CORNU	*108
^P CORNU + CAPUT	*524
CRUS	*82
CRUS ₂	*84
CRUS.CRUS	*86, *87
CRUX	*309
CUBITUM	*243
CULTER	*338
CUM	*58
CURRUS	*288
DARE	*66
(^E DARE.DARE	see MANDARE)
DECEM	*397
DELERE	*248
DEUS	*360
DEUS.DOMUS	*249
DIES	*358
DOMINA	*15
DOMINUS	*390
DOMUS	*247
(DOMUS + MINUS	see DELERE)
DOMUS + SCALA	*252
DOMUS + X	*251
EDERE	*7
EGO	*1 – *2
^P EGO ₂	*2
^E ENSIS	*53
EQUUS	*99
EUNUCHUS	*473, *474
^E EUNUCHUS ₂	*254
EXERCITUS	*269
^P FALX (?)	*486
FEMINA	*79
FILIA	*45*
^P FILIUS	*45
FINES	*216
FLAMMAE (?)	*477
FLUMEN	*212
FONS	*215
FORTIS	*28
FRATER	*45
^E FRATER ₂	*276
FRONS	*26
FULGUR	*200
FUSUS	*305
GAZELLA	*104 (^P see CAPRA)
^P GENUFLECTERE	*85
GRILLUS	*120
^E HASTARIUS	*173
HEROS	*21
HORDEUM	*179
^P HORREUM	*255
^E IANUS	*148

INFANS	*45	^E PASTOR	*438
INFRA	*57	PES	*90
(IRA	see LIS)	PES ₂	*93
IUDEX/IUSTITIA	*371	PES ₂ .PES	*96
IUDEX + <i>la</i>	*277	PES ₂ .PES ₂	*95
LAPIS	*267*	PES.SCALA.ROTAE	*91/*92/*94
(LAPIS + SCALPRUM	see STELE)	PISCIS	*138
LECTUS	*301	PITHOS	*336, *337
^P LEO/LEO ₂	*97	(PITHOS.SCUTELLA	see ANNUS)
LEPUS, (^P LEPUS ₂)	*115	POCULUM	*346
LIBARE	*27	PODIUM	*264
^E LIBATIO	*137	PONERE	*65
LIGARE	*31	PORTA	*237 – *239
LIGNUM	*382	^P PORTA ₂	*239
LINGERE	*112	POST	*34
LINGUA	*175	PRAE	*14 (^E *13)
^E LINGUA + CLAVUS	*177	(^P PROPHETA	see CORNU + CAPUT)
LIS	*24	PUGNUS	*39 – *40
LITUUS	*378	(PUGNUS + PUGNUS	see LIGARE)
(LITUUS) <i>á</i>	*20	PURUS	*322, *323
LITUUS + <i>na</i>	*36	(REGINA	see MAGNUS.
LOCUS	*21		DOMINA)
LONGUS	*62	REGIO	*228
LOQUI	*22	REL	*329
LUNA	*193	REX	*17
MAGNUS	*363	^E REX.FILIA	*46*
MAGNUS.DOMINA	*16	^E REX.INFANS (^P REX.FILIUS)	*46
^E MAGNUS.DOMUS	*250	ROTA	*292
^E MAGNUS.FILIA	*46**	SACERDOS	*355
MAGNUS.REX	*18	^E SACERDOS ₂	*372
MALLEUS	*280	SCALPRUM	*268
MALUS, MALUS ₂	*368	SCRIBA	*326
^E MANDARE	*66*	SCUTELLA	*402
^E MANDARE ₂	*66**	SCUTUM	*272
MANUS	*59	SERVUS	*387
MANUS.CULTER	*52	SIGILLUM	*327
(MANUS + CULTER	see ENSIS)	SOL	*191
(MANUS + MINUS	see LONGUS)	SOL ₂	*190
(MATER	see FEMINA)	SOLIUM	*299
MENSA	*294	SPHINX	*121
MILLE	*400	STATUA	*12
MINUS	*381	STELE	*267
MONS, (^P MONS ₂)	*207 (^E , *4)	SUB	*57
MORI	*386 + *381	SUPER	*70
^P MURUS?	*236	TERRA	*201
NEG	*332 a	THRONUS/MENSA	*294
NEG ₂	*332 b	THRONUS ₂	*298
NEG ₃	*332 c	TONITRUS	*199
NEPOS	*300 + *488	^P TURRIS?	*235
OCCIDENS	*379	^P UNGULA	*125*
OCULUS	*25	UNUS	*380
OMNIS	*366	URBS	*225
^P OMNIS ₂	*430	URCEUS	*345
ORIENS	*192	VACUUS	*245
OVIS, (^P OVIS ₂)	*111	VAS	*341
PANIS	*181	VERSUS	*447 + *26
PANIS.SCUTELLA	*422	VIA	*221

^P VIA + TERRA (+ SCALPRUM), *202	VIR ₂	*386
^P VIA + TERRA (.SCALPRUM)	^E VITA	*369
(VINUM see VITIS)	VITELLUS	*109
VIR *313	VITIS	*160

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

used when the sign is well understood but Latin is impossible.

<i>ARHA</i>	*216	^E ISUWA (URBS)	*226
<i>HALPA</i>	*85	<i>ARMA</i> , (^P <i>ARMA</i> ₂)	*81, *80
^E <i>HATTI</i>	*196	^E <i>TELIPINU</i>	*151
^E <i>HATTI</i> + <i>li</i>	*197	^E <i>TESUB</i>	*318
<i>HWT</i>	*508		

INDEX OF WORDS DISCUSSED

As noted above in the Introduction (p. 23), it is desirable that a Corpus of inscriptions like the present one should be accompanied by a complete glossary of words, but this will require a separate volume, which I hope to produce subsequently. The index here offered is an interim measure only, designed to assist the reader in finding the main words discussed in the Commentary. In writing the Commentary I endeavoured to discuss each given word at the point in the text most appropriate to it, and to accompany this discussion with complete cross-references to all other occurrences. In some cases however, where there has been a recent detailed treatment of a word, rather than repeating this *in extenso* I have simply included a direct reference: e. g. LITUUS+*na-*, "see", is referred to my treatment in *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 123 ff. Where this is the case, i. e. when the discussion is not in the Commentary but in a prior publication, I have nevertheless included reference in this Index.

1. Hieroglyphic Luwian

(A) Phonetically written words

- a(ya)-* (v.), "make, do" (Cun. Luw. *a(ya)-*) 469 ff.
á+ra/i-, 3 sing. pret.(?) 493
á-tà-, 3 sing. pret. 471
á-la- (n.), (refers to monument ERKİLET 2) 495
aliya- (v.), "2" (log. "476.*311") 543
amura- (n.?), "2" 444
Ana- (GN, det. REGIO), "Ana" 242
á-na-i-ta (REGIO)-*wa-na* (GN, eth.), "'Anait-can" 229
ana(n)tari- (adj.), "lower" (log. INFRA; cf. Cun. Luw. *annan*, "below, under") 233, 512
**ana(tu)-* (n.), "mother" (log. MATER, Phoen. 'm; Cun. Luw. *anni-*) 59, 338
á-na-ia, dat. sing., here? 59
Anasi- (PN?) 393
anta iziya- (prev.+v.), "be in(volved)(?)" 156
apan arba iziya- (prev.+v.), "change(?)" 151
apan awi- (prev.+v.), "come after, become available" 260
apara(n)ta (adv.), "hereafter, in future" (log. POST+*ra/i-*; Cun. Luw. *apparanti-*) 471
**aparanasati* (adv.), "afterwards" (log. POST+*ra/i-*) 111
api (adv.), "back, behind" (= Hitt. *appa?*) 467, 541
api asa- (v.), "be behind, remain" 554
á-pi- (var. *apa-*, dem. pron.) 371 f.
a+ra/i- (v.), verb of coming (log. "PES₂"; Hitt. *ar-?*) 542
a+ra/i- (adj.), "long" (log. LONGUS, Phoen. 'rk; Cun. Luw. *urrai-*) 65, 451
a+ra/i-(na) (n., acc. sing. MF or nom./acc. plur. N ?), type of damage 486
a+ra/i-tà // *ara/i-tà* (v. part.), "income" 406
ara/i-ti-wa/i-li-i- // *EDERE(?)*-*taš-ti-wa-li-* (adj.), "fat(?)" 268, 270
arasi- (gen. adj., *ari-*, "time, age" ?), "perpetual(?)" 98

In Index 1, Hieroglyphic Luwian words are listed as far as possible in their normalized phonetic form (A). Words not found fully spelled out phonetically but securely inferred from other evidence are included and marked *. Words known only in the form of logograms are listed as (B) under their logograms in Latin transcription (see above, Introduction, p. 26 f.), although here I have also included some words under their logograms cross-referenced to their full phonetic writings in (A). Where no Latin transcription of the logogram is possible (cf. above, p. 25), these are listed under (C), numbers marked *, indicating the number in Laroche's *HH* by which they are identified. (D) lists the few known numerals.

The remainder of the Index lists words from other languages cited as comparanda to the Hier. Luwian entries: 2. Hittite; 3. Hittite-Luwian (words common to both languages or Luwian borrowings in Hittite, including *Glossenkeil*-words); 4. Cuneiform Luwian; 5. Akkadian; 6. Cuneiform logograms; 7. Lycian; 8. Lydian; 9. Greek; 10. Latin.

- arawani-* (adj.), "free" (Hitt. *arawanni-*) 512
ARIL-Á(-)i+a- (v.), = *arba yari(ya)-?* 161
ARIL-Á(-)sa- (v.), "gather(?)" 133
arba awi- (prev.+v.), "come forth" 258
arba i- (prev.+v.), "go forth, (euphem.) die" 181, 444, 491
arba parara- (prev.+v.), "be missing, miss, lack (?)" (log. "VAS") 542
arba yari(ya)- (prev.+v.), "stretch (forth)" 161
ari- (n.), "time, age" (Phoen. 'lm; Cun. Luw. *ari-*) 67, 127, 181
arma- (n.), "moon; month" (log. LUNA; Hitt.-Luw. *armu-*) 467
armasa- (gen. adj.), "of a month, monthling" (log. OVIS) 467
LUNA-MI-zi/a, "for ... months" 458
artali- (n.), "2" 444
artalasi- (gen. adj.), "of the ARTALI" 444
aruni- (n.), "enemy(?)" 468
aruti- (n.), "wing, basket(?)" (log. "78"; Cun. Luw. *aruti-*) 543
á-ru-wa/i+ra/i- (v.), "bow down(?)" 324
asa- (v.), "sit, dwell", caus. *isanu-* (log. SOLIUM(+.M); Hitt. *eš-, ašešanu-*) 111, 292
asa- (n.), "seat(?)" (log. (MENSA.)SOLIUM) 126, 292
asati- (n.), "hunger(?)" (log. "460"; Hitt. *kašt-?*) 547
asaža- (v.), "(mouth), say, pronounce" (Phoen. -) 66, 471
asažami- (part.), "pronounced, declared" 129
ashana(n)tisa- (n.), "blood-offering(?)" 174
asharimi- (part.), "blood-sacrifice" (log. "350") 106, 114
Ashuwi(su)- (PN) 479
asu- (n.), "stone" (log. "SCALPRUM"; Hitt. ^{NA}*akn-?*) 127, 155
asunu- (v. caus. ?), "2" 549
asuri- (n.), "horse" (log. EQUUS) 137, 516

- **asusatala-* (v.), “ride horse(?)” (log. “ANIMAL. EQUUS(?)”) 480
asuwi(n)za (n.), horse-herd (log. EQUUS) 515
ata- (v.), “eat” (log. EDERE; Cun. Luw. *ad-*, Hitt. *ed-*)
á-rú-na (inf.?), “to eat(?)” 459
iter.(?) aza- (log. “*471”; Cun. Luw. *az(zaš)-?*) 394
“EDERE”-*tá-mi-i-* (v. part.), “eating” 488
azali(ya)- (n.), “food, feast” (log. PANIS. PITHOS) 148
EDERE-*ta-ri+i-* (v.), “feed” (Cun. Luw. *atari-*, Hitt. *etre(jk)-*) 343
á-ta₄/ta₅- (title/epithet of god) 372
antatili- (adj.), “internal” 394
atabasi- (gen. adj.), “of the ATAHA” 470
atala- (n.), “brother(?)” (log. “INFANS(.NI)”) / FRATER) 127, 132, 237, 278
atamisasa(-) (n.), “?” 545
atanasam(a)- (n.), “wisdom” (log. “VAS”, Phoen. *bkmt*) 61
Atanawiza- (GN, eth., det. URBS), “Adanawean” (Phoen. *’dn*) 59
(a)tani- (?) (n.), “enemy(?)”: [see now *tani-*] 120
**atli-*, by-form of *atri-*, q.v. 447
**atni-* (n.), by-form of *atri-*, q.v. 447
atri- (n.), “form, figure, image; soul” (log. VAS; Lyc. *atri-/atli-*; Hitt. *ēš(ša)ri?*) 460
Atrisuba- (DN) 101
atuni- (n.), “?” (log. *205) 543
atuti- (n.), “?” (log. *91) 546
atuwari- (adj.), “bad” (log. MALUS, Phoen. *r’*; Cun. Luw. *adduwali-*) 61, 260, 444
awi- (v.), “come” (log. “PES”; Cun. Luw. *awi-*) 260, 444
Atzatiwata-/Atzatiwara- (PN) (Phoen. *’ztwd*) 58
á-zú²-za (pron.), “to us” 458
á-zú²-sa-na (gen. adj., dat. sing. ?), “to our ...” 458
ha + ra/i-li (adj.?), divine epithet 192
habataya- (v.), “?” 90
(-)hala- (v.), “spare(?)” (log. X(?)) 257, 264
hali- (n.), “day” (log. DIES, Phoen. *ym*; Cun. Luw. *halli-*) 521
Hamayara- (GN, det. REGIO) 414
hamsukala- (n.), “great-grandson” (log. INFANS. NEPOS(.REL); Cun. Luw. *hamsukalla-*) 153, 258
haniyata- (adj.), “evil” (log. “MALUS₂”, Phoen. *r’*) 60
haniyatastri- (n.), “wickedness” (log. “MALUS₂”, Phoen. *r’*) 67
hant- (n.), “forehead, face” (log. “FRONS”; Hitt.-Luw. *hant-*) 110
**hantabit-* (n.), “preeminence” (log. “FRONS”) 132
**hantili-* (adj.), “former, first” (log. FRONS, Phoen. *-*) 61
**hantili* (adv.), “very” (log. FRONS) 98
**hantiyasi- *hanti-*, “first of first”? (log. FRONS) 457
ha-ti- (adj.), “first, prime, special (?)” 173
**hantawati-* (n.), “king” (log. REX(-*ti-*), Phoen. *mlk*; Cun. Luw. *bandawati-*) 61 f.
**hantawari- asuwi-*, “royal horse” 455
**hantawatabit-* (n.), “kingdom” (log. REX-, Phoen. *mmilk*; Cun. Luw. *bandawadabit-*) 67
REX-*wa/i-(tu)-* (v.?, n.?) 521
**hapi-* (n.), “river” (log. FLUMEN; Hitt.-Luw. *hapi-*) 132
hapat(a)i-//hapari- (n.), “river-land” (log. FLUMEN (.REGIO), Phoen. *mskt*; Hitt.-Luw. *hapati-*) 64, 414
hapazanuwa- (v. caus.), destructive action? 444
hara- (v.), destructive action 460
harali- (n.), “shield” (log. SCUTUM, Phoen. *mgn*) 546
hari-//hati- (v.), “speak” (log. “LOQUI”) 538
caus. *haranu-*, “make speak” (log. LOQUI) 127, 538
Harhara- (GN, mountain), Argaeus/ Erciyes 484
haristani- (n.), “upper floor” (log. DOMUS.SUPER); Hitt. *haristani-*) 99
Harmana- (GN, det. URBS) 486
Harmanawana- (DN, eth.), “the Harmanean (god)” 132
haranawani- (eth.), “Haranean” 546
Haranawiza- (eth.? PN), “the Haranawean(?)” 546
har(ma)hasi- (gen. adj.), “of the head” (log. CAPUT; Cun. Luw. *harmabašši-*) 451
harnai- (n.), “?” (Hitt. *harnai-?*) 551
harpa- (n.), “rebel” (log. *219) 458
Hartapu- (PN) 440
**harwa(n)-* (n.), “road” (log. “VIA”, Phoen. *drk*; Cun. Luw. *harwa-?*) 62
**harwa(n)t-* (n.), “road” (log. VIA) 373
harwa(n)tahi(t)- (n.), “wayfaring” (log. “VIA”) 133
harwani- (v.), “send” (log. VIA; Cun. Luw. *harwanni-*) 543
hasa- (n.), “bone” (log. “*314”; Cun. Luw. *haš-*, Hitt. *haštai-*) 107
há-sá²-tara/i-ti- (n.?), “?” 317
hasami- (v. part.?), “begotten, born(?)” 444
hasi- (v.), “recall, record (?)” (log. VAS) 181, 493
basu- (n.), “family” (log. NEPOS, Phoen. *šrs*) 60
hata- (v.), “demolish(?)” 482
ha-ta-ra/i (?) 482
batama/harama (part.?), “demolished(?); ruin(?), ruinous(?)” (log. “*464”) 111, 444, 482
batali- (v.), “smite” (log. *274; Phoen. *n*; Hitt.-Luw. *battalla-*, “club”) 61, 257
batarai- (n.), “life” (Phoen. *hym*) 65
batastari- (n.), “frightfulness” (log. “*314”; Cun. Luw. *batt-aštarri-*) 242
hatura (verbal n.), “for writing” 540 f.
hatura- (n.), “letter” 540 f.
haturala- (n.), “messenger(?)” 484
Hažauna(?) (GN) 90
haz- (v.), “engrave” 150
haz(iy)ani- (n.), “mayor” (log. LIGNUM; LW; Akk. *hazannu/hazianu*) 149, 525
haziwiri- (n.), “rite” (log. “LIGNUM”; Hitt.-Luw. *hazziwi(t)-*) 323
hi²-li-ki- (GN, det. URBS), “Hiliki” (= Hirika, q.v.?) 318
hinuwa- (v. caus.), “make pass” (log. “PES₂”, PES) 125, 173
hi²-nu-, here? 254
Hirika- (GN, det. URBS/REGIO), “Hilakku(?)” 257
hiruta-//hirura- (n.), “oath” (log. “*476”(*311); Cun. Luw. *hirut-*) 184, 550
bishi- (v.), “bind” (log. PUGNUS. PUGNUS; Cun. Luw. *bishi-*) 149

- huburpa-* (v.), “?” (log. PUGNUS+PUGNUS) 237
huburpali- (n.), “?” (log. “LIGNUM”) 106
huburpariya- (n.), an occupation 513
humal(ant)- (n.), “podium” (log. PODIUM; Cun. Luw. *hum(ma)ti-*) 90, 106
hu-pi-tà-ta-tà- (n.), “?” 339
Hurpatawani- (GN, eth., det. REGIO) 414
huri- (n.), a libation vessel (log. *522) 139
burnali- (n.), “hunter(?)” 512
busa- (n.), “life(?)” (log. *185) 150
Huwa-Sarruma- (PN) 83
huwasa- (v.), “harm” (log. “SIGILLUM”) 550
hwisara-/hwitara- (n.), “wild animals” (log. “(ANIMAL.)BES-TIA”; Hitt.-Luw. *huitar*) 237, 265
hwtiuya- (adj.), “of the wild animals” 324
hwtisami- (part.), “?” (log. BESTIA) 543
hwiya- (v.), “run”, redupl. iter. (*hwi*)*hwiya-* (wr. *HW7(.HW7)*; log. PES₂; Hitt.-Luw. *hu(i)ya-* etc.), 105
 caus. *hwinuwa-* (wr. *HW7*; Hitt.-Luw. *hwinu-*) 233

i- (v.), “go” (log. “PES₂”, Phoen. *(b)k*; Cun. Luw. *i-*) 62
i(ya)sa- (v.), “buy” 147
i-LITUUS-ua/i-ni- (adj. eth. (?)) 156
Ilapa- (GN, det. URBS), “Halab” (normally log. (TONI-TRUS)*HL-ILP-I-pa-*, q.v.) 136, 174
imani- (v.), destructive action (log. OCCIDENS) 338
ipa- (adj.), epithet of Stag-God 524
ipami- (n.), “west” (log. OCCIDENS, Phoen. *mb' imi*) 59
lpani- (GN, det. URBS) 105
[i+ra/i]-ni-la- (n.), “?”
i+ra/i-ni-li-za- (adj.) 345
irba- (n.), “frontier” (log. “FINES”, Phoen. *ghl*; Hitt. *irba-*)
irbali- (n.), “frontier-post” (log. FINES+*R-I/I+IL-I*) 455
**irbalisa-* (v.), “delimit”(?) (wr. *ARIL-I(-)*) 298
**irhari-* (< *irbali-*?) (adj.), “external(?)” (log. FINES) 150
irhitina (adv.), “abroad” (log. FINES) 126
irwa- (n.), “gazelle(?)” (log. GAZELLA) 484
isan(a)- (n.), “bed” (log. “LECTUS”) 488
istarala- (n.), “seat” 470
istarata- (n.), “throne” (log. THRONUS) 337
izi(ya)- (v.), “make” (Phoen. *p'l*) 64
izi(ya)ti- (n.), “performance” 343 f.
iziyana- (n.), “deed, ritual” 318
iziyatara- (n.), “performance, ritual” 267

kapar(r)a- (?) (n.), “?” 551 f.
Karubha- (DN) 106
 (DEUS)CERVUS₂+*ra/i-bu-ba-* 106
Karkamisa- (GN, det. REGIO (archaic), URBS later)),
 “Karkamis” 81
karmali- (v.), “hack” (log. ASCIA; Hitt.-Luw. *karmalašša-*?) 89
karpa'rtabi- (n.), “protection” (log. “CUBITUM”) 132
karuna- (n.), “granary” (log. “*255”, Phoen. *qr*) 59, 260
 var. *kaluna-* 254, 410
**kata(n)ta* (adv.), “down” (wr. INFRA-*tà-ta*) 458, 477
kati- (n.), “damage” 471

katina (n.), “bowls” (log. SCALPRUM; identifies stone bowls, BABYLON 2 and 3) 395
katuna/i- (n.), “?” (log. “*314”) 127
Kawiza- (GN, eth., det. URBS), “of Que(?)” 105
kiharni- (n.), a vital organ 482
kinu(wa)- (v. caus.), “burn(?)”, iter. *kinusa-* (log. “FLAM-MAE(?)”) 147, 238
kiputa-//kipura- (n.), “?” (log. CORNU) 470
kistami- (n.), “east” (log. ORIENS, Phoen. *mš' imi*) 59
kistara- (n.), temple? (log. DOMUS) 143
kitara/i- (n.), “donation(?)” (LW, Akk. *kitru/kiterru*) 149
ku+ra/i-i-sà(-)ka-tara/i-bi- (n., single word?), “?” 396
kukisati- (n.), an occupation (log. DIES. OVIS) 111, 512
**kula(na)-* (n.), “army” (log. EXERCITUS, Phoen. *mht*; Cun. Luw. *ku(wa)lan-*) 59, 174
kuma/i- (adj.), “pure” (log. PURUS; Cun. Luw. *kummai-*) 98
kumastari- (n.), “sacrament” 357
kumaza- (n.), “priest(?)” (= Lyc. *kumaza?*) 474
kumiyala (n., N. plur.), “sacrificial victims” 343
kumani- (v.), “consecrate” (log. “PURUS”) 139
Kumaba- (GN, det. URBS), “Kummuh” 342
ku-pā+ra/i-ma- (DN), Kumarbi (det. DEUS. BONUS) 241
Kurti- (PN) 484
kurupi- (n.), sort of sheep? 525, 544
 “OVIS”-*ru-pi* 525
kutupili- (n.), “lamb(?)” (log. “*478”) 107
Kurupiya(ra)- (GN, det. URBS) 70
kusa- (v.), “remove(?)” (log. “CAPUT+SCALPRUM”) 155
Kusunali- (GN, eth., det. REGIO) (log. “*218”), “of Kusuna” 414
kutasari- (n.), “orthostat” (log. SCALPRUM; Cun. Luw. ^{NA4}*kutaššari-*) 98
kutupili-: see *kurupi*
Kuži-Tešub (PN) 297, 303, 575
kwananala- (n.), “stone-cutter(?)” (wr. REL-, log. “SA₄”) 530
kuwaya- (v.), “fear”, iter. *kuwayasa-* (Phoen. *st'*; wr. REL-/*HW7*; Hitt.-Luw. *kuwaya-*) 62, 469
 REL-*i(a)-mi-* (part.), “feared” 293
HW7-sà-ta- (part.), “feared” 62
kuwīt-/kuwat- (v.), “cut(?)” (Phoen. *qsr*?, wr. REL-, log. “*486”) 65
kuwaza- (v.), “cut, engrave” (wr. REL-, log. CAPERE+SCALPRUM) 70, 482, 494
kuwazamaya (part. nom./acc. plur. N.), “engraved” 482
kwi-, kua-, rel. pron. and derived forms, wr. REL(ative) wr. *HW7* (late) 468
kuari (conj.), “since(?)” 107
kuari (conj.), “if” 116, 255
kuari (conj.), “when” 291
kwati (conj.), “when” 291, 484
kwati (conj.), “wherefore” 97
kuipa- (conj.), non-subordinating 60
kwita(n) (adv.), “wherever” 92
HW7-i 468
HW7-pa(wa/i) 469
kwitisami- (v. part.), “approved(?)” (wr. REL-) 493, 546

- la-* (v.), “take”, redupl. *lala-* (log. “CAPERE”, also “*69”; Cun. Luw. *la-*, *lala-*) 269, 479
 **lalama(n)za* (n.), “contract” (log. “CAPERE”-*ma-za*) 489, 525
 “CAPERE”-*la/i/u-na* (inf.) 269, 479
la/i/u-ka-ma (GN, det. URBS), “Tegarama?” 294
labinali- (n.), an occupation 513
Lakawani- (GN, eth., det. REGIO; PN), “Lakean” 352, 414
 **lala(n)ti-* (n.), “tongue, language” (log. “LINGUA”; Hitt.-Luw. *lala/i-*) 133
lamanisa- (v.), “proclaim(?)” (log. LOQUI; cf. Hitt. *laman*, “name”) 143, 538
lamini (adv.), “at the moment” (cf. Hitt. *lammā*, “moment”) 291
lapani- (v.), “(summer-)pasture” (Hitt.-Luw. *lapana-*) 516
Laparnawani- (GN, eth., det. “MONS”), “of Labarna/Lebanon(?)” 414
Larama- (PN; = Cun. *Palalam*) 263
lata-//lara- (v.), “prosper” (Hitt. *laṣṣiya-*?) 468, 476
 caus. *laranu-* “make prosper” (Phoen. *lru-*) 59
Laparaṣiti- (?) (PN) 392
luhanu-(?) (v. caus.), “burn(?)”, (log. FLAMMAE(?)) 253, 456
lulus- (v.), “burn” (log. “FLAMMAE(?)”) 406
luṣali- (adj.), “sacrificial (for burning)” (log. “FLAMMAE(?)”) 406
- man* (adv.), “much” (Phoen. *b-rbm*; Cun. Luw. *mayi-*) 66
mana- (n.), “mina” (log. SCALPRUM; LW, Akk. *manū*) 148
manu(t)- (n.), “partner(?)” 549
marati- (n.), “request, order” (log. “LOQUI”) 544
marusana- (n.), “fire-brand” (log. FLAMMAE(?)) 136
Marutika- (DN), “Marduk” 494
maruṣawani- (epithet, eth., det. DEUS), “Maruwa-can” 474
mashani- (v.), “make grow” 469
Masuwariṣa- (GN, eth., det. URBS), “of Masuwari” (= Til Barsip) 228
matu(sa) (n.), “wine” (log. VITIS; Cun. Luw. *maddu*) 477
MLA.LL-ṣi- (GN, det. URBS), Malizi(?) (= Malatya) 298
Ma-ṣā- (GN, det. URBS), Malatya(?) 147
mitasari-// mirasari- (n.), “?” (log. *33(1-2)) 97, 148
mizinala- (n.), (an occupation) (log. *265) 111
(M)ukatala-(?) (PN) 67
mu-ki-SUPER + ra/i (n.), “ritual(?)” 292
Musanipawani- (GN, eth., det. REGIO) 414
musānuwati- (part.), “satisfying” (log. “PANIS. SCU-TELLA”) 264
Musaṣa (GN, det. URBS) “Lydians(?)” 126
Muskaṣa (GN, det. URBS), “Phrygians” 126
muwa- (n.), “strength, courage(?)” (log. *273; Hitt.-Luw. *muwa-*) 456
muwa- (v.), “conquer” (log. *273; Hitt.-Luw. *muwa-*) 440, 471
muwita- (n.), “(male) issue” (log. *462) 107
 (-) *muwasi-* (gen. adj., (part of) PN?), “?” (log. *462) 171
Muwizi- (PN) 263
Muṣiki- (GN, det. URBS) 105
- na* (neg.), “not” (log. NEG₂) 477
Nahitiyawani- (GN, eth., det. URBS), “of Nahitiya” (= Niğde) 515
nabuti- (n.), “?” (log. “VAS”) 183, 546
nanasari- (n.), “sister” (log. FEMINA; Cun. Luw. *nanasri(ya)-*) 278
navarali- (adj.), “foreign” 577
nis (prohib.; Cun. Luw. *niš*) 261
ni(s) (prohib., disj.) 486
ni ... nipa, “whether ... or” 486
Nikima- (GN, eth., det. REGIO) 414
(ni)niya- (v.), “turn, follow”, iter. (-) *ni(ya)ṣa/sa-* (log. CRUS. CRUS) 98, 127
 CRUS. CRUS(-) *niyasha-* (n.), “procession” 106
 CRUS. CRUS(-) *niyasatala-* (n.), “successor” 132
nimuwiza- (n.), “child” (log. INFANS) 96
 (abbr. *niviza-*, *niza-*) 148
niwarani- (n.), “(helpless), child” 258
 **nun* (conj.), “now”: see *unu(n)* 542
numinza (num.), “nine (?), ninth (?)” 116
- pa-* (v.), (iter. *paṣa-*), “go, live” (log. “PES₂”) 114, 185, 548
pal(a)sa- (n.), “way(?)” (Hitt. *palša-*?) 112
panuwa- (v. caus.), “make drink(?)” 471
- (words beginning with *pā² + ra/i-*: see Appendix 3, p. 36 f.)
pā² + ra/i-li- (n.), “?” 538
pā² rata- (n.), “word(?), curse(?)” (log. “LOQUI”) 143, 538
pā² + ra/i-tas (DN), a Stag-God 307
pā² riyani- (n.), “proud(?)” (log. *255, Phoen. *mlgm*) 60
pā² mwi(n)ṣi, group of gods (det. DEUS; = Cun. Luw. *maruwinṣi*) 489
pā² mwi- (n.), “corn-stem(?)” 468
- pa + ra/i-na* PRAE-*i* (prev.), “?” 393
Parhwiira- (PN) 529
pari piya- (prev. + v.), “hand over” (log. PRAE DARE) 294
pari tuwa- (prev. + v.), “place before” i. e. “dedicate to” (log. PRAE PONERE) 291
pari tumantimi- (prev. + part.), “far-famed” 479
parna- (n.), “house” (log. DOMUS; Hitt.-Luw. *parna-*) 111
 DOMUS-*ni* (dat. sing.?) 111
 DOMUS-*ṣi/a* (case?) 293
Parnasa- (GN, det. URBS) 135
par(a)si- (n.), “way(?)” (log. “MANUS”, = *pal(a)sa-*; Hitt. *palša-*?) 127
Purzuta- (GN, det. URBS) 455
paskwa- (v.), “forget, neglect” (Hitt. *paskuwai-*) 469
paṣa- (v. iter.), “drink (?)” (cf. *panuwa-*, v. caus.) 394
paṣa- (v. iter.), “go” (log. PES₂; cf. *pa-* (v.), “go”) 458, 548
 **pihas(+sa)* (n.), “lightning; victory” (log. FULGUR, Phoen. *ṣi*; Cun. Luw. *piha-* etc.) 106
pihami- (part.), “glorified” (log. FULGUR) 106
pin (adv.), “there” 98
 **pita-* (n.), “place” (log. LOCUS-*ta₄/ta₅-*; Phoen. *mqm(m)*; Hitt. *pida-*) 100

- **pita* **pita* (adv.), “everywhere” (log. LOCUS-*tā* LOCUS-*tā*) 293
- **pita(n)t-* (n.), “precinct” (log. LOCUS(-*ta(n)t-*)) 142
- LOCUS-*ta-ta-li-i-* (n.), “precinct” 266
- “DOMUS. LOCUS”-*tā-ta-la-si-...* (gen. adj.), “of the precinct (?)” 473
- pitahaliya-* (v.), “?” (log. LOCUS) 105
- piya-* (v.), “give” (log. DARE; Hitt.-Luw. *piya-*) 512
- DARE-*mi-na* (1 plur. pres.) 512
- pi-ia-za* (n. ?), “gift(?)” 513
- piya[...]**ta* (n., nom./acc. plur. N?), “gifts(?)” 346
- Piyata-* (GN, det. URBS) 70
- pu-* (v.), “?” 482
- **punati-* (adj.), “all, every” (log. *430; Cun. Luw. *punati-*) 440
- pupala/i-* (v.), “answer(?)” (log. “LOQUI”) 542
- Runti(ya)-// Runza-* (DN), Stag-God (log. CERVUS, Phoen. *ršp sprm*) 63
- (DEUS)CERVUS₂ 323
- sa-* (v.), iter. *sasa-* “let, allow” (log. “*69”; Cun. Luw. *ša-*, *šaša-*) 257 f., 343, 542
- saba-* (v.), “cure(?)” 120
- (-)*sahan(a)* (complete word? n.), “service?” (Hitt.-Luw. *šabhan?*) 518
- Sahvi* (PN, = Urart. *Šahu?*) 323
- sakatalisa-* (v.), “?” 339
- sal(a)ba(t)-* (n.), “greatness, succession” (log. “LIGNUM”; Hitt.-Luw. *šalhitti-/šalhanti-*) 241 f.
- samanza* (v. part.), “sealed(?), compact” 482, 489
- samaya* (nom./acc. plur. N), “shot (?)” 479 f.
- samani-* (v.), “create(?)” (Hitt. *šamnai-/šammaniya-* ?) 339
- sana-* (v.), “seek(?)” (log. “*69”) 548
- sani-* (v.), “overturn” (log. “SA₄”; Cun. Luw. *šanni-*) 89, 267
- sanawi-* (adj.), “good” (log. BONUS, Phoen. *n'm*)
- sanawīyanza* (nom./acc. sing. N), “good, benefit” 469
- sanawī(sa)* (adj., nom./acc. sing. N), “good(ness)” 447
- sanawari* (abl. sing.), “with good(ness), well” 539
- sanawastri-* (n.), “goodness” (log. “BONUS”, Phoen. *n'mit*) 61
- sanawīya-* (v.), “be good” (log. BONUS) 120
- Santa-* (DN) 489
- Sapa²rka(wani)-* (GN, eth., det. *349 ... URBS) 89
- sapa(n)tali-* (adj.), “?” 105
- sapa(n)tari-* (n.), an occupation 111
- sapisata-/sapisara-* (n.), “health, peace” (Phoen. *šlm*) 615
- sapisur-* (n.), “health, peace” 538
- saranuwa-* (v. caus.), “burn (?)” (log. FLAMMAE(?)) 189
- Sarku-* (DN, epithet), “the Mighty” (= Ea (?)) 107
- Sarhu(n)ta-* (DN, epithet), “the Mighty” (var. of prec.) 450
- sarkuna* (v. inf.), “?” 513
- sarkunala-* (n.), an occupation 513
- **sarli-* (adj.), “upper” (log. SUPER + *ra/i-*) 512
- SUPER + *ra/i-[la]-ti* (abl./adv.), “on high” 450
- sarli-* (v.), redupl. *sasarla-*, “libate, offer” log. LIBARE; Hitt.-Luw. *šarla(i)-*) 147, 270
- sarmiyanza-* ? (v.), submissive action? 447
- sarwa-* (v.), “increase(?)” 470
- **sasa-* (n.), “gazelle(?)” (log. ANIMAL. GAZELLA; Hitt. *šaša-* ?) 480
- sasanza* (n.), “seal” (log. “(SCALPRUM.)SIGILLUM”) 490
- sasaliya* (n. nom./acc. plur. N), “shootings(?)” (log. *262) 319
- Sikara-* (PN) 129
- suhapana-* (n.), “silver mine(?)” (log. “SCALPRUM. ARGENTUM”) 524
- sukala-* (n.), “vizier” (log. “LIGNUM”; LW, Akk. *šukallu*) 496
- Sunawataza-/Sunawaraza-* (GN, eth., det. URBS), “of the town S.” 512
- sumila-* (n.), “?” (log. “*187”) 544
- supuna* (v. inf.), “suck(?)” 324
- surri* (n., nom./acc. plur. N), “horns” (log. “CORNU”) 552
- Sura* (GN, det. URBS), “Urartians(?)”, or “Tyrians (= Phoenicians(?))” 126
- Surawani-* (eth., det. URBS), “Urartian(?)”, or “Tyrian(?)” 133
- sutiri-* (n.), “?” (= CORNU + *RA/I-ti-* ?) 547
- suwa-* (v.), “fill” (log. “MANUS”, also X(?); Cun. Luw. *šuwa-*) 254
- suwani-* (n.), “dog”, also PN 153
- ta-* (v.), “put(?)” 179
- ta-* (v.), “stand”, iter. *taza-* (log. “CRUS”; Cun. Luw. *ta-*) 97, 484
- ta-*375-li-* (n./adj.), “?” 471
- td²-*, “?” 254
- ta²-la/i/u-ni-* (n.), “enemy(?)” 394
- Taita-* (GN, det. URBS) (log. *428) 298
- tama-* (v.), “build” (log. AEDIFICARE-*MI-*) 90
- AEDIFICARE-*MI-na* (v. inf.), “build” 90
- Tamukina* (DN), Damqina 374
- tanati-* (adj.), “empty, waste” (log. VACUUS; Hitt.-Luw. *dannatti-*) 104, 254, 264
- tanata-* (v.), “lay waste, ravage” (log. VACUUS; Hitt. *dannattabb-*) 104, 114
- tamih(i)sa* (n., abstr.), “abundance” (Phoen. *rš't*; Hitt. *tam(m)etar*) 65
- [*tani-* (n.), “enemy” (reading now established by new TELL AHMAR 6)]
- **tanimi-* (adj.), “all” (log. OMNIS(-*MI-*), Phoen. *kl*) 60
- OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* (nom./acc. sing. N) 60
- OMNIS-*MI* (nom./acc. plur. N) 530
- tanisa-* (n.), “stele” (log. STELE) 418
- taniti-* (n.), “hierodule” (log. FEMINA. PURUS. INFRA; Cun. Luw. *daniti-*) 243
- tapasali-* (adj.), “(hot, feverish), urgent(?)” (log. “LEPUS (ANIMAL)”; cf. Hitt.-Luw. *tapāša-*, “fever”) 544
- (*ta*)*tapariya-* (n.), “authority” (log. LIGNUM, LEPUS) 120, 139 f.
- **taparita-* (n.), “authority” (wr. LEPUS(+ *RA/I-*)) 86
- **taparabi* (n. abstr.), “authority” 86
- *(*ta*)*tapariya-* (v.), “govern, decree” (log. LIGNUM. CRUS(-)LEPUS + *ra/i-*; Hitt.-Luw. *taparriya-*) 242

- **tapariyali-* (n.), "governor" (wr. LEPUS + *ra/i-*) 380
 **tapariyala-* (v.), "be/make governor" (wr. LEPUS + *ra/i-*) 482
tara/i-sa (n.), "image" (= *taru(t)-?*) 518
tarawi- (v.), "provide(?)" (log. "69"; Cun. Luw. *tarrawi-*) 260
Tarhunti(ya)- (adj.), "of Tarhunzas" (log. (DEUS)TONITRUS-) 450
tarkasna- (n.), "donkey" (log. ASINUS) 525
 **tarkasni(yan)za* (n.), "(collective of) donkeys" (log. ASINUS(ANIMAL)) 148
tarkasni- (n.), "mule" (log. "ASINUS₂") 525
tarpa/i- (v.), "?" (log. "PES₂.PES"; Cun. Luw. *tarpa/i-*?) 111, 126
tarpama- (part.), "?" (log. "PES₂.PES") 324, 380
 ("CASTRUM")*tara/i-pa-pā-* (?), "(?)" 498
tarpuna- (n.), "?" (log. "LIGNUM") 127
tarpunala/i- (n.), "?" 183 f.
tarpa/i ta- (prev.? + v.), "stand TARPA/I (for)" 487
tarpali- (n.), "substitute" (Hitt.-Luw. *tarpalli-*) 512
tarpari- (v.), "lack" (log. "218") 406
tarsa- (n.), "leaf" (Hitt. ^{GIS}*tarsa-*) 470
 **taru* (n.), "wood" (log. "LIGNUM"; Hitt.-Luw. *taru*) 108
 **taruwi-* (adj.), "wooden" (log. "LIGNUM") 99
taru(t)- (n.), "(wood), image" (log. "LIGNUM", "STAUTU"; Cun. Luw. *darušša*, cf. *tara/i-sa* 91, 238, 268, 512
tarmuni(n)(z)- (?), "?" 371
tarzi- (v.), "?", caus. *tarzanu-* (log. PIS₂) 97, 523
tas(a)kuwira/i- (n.), "earth, ground" (log. "TERRA") 393
tasa- (n.), "stele" (log. "256") 418, 490
tata- (v.), "?" 524
tatariya- (v.), "curse" (log. "LOQUI"; Cun. Luw. *tatarriya-*) 538
Tatuhapa (PN) 495
tatimasa- (v.), "?" 372
tawi- (n.), "eye" (log. "LITUUS", "VAS"; Cun. Luw. *dawi-*) 272, 474, 547
ta_x-ri+i- (v.), = PUGNUS-*ri+i-*, "rise, raise"? 456
ta_x-ta_x- (v.), = PUGNUS. PUGNUS? 458
tinata- (n.), "tithe" (log. ARGENTUM. DARE) 347, 470
tinatisa- (v.), "tithe(?)" 451
Tipariya- (DN), Wine-God (log. (DEUS) "VITIS") 97
tititi- (n.), "pupil (of eye)" (log. LITUUS; Cun.-Luw. *titit-*) 114
tiwatali- (n.), a measure 477
tiwatami- (**tiwatimi-*?) // *tiwara/imi-* (v. part.), "Sun-blessed" (log. (DEUS)SOL, Phoen. *b-brk b'l*) 58, 488
tiyari(ya)- (v.), "watch, guard" (log. LITUUS, OCULUS) 487
Tudbaliya- (PN) (wr. MONS + *tu*, (MONS) *TU-*) 82, 93
 **tumanti-* (v.), "hear" (log. AUDIRE; Cun. Luw. *tummantiya-*) 126
 AUDIRE + *MI-ta + ra/i-ru* (3. plur. imp., med.-pass.?) 107
 AUDIRE + *MI-ma-ti-mi-i-* (part.), "heard" 125
tunikala-/tunikara- (n.), "maker of *tunik*-bread" (log. "(PANIS)SCUTELLA") 111, 553
 **tupalaliya-* (n.), "writings" (log. SCRIBA) 70
tuḫi- (v.), "smite; incise" (log. *273; Cun. Luw. *duḫi-*, Lyc. *tubi-*) 442, 502
 *273-*pi²-ti* (3 sing. pres.) 502
 [... *ḫi²-pi-ra/i* (3 sing. pres./pret.) 442
tu-pa-tu (3 plur. imp.) 487
turlakalisi- (n.), an equid (log. ASINUS₂, ANIMAL) 135
Tuhayata (GN, det. REGIO) 414
tu(wa)- (v.), "put" (log. PONERE, Cun. Luw. *du(wa)-*, Lyc. *tuwe-*) 495
 PONERE-*tu-u²* (imp., 3 sing.?) 518
zalan tuwa- (adv.? + v.), "?" 357, 563
tuwatari- (n.), "daughter" (log. FILIA) 243
Tuwati- (PN) 308
tuwi- (num.), "two" (log. "2") 257
uliyami- (part.), "exalted" (log. BONUS): see *waliya-* 263
uni- (v.), "know", caus. *unanu-* (log. LITUUS) 133
 (LITUUS) *unimi-* (part.), "known, recognized" 263
unu(n), "now" (Hitt. *kinun*, Luw. *nanun*) 542
upa- (v.), "bring" (log. "CAPERE", "PES", or -; Hitt.-Luw. *uppa-*?) 260, 338, 468
upani- (n.), "trophy(?)" (log. SCALPRUM. CAPERE₂) 106
upa- (v.), "found" (log. "AEDIFICIUM", Lyc. *ube-*?) 247
upatit- (n.), "demesne(?)" (log. *274, Hitt.-Luw. *upati-*) 242, 456
upatitasi- (gen. adj.), "of the *upatit-*" (log. *274) 257
 **ura-* (adj.), "great" (wr. MAGNUS + *ra/i-*, Cun. Luw. *ura-*)
 **uraza-* (adj.), "great" (wr. MAGNUS + *ra/i-*) 489
 **uriya-* (adj.), "great" (wr. MAGNUS + *ra/i-*) 150
 **uriya-* (v.), "be great" (wr. MAGNUS + *ra/i-*) 469
 **uriyali-* (n.), "head-man" (wr. MAGNUS + *ra/i-*) 512
Ura-Tarhunza- (PN) (log. MAGNUS, TONITRUS-*ta-*) 81
Urhisarma- (PN) 111
usa- (v.), "bring" (log. PES) 515
usali- (n.), "robber" (log. "217", Phoen. *b'l'gddm*) 61
usanu(wa)- (v. caus.), "bless", iter. *usanusa-* (Phoen. *tn*)
 see under *wasu-* "be good" 60, 524
u-sa-ta-mu-ti-sa (n.?, nom. sing. MF?), "?" 541
usi- (n.), "year" (log. ANNUS; Cun. Luw. *ušši-*, Lyc. *uḫi*)
usali- (adj.), "annual" (log. ANNUS + ANNUS) 373
usisi- (gen. adj.), "of the year" (log. "ANNUS") 271
usasi- (gen. adj.), "of the year" (log. ANNUS) 484
 ANNUS-*na*, "for ... year(s)" (acc. sing. MF) 457
 "ANNUS"-*za* (dat. plur.?) 450
utatina- (v.), "?" 524
uwami- (v. part.), "having drunk" 488
uzama- (v.), verb of motion (log. "PES") 528
wai(-) (n.?), "woe(?)" (Cun. Luw. *wai-*) 395
wa/i-mi-OCULUS(+?) (v.), = *wa/i-mi-LITUUS-* ? (q.v.) 292
wa/i-na: see *wiyani-*
wa/i-na-ba (prev.?), "?" 406
wa/i-sa ā-sa- (? + v.) "be dear (to)(?)" 293
Wadasatiniya- (eth. adj., det. REGIO), "of Wadasatini" 367
wala- (v.), "suffer, be ill" (log. CRUX; Cun. Luw. *wala(nti)-/ula(nti)-* (part.)) 120
arba wala-//wara- (prev. + v.), "die" (log. MORI) 489, 547

- waka* (adv.), "ill" (log. CRUX) 486
wala awi- (v.), "come ill (for)" 486
walilita-//walirita- (n.), "field" (log. TERRA + *L-4* + *L-4*; Hitt.-Luw. *ulili-*) 105, 515
waliya- (v.), "raise, exalt", caus. *waliyanuwa-* (log. BONUS; Hitt.-Luw. *walliya-*) 233
waliyawanti- (adj.?), "?" 447
wama- (v.), verb of motion (log. "PES") 528
wami-LITUUS- (v.), "find(?)" (Hitt. *wemiya-* ?) 482
**uanati-* (n.), "woman" (log. FEMINA; Cun. Luw. *wana(tti)-*) 338
wani(t)- (n.), "stone, stele" (log. STELE; Cun. Luw. ^(NA4) *wuani(t)-*) 179 f., 494
warama (part.?), nom./acc. plur N, "demands(?)" (log. "*286.*317") 543 f.
warali- (adj.), "own, proper" (Phoen. – ; Hitt.-Luw. *(ni)waralli-*) 67, 233, 339
waralaqa (dat. sing.), an occupation 512
warīya- (n.), "help, assistance" (Hitt. *warri-*) 469
warpi- (n.), "courage, virtue, skill" (log. "*273"; Hitt.-Luw. *warpi-* ?) 114, 132, 456, 468
warpassi (n., gen.), "(masters/houses) of skill(s)" (log. "*273") 111, 173
warpassali- (adj.), "(houses) of skill(s)" (log. *273) 266
warpassahi(sa) (n. abstr.), "virtuousness" 492
warpali- (adj.), "brave" (log. "SCALPRUM + *R-1/I*. *I-1/I/U*"; Hitt. *warpalli-*) 263
was- (v.), "be good, dear", iter. *wasaza-* (log. "BONUS"; Hitt.-Luw. *wasša-*) 523
 = BONUS-*si-ia-za-* 447, 477
wasami- (part.), "beloved" 147
 caus. *usanu(wa)-*, iter. *usanusa-* "bless" (Phoen. *brk, bn*) 60, 524
 part. *usanuwami-*, "blessed" (log. BONUS, Phoen. –) 60
was- (adj.?), "good" (with *asa-*, "be") 293
wasati (n. abl. sing.), "by the goodness (of)" (log. BONUS₂) 440
wasapa- (n.), "clothing(?)" (log. *179.*347.5; Hitt.-Luw. *was(ša)pa-* ?) 149
washa- (n.), "?" (log. *419/*420; = Cun. Luw. *wasba-* ?) 153, 551
washai(n)za (n.), "?" (log. *419) 396
wasara- (n.), "favour" (log. BONUS; Cun. Luw. *wasšara-*) 393
 BONUS-*sa₅ < +ra/i > -ti*, BONUS-*ti-i* = *wasarati* (abl.), "with favour" 110, 393
wasinasi-//usinasi- (gen. adj., n.), "he of the body, attendant, eunuch" (log. "*474"; = Cun. Luw. *wasšinašši- < wasšini-*, "body, self") 128, 266
 "*474"-*bi-sà* (n., abstr.) 549
wasu (adv.), "well" (Cun. Luw. *wasšu*)
 in phrase *wasu awi-* (adv. + v.), "come well" 184, 444
wasu- (v.), "be good" (log. BONUS) 479
wasurali- (n./adj.), "?" (log. "BIBERE") 451
watarasa- (v.), "appoint(?)" (log. "PES₂") 129
watari- (n.), "cup-bearer(?)" 512
wa(n)tulasi- (gen. adj.), "of the radiance(?)" (log. "FLAMMAE (?) SOL"; cf. Hitt. *wantai-* ?) 229
wawari(ta)- (v.), "die(?)" (log. MORI) 181, 386, 547
waza- (v.), "buy(?)" (log. "CONTRACTUS"; cf. Hitt. *was-*) 247
wazi- (v.), "request(?)" (log. "*69", cf. Hitt. *wek-* ?) 551
waza- (n.), "request" (log. "*69") 551
wiyani- (n.), "(wine), vine" (log. "VITIS"; Hitt. *wiyana-*, Luw. *wini(yant)-*) 468
wa/i-na (dat. sing.) 471
wa/i-ni-ti (abl.) 178
wiyani[š]i (gen. sing./plur.) 444
yari(ya)- (v.), "extend" (log. "LONGUS") 104, 233, 373, 470
zahanu- (v. caus.), "make attack" (cf. Hitt. *zabbi(ya)(nu)-*) 91
zala (adv.), "thereupon" 111
zallala- (n.), "cart(?)" (log. *91/92/94; cf. Hitt.-Luw. *zalla-*, *zalliya-*, "gallop" (n. and v.)) 135, 525
zallalasi- (gen. adj.), "(man) of a chariot, charioteer(?)" (log. *91) 546
zalan, in phrase *zalan tuwa-*: see *tuwa-*
zan apa(n)-ba (dem., acc. sing. MF), "this and that"; (adv. ?) "now and then"? 542
zart(iya)- (n.), "heart" (log. VAS; nom./acc. sing. N, *zarza-*; Cun. Luw. *zarza*, *zarti-*) 243, 487, 563
zarti- (v.), "desire, want" (log. "VAS") 129, 471
 [..]*za + ra/i-tu-na* (inf. ?) 374
zarzami- (part.), "desired(?)" (log. "*357 + *R-1/I*") 129
zā + ra/i-la-mi-i (?), "?" 524
zila (adv.), "thereafter" (Cun. Luw. *zila*) 127
zilata (adv.?), "?" 405
zin (adv.), "here" (Phoen. –) 59
zipatani- (n.), a measure (log. "*256", LAPIS; Hitt. *zipattani-*) 261
Zu(wa)maka (GN, det. URBS) 294
 (B) Logograms transcribed into Latin
 "AEDIFICIUM"- (n.), "building(?)" 393
 AMPLECTI-*mi-* (part.), "beloved" (= *wasami-* ?) 559
 ("(ANIMAL) BESTIA") det. *hwisara-*, "wild animals", q.v. 479
 ANIMAL. GAZELLA (n.), "gazelle" (Hitt. *šaša-* ?) 480
 ("ANNUS") *pa²-ra/i(-i)* (?), "?" (Hitt. *meani-* ?) 64
 ANNUS(-)*za + ra/i-sà* (n.), type of inscription 298
 AQUILA (?), "?" 446
 ARGENTUM (n.), "silver" 148
 [ARGENTUM.]DARE (n.), "cost, price(?)" 97
 ARGENTUM. DARE-*si-* (adj.?), "cost(ly)(?)" 99
 (ARGENTUM. DARE) det. *tinata* (n.), "tithes", q.v. 347
 ARHL²(-)*li-sa-* ((prev. + v.), "?") (cf. Hitt. *leššai-* ?) 298
 ARHLA (MANUS)*li-**375- (prev. + v.), "damage" 298
 ARHLA PES₂- (prev. + v.), "go away; die" (= *arba i-*, q.v.) 491
 ARHLA (PES₂)*501 + *R-1/I-* (prev. + v.), "remove(?)" (= *501-*ba-*, q.v.) 372 f.
 (ASINUS₂.ANIMAL) det. *turlakalisi-* (n.), an equid, q.v. 135
 AUDIRE + *MI-ma-ti-* (v.), "hear" (= **tuma(n)ti-*, q.v.) 125
 AVIS₂-*nu(-)**466(2) (PN), Arnu... ? 81

- BESTIA-*sa-na-mi-* (part.) (= *hwisnami-*, q.v.) 373
 BONUS² (adj.?), "good(?)" (= *320, archaic form of *165?) 467
 BONUS(-)*u-su-tara/i-* (v.), "benefit?" 264
 BONUS-*ia-* (v.), "be good" (= *sanawiya-*, q.v.) 120
 BONUS-*li-ia-* (n./adj.), "honour(?)" (= *waliya-*?, q.v.) 358
 BONUS-*sa-la-* (n.) (= *wasara-*?, "favour, goodness", q.v.) 274
 (BONUS)*sa-na-wa/i-sa* (n., nom./acc. sing. N), "good(ness)" (= *sanawi(sa)*, q.v.) 372
 (BONUS)*wa/i-ra/i-ma-la* (adv.), "peacefully" (Phoen. (*b-*)*nhl lb*) 61
 (BONUS)₂*wa/i-sa-ti* (n., abl. sing.), "by the goodness (of)" (= *wasati*, q.v.) 440
 'BONUS-*ti-i-* (PN), Was(a)tis (?) 90
 BOS (ANIMAL)-*za* (n.), "(group of) oxen" 270
 BOS.*206.PANIS- (DN), "?" 457
 (BESTIA) det. *hwisara-*//*hwitara-*, "wild animals", q.v. 265
 BRACCHIUM(-)*bu-mi+ra/i-* (n.), "?" 550
 ("BRACCHIUM")*i-sas+ra/i-wa/i-la*, "right-hand" (Cun. Luw. *isarnili-*) 189
 ("CAPERE/CAPERE₂") det. *upa-* (v.), "bring", q.v. 260
 "CAPERE"-*ma-za* (n.), "contract" (= **lalama(n)za*, q.v.) 525
 CAPIERE. ARGENTUM-[x]-*sa-* (v.), "buy(?)" 459
 CAPIERE+MALLEUS//MALLEUS. CAPIERE (v.), "incise" (= *knwaza-*, q.v.) 418
 CAPIERE₂.CAPIERE₂ (v.), "protect, bless(?)" 120
 ("CAPUT+SCALPRUM")*ku-sa-* (also *REL-sa-*) (v.), "remove(?)" 155
 CENTUM (num.), "hundred" 260
 CERVUS (PN), Runtiyas(?) 297
 CERVUS₂.ANIMAL(-)*ni-* (n.), "stag(?)" 318
 CORNU+CAPUT-*mi-i-* (n.), god's spokesman 233
 CORNU+*R-4/I-ti-* (n.), "?" (= *sutiri-*?) 372
 CORNU+*R-4/I-ti* (GN, det. REGIO), "?" 81
 CRUS. CRUS (v.), "follow" (= (*ni*)*niya-* q.v.) 127
 CRUS. CRUS (v. part.?), "follow(ing)(?)" 458
 CRUS+FLUMEN- (v.), "cross (?)" 457
 CRUS+*R-4/I-* (PN), Taras(?) 316
 CRUS+*R-4/I* (v.), "stand(?)" 97, 345
 CRUS+*R-4/I-nu-* (v. caus.), "make stand(?)" 238
 ("CUBITUM")*ka+ra/i-pa+ra/i-tu-bi-* (n.), "protection" 132
 CUM-*ta-x-ta-x* (prev.), = **kata(n)ta*, "down(?)", q.v. 456
 DELERE-*ni-wa/i-* (v. caus.), "destroy" 90
 "DELERE"(-)[x²]-*nu-*, cf. Hitt. *mer(nu)-?* 154
 (DEUS)*ma-sa-ti-na*(?), "?" 183
 (DEUS)REGIO-*ni(-i)-sa/si* ((MAGNUS. DOMINA)*ba-su-sas+ra/i-*) (DN), "(divine) Queen of the Land" 418
 (DEUS)*ti-i-wa/i-ti-x* (DN), Sun-God? 272
 DEUS. AVIS-*ta-ni-* (n.), "day(?)" 97
 DEUS. AVIS-*ta-ni-sa-mi-i-* (part.), "endowed with days(?)" 125
 DEUS. DOMUS(-)*ba-ta-* (n.), "temple(s)" 98
 DOMINUS (n.), title (of goddess) 195
 DOMINUS(-*ia*)(-*i-*) (n.), "lord" (in compounds with REGIO, FLUMEN) 96, 338
 DOMINUS(-*na*)-*ni(-i)-* (n.), "lord" 60
 DOMINUS-*ni(-wa/i)* (acc. or dat. sing?) 546
 DOMINUS. SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-/-ti-wa/i+ra/i-* (PN), LORD-*tiwaras* 146
 DOMUS. DOMINUS (n.), "house-lord" 486
 "DOMUS. LOCUS"-*ta-ta-la-si-...* (gen. adj.), "of the precinct (?)" : see **pitant-* 473
 DOMUS. PONERE²-*ti-* (n.), "habitation(?)" 357
 DOMUS+SCALA(-)*ta-wa/i-mi-* (n.), "upper (women's) apartment" 99
 "DOMUS+SCALA"(-)*ba-ti-i* (n.), "?" 324
 FEMINA. MANUS- (n.), "women and children(?)" 456
 FEMINA-*la-* (n./adj.), "female" (Cun. Luw. *asruli-*?) 367
 FEMINA-*na-ti-* (n.), "woman" (= **wanati-*, q.v.) (or "mother" (see MATER)) 338, 418
 'FEMINA-*ti-i-* (adj./PN?) 393
 FEMINA-*ti-na-i* (n./adj.?) 548
 (FEMINA.*462) 4²-*ta-* (n.), "(female) issue" (= *muwita-*?) 107
 (FEMINA. FEMINA)*a-ma-na-sas+ra/i-i-* (or *-na-ma-*) (n.), "concubine(?)" 229
 (FEMINA. PURUS. INFRA) det. *taniti-* (n.), "hierodule", q.v. 243
 FLUMEN. DOMINUS (title), "River-Lord" 338
 FORTIS(-)[*m*]*ir²-ta* (v.?), (= *muwa-*, "conquer?", q.v.) 380
 FORTIS-*zi/a-ti* (PN?), Muwaziti? 455
 FRONS².*282-*pi-i(a)* (GN, det. URBS), Hant...*piya?* 294
 "FUSUS"(-)*si-tara/i(-)* (n.), "spindle" (Phoen. *plk(m)*; Cun. Luw. *sittar-*?) 62
 HALAP-*pa-* (GN, det. URBS, prefix normally TONITRUS), "Halab" 174
 HEROS(-*li-*) (n.), "hero" (Hitt. *bastalli-*) 160
 HEROS-*ti-* (n.), "hero" 523
 HORDEUM (n.), "barley" 477
 "HORDEUM"(-)*ma-ti-la/i/u(-i)-* (DN), Grain God(dess)? 241
 INFANS-*ni-* (n.), "son" (in genealogy) 467
 INFANS(-)*ni-ni-* (n.), "child" 128
 (INF[ANS ...])*ba-ma-si-REL-la-* (n.) = *hamsukala-*, q.v. 271
 (INFANS)*ba-ma-si-* (n.), "grandson" (omitting NEPOS) 303
 INFRA(-)*sa-* (v., or prev.+ v.?), "descend/ be down" 482
 INFRA-*ta+ra/i-* (adj.), "lower" (= *ana(n)tari-*, q.v.) 233
 INFRA-*ta-ta* (prev.), = **kata(n)ta*, "below", q.v. 477
 IUDEX-*wa/i-ni-zi-* (v.?, n?) (= *tarwani(n)(zi)-*(?), q.v.) 371
 'IUDEX-*la* (PN), Labarna(?) 446
 LAPIS 305
 ("LAPIS") det. *zi-pa-ta-ni-i-...* (n.), a measure: see *zipatani-* ("LECTUS") det. *isana-* (n., plur.), "bed(s)", q.v. 488
 LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-* (n.?), "authority(?)" (= (*ta*)*tapariya-*, q.v.) 120

- LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-la-* (v.), “be/make governor”, (= **tapariya-la-*, q.v.) 482
 LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-li-* (n.), “governor” (= **tapariyali-*, q.v.) 380
 LIBARE(-) *sa₅ + ra/i-la-* (v.), “libate, offer”, = following 147
 (LIBARE) *sa₅-sa₅ + ra/i-la-* (v. redupl., 3 plur. pres.), “offer” (= *sasarla-*, < *sarli-* q.v.) 270
 LIGNUM. CRUS(-)LEPUS + *ra/i-(ia)-* (v.), “govern, decree” (= **(ta)tapariya-*, q.v.) 242
 LIGNUM[x]-[*pa*]-*ma-za*, (part.?), type of inscription 147
 “LIGNUM”-*wa/i-* (adj.), “wooden” (= **tarimi-*, q.v.) 99
 (LIGNUM) det. *baz(iy)ani-* (n.), “mayor” (LW), q.v. 149
 (LIGNUM) det. *ta-pa + ra/i-a-* (n.), “authority” (= *(ta)tapariya-*, q.v.) 139
 (“LIGNUM”) det. *tarpu-na-* (n.), “?”, q.v. 127
 (“LIGNUM”) det. *sal(a)ba(t)-* (n.), “power, succession”, q.v. 241 f.
 (“LIGNUM”) det. *baziviri-* (n.), “rite”, q.v. 323
 (“LIGNUM”) det. *sukala-* (n.), “vizier” (LW), q.v. 496
 (“LIGNUM”) det. *taru(t)-* (n.), “(wood), image”, q.v. 238
 LINGERE(-) *ba-sa-* (n.), “luxury” 98
 “LINGUA”-*la-ti-* (n.), “tongue, language”: see **lala(n)ti-*
 LIS((-) *za-sa*)-*li-i-* (n.), “prosecutor” 279, 418
 LIS-*salisa/za-* (v.), “prosecute” 279
 LITUUS + *na-* (v.), “see” (= Cun. Luw. *mana-*) 469
 LITUUS + *na-ti-sa* (2. sing. pres.), 339
 redupl. LITUUS. LITUUS-*na-* (v.), “see(?)” (Cun. Luw. *mammanna-?*) 469
 iter. LITUUS-*sa-* (v.), here ? 380
 (“LITUUS”) det. *tani-* (n.), “eye”, q.v. 474
 (LITUUS) det. *tijari(ya)-* (v.), “watch, guard”, q.v. 487
 (LITUUS) det. *tititi-* (n.), “pupil (of eye)”, q.v. 114
 (LITUUS) det. *uni-* (v.), “know”, q.v. 133
 LITUUS + AVIS (title), “?” 463
 LITUUS + CAELUM-*na* (gen. adj., dat. sing.?), “celestial(?)” 395
 LOCUS-*ta₄-/ta₅-* (n.), “place” (= **pita-*, q.v.) 100
 LOCUS-*ta* LOCUS-*ta* (adv.), “everywhere” (= **pita* **pita*, q.v.) 293
 LOCUS-*ta₄-ta₅* (n.), “precinct” (= **pita(n)ta*, q.v.) 142
 LOCUS-*ta₅-wa/i-za(-ba)* (?), “?” 111
 LOCUS-*ta₄-ta-li-i-* (adj.), “precinct” (= **pita(n)tali-*, q.v.) 266
 (LOCUS) det. *pitabaliya-* (v.), “?”, q.v. 105
 LOCUS-*ti*-*273-*wa/i-* (PN), Pedantimuwa- 419
 “LONGUS” (“*69 + MINUS”) 491
 (LONGUS) [*a*] + [*ra/i-*]-*ia* (= *ara/i-*, “long”, q.v.) 521
 (“LONGUS”) det. *yariyar-* (v.), “extend”, q.v. 104
 LONGUS(-) *ta-ia(-)sa-ba-na*, one/two words? 518
 LOQUI(-) *la + ra/i-a-* (v.), “?” 279
 (“LOQUI”) det. *pa²rata-* (n.), “word(?), curse(?)”, q.v. 143
 “LOQUI”-*ta-za* (nom./acc. sing. N) 475
 (“LOQUI”) det. *hari- // bati-* (v.), “speak”, q.v. 538
 (LOQUI) det. *baranu-* (v. caus.), “make speak”, q.v. 127
 (LOQUI) det. *lamanisa-* (v.), “proclaim(?)”, q.v. 143
 MAGNUS + *ra/i-la-* (adj. and v.), “(be) great” (= **uriya-*, q.v.) 150, 469
 MAGNUS + *ra/i-za-* (adj.), “great” (= **uraza-*, q.v.) 489
 MAGNUS + *ra/i-zi/a-* 459
 “MALLEUS”(-)*71-*la-* (v.), “erase” 229, 338
 “MALLEUS”-*la* < -*i*> (3 sing. pres.) 127
 MALLEUS-x + *ra/i-i* (3 sing. pres.) 255
 (“MALUS₂”) det. *haniyata-* (adj.), “evil”, q.v. 60
 (“MALUS₂”) det. *ha-ha-ni-wa/i-* (n.), “evil” (cf. Hitt.-Luw. *banhaniya-*) 243
 (“MANUS”) *pa + ra/i-si-* (n.), “way(?)” (Hitt. *palša-* ?) 127
 MANUS.*218(-) *la/i-u²-ba-* (v.), “?” 150
 MANUS. HORDEUM (n.), “... barley” 233
 MANUS. [*311²]-*s[a]-la-* (v.), “?” 267
 MANUS/*69(-) *i-ti-* (v.), “destroy” 243
 MANUS(-) *tu-ma-ni-i-* (URBS) (GN), ... *tumani-* 305
 ([MANUS]) *i-sa*-[*tara/i*]-x (= *istri-*, “hand” ?) 243
 MANUS(-) *la-tara/i-* (v.), “(cause to) be wide” (Phoen. *rhb*, = TERRA(-) *la-tara/i-*) 59
 MATER-*na-ti-* (n.), “mother” (Phoen. *’m*; = **ana(t)i-*, q.v.) 59
 (MENSA) *wa/i-si-* (n.), “table” 347
 (“MENSA. SOLIUM”) det. *asa-* (n.), “seat”, q.v. 126
 (“M. REGIO”) *mi-za + ra/i* (GN, det. URBS), “Mizra (Egypt)” 126
 MILLE(?) (num.), “thousand(?)” 260
 MONS(-) *wa/i-ti-* (n.), “mountain” 193, 350
 MONS. REX-*wa/i-ti-* (divine title), “Mountain-King” 309, 347
 (MONS. SCALPRUM) *a-tu + ra/i-sa-li-ia-za* (GN?) 257
 (MORI) *wala-//wara-* (v.), “suffer, die” (= *wala-//wara-*, q.v.) 181
 MORI-*ba-na* (1 plur. pret.) 543
 NEG₂-*a-pa* (disj.?), “or, nor” 374
 NEG₃(-i) (disj.), “or” 127
 NEG₃-*sa* (= *nis*, prohib., q.v.) 394
 NEPOS (unusual 2nd element) 266
 NEPOS-*ta-* (n.?), “?” 446
 (OCCIDENS) det. *imani-* (v.), “?” q.v. 338
 OCULUS(-) *za-ni-* (v.), verb of seeing 477
 PANIS(-) *ara/i-si-* (n.), “perpetual (bread)(?)”: see *arasi-* 98
 (“PANIS”) *ma-li*-[*ri+i*]-*mi-i-* (part.), “honeyed” 263 f.
 PANIS-*ni-(na)* (n.), (kind of) bread 491
 (PANIS. PITHOS) *aqali(ya)-* (n.), “food, feast”: see *aqali(ya)-* (s.v. *ata-*)
 PANIS. PITHOS-*ni-i-* (n.), “food(?)” 91
 PANIS. SCUTELLA-*na* (?), food(?) 143
 (“PANIS. SCUTELLA”) *mu-sa²-nu-wa/i-ti-* (part.), “satisfying” 264
 PES- (v.?), verb of motion 393
 (“PES”) det. *awi-* (v.), “come”, q.v. 260, 444
 (PES) det. *upa-* (v.), “bring”, q.v. 338
 (“PES₂”) det. *i-* (v.), “go”, q.v. 62
 PES₂- (DN), Iya- (= Ea) 372
 (“PES₂”) det. *binuwa-* (v. caus.), “make pass(?)”, q.v. 125, 173

- (PES₂)*HWT-ia-*, *HWT-HWT-sà-* (v., iter.), “run”: see *hwija-*
 (PES₂)*pa-* (v.), iter. *paža-*, “go, live”: see *pa-*, *paža-*
 PES₂+*R-1/I* (v.), “come, arrive” 291
 PES₂(-)*tà-* (v.), “walk” (= (PES₂.PES₂)(-)*tà-*, q.v.) 405
 PES₂(-)*wa/i-si-* (v.), verb of motion 114, 234
 (“PES₂”) *wa/i-tara/i-sa-* (v.), “appoint(?)”: see *watarasa-* 129
 PES₂(-)*wa/i-za-* (v.), “carry(?)” 136
 (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pa//pi-i-* (v.), “?”: see *tarpa/i-*
 PES₂.PES-*pa-mi-* (part.), = *tarpami-*, q.v. 324
 PES₂.PES₂(-)*tà-* (v.), “walk” (Phoen. *tk(?)*) 63
 PITHOS. GRYLLUS (GN, det. URBS), “?” 317
 PITHOS. VIR DOMINUS (title), “lord of the pithos men” 291
 POCULUM. PES.*67 (GN, det. REGIO), (Elbistan) 291
 (“PODIUM”) det. *humat(ant)-* (n.), “podium”, q.v. 90, 106
 (PONERE)*sà-ti(-nu)* (v. and caus.), “?” 343, 549
 PORTA-*la/i/u-na* (n.), “gate(s)” (= **hilana* ?) 86
 PORTA²- (n.), “gate(?)” (archaic form) 255, 295
 POST+*ra/i-i-* (adj.), “after, later” (= **apari-*, Hitt. *appezzi-*) 129
 POST+*ra/i(-ti²)* (adv.), “afterwards” 457
 POST+*ra/i-ua/i-sà-ti* (adv.), “afterwards” 111
 POST-*ni* PES-*ua/i-* (prev.+ v.), “come after”: see *apan awi-* 98
 PRAE-*na* (adv.), “before” 463
 PRAE-*na* CRUS. CRUS (prev.+v.), “pass down to” 100
 PRAE DARE (prev.+v.), “hand over”: see *pari piya-* 294
 PRAE PONERE (prev.+v.), “place before”, i. e. “dedicate to”: see *pari tuwa-* 291
 PRAE-*tà-* (PN), Paritas 405
 PRAE-*ti* 148
 PRAE²-*wa/i-na-* (n.), “?” 367
 PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-tà-* (adj.), “strong” (Phoen. ‘*z*’) 61, 96
 PUGNUS-*mi-li* (PN), ...mili 297, 307
 PUGNUS-*ri+i-* (v. intrans./trans.), “rise, raise” (cf. Hitt.-Luw. *arai-//ariya-*) 380, 469
 PUGNUS(-)*wa/i+ra/i-ma-a-* (v.), “?” 417
 “PUGNUS”(-)*wa/i+ra/i-mi-i-* (v.), “?” 136
 PUGNUS. PUGNUS- (v.), “?” 471
 PUGNUS. PUGNUS-*ta₄-* (v.), “?” (Phoen. ‘*bd kn*, “be servant (to)”) 61
 PUGNUS. PUGNUS-*si* (2 sing. pres.) 539
 PUGNUS. PUGNUS-*nu* (v. caus., 2 sing. imp.), “?” 550
 (PUGNUS. PUGNUS) det. *hishi-* (v.), “bind”, q.v. 149
 (PUGNUS+PUGNUS) det. *huburpa-* (v.), “?”, q.v. 237
 PURUS. FONS-*MI-* (PN), Suppiluliuma- (= Ass. Ušpilulume) 337
 PURUS-*MI-* (adj.), “pure”: = *kuma/i-*, q.v. 98
 (“PURUS”) det. *kumani-* (v.), “consecrate”, q.v. 139
 REGIO. DOMINUS (title), “Country-Lord” 96
 REGIO-*ni-ia* (n., nom./acc. plur. N), “countries” (cf. Hitt. *utne-*) 97
 REL+*ra-i-i* (conj.), “if”: see *kwari*
 REL+*ra-i-i(a)* (conj.), “when”: see *kwari*
 REL-*ti(a)-mi-* (part.), “feared”: see *kwayami-*
 REL-*za-* (v.), “cut, incise”: see *kwaza-*
 REX-*ti-* (n.), “king” (= Cun. Luw. *bandawati-*, Lyc. *χῆταωτι*; see **bantawati-*) 61 f.
 REX-[*ti-²]*-*za* (dat. plur.) 372
 REX-*ti(ya)-* (adj.), “royal” (= **bantawati(ya)-?*) 374
 REX+*R-1/I-* (adj.), “royal” (= **bantawari(ya)-?*) 455
 REX-*ta-bi-sà* (n.), “kingdom” (Phoen. *mmlkt*; Cun. Luw. *bandawatabi-*) 67
 REX-[*tā²*]-*bi-tà* (dat. sing.) 237
 REX.*462 (title), “potent(?) king” 307
 REX-*ta* (v., 3 sing. pret.) 482
 (“SA₄”) det. *sani-* (v.), “overturn”, q.v. 89, 267
 SA₄-*na-na-la-* (n.), “stone-cutter(?)”: see *kwananala-*
 SARMA+*R-1/I+MI-ia-za-* (v.), submissive action?: see *sarmiyaža-*
 “SCALPRUM”- (n.), “stone(?)” 482
 (“SCALPRUM”) det. *asu-* (n.), “stone”, q.v. 127, 155
 “SCALPRUM”(-)*i-ara/i-za* (?), “?” 132
 (“SCALPRUM”) det. *katina* (n.), “bowls”, q.v. 395
 (SCALPRUM) det. *kutasari-* (n.), “orthostat”, q.v. 98
 (SCALPRUM) det. *mana-* (n.), “mina” (LW), q.v. 148
 (SCALPRUM. CAPERE₂) det. *upani-* (n.), “trophy”, q.v. 106
 (“(SCALPRUM).SIGILLUM”) det. *sasanža* (n.), “seal”, q.v. 490
 (“SCALPRUM+*R-1/I.L-1/I/U*”) det. *warpali-* (adj.), “brave”, q.v. 263
 SCRIBA-*laliya* (n.), “writings” (= **tupalaliya*?) 70
 SCRIBA(-).CAPERE- (?+v.) = SCRIBA+*R-1/I(-)tā-* ? 294
 SCRIBA+*R-1/I(-)tā-* (?+v.), “?” 100
 (SCUTILLUM) det. *tunikala-* (n.), “maker of *tunika*-bread”, q.v. 111
 SERVUS (log.), “servant” 502
 SERVUS-*ta₄/ta₅(-i)-* (n.), “servant” (Phoen. ‘*bd*’) 58, 237
 SERVUS-*ta₅-a-* (PN) ? 395
 SERVUS-*sa//wa/i* (n.), “servitude(?)” 456 f., 458
 SOL₂.DEUS. SOL (DN), Sun-God 184
 SOL-*ni-* (adj.), “of the Sun-God” (det. DEUS) 238
 (SOLIUM(+*MI*)) det. *asa-* (v.), caus. *isanuwa-*, “sit, make sit”, q.v. 111, 292
 SOLIUM+*MI-* (v.), “sit, dwell” (= *asa-* ?) 112
 SOLIUM- (v.), “sit” 292
 SOLIUM?+*MI?-nū-* (v. caus.), “settle” 293
 (SOLIUM-*MI*)*ā-sa-* (n.), = (MENSA. SOLIUM)*ā-sa-*, “seat(?)” 292
 SOLIUM-*MI-ia-* (n.), “living” (Phoen. *šbt*) 63, 66
 “SOLIUM”(-)*x-ma-ma* (part.), “settlements(?)” 264
 SPHINX (v.), “come(?)” (rebus wr. for *awi-*, “come?”) 81
 STATUA-*ru-ti-i* (n., dat. sing.), “statue”: see *taru(t)-*
 (STELE) det. *tanisa-* (n.), “stele”, q.v. 418
 (STELE) det. *wani(t)-* (n.), “stele”, q.v. 179 f., 494
 STELE-*zi* (case?) 147
 SUB-*na(n)* LITUS+*na-* (prev.+v.), “despise” 90
 SUB-*nan* LITUS+*P-1*-*za-la-ni-* (prev.+v.), “regard” 242
 SUPER... *i(a)-zi/a-* (prev.+v.), “improve” 293
 SUPER-*sa*-SUPER- (prev.+v.), “?” 292

- "TERRA"- (= *tas(a)kwira-*?, q.v.) (n.), "earth, ground" 393
 TERRA- (rather LOCUS?) (n.), "place, precinct" (= **pita(n)t-*, q.v.?) 441
 TERRA(-)*la-tara/i-* (v.), "(cause to) be wide" (= MANUS (-)*la-tara/i-*, q.v.) 318
 TERRA. DEUS. DOMINA (DN), (divine) Lady of Earth 184
 "TERRA + X/ + L-1 + L-1"(-)*wá/i+ ra/i-za* (n.), "plain" (Phoen. 'mq; cf. *walilita-//walirita-*, q.v.) 59
 (THRONUS) det. *istarata-* (n.), "throne", q.v. 337
 TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-(wa/i-ni-)* (GN, eth., det. REGIO), "Halabean" (see also *HALPA-pa-*) 414
- "UNUS"-*ta*, "one time(?)" 480
 URBS + *MLAEDIFICIUM-ta-* (n.), type of building? 456
 URBS-*li* (PN, = Empire URBS(+ *R-1/D-li*), Mursilis 440
- (VACUUS) det. *tanata-* (v.), "lay waste, ravage", q.v. 104, 114
 VACUUS-*ti-i-* (adj.), "empty": see *tanati-*
 ("VAS")*ha-pa-sù+ ra/i-wa/i-* (adj.?), "trustworthy(?)" 173
 VAS-*la-* (n.) (= **atli-*, q.v.) 447
 VAS-*ni-* (n.) (= **atni-*, q.v.) 447
 VAS-*ni-i-* (n.) (= **atni-*, q.v.) 229
 ("VAS") det. *tawi-* (n.), "eye", q.v. 272, 547
 ("VAS")*š[a+ ra/i-ti-i-* (v.), "desire": see *zarti-*
 ("VAS")*š[a+ ra/i-ti-i-...]* (v.?) 258
 ("VAS")*š[a+ ra/i-ta[-a-]-ti[-i]* (n.?) = *zart(i)a-*, q.v. 258
 "VIA"-*wa/i-na* (n.), "road": see **harwa(n)-*
 VIA-*wa/i-ta-* (n.), "road": see **harwa(n)t-*
 VIA-*wa/i-ni-i-sà-* (v. iter.?), "keep sending" 191
 VIR (n., title), "man, prince" 463
 VITELLUS.*285 (title?), "?" 441
 "VITIS"(-)*há+ ra/i-* (n.), "vintage" (Phoen. ?) 64
 "VITIS"- (n.), "vineyard", = *tuwarsa-* ? 393
 (VITIS)*tu-wa/i-ri+ i-ti* (n.), "vineyards(?)" 254
- (C. Logograms transcribed by numerals (Laroche, *HFI*)
- "*69"(-)*i-ti-* (v.), "delete" (Phoen. *mḥ*) 67
 ("*69")*ba+ ra/i-za-* (v.), "get hold of (?) (cf. Hitt. *bar(k)-*, "have") 545
 (*69) *lala-* (v.), "take": see also *la-*, *lala-* 360
 ("*69")*sasa-* (v.), "let go, allow": see *sa-*, *sasa-*
 ("*69")*tara/i-wa/i-i-* (v.), "provide(?)": see *tarawi-*
 *74 (title?), "?" 463
 *85 -*ia-li-ia-sa-* (GN/n.?), "?" 317
 *92 (title?) 455
 (*91 92/94)*š[a-la-la-...]* (n.), "cart(?)": see *šalala-*
 *135 9)-*ti* (?), "?" 293
 *161. ANIMAL(?), (?), "?" 156
 ("*163")*mu-ha-* (n., also v.?), "ritual(?), conduct ritual?" (Hitt. *mugai-* ?) 406
 *170 (n.), "barley" (thus HORDEUM, q.v.) 477
 *170 -*pa+ ra/i-ia-si-i-* (gen. adj.), "?" 380
 *170. SCALPRUM (n.), "mill-stone(?)" (identifies ISKEND-ERUN) 260
 *170.*347.5-(-)*wa/i-sà-pa-* (n.), "?" 149, 548
 *179(-)REL-*la-ia-na-* (n.), "?" 548
 *179 (-)*sà-la/i/u-ma-sa-* (n.), "?" 548
 *185(-)*hu-sa-* (n.), "life(?)" 150
 *190.THRONUS (n.), "throne" 161
 *198- (DN), "?" 457
 *202 (= (SCALPRUM)TERRA + VIA, det. also DEUS; Cun. ^DKASKAL. KUR) 292
 ("*218")*há-ha-ta(-ia)-* (v.), "?: see *habataya-*
 ("*218") det. *tarpari-* (v.), "lack", q.v. 406
 (*245) det. *tanati-* (adj.), "empty, waste" (thus VACUUS) 264
 ("*255") det. *kaluna-* (n.), "granary", q.v. 254, 410
 ("*255/*256")*karuna-* (form of log.) 233, 260
 ("*256") det. *tasa-* (n.), "stele", q.v. 418, 490
 ("*256") det. *šipatani-* (n.), a measure, q.v. 261
 *261(-)*ta-pa-* (v.), hostile action 111
 *261.PUGNUS-*ru-* (v.), "construct(?)" 98
 (*262) det. *sasaliya* (n.), "shootings(?)", q.v. 319
 *273- (n.), "strength, courage(?)" (read *warpi-* or *muwa-*, q.v.) 456
 (*273) det. *mu(wa)-* (v.), "conquer", q.v. 440f.
 ("*273") det. *warpi-* (n.), "courage, virtue, skill, q.v. 132
 (*273)*hu-ta-i-li-* (v.), "smite(?)" 136
 *273 + *R-1/I.*200-* (n.), "victory" 459
 *273-*pa-mi-* (v. part.?), "?" 458
 *273-*pi-ri+ i-* (?) (PN), "Warpiris(?)" 484
 *273.REX (title) 463
 *273.REX[-?]-*wa/i-* (v.), "be ... king" 406
 *274- (n.), = *upatit-*, q.v. 456
 (*274)*u-pa-ti-ta-si-i-* (gen. adj.), "of the *upatit-*", q.v. 257
 *274-*ti-* (n.), "?" 447
 (*274) det. *batali-* (v.), "smite", q.v. 257
 *274(-)*sà-* (v.), "bludgeon, smite(?)" (iter. of *batali-*, q.v.?) 457
 ("*314") det. *hasa-* (n.), "bone", q.v. 107
 ("*314") det. *katuna/i-* (n.), ":", q.v. 127
 ("*314") det. *batastari-* (n.), "frightfulness", q.v. 242
 (*33(1)) det. *mitasari-* (n.), ":", q.v. 97
 var. (*33(2)) det. *mirasari-* (n.), ":", q.v. 148
 *336-*na-na* (postpos.?), "?" 406
 (*349)*ta-la/i/i-š-pa-ti-za-* (GN, eth., det. URBS), "Talupa-tean" 136
 ("*350") det. *asharimi-* (part.), "(blood)-sacrifice", q.v. 106
 *355-*li-* (title), "priest" 81, 463
 *356(-)*sà(-)*387-wa/i-* (one word, n.?), "?" 324
 *356-*wa/i-* (adj.), "?" 142
 *416-*wa/i-ni* (n., title), "the Sun" 441
 *417.ANIMAL (?), "?" 138
 *417-*ti-CERVUS-ia-* (PN), Sa²tiruntiya- 323
 ("*419/*420") det. *washa-* (n.), ":", q.v. 153, 551
 ("*419") det. *washai(n) za* (n.), ":", q.v. 396
 (*428)*tà-ia-t[š]* (v.?), "steal(?)" (Hitt. *taya-*) 136
 *430 (adj.), "all, every" (Cun. Luw. *punati-*) 440
 *447-*nu-wa/i-* (PN), Ninuwi-? 104
 *455-*li-ia-* (n.), "assemblage?" 91
 *460-*t[š]* (n.), (= *asati-*, q.v.) 372
 *462-*i-ti* (?) (= *462-*ti-ti*) 450

- *462-*ti-i* (n.?, postpos.?), “?” 489
 (*462) det. *muwita-* (n.), “(male) issue”, q.v. 107
 (-) (*462) *mu-wa/i-si-* (gen. adj.?, (part of) PN?): see *muwasi-*
 (“*464”) det. *batama* (part.?), “?”, q.v. (s. v. *bata-*) 444
 *466(-) *sū-ni-* (v.), “(do) reverence?” 90
 *468 (v.?), “?” 441
 (“*471”)(*m*)*u²-ru-wa/i-ta-* (n.), type of vegetation 238
 (“*471”) det. *aṣa-* (v. iter.?), “eat(?)”, q.v. (s. v. *ata-*) 394
 *472(-) *ma¹-sa₅+ra/i-* (n.), “?” (= (FEMINA. FEMINA)
ā-na-ma-sa₅+ra/i-i-??) 543
 (*474) *sa-ri+i-ia-si-* (n.), “eunuch” (LW, Akk. *ša rēši*) 349
 (“*474”) det. *uasinas-* (gen. adj., n.), “attendant, eunuch”,
 q.v. 128
 (“*474”) *u-[u]-na-SU!* 266
 *475-*la-* (GN, det. URBS), “Babylon(?)” 126
 (“*476?”) *bi-ru-[u²]-* (n.), “oath”: see *hiruta-/birura*
 (*476. *311) *bi-ru-ra+a-*: see *hiruta-/birura*
 “*476”(-) TERRA-*li-ia-* (v.), “?” 447
 (“*478”) det. *kutupili-* (n.), “lamb(?)”, q.v. (s. v. *kurupi-*) 107
 (“*486”) RI: *L-tu-na* (inf.), “cutting(?)”: see **kwit-/kwat-*
 *513-*tā-nū-zi/a* (n.), “?” 293
 (*522) det. *huri-* (n.), a libation vessel, q.v. 139

(D) Numerals

- 1-*ti-na* (num.), “one(?)”, first(?) 544
 (“2”) *tu-wa/i-zi-* (num.), “two”: see *tuwi-*
 “3”-*zi* (num.), “three” 267
 “4”-*wa/i-zi* (num.?), “four(?)” 248
 9-*ta* (num.), “nine times(?)” 484
 “9”-*wa/i-i-za* (num.), “nine(?)”, ninth (?): see *nuninza*
 9-*ti-* (num.), “ninth” 484
 9-*ta* (num.), “nine times(?)” 484
 20-*tā-ti(-i)-* (n.), “kinsman(?)” 96, 242

2. Hittite

(cited as comparanda to Hier. words, phrases)

- aku-*, “stone” 127
anda kiš-, “be involved in” 156
anda / appanda tiya-, “sich anschliessen” 112
aniur, “performance” 343
aniyatt-, “performance” 343
antaka/i-, “chamber” 474, 552
appa-iivatt-, “after-time” 111
appa, “back, behind” 554
appa-mu 550
appezzi-, “after, later” 129
ar-, “come, arrive” 238, 542
ar- (med.), “stand” 97, 238
^L*ara-*, “partner” 549
arabza, “outside” 150
arabzena-, “external” 126, 150
arai-, “rise” 380
arbu ar-, “secede, revolt” 97
arba tiya-, “secede, revolt” 97
arnu-, caus. of *ar-*, “come” or *ar-* (med.), “stand”? 238

- aššiyanz(a) eš-*, “be dear to” 293
aššanu-, “make good” 60, 549
^L*aššuššanni-*, “horse-trainer” 480
^L*ašušatala-*, a functionary 480
atta-anna-, “parents” 149
azḡalli-, “food(?)” 148

- eš(ša)ri*, “form, figure, image” 274, 460
eshanant-, “blood” 174
-ešsar (abstr. ending) 61
etr(eške)-, “feed” 343

- ^{TUG}*gapari* (^{TUG}E. IB), “girdle” 552
gimras (LIL), “of the countryside” 524

- **baddul-*, “health” 65
balīya-, “kneel” 105, 174, 393
banti-, “special” 173, 544
bapati- (KUR ID), “river-land” 64, 414
bararazj, “millstone” (N³⁴AR⁴) 260
barištani-, “upper-storey(?)” 99
bar(ke)-, “have, hold” 545
barnai-, substance used in birth rituals 551
barnau-, “birth-stool” 551
barra-, “smash, crush” 460
bašš-, “beget” 181
baššu-, “king” 62
baštit, (instr.), “by force” 107
battalla-, “club” 89
batrai-, “write” 541
batta-, “cut, stab, strike” 541
battatar, “wisdom” 317
batugatar, “frightfulness” 242
baṣṣiya-, “hit, pierce, strike; engrave, incise” 150, 541
hubba- hanna-, “grandparents” 149
bu(i)ya-/buiwai-, “run” 105
buiš-, “live” 151
^G*bu(wa)bu(r)pal(i)-*, “cymbal(?)” 106
buapp-, “harm” 550

- irhai-*, “bound, circulate” 161
išbiya-, “bind” 149
ištanzan- (ZI), “soul” 446
idalu taparriya-, “decree evil” 242
iya-, “do (i. e. celebrate)” a god 484
iyatar, “growth, prosperity” 65

- kalmišana-*, “fire-brand” 136
kardiyas iya-, “do (that) of the heart” 563
kari tiya-, “stand for favour, oblige” 471
kašt-, “hunger” 372, 547
katta walbunwas SISKUR. SISKUR, “ritual of striking down”
 105
katterabhb-, “subject, subordinate” 563
katti, archaic (loc.) form of *katta* 555
keššaruš arabzanda bar(ke)-, “hold the hands around, protect”
 410

- kinun*, “now” 542
SIkiputi-, “?” 470
kuera-, “field” 393
kuiš imma kuiš, “whatsoever (man)” 295
kuit, indefinite (for *kuitki*) 126
**kuriskatalla*-, “?” 396
- lai*-, “let (go)” 132, 258, 342
la-la-u-wa-an-zi, inf. *lala*-, “take”? 479
lammar, “moment” 291
laṣṣiya(hh)-, “be (make) good, prosper” 59, 468
leššai-, “gather” 298
luk(k)- (B)//*lukki/a*-, “set fire to” 406
- meanī(aš)*, temporal expression 64
mekki-, “much” 66
mer(nu)-, “disappear” 154
mugai-, “conduct ritual” 406
- nabb*-, “fear” 547
nai-, “turn, follow” 132
naššu ... našma, “either ... or” 100
nu + ṣa + kan (= Hier. *wa + mi + ta*) 258
- pai*-, “go” 548
palša-, “way” 127, 472
para auš-, “overlook” 189, 317
para pai-, “hand over” 294, 394
parai-, “appear” 542
parg-, “be high” 183
parb(nu)-, “pursue” 154
partanar-, “wing” 543
peda-, “place” 61, 100, 105
(šalli) pedan, “(high) position, status” 477
petta-, “lot” 142
piran para/ para piran 394
- šai-/šiya*-, “press; seal; shoot” (also *šiya-/šišiya*-) 480
šallanni- (< **šallatar*), “for succession” 241
**šallatar*, “greatness, succession” 96
šamnai-/šammaniya-, “create” 339
šanb-, “seek” 548
šapantalla-, adj. applied to “tablets” 105
šara išpart-, “emerge, accede, come of age” 174, 242, 258
šara/ šer iya-, “extol” 293
šaraṣṣiyabh-, “promote” 563
šarbuntalli-, “threatening” 450
šarku-, “mighty” 107, 450, 513
šiššuriya-, “irrigate” 184
šiwat-, “day” 111
šiya-/šišiya-, “press; seal; shoot” 317
šuppai-, “cattle” 343
- tam(m)etar*-, “abundance” 65
tan-, “again, a second time” 254
SI¹daniti-, “hierodule” 243
- DUG *tapišana*-, “a vessel” 395
tarh-, “conquer” 441, 470, 471
tarna-, “allow, let go” 132, 258, 342
tarrawai-, “provide” 260
taru-, “wood”: see under Hitt.-Luw. 238
taya-, “steal” 136
tiya-, “stand” 97, 112, 345, 477, 484
 NINDA *tunik*, kind of bread 111
**tuppala*-, “scribe” 70
 D *turešgala*-, “harnessing gods” 135 f.
- uppa*-, “bring” 260
uwai-, “woe” 395
uwaia- (med.), “grieve” 396
- wantai*-, “shine” 229
warpalli-, “mighty” 263
waš-, “buy” 247
wek-, “ask, demand” 551
wemiya-, “find” 482, 553
wete-, “build” 60
- ṣahb-/ ṣahbiya(nu)*-, “fight/do battle with” 91
ṣipattani-, measuring jar 261
- 3. Hittite-Luwian (including *Glossenkeil*-words)**
arai-/ariya-, “rise, raise” 469
- (L) *dannanti-/dannatti*-, “empty” 114, 264
- DINGIR^{MEŠ} *marwainzi*: see *marwai*- 468
- (L) *gulṣattar*-, “drawing, writing” 100
- (L) *banhaniya*-, “be malicious” 243
 (L) *bapaṣṣuwalanni*-, “in obedience” 173
bapaṣṣuwu[nṣa]-, “obedient” 173
hapi-, “river” 132
harp-, “separate, secede” 458
 (L) *harpanalli*-, “rebel” 458
harpu-, “hostile” 458
 (L) *haṣṣiwu(t)*-, “rite” 323
huinu-, “make run” 233
huitar-, “wild beasts” 151, 237, 265
 L *hupita(nṣa)*-, “veil” 339
 L *hupitawanṣa*-, “veiled” 339
 (L) *huta*-, “speed” 136
- irhatt*-, “circle” 457
 L *ištardalla*-, qualifies G¹ŠŠ¹.A, “seat” 470
- kappilalli*-, “enemy” 243
karmalašša-, “become crippled” 89
kuwaya-, “fear” 62
 L *kuwawammi*-, “feared” 293

lala/i-, "tongue" 70
 (𐎎) *lalamī-*, "list, accounting, receipt" 489, 525
 (𐎎) *lalatta(šši)-*, "?" 133
 (𐎎) *lapana-*, "summer pasture" 516

 (𐎎) *mar(ru)wa(i)-* / (𐎎) *maruša-*, "dark(en)" 136
marwai-, "dark" 136, 489 f.
muwa-, (n. and v.), "might; conquer" 441, 471

 𐎎 *nabbuwa-*, "fear(?) / be important" 547
 𐎎 *niwaralli-*, "alien, hostile" 67, 577
 (𐎎) *paš-/pašē-*, "swallow" 394, 471
 **piša-* (HI. H1), "lightning" 65 f.
pihammi-/pihaimi-, epithets of Storm-God 106
pišaššašši-, "of the lightning" 106
puwai-, iter. (𐎎) *puššai-*, "press, crush" 482

šabban, "feudal service" 518
šalbitti-/šalb(iy)anti-, "greatness, succession" 86, 96, 241
šargiya-/šargu-, 450
šarhiya-, "overwhelm" 450
šittar-, "spear-point" 63

 𐎎 *tapāšša-*, "heat, fever" 544
 (𐎎) *tarpulli-*, "substitute" 512
 (𐎎) *tarrawa-/*(𐎎) *tarawiya-*, "provide(?)" 260
taru, "wood" 99, 238

ulili-, "field" 59, 105, 114, 122, 515
uwai-, "woe" 396

warri-, "help" 469
warwatn-, "seed" (but probably *warwalan-*!) 238
waš(ša)pa-, "clothing" 145 f., 548
wašš(u)-, "good" 549
 𐎎 *waššuraia*, "?" 451

zalla-, *zalliya-*, "gallop (n. and v.)" 135, 174, 455, 525, 546
zila, "thereafter" 127, 405
zilatiya/ ziladuwa, "in future" 405

4. Cuneiform Luwian

a(ya)-, "do, make" 469
adduwanza, "evil" 242
annarumahi, "powerfulness" 396
apparanti-, "future" 111
ari-, "time" 181
ariya-, "raise" 380
ariyaddali-, "?" 444
 **ariyatti-*, "mountain" 350, 444
aruta/i-, "wing" 543
arrai-, "long" 451
as-, "mouth" 538
ašhar-// ašhan-, "blood" 174
atari-, "feed" 343

azza-, "eat" 394
azzašti-, "food" 148

hamšu(k)kala-, "great-grandson" 153
halliya-, "be/make inferior(?)" 105
handawate-, "king" 62, 372, 521
hantawatabiša, "kingship" 67, 521
harwa-, "road" 373
harwanni-, "little road" 373
haš(ša), "bone" 107
hattaštari-, "frightfulness" 357
hirut-, "oath, curse" 184, 550
hišhiya-, "bind" 149
huit-, "live" 151
huiya-, redupl. *bu(i)bu(i)ya-*, "run" 105
hum(ma)ti-, "podium" 106

i-, "go" 339
imrassi-, "of the countryside" 524
iunabi(ša), "growth(?)" 65

 [𐎎] *kui-*, "cut": does not exist 494
kummai-, "pure" 343, 347
kuwar(i), adverbial form of relative? 116

la-, redupl. *lala-*, "take" 264, 269, 479

malli(t)-, "honey" 263 f.
malliti-, "honeyed" 99
mana-, redupl. *mammanna-*, "see" 380, 469
maršaštari-, "falsehood" 61, 357

nanasari-, "sister" 278
nani-, "brother" 278
nanun, "now" 542
niš (prohib.) 267

para-, "chase" 183
paratta(nza), "?" 143, 475
parrai-, "high" 183
partianza, "wing(?)" 543

ša-, redupl. *šašša-*, "let go, release" 132, 343, 542
šanni-, "overturn" 89, 100, 489, 495
šarra, šarri, "up, over" 233

ta-/da-, "step, stand" 97, 112, 183, 345, 477
taini-, "oily" 99
tappas(ša)-, "sky" 66, 395
tapasalli-, "?" 544
tarawi-, "deliver(?)" 260

taru, "wood": see under Hitt.-Luw.
daruš(ša), "statue" 268, 384
dawa, "eyes" 482
dawaššati/ dawaššanzaṭi, "by that of the eyes" 547

titit-, “pupil (of eye)” 114
tubkantabi-, “*tubkanti*-ship” 493
du-ù-un-du-, “let them put” 495

upa-, “found” 247
uppa-, “bring, convey” 260
ura~*ra*-, “great” 150
uwani-, “stone” 494
uwanitai-, “petrify” 180, 494
wana(tti)-/ *unatti*-, “woman” 338, 419
wandani-, “radiant (?)” 229
waralli-, “own, proper” (cf. *niwaralli*-, under Hitt.-Luw.) 67, 372, 459, 577
warpaša-(v.), “?” 493
wašba-(and derivatives), “?” 153
*GIS**waššanza*-, “table” 337
waššar-, “favour” 180

zalla-, “diagonal” 563
zammanti-, “?” 133
*UZU**zarza*-, “heart” 487, 563

5. Akkadian

abru-, “wing” 543
alpu-, “threatening” 450
armium/armu-, “gazelle” 484
bēl dini-, “adversary at law” 418
bēl narkabti-, “charioteer” 546
gašru-, “mighty” 263
hamātu (A), “hasten, be quick” 544
 (B), “burn, be inflamed”
haṣannu/haṣianu-, “mayor” 149, 496, 525
kalbu-, “dog”, as PN 153
kaṣpu-, “wing, feather” 543
kitru/kiterru-, “share” 149
miserru-, “girdle” 552
rab mē-, “commander of one hundred” 463
rab ša reši-, “great eunuch” 266
rab(GAL) sise-, “commander of the horse” 457
rimūtu-, “donation” 149
šeru-, “plain” 515
ša reši-, “he of the head, eunuch” 266
šukkallu (log. SUKKAL; Hurr. LW *šukkalli*), “vizier” 149, 496
tappu-, “partner” 549

6. Cuneiform logograms

¹⁰HAL-, “diviner” 82, 307
 HI. HI. “lightning” 106
¹¹DKAL-*a*-, Kurunta (PN) 297

¹²KASKAL. KUR, (divine) entrance to underworld 293
 LIL-, “countryside” 524
¹³LIS 300
 LÚ DINGIR-LIM, “prophet” 233
 LÚ^{MEŠ} BĒL QĀTI, “artisans” 111
 LÚ^{MEŠ} GAL/RABŪTIM, “commanders” 150
 NA₄-, “stone” (= Hier. SCALPRUM) 127
 UZU¹⁴NIG. GIG, “liver” 487
¹⁵SANGA, “priest” 82, 307
 SIG₅-, “good” (= Hier. BONUS₂) 151
 UZU ŠĀ, “heart” 487
 ŠU. AN, “trophy(?)” 106
 TI, “life” (= Hier. ANKH) 151
 UGULA LÚ^{MEŠ} LIM, “commander of a thousand” 463
 UGULA 10, “commander of ten” 463

7. Lycian

atri-/atli-, “person, self” 447
atla / atra ehbi-, “his person, himself” 460
abñta-, “property” 406
bri-, “up, over” 555
kumaza-, “priest” 474
kume-, “pure” 343, 347
χñtawati-, “king” 62, 372, 455, 521
χñtawa-/χñtaba (v.), “rule, reign” 521
χñtawata (n.), “rule, reign” 521
lawitēnu-, “?” 546
mar-, “order” 544
mara-, “laws” 544
marazije-, “law-court” 544
ñtata-, “chamber” 552
piyatu-, “gift” 347
pddāt-, “place” 61, 142
(p)pu(we)-, “engrave, write” 482, 542
tuwe-, “put” 107, 179
ube-, “found” 247, 260

8. Lydian

tašev 418

9. Greek

βασιλεύς 62, 521
 εἰδωλον, “image, soul” 446
 ὑπερῶον, “upper storey” 99
 τέμενος, “precinct” 142

10. Latin

imago 446