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KUBABA AT KARKAMIŠ AND ELSEWHERE

By J. D. HAWKINS

Twenty years ago Laroche set forth in a definitive article the evidence for the goddess Kubaba as the ancient oriental prototype of the goddess transmitted to the classical world as Kubelē or Kubēbē.¹ Little enough new information on Kubaba has appeared since then. However, in the course of writing the entry "Kubaba" for the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I felt that a detailed examination of the passages of the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts which refer to this goddess would be desirable, especially in order to take into account recent advances in our understanding of that script and language.² What follows then is transliterations and translations of all Hieroglyphic Luwian references to Kubaba (except for uninformative fragments)³ and elucidatory notes. This study supplies the texts to the relevant section of Laroche's masterly sketch.

About two-thirds of the references come from the inscriptions of Karkamiš⁴ and its environs, as is only to be expected for a goddess entitled "queen of Karkamiš", whose earlier, second millennium B.C. attestations link her almost exclusively with that city. Indeed Laroche has shown that it was only after the fall of the Hittite Empire, when Karkamiš survived to become the leading Neo-Hittite centre, that the worship of its tutelary goddess began to spread outwards throughout the Syro-Hittite world and into Anatolia. So it is that most of the representations of Kubaba and most concrete references to her temple and cult come from Karkamiš itself, although unfortunately little in the way of significant remains of her temple has been recovered, even if its site has been correctly identified on the NW mound of the Acropolis Mound.⁵

Several rulers of Karkamiš refer in their inscriptions to foundations and dedications to Kubaba. Katuwas (fl. c. 880 B.C.) in the pair of door-jambs inscription, citation 1, recorded "seeing the procession of Karhuhas and Kubaba" (apparently the Soldiers' Procession and the Kubaba Procession in Ussishkin's terminology⁶—B 2 a—B 3 b, B 18 b—B 24), and the setting up of the figures and provision of offerings. In another door-jamb inscription, citation 2 a, he claimed to have "restored" Kubaba, and in a fragment perhaps

¹ "Koubaba, déesse anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybèle" (in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), 113–128).

² The abbreviations used in this article are as noted in J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies and G. Neumann, "Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection" (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Nr. 6, 1973) preliminary note on p. [3] (and that study abbreviated *HHL*). The system of transliteration employed is as tabulated in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 153–155. Because a considerable number of additional logograms have been transcribed into Latin in the intervening years, a supplementary table is offered here (see Table, p. 148). For syllabograms note the new value *HH*, no. 347 = *hū* (Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), 123). Because *HH*, no. 165 (*bonus*) has only one clearly attested use as a syllabogram *wa/i* (KARATEPE 21 (Ho.)), while *HH*, no. 166 (previously transliterated *wā/i*) is comparatively common and purely syllabographic, I now prefer to transcribe the latter as *wā/i*.

³ The most important omission is that of the Uratarhundast stele, KARKAMIŠ A 4 b, for which I am not yet prepared to offer a text or interpretation. The name of Kubaba ((*DEUS*)*ku* + *AVIS*) appears twice on it: cf. Meriggi's edition, *Manuale* II/3, no. 163, pp. 325 ff. An altar found in the so-called "Kubaba temple" at Karkamiš (*Carchemish* III, 213) has the inscription KARKAMIŠ A 5 a, which twice mentions *TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA*, "the divine lady of the earth", possibly a title of Kubaba. Again I am not yet prepared to offer a text. For Meriggi's edition, see *Manuale* II/2, no. 166, pp. 112–114. Fragments not considered here include KARKAMIŠ A 15 a, 4; A 19 j, 1; A 19 r; A 24 a 3, 4; A 24 a 21; A 25 a 3, 2; A 26 d, 2; A 27 hh; A 29 k; *HHM* 9A, 3; *ATHENS*.

⁴ It would now seem appropriate to follow the suggestion of Pettinato (*Or. Ant.* 15 (1976), 15, note 21) and abandon the old-fashioned (biblical) spelling of the place name *Carchemish* in favour of the more exact *Karkamiš*; for the various spellings, see *RLA* V, s.v. Karkamiš, § 1.

⁵ Sir Leonard Woolley, *Carchemish* III (London, 1952), 210 ff.; cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954), 109 f.

⁶ *An. St.* 17 (1967), 182 f.

ADORARE 6		FUSUS 305	
AMPECTI 9		GAZELLA 104	
ANIMAL 404		IUDEx 371	
AQUA 212		LECTUS 301	
ASCIA 281		LINGERE 112	
ASINUS 100		LONGUS 62	
BESTIA 97		MALUS ₂ 368	
BIBERE 8		MENSA 294	
BONUS ₂ 370		MORI 386+381-2	
BRACCHIUM 32		OCULUS 25	
CANIS 98		PITHOS 337-8	
CAPERE 41		PODIUM 264	
DIES 358		PORTA 238	
DOMINA 15		PURUS 322	
EDERE 7		REL ₂ 329	
FALX (?) 486		SCUTUM 372	
FILIA 477		SIGILLUM 327	
FLAMMAE (?) 477		STATUA 12	
FONS 215		VIR ₂ 386	
FORTIS 28		VITELLUS 109	

Table 1. Additional logograms transcribed into Latin; cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 153, Table 1.

a part of the same monument, citation 2 *b*, he refers to building a temple for Kubaba. In an inscription partially lost, citation 3, he provided for offerings to Tarhunzas and Karhuhas with Kubaba. Yariris (fl. c. 790) prayed to Kubaba (citation 4), and dedicated his own likeness to her (citation 5). Kamanis, the ward of Yariris (fl. c. 760 B.C.) set up a stele showing on the obverse a frontal representation of the goddess in elaborate attire (B 62 *a*) and on the reverse an inscription recording the building of her temple, the dedication of a statue and the consecration of a precinct (citation 6). The son of Sasturas, "prime minister" of Kamanis, who was probably Pisiri (at least 738–717 B.C.) claimed a close relationship with Kubaba and remembered his forebears' establishment of the goddess's image (citation 7). A well-written fragment is unattributable but from its tone seems to have been a ruler's dedication of a similar type (citation 8).

Private persons too have left dedications to Kubaba. A small stele-base, recovered from Yusuf Beg near Karkamiš, records the filling of Kubaba's granary by an official (citation 9), and a somewhat enigmatic broken "cone standing on bevelled base" notes its own dedication in a vertically written inscription (citation 10).

All the rulers mentioned, and others too, claim the love and support of Kubaba, and invoke her protection of the monuments and inscriptions by means of a curse, both usually associating her with other gods. Thus Katuwas in citation 1, (i)–(iii) (love and support) and (xii) (curse); citation 2*a*, §§ 3–5 and 7–8 (support); also citation 11 (support); 12 (i) (love), (ii)–(iii) (curse); 13 (curse); Katuwas's father and grandfather in citation 14 *a–b* (curses); Yariris in citation 5 (i) (love); Kamanis in citation 6, §§ 15–16 (curse); also citation 15 (curse); 16 (curse); 17 (curse); Sasturas's son in citation 7 § 1 (love), §§ 3–5 and 11–13 (support); uncertain attribution, citation 18 (perhaps Kamanis), § 1 (love), §§ 5–7 (curse); 19 (love).

On monuments from the outlying territory of Karkamiš and from the immediate circle of its influence, similar statements are found. KÖRKÜN, set up by a vassal of King Astirus (fl. c. 810 B.C.) contains a rather enigmatic statement that the author acted "by authority of Kubaba and Tarhunzas" (citation 20). The two large stelae from TELL AHMAR (c. 900 B.C.)⁷ both bear similar but damaged statements that the authors enjoyed the love and support of almost identical sequences of gods (citation 21 *a* and *b*). The small stele ALEPPO 2, probably also from TELL AHMAR,⁸ links Kubaba and Ea in a (broken) curse (citation 22).

Beyond Karkamiš's immediate sphere of influence, in the land of Commagene (Kummuh) the worship of Kubaba is specifically attested by the two pairs of BOYBEYPINARI blocks, set up by Panamuwas, wife of the ruler Suppiluliumas (minimum dates 805–773 B.C.),⁹ the inscriptions on which record that they formed the podia for a throne and offering table set up to the goddess (citation 23 *a–b*); and the fragment ANCOZ preserving statements about offerings to Kubaba linked with Runzas is clearly a part of a similar monument (citation 24). Further north at Malatya, a small stele, MALATYA 13, provides the only other named representation of the goddess, also associated with the god Runzas (citation 25).

References to Kubaba from the Anatolian plateau do not specifically attest her cult in the area but rather belong to the already observed "love and support" or "curse" contexts. Thus BULGARMADEN, set up by a vassal of Warpalawas of Tuwana (minimum dates 738–710 B.C.),¹⁰ links her with Tarhunzas as protector of the donation (citation 26 (i))

⁷ For the dating and context of these monuments, see now in *An. St.* 30 (1980), 155 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁹ For the probable identification of the Suppiluliuma of BOYBEYPINARI with the Ušpilulume attested in Assyrian sources of 805 and 773 B.C., see Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), 79 f.

¹⁰ *An. St.* 29 (1979), 162 ff.

and invokes her in the curse along with a list of other gods (citation 26 (ii-v)). ÇİFTLİK, set up by a vassal of Tuwatis of Tabal (fl. c. 760 B.C.),¹¹ offers an interesting group of three gods with their consorts which links Kubaba with Ea (citation 27 a) and this grouping reappears on a new KULULU stele (citation 27 b). Otherwise at Kululu, Kubaba is invoked in a more elaborate curse on a stele set up by another servant of Tuwatis, KULULU I (citation 28). Two stelae set up by servants of Wasusarmas son of Tuwatis (at least 738-729 B.C.),¹² named from their find spots SULTANHAN and KAYSERİ, invoke Kubaba in closely parallel curses in association with the Moon-God of Harran and the gods of the *ataha* (citation 29 a and b). The little KARABURUN treaty between Sipis the king and Sipis Nis's son¹³ also invokes "the Harranean together with(?) Kubaba" in the curses (citation 30).

On pieces of unknown provenance there are two references to Kubaba, one on a stone bowl in an obscure context (citation 31 a), and one on a bowl fragment in a normal curse formula in which she is linked with the gods Karhuhas and Santas (citation 31 b). Finally among the contemporary seals bearing the name of Kubaba one of them gives her the interesting epithet *nawaralis*, "foreign(?)" (citation 32).

(1) KARKAMIŠ A 11 b 3-c 4:

- (i) *mu-pa-wa/i-' mi-i-sa-'* DOMINUS-na-ni-i-sa || (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS-sa (DEUS) *kar-hu-ha-sá* (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ha *mi-ia-ti-'* "IUSTITIA"-wa/i-na-ti (LITUUS+)á-za-tá
 (ii) *wa/i-ma-tá-'* ("*382")*hu-hú+ra/i-pa-li* | (SOLIUM) á-sa-tá
 (iii) *wa/i-ma-tá-'* | PRAE-na PES₂(-)REL₂-ia-ta

...
 (iv) *wa/i-mi-ta-' mi-i-na-'* DOMINUS-na-i-ni-i-na (DEUS)kar-hu-ha-si-na (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-si-ha CRUS.CRUS(-)ni-ia-sa-ha-na | LITUUS+na-ha

(v) *wa/i-ma-tá-'* | za||-ti-i | ("PODIUM")*hu-ma-ti* | (SOLIUM)i-sá-nú-wa/i-ha
 (vi) ("*350")á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sá-pa-wa/i-ma-za | za-' DEUS-ni-za | CUM-ni ANNUS-sa-li-za-sa | ("PANIS")*tú+ra/i-pi-sa*

(vii) (DEUS)CERVUS₂+RA/i-hu-ha-ia 1 BOS(ANIMAL)-sa OVIS-sa-ha

(viii) (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa 1 BOS(ANIMAL)-sa 1 OVIS(ANIMAL)-wa/i-sa-ha

(ix) (DEUS)sa₂+ra/i-ku OVIS-wa/i-sa ("*478")*ku-tú-pi-li-sa-ha*

(x) 1 OVIS(ANIMAL)-wa/i-sa | VIR-ti-ia-tá-za DEUS-ni-za ||

(A 11 c)

(xi) [1 OVIS ...]-sa [FEMINA-ti]-ia-[tá]-za [DEUS-ni-za]

...
 (xii) *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tá-'* (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS-sa (DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sá (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sá-ha (MONS)á+ra/i-pu-tá-wa/i-ni-sá-ha (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa ("AQUA+RA/i")*sá-ku+ra/i-wa/i-ni-i-zi-ha* (AQUA.REGIO)ha||-pa-tá-si (DEUS)-ni-zi IRA-lá/i-u-sa-tú

(i) "But me my lord Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba loved because of my justice,

(ii) for me they sat on (/dwelt in(?)) the HUHURPALI,

(iii) they marched before me.

...

(iv) I myself beheld my lord Karhuhas's and Kubaba's procession,

(v) I myself seated them on this podium.

(vi) The ASAHARMI(SA) for them is this: together with the gods, annual bread;

(vii) for Karhuhas one ox and a sheep;

¹¹ Ibid., 164.

¹² Ibid., 163.

¹³ Ibid., 166 f.

- (viii) for Kubaba one ox and one sheep;
- (ix) for Sarkus an ox and a KUTUPILI;
- (x) one sheep for the male deities;
- (xi) [one sheep] for the [female deities . . .]

(xii) with him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba and the Storm-God of Mount Arputa and the gods of the river-land of the river Sakur be angry!

Notes

(ii), *huhurpali*: the reading of the second sign and the identification of the root *huhurpa-* has recently been achieved by Mustafa Kalaç (*KZ* 92 (1978), 123f.). The logogram determining the word remains uncertain, whether marking concrete objects ("wood"?) or abstract—cf. *An. St.* 30 (1980), 148.

(SOLIUM)*asa(n)ta*: presumably this represents the simple verb "sit", causat. (SOLIUM) *is(a)nu-*: see *An. St.* 28 (1978), 108 ff., where instead of the suggested **isai*, it would be possible to read *asai*. Cf. also from the same root (MENSA.SOLIUM)*asa-*, a type of building which may be possessed by gods (HAMATH 4, §§ 5 and 7) and men (KARKAMIŠ A 6, §§ 8 and 24).

(iv): for the details of the suggested interpretation of this clause, see *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 127 f. CRUS.CRUS(-)*niyasha-*: root CRUS.CRUS(-)*ni(ya)-* (either simple *niya-* or perhaps reduplicated *niniya-*) "lead, follow", Cun. Hitt. *nai-/neya-*; + *-sha-* nominal suffix; sense "procession" drawn from the identification of this clause as a reference to the Soldiers' and Kubaba's Processions (B 2a-3b; B 18b-24).

LITUUS+*na-* (read **mana-(?)*), "see".

(vi), ("*350") *as(a)harmisa*: of uncertain morphology, it looks like a participle in *-mis* (nom. sing. MF). Meriggi's association of it with Cun. Hitt. *ešhar*, Cun. Luw. *ašha(r)-*, "blood", still seems plausible in spite of Friedrich's objection (*RHA* XIII/56 (1955), 30 f.), especially since we may discard the identification *at(a)ri-* as "blood" in favour of "form, figure, image", Cun. Hitt. *eš(ša)ri* (cf. below, citation 4 (ii), note); thus "(blood-)offering(?)".

(xi), restoration: it seems likely that A 11 b continued directly on its pair A 11 c. The clause "one sheep for the male gods" suggests a parallel "one sheep to the female gods" and indeed the surviving signs at the broken beginning of A 11 c, 1, would fit in well with this, as shown by the restoration (see Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 29 (1951), 47).

(2a) KARKAMIŠ A 23 (complete text):

- 1, § 1. EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* *k[a-t]ú-wa/i-sa* *kar-k[a-m]i-si-za¹-sa* (URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS-*sa*
DEUS-*ni-ti* (LITUUS+)*á-za-mi-sa*
- § 2. *wa/i-mu* [. . .]
- 2, § 3. [. . .] *mi[-i-sa]-á* DOMINUS-*na-ni-sá* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-sa* *kar-ka-mi-si-za-*
sa(URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA-*sa₅+ra/i-sa* "MANUS"-*ti* | PUGNUS-*ta*
- 3, § 4. *wa/i-mu-' mi-zi[-' ta₄-ni-zi-'* | *pi-pa-sa-ta*
- § 5. *mu-pa-wa/i-' ta₄-na-za-'* | NEG₂ | *pi-ia-ta*
- § 6. *mu-pa-wa/i-' pi-na-'* | LINGERE-*ha-sa-ti za-ia* [. . .] *mi*[. . .]
- 4, § 7. *wa/i-tá-'* | NEG₂ | REL-*á-ha* | *sá-ha-si*
- § 8. *wa/i-tá-'* *mu-'* *sá-ha-si*
- § 9. *wa/i-tá-'* | (CRUX)*wa/i-la-ha* REL-*i*
- 5, § 10. *wa/i-ta-'* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-na* | *kar-ka*||-*mi-si-za-na* (URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA-
sa₅+ra/i-na | POST-*ni* | SOLIUM-*nu-wa/i-ha*
- § 11. *wa/i-ti-'* *pa-sa-'* *tá-ti-ia* DOMUS-*ni* | BONUS-*ia-ta*
- § 12. *mu¹-ha¹-wa/i ti*[. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .]

§ 1. I (am) Katuwas, the Karkamišean country-lord, beloved by the gods.

- § 2. Me [...
 [...] [...
 § 3. [me] my sovereign Kubaba, queen of Karkamiš, *raised* by the hand,
 § 4. to me she always gave my *enemies*,
 § 5. but me to (my) *enemies* she did not give.
 § 6. And I myself *then* [constructed(?)] these [buildings(?)] with luxury.
 [...] [...
 § 7. "You will not SAHA anyone,
 § 8. but you will SAHA me!"
 § 9. When I ...-ed,
 § 10. I re-established Kubaba, queen of Karkamiš.
 § 11. She exalted(?) her own paternal houses,
 § 12. and I/me [...

Notes

Editions (recent): Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), 100 f., 112; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 215, pp. 144 ff. Some recent elucidations necessitate further comment.

§ 3, (a) *mis* DOMINUS-*nanis* Kupapas: cf. below, citation 8, § 6.

"MANUS"-*ti* PUGNUS-*ta* (employed by Katuwas also in a similar but fragmentary context on KARKAMIŠ A 11 a, 1, as noted by Meriggi) has normally been interpreted as "took by the hand" (Laroche, *HH*, no. 59/1; Meriggi, *Glossar*₂, 189; Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), 100 f. and 112 note). In a forthcoming study I argue that the verb PUGNUS-*ri*+*i*- means "rise (intrans.); raise (trans.)"; and that this verb is also to be understood here, thus "raised by the hand". Cf. also below citation 4 (i), note.

§§ 4-5: see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 132 citation 17.

§ 6: restored by the closely similar KARKAMIŠ A 11 a, § 11 (so Meriggi).

§§ 7-8: see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 141 citation 42; clearly the end of a prayer to Kubaba.

§ 9: (CRUX)*wala*-. Mustafa Kalacı has recently shown by the discovery of a writing without CRUX (see below, citation 17 (i) and note), that in the phrase CRUX(-)*wala* (PES)*awi*-, *wala* is the full phonetic writing of the adverb. This adverb (CRUX)*wala* can hardly be dissociated from the present verb, and Kalacı's further suggestion to associate the adverb with the verb (MORI)*wala*-/*wara*-, "die" (for which see KZ 94 (1980), 109-119), while certainly tempting (MORI could be a cursive form of CRUX), must be judged by whether the identification can be fitted to the present context. "When I died ..." is clearly out of the question here. However, the full phrase identified as "die" was *arha wala*-, and the basic root was connected with IE **g^wel*-, "suffer". Is it possible that it was only the *arha* which expressed the finality of death, while the verb (CRUX)*wala*- meant simply "suffer, be ill"? "When I was suffering" would give reasonable sense here, and it is also worth noting that we would thus arrive at the same translation suggested by Meriggi in his edition, which was reached by a completely different but also plausible sequence of reasoning.

§ 10: *apan isanu*-. the preverb seems to suggest that Katuwas "re-seated, re-settled, restored" Kubaba.

§ 11: *pas(a) tatiya parni*, "her paternal houses", must be acc. plur. N, as I previously argued, although now we have to recognize *parni* as a plur. N in -*i* (cf. *surni*, "horns": ASSUR letter g, "iii").

KARKAMIŠ A 20 a: perhaps a fragment of a pair to A 23 (see *An. St.* 22 (1972), 102). Line 2 ...] "PODIUM"-*ma-ta-si-na* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS [..., "Kubaba of the podium". Katuwas stated that he seated Kubaba (and Karhuhas) on "this podium" (above citation 1 (v)), which has been argued here to refer specifically to the seated Kubaba, B 19 a. Would this fragment refer to the same sculpture? Cf. also below, citation 7, § 8.

(2b) KARKAMIŠ A 26 a 1 + 2:

These two joined fragments come "from the corner of a block, perhaps a door jamb"

(*Carchemish* III, p. 276). Together they preserve fragments of four lines, and at the bottom of the lowest there is the remains of an uninscribed area wider than a line-division, suggesting that the line was perhaps the bottom line of the inscription. The suggestion that this piece might be a part of a door-jamb could be taken further with the thought that it might have been the left-hand end of A 23 itself, in support of which the following points may be made (of these point (4) is the strongest):

(1) Inspection of A 26 a 2 and A 23 in the British Museum confirms that the overall appearance of both does not contradict it.

(2) The height of the lines in so far as they are measurable on A 26 a 2 coincides with that of A 23 (c. 12–13 cm.)—but this seems to be the average height of lines in most of Katuwas's door-jamb inscriptions.

(3) The fragment of uninscribed space preserved at the bottom of A 26 a 2 would represent that on A 23, and so line 4 would be the bottom line of the inscription, which would agree with the bottom line of A 23 in being read from right to left.

(4) Inspection shows on A 26 a 2 only one really characteristic sign form which has a comparison on A 23, namely the *za* on line 4, which has its double bars carved not diagonally across its base, as is usual, but vertically on the side towards the beginning of the line, a feature which it shares with A 23 alone among the inscriptions of Katuwas.

The implications of this identification would be as follows:

(1) Comparison with Katuwas's preserved door-jambs would place A 23 (+) A 26 a 1 + 2 with A 11 b and c rather than A 11 a and A 2 and 3, in that it would be inscribed in the manner of Fig. 1a rather than b (A 11 a), c (A 2), or d (A 3).

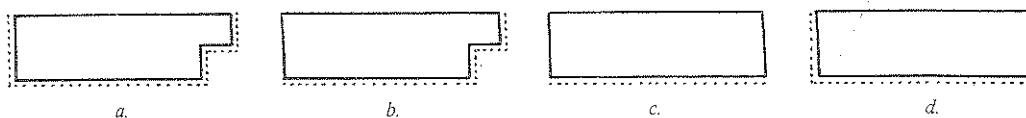


Fig. 1. Katuwas's door-jamb inscriptions: dotted lines mark the inscribed faces.

(2) The left-hand preserved edge of the left-hand side would be close to the extreme left-hand edge of the inscription, so lines 2–3 would run on nearly directly and line 4 would come very close to the end of the slab and the end of the text, unless it were continued on another (perhaps paired) slab (A 20 a ?).

(3) The gap between A 23 and A 26 a 1 + 2 would probably be substantial, since in the case of the other door-jambs of Katuwas the longest side is the (second) inner reveal. Thus even the recognition that the two pieces belong together would add little to the total sense.

1, § a. ... LE]PUS + RA/I-ia-sa SUPER + RA/I-' CAPERE + CAPERE-tā
§ b. CAPUT-pa-wa/i [...]

2, § c. ...](DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa AEDIFICARE-MI-[ha]

3, § d. ...]-zi-[... || ...] tā-ti-zi AVUS-ha-zi | [...]

4, § e. wa/i-sa-[x]-' | MALUS₁?-[x]-lā/i/u-za DEUS.DOMUS-tā [...]

Notes

If this piece indeed formed the end of A 23, the sequence of sense would be as follows:

§§ a–b would precede A 23, § 3; §§ c–d would come between A 23, §§ 6 and 7; and § e would end the inscription after A, 23, § 12.

§ a: little can be added to the comments of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 162.

§ c: "I built for Kubaba" seems to fit well with the restored context of A 23, § 6.

§ e: the original publication does not indicate sufficient space below the signs MALUS₁? and sa, where complete signs, [x], may be presumed to be missing.

MALUS₁?: collation suggests that the sign is this rather than FRONS. If this is so, it would be an interesting variant of the usual (partial) phonetic writings of the word (MALUS₁-[wa/i?]-lā/i/u-za vs. MALUS₁-wa/i-za, MALUS₁-za); cf. *An. St.* 30 (1980), 150, and 156 addendum 3.

(3) KARKAMIŠ A 13 d (complete text):

- 1, § 1. EGO-wa/i-mi-i Ika-tū-wa/i-sa₅ | kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa (URBS) || REGIO.DOMINUS-sa
[... ||]
- 2, § 2. [...]]PONERE-wa/i-há
- 3, § 3. (DEUS)TONITRUS-tā-sa-pa-wa/i-tā | REL-i-sa | ā-tā-na-wa/i-na- | kar-ka-mi-si-za (URBS) (DEUS) TONITRUS-i | SUB-na-na [...] ||]
- 4, § 4. "9"-wa/i-i-za-ha-wa/i-tū | DARE-i ||]
- 5, § 5. | NEG₂-pa-wa/i-tā || za-ā-ti | ("SCALPRUM")ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-i | REL+RA/I-i Ika-tu-wa/i- [...] ||]
- 6, § 6. [...]]-ru-ti
- 7, § 7. ā-wa/i (DEUS)ka+ra/i-hu-ha-ia (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-ia-ha 9²-wa/i ||-i-za | pi-ia-tū
- § 8. wa/i-na-' *261.PUGNUS-ru-tu
- § 9. pa-sa-[-pa-wa/i-na-] [...] ||]
- 8, § 10. [...] | R]EL-i-sa | za-ā-ti (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS-ti-i DEUS-ni-za || | CUM-ni | ("ANNUS")u-sa-li-za-NEG₂ [|PANIS]-[...] ||]
- § 1. I (am) Katuwas, the Karkamišean country lord.
[...]
- § 2. [...]]I put.
- § 3. (He) who [...] the ATANAWA(NA) of Tarhunzas under Karkamišean Tarhunzas,
[...]
he shall give nine to him.
- § 5. Or if to this orthostat Katuwas [...]
[...]
- § 6. [...]] he shall [const]ruct.
- § 7. let him give nine(?) to Karhuhas and Kubaba,
- § 8. (and) let him construct(?) it [...]
- § 9. But his [...]] him,
[...]
- § 10. (He) who [...] annual [bread] to this celestial Tarhunzas together with the gods,
[...]

Notes

See now the edition of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 175, pp. 118 f.
§ 10: see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 133 citation 21 b.

(4) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 6-7:

- (i) | wa/i-ta (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-ti-i (DEUS)SOL-ti-i (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-ia-ha ta-ni-mi-i-ha-ā-wa/i || DEUS-ni-i | FRONS-ti-i | SUPER+RA/I-ā-ta₅ PUGNUS-ri+i-wa/i
- (ii) | ā-wa/i LOQUI(-)ha+ra/i-nu-wa/i (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-'
- (iii) u-zu²-sa-wa/i-ma-ta- (MANUS)i-sā-tara/i-i | MAGNUS+RA/I-nū-wa/i-ta-ni-i

- (i) "Before Tarhunzas, the Sun and Kubaba and every god I shall rise up(?),
- (ii) and I shall cause to say: "O Kubaba,
- (iii) you will bring them up for me in the hand!"

Notes

Context: Yariris's guardianship of his lord's son Kamanis and his younger brothers (cf. *An. St.* 29 (1979), 157 ff.).

(i), PUGNUS-ri+i-: it will be argued elsewhere that this verb means "to rise (intrans.); raise (trans.)", and corresponds to Cun. Luw. *ari(ya)-*, Cun. Hitt. *arai-*. The reading of -ta₅ after SUPER+RA/I-ā instead of after PUGNUS-ri+i- is difficult, but is justified to the extent that a verb PUGNUS-ri+i-ta₅- is not attested, while SUPER+RA/I-ā-ta₅ may be compared with SUPER+RA/I-ta of KARATEPE (43, 47, 51, 302). The verb is translated as intransitive, but could be transitive, as elsewhere it may be, in which case perhaps translate: "I will raise them (-ata, the children) up".

(ii-iii)—see Anna Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), 90 citation 1, for the pronoun *u-zu²-sa* and verbal ending -tani.

(5) KARKAMIŠ A 15 b, 1-2:

(i) EGO-wa/i-mi-i i-ara/i-ri+i-sá | IUDEX-ni-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-ta-ti-i (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-ti (DEUS) kar-hu-ha-ti-i (DEUS)SOL-tā-ti-i-ha (LITUUS+)-ā-za-mi-sa CAPUT-ti-sá

(ii) ā-mi-i-na-pa-wa/i-u-mu ("VAS")ā-tara/i-i-na | "SCALPRUM"(-i-ara/i-za i-zi-i-ha

(iii) wa/i-mu-tā (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa | ("PES")pa-ta₅- PONERE-mi-i-na | tā-i

(i) "I (am) Yariris, the ruler, the prince beloved by Tarhunzas, Kubaba, Karhuhas and the Sun.

(ii) I made my image for myself . . .

(iii) (and) for me Kubaba will receive (it) placed at (her) foot."

Notes

(ii), *at(a)rin*: in a forthcoming study I seek to show that *at(a)ri-* means "form, figure, image" (Cun. Hitt. *eš(ša)ri*).

(-i-ara/i-za: the root of this hapax legomenon lies outside our grasp, since it is not clear which of several possible case endings can be identified at the end, nor indeed whether a full phonetic writing of the word is offered.

Context: presumably the dedication to Kubaba of a stone representation of Yariris, perhaps actually the piece of sculpture (statue or relief), of which KARKAMIŠ A 15 b formed the base. A new Kululu stele, KULULU 9 (reference by courtesy of Professor Mustafa Kalaç) supports the interpretation of (iii) as above; cf. A. Morpurgo Davies, in *Festschrift O. Szemerényi*, p. 592 and the alternative interpretation offered in note 9.

(6) KARKAMIŠ A 31/32 (complete text):

2², § 1. [. . .] || 'ā¹-ta i-¹zi-i¹-tā [(DEUS)ku]-AVIS[. . .]

§ 2. [. . .]

§ 3. [ā]-wa/i '[(DEUS)ku]-AVIS-[pa-pa]-sa [DEUS].DOMUS-za [. . .]-ni [. . .]-ti [. . .]

3. . . .]AEDIFICARE-mi-ha

§ 4. wa/i-mu ā-ma-za STATUA PRAE-na CRUS-nu-ha

§ 5. kar-ka-mi-sā-pa-wa/i(URBS) CASTRUM pi-na-ta-wa/i-na(URBS) SUB-na-na i-zi-i-ha

§ 6. AEDIFICIUM+RA/I-tā-pa-wa/i [LOCUS]-ta₄-ta₅ [. . .]-i-ha

- 4, § 7. [...]wa/i zi-REL(?) á-[...||...] (DEUS)ku-AVIS-ia kar-ka-mi-si-zi(URBS)
MAGNUS.DOMINA ka-ma-ni-sa IUDEx-sa BONUS-sa-ma-za LOCUS-ta₄-za i-zi-i-ha
§ 8. wa/i-tú REX-zi *356-wa/i-zi-ha DOMINUS-zi "ADORARE"-su-na á-ta-na PES₂.
PES₂-ti
5, § 9. [...]x-sa-mi-na CUM-ni (LOQUI)la-ma-ni-sà-ti
§ 10. za-ti-pa-wa/i DEUS-ni REL-sa MALUS₁-ta₄-ti VERSUS-ia-na PES₂(-)-si-ti
§ 11. ni-pa-wa/i+ra/i "CRUS.CRUS"-i REL-ti PRAE-ni
§ 12. wa/i-à+ra/i SCRIBA+RA/r(-)tà-ia REL-sa
§ 13. ka-ma-ni-sa-[pa-wa/i DOMUS-ni(?) || BONUS-za(?)] "NEG₂" CUM-ni i-zi-i-ti
§ 14. ni-pa-wa/i | za-ia | ("LOQUI")pá?+ra/i-ta REL-sa NEG₂ AUDIRE+MI-ti-ti
§ 15. | á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta 100 DOMUS ki-sà-ta+ra/i-sa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-sá IRA-lá/i-sa-tú
§ 16. wa/i-tú-tá *422-na pi-ha(-)[...]

- § 1. ...
§ 2. [...]
§ 3. Kubaba's temple [...] I built,
§ 4. I set up my statue in front for myself.
§ 5. I subjected the Pinatean fortresses to Karkamiš,
§ 6. but the ... I [...]jed
§ 7. [...] for Kubaba, queen of Karkamiš, I Kamanis the ruler made an honoured precinct.
§ 8. Kings and ... lords will come in to pray to her,
§ 9. for [...] they will *proclaim*(?) [...] the [...]jed.
§ 10. (He) who shall *come* against this divinity with malice,
§ 11. or if she shall pass before (one)
§ 12. who shall ...
§ 13. and shall not do [good to the house] of Kamanis,
§ 14. or who shall not listen to these imprecations,
§ 15. against him may Kubaba of 100 KISTARA's be angry,
§ 16. and for him [may she] ...

Notes

Edition: most recently Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 257, pp. 185 ff., which makes use of the join of fragment KARKAMIŠ A 30 b, 1-3, proposed by Meriggi in *RSO* 29 (1954), 12 f. Both edges of the inscription are missing, but the join takes the text up to its right-hand edge and shows that about 3-4 columns of signs are missing on this side. (It is interesting to observe that the publication of the fragment A 30 b, 1-3, notes: "On the face cut at right angles to the text is a rope pattern ornament, and behind this the stone is cut away as if to receive an impost"—*Carchemish* III, p. 278. This clearly refers to the otherwise lost guilloche-decorated frame of the statue B 62 a and its cut-away background). Inspection of the monument shows that a similar or slightly lesser amount is missing from the left-hand side, and thus that one or two words are missing from the ends and beginnings alternately of each line. The text does not, as Meriggi assumes, run on direct from lines 1-2 and 3-4, nor does it end exactly at the preserved end of line 5.

§ 3: more is missing than assumed by Meriggi.

§ 4: "my statue"—must this refer to a likeness of Kamanis, or could it refer to the Kubaba stele on which it is written?

§ 6, [LOCUS]-ta₅-ta₆: the missing sign, restored by Meriggi, was apparently still preserved on the monument when George Smith saw it in 1876, since it appears in a copy made by him and preserved in the British Museum.

§ 7, LOCUS-ta₄-za: collation confirms this reading (cf. Meriggi, *Glossar*₁, 66), against that of *Manuale* II/2 (-ti-i-ha).

§ 8, PES₂PES₂-ti: doubtless, following Laroche, 3 plur. pres. of the verb normally written more fully PES₂PES₂(-)-tā-, "walk(?)"; the word cannot be run on with the traces on the next line, since the gap is wider than assumed by Meriggi. Connective particles either independent or enclitic, would follow and account for much of the gap. The translation offered for this section is a possible alternative to that offered in *Studia Mediterranea* . . . Meriggi (Pavia, 1979), 402.

§ 9, (LOQUI)lamanisa-: this verb was originally associated with the Cun. Hitt. root *laman*, "name" (Meriggi, *Glossar*₁, 67), but with the identification of the root in Hier. as *adaman*- (from the KARATEPE bilingual: Bossert, *Oriens* 2 (1949), 110) this becomes difficult, although maintained by Meriggi (*Glossar*₂, 78; *Manuale* II/2, 186). The logogram *HH*, no. 22, doubtless keeps the verb within the class of verbs of speaking. Cf. Anna Morpurgo Davies, in *Festschrift O. Szemerényi*, 604.

Direct object: probably qualified by [. . .]x-sa-mi-na, in appearance a participle.

Indirect object: probably governed by CUM-mi, very commonly used to express the idea of "doing something for someone".

At a guess, the direct and indirect objects might have been "me" and "her (Kubaba)"; thus either "For [me] they will proclaim(?) [her] the [. . .]-ed", or "For [her] they will proclaim(?) [me] the [. . .]-ed".

§§ 10-14: see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 146 citation 53c.

§ 16, *422-na: Collation and comparison of this inscription with ASSUR letter g, "i" and also MARAŠ 1 (lion), 4, establishes that we have here not *ha-sa*₄- (Meriggi) but the two signs listed by Laroche as *HH*, no. 422, and marked as a logogram on ASSUR letter g and MARAŠ 1, where they are followed by the phonetic writings *tunikaras*, a title or office, and *muhinuwa(n)tis*, an epithet of the king (see *An. St.* 30 (1980), 142). Since neither word has been elucidated, there is little to be said here on the reappearance of the logogram, beyond that it could be used to represent a noun (?) forming some part of the root of *tunikaras* or *muhinuwa(n)tis*.

pi-ha-. . .: perhaps the verb, if it was a long one (the space for 1-2 words is missing), which would be expected to be 3 sing. imper. "[may she] PIHA[. . .] the *422 for him!"; alternatively perhaps a noun in the acc. sing. qualified by or coupled with *422-na—" [may she] harm the *422 [and?] PIHA[. . .] for him!" It is unfortunate that this passage is damaged since it might have served to elucidate the somewhat enigmatic but obviously important Luwian root *piha*-.

(7) KARKAMIŠ A 21/22 b + a (complete text)

- 1, § 1. . . .] HEROS *kar-ka-mi-sà* (URBS) VITELLUS (REGIO) REGIO.DOMINUS (DEUS)*ku* [+ AVIS] AMPLECTI-*mì* ||
- 2, § 2. *wa/i-mu mi-i tá-ti sa-sa-tù* (DEUS)SOL-*mì* CAPUT-*tì* MAGNUS-*nu-na* [. . . ||
- 3, § 3. . . .] (DEUS)*ku* + AVIS MANUS-*tara/i* *314(-)*i* + *à-tà*
- 4, § 4. . . .] *190.THRONUS *tá-ti mi-i za-la* SOLIUM-*nú-tá*
- 5, § 5. . . .] AMPLECTI-*nú-ta*
- § 6. NEG + *à-pa-wa/i-mu* REL-*zi* BONUS []
- 6, § 7. [. . .]-*t[à?]* || *tá-ti-zi mi-zi mí-ta*₄
- § 8. *wa/i-tà-na zi/a-ti* PODIUM-*tì* SOLIUM-*nú-tá*
- § 9. *ku-ma-wa/i* [. . .] ||
- 7, § 10. . . .] -*tá*
- § 11. *wa/i-ma-sa tá-ti-i-zi*
- 8, § 12. *wa/i-mu* INFANS-[] REL-*tì* || | PES(-)*i* + *à-ta*
- § 13. MAGNUS-*i* + *à* [. . .]
- § 14. *wa/i-mu-tá* | *tá-ti mi-i* [. . .]

§ 1. [I (am) . . .], the Hero, the country-lord of the city Karkamiš and the . . .-land, beloved of Kubaba.

§ 2. To make me great my father Sastu(ras) the sun-blessed prince [. . .]

- § 3. Kubaba . . . -ed [me?] the hand,
 § 4. [and me(?)] she caused to sit on my paternal throne(?),
 § 5. [. . .] she(?) caused to embrace [me(?)],
 § 6. who (were) not dear to me(?).
 § 7. My fathers (were) servant(s) [to her(?)],
 § 8. and her they seated on this podium.
 § 9. And when [. . .
 § 10. [. . .] she/they . . . -ed,
 § 11. to me she (was) fathers (i.e. parents?),
 § 12. as she came(?) to me (as) a child,
 § 13. [me(?)] adult [. . .
 § 14. and me (acc./dat.) my father [. . .

Notes

Editions: Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), 102–106; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 217. Meriggi's edition was not able to take account of mine. Here, however, I take the opportunity to comment on his edition and to offer some additional considerations, occasioned principally by the new values attributed to *zi/za* and *i/ia*, and by the elucidation of the negatives and disjunctives.

Extent of loss from inscription: as was noted in *An. St.* 22 (1972), 103, a slab to the right is definitely missing which has carried away *at least* the introduction and name of the author, and perhaps also the genealogy from line 1. A consideration of A 21/22 *a* suggests that not much writing was lost from it: the reconstruction of the figure (*An. St.* 22 (1972), Fig. 4 *b* facing p. 108) indicates that in lines 1–2, little space would have been available for writing; lines 5–8 preserve writing in front of the figure, but evidence of the surviving traces, supported by the sketch A 21 *c* and photograph B 35 *a*, indicate that the writing did not continue behind the figure; while lines 3 and especially 4 would probably have had writing in front of the figure but not behind. The position of the slabs does not seem to allow space for a lost slab on the left to which the writing could have jumped. The assumption made in this edition is therefore that the text did not continue on the left behind the figure of the winged genie, and the provisional conclusion is thus that the sequence of the text is as follows:

- [line 1: beginning missing]
 lines 1 + 2: text continuous
 [lines 2 end + 3 beginning: missing]
 line 3: text
 [lines 3 end + 4 beginning: small break]
 line 4: text
 [lines 4 end + 5 beginning: missing]
 lines 5 + 6: text continuous—slight loss
 [lines 6 end + 7 beginning: missing]
 lines 7 + 8: continuous text—slight loss
 [line 8 end: missing]

§ 1, *the titulary*: it has been noted that the author, Sasturas's son (cf. line 2), employs the same territorial title as Kamanis on CEKKE, rev. 1, where Sasturas is also named as Kamanis's "prime minister" (*An. St.* 29 (1979), 160 ff.). It has also been noted that the ornamental epithet (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS AMPECTI-*mi*, "beloved of Kubaba", is found elsewhere only in the fragmentary titulary of the broken statue base inscription KARKAMIŠ A 13 c 1 (see below, citation 18, § 1 and notes). There it is followed by the remains of a genealogy, immediately by "...s son", and a detached fragment has "grandson". Another fragment has "the city [Kar]ka[miš]", doubtless part of the territorial title. The three elements of the titulary ((*a*) genealogy, (*b*) territorial title, (*c*) ornamental epithets) appear in varying order in different inscriptions. The present inscription has (*b*) and (*c*) in that order, and we may wonder whether (*a*), the genealogy was included on the parts now lost.

The fragment A 20 b 1, associated with A 21/22 b + a and apparently from the top line of an inscription, bears the name *Astiru* and has been restored as the missing name of the author of the inscription: see most recently Meriggi's edition (*Manuale* II/2, no. 217, pp. 147 f., and Tav. XXV). I have pointed out the improbability of the attribution of these stylistically late reliefs to Astiruwas, known as the father of Kamanis and predecessor of Yariris, and have suggested that they should be attributed to Pisiri last king of Karkamiš and that the Astiru-fragment can best be explained as belonging to the genealogy of Sasturas's son (*An. St.* 29 (1979), 162). The genealogy would presumably have read "Sasturas's son, Astirus's grandson"—or remoter descendant, and since it seems unlikely that any writing is missing between line 1 end—line 2 beginning, it must have stood in the missing beginning of line 1. It would thus have preceded the titles and epithet, unlike the genealogy of A 13 c which appears to follow them. The fragment bearing the name *Sastu*, A 20 b 8, could represent the father's name in this genealogy.

The suggested appearance of Astiru(was) in the genealogy of Sasturas's son coupled with the recognition of Kamanis as Astiruwas's son poses a problem: what was the relationship of Kamanis to his "prime minister" Sasturas? Father or brother seem unlikely—would he then call him "prime minister"? (Also Kamanis's brothers are named on A 7 c-i). If Sasturas were Kamanis's nephew or even adopted son or son-in-law, that would place him within the lineage of Astiruwas. In these eventualities we might expect Kamanis too to appear in the genealogy, and in fact two fragmentary inscriptions imply that elsewhere he did indeed feature in Karkamiš genealogies (A 17 b, A 26 f—see *An. St.* 29 (1979), 162, n. 69).

(DEUS)ku+AVIS AMPECTI-mi, "beloved of Kubaba": this meaning, also arrived at independently by S. Alp (*Anatolian Studies* . . . Güterbock, 24 f.), may be regarded as established, against Meriggi's "Kubaba del patto". Cf. also below, citation 18, § 1.

§ 2, *mi-i*: the editors restored in the copy *mi-i[-s]a*, identifying the trace of the sign as the right-hand "leg" of *sa*. Meriggi, however, in his drawing suggests, doubtless correctly, that the trace is in fact the right-hand "leg" of the *i*. This removes from the text the only possible example of the writing of the nominative ending *-s(a)* of noun or adjective. The text's omission to write the case endings of the singular is perhaps archaizing, but makes nom. and acc. singulars indistinguishable from dat. singulars for us. Thus the case of *mi tati sas(a)tu* (DEUS)SOL-mi CAPUT-ti is not expressed nor is it determinable from the broken context—nom. acc. or dat. sing.?

ll. 2-3, 4-5: I cannot agree that Meriggi's reasons for restoring the fragment A 20 b 2 at this point are conclusive.

§ 3: doubtless some such sense as seen above, citation 2, § 3 and note, was intended, but the verb is unknown and the case of MANUS-tara/i uncertain.

§§ 3-4: the gap is probably sufficiently short to have included only connective particles and one or two words, certainly not an entire clause.

§ 4: the sign *HH*, no. 112 (animal with protruding tongue, *LINGERE*), alternates four times in KARATEPE with *za*, hence the provisional attribution of the phonetic value *za*. The resulting word *za₄-la* may be the same as the *za-la* on KARKAMIŠ A 2, 4 (uncertain sense and morphology and perhaps also the noun(?) *za-la-na* (acc. sing. MF?), for which see below, citation 18, § 3 and note.

§ 6, NEG+*ā-pa-wa/i-mu*: a good example of the archaizing uses of NEG and of *ā* in ligature to mark the *a*-vocalization in place of the simple two bars into which the sign later turned (cf. *An. St.* 28 (1978), 104). What is difficult to decide here is whether to interpret NEG+*ā*-(*pawamu*), negative, or NEG+*ā-pa*-(*wamu*), disjunctive. The easiest sense undoubtedly comes from translating as a simple (negative) relative clause, "who were not good to me"; cf. for the construction *An. St.* 25 (1975), 131 f., citations 14-16. But does the presence of *-pa* interpose an obstacle to such an understanding?

ll. 5-6: assuming as argued above that nothing is missing beyond a column-and-a-bit of signs at the beginning of A 21/22 a, 5, we may provisionally suggest that the gap would have been filled by a verbal ending to BONUS (or adjectival ending, with verb "to be" understood) and connective particles ending probably with the surviving traces *tā* or *tā*.

§ 7 would thus be the very truncated clause presented, which could hardly be rendered in any other way than is offered.

§ 8: could there be a reference here back to statements of Katuwas, citation 1(v) and KARKAMIŠ A 20 a (see citation 2a, note)? It would be interesting to think that Sasturas's son might have regarded Katuwas as among his "fathers".

§ 11: the understanding of the clause as proposed might be seen as an alternative way of expressing the better known sense "she was father and mother to me".

§ 12, | PES(-)i + ā-ta: collation confirms this as against Meriggi's suggested readings, although the word divider has the unusual form visible in the photograph on *Carchemish* III, plate A 21 a. We might expect the verb to be one of motion but whether or not we may associate it with i-, "go" (cf. below, citation 23 a (iii) and note) is not clear.

(8) KARKAMIŠ A 18 e (complete text):

1, § 1. [. . .]-tu?

§ 2. [z]a-ti-pa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-[pa]-na [. . .

[. . .

2, § 3. [. . . (DEUS)ku-AV]IS-[pa]-sā ā-ta₅-ma-zā | REL-sa | ARHA MALLEUS-i

§ 4. ni-pa-wa/i | za ā-ma-za ("STATUA")ta-ru-sa 'd'-[ma]-za-h[ā] . . .

[. . .

3, § 5. [. . . za]-zi (SCALPRUM)ku-tā-sa₆+ra/i-zi LOCUS-ta₄-zā "SA₄"(-)sa-ni-ti

§ 6. pa-ti-pa | ā-mi-sa DOMINUS-ni-sā (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-sā x x x [. . .

§ 1. [. . .]

§ 2. Here Kubaba (acc.) [. . .

...

§ 3. (He) who shall erase Kubaba's name,

§ 4. or [shall . . .] this my statue and my [. . .

...

§ 5. [or] shall overturn these orthostats from (their) places,

§ 6. against him [may] my sovereign Kubaba [. . .

Notes

§ 2, za-ti-pa: for the absence of -wa, cf. below § 6, pa-ti-pa.

§ 6, amis DOMINUS-nis Kupapas: cf. above, citation 2, § 3. Does the recurrence of this phrase here imply that this fragment may be attributed to Katuwas?

(9) KARKAMIŠ A 30 h (complete text):

front

§ 1. [(DEUS)ku+]AVIS (*256)ka-*282-na NEG₃ REL-i-sa-ha su-su-tā

§ 2. wa/i-tā-' DOMUS-sa-' || DOMINUS-na mu-' ā-tā x-pa-tā

§ 3. wa/i-na-' su-wa/i-ha . . .

right side

§ 4. x(-)DARE.TONITRUS MAGNUS.DOMUS(+DOMINUS?) MAGNUS.INFANS

§ 1. No one used to fill Kubaba's(?) granary,

§ 2. (but) she/they . . .-ed me house-lord,

§ 3. (and) I filled it with . . .

§ 4. . . . Piyatarhunzas(?) (/ x-pi-Tesub(?)), Great House-lord, Great Son.

Notes

Date: Meriggi in his recent edition of this piece (*Manuale* II/3, no. 256, pp. 328 f.) includes it among the texts which he designates archaic, and Laroche with a query places it in the obscure period 1200-1000 B.C. (*HH*, p. 262). It may be, however, that the relative crudity of the inscription makes it appear more archaic than in fact it is, and a date to the tenth century B.C. does not seem to me to be excluded.

§ 1, [(DEUS)ku+]*AVIS*: traces on the right-hand edge of the damaged section are consistent with this restoration. It is almost certain that Kubaba is the deity concerned.

(*256) *ka*-*282-*na*: following *HH*, nos. 255–256, and *Glossar*₂, s.v. *karuna*-, one would naturally identify this with the KARATEPE (*255)*karuna*-, “granary”, especially since in both contexts the word is the object of the verb (*su*)(*su*)(*wa*)-, “fill” (*HH*, no. 60, 1; *Glossar*₂, s.v.). There remains the problem of whether the *-na* marks the acc. sing. MF, and whether to attribute a phonetic value to *HH*, no. 282 (cf. *An. St.* 30 (1980), 143).

NEG₃ REL-*i*-*sa*-*ha*: NEG₃ is of the late not archaic form NEG, but its use instead of NEG₂, i.e. without the double strokes (+ *á*) is archaic (or archaizing). This clause was not considered in my article on the negatives (*An. St.* 25 (1975), 119–156), but it clearly takes its place with statements of the type citations 32–37 and 42–44, “no one did something, but I did it”.

§ 2, DOMUS-*sa*-’ DOMINUS-*na*: collation of the superficial markings of the two rectangular signs confirms these readings. For the phrase “lord of the house”, see TELL AHMAR I, § 15 (*An. St.* 30 (1980), 149), and the new KULULU 9 (information by courtesy of Professor Mustafa Kalaç).

x-*pa*-*tá*: the first sign, though effectively unidentified, is listed by Meriggi as 268b. The obvious approximate sense is “She made me lord of the house” (cf. TELL AHMAR I, § 15), but I cannot identify the present verb.

§ 3: the clause ends with what have been recognized as numerals, the sign < three times and then four times; below is written at least partially phonetically what must be one or two commodities, x(logogram?)(-)*wa*/*i*-x(syllabogram?)-*ti*—collation does not identify the two signs written x.

§ 4, *name*: it is impossible to determine whether the damaged unidentifiable first sign belongs with the name or not, and also whether the name is written purely logographically or not. If it is, the additional question occurs as to whether it might be read in Hurrian rather than Luwian, but the later this monument is dated, the less likely this becomes.

title: the identification of this with Cun. GAL DUMU É.GAL (Hier. MAGNUS+DOMUS MAGNUS INFANS), “commander of the sons of the palace”, is very satisfactory. The question remains whether the sign *HH*, no. 251, 2, may not be DOMUS+DOMINUS rather than simply a variant form of DOMUS.

(10) KARKAMIŠ A 18 j (complete text):

[...] [(DEUS)ku-x²⁷-*AVIS*-*pa*-*ia* *Id*-*ta*₅-FRATER-*la*-*sá* | PRAE-*na* | CRUS-nú-*308-’
[...] Atatalas(?) set up before Kubaba.

Note

CRUS-nú-*308-’: it is obvious that *HH*, no. 308 must here stand for a verbal ending of the 1st or 3rd sing.; *-ha*/*-ta*, pret., seem most likely, *-wi*/*-ti*, pres., less so, *-tu*, imper. unlikely. No confirmation for the attribution of any such value to this obscure sign can be suggested.

(11) KARKAMIŠ A 12, 2:

mu-*pa*-*wa*/*i*-’ (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)kar-*hu*-*ha*-*sa* (DEUS)ku+*AVIS*-*pa*-*sa*-*ha* | PRAE-*na* | PES₂(-)*wa*/*i*-*sá*-*i*-*ta*

“But Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba walked(?) before me.”

Note

PES₂(-)*wa*-*sá*-*i*-: clearly a verb of motion like others determined by PES₂ (cf. *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 131), contextually paralleled by PES₂(-)REL₂-*ia*- (above citation 1 (iii)) and *179-*ia*- (TOPADA, 4; cf. M. Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), 121), but otherwise of uncertain formation and connections.

(12) KARKAMIŠ A 11 a, 2–3 and 6:

(i) *wa*/*i*-*mu*-’ *mi*-*i*-*sa*-’ DOMINUS-*na*-*ni* || (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)kar-*hu*-*ha*-*sa* (DEUS)ku+*AVIS*-*pa*-*sa*-*ha* *mi*-*ia*-*ti*-’ | “IUSTITIA”-*na*-*ti* (LITUUS+)*á*-*za*-*tá*

(ii) *wa/i-tú-ta-'* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-sa-ha* IRA-*lá/i/u-za-tú*

(iii) *wa/i-tú-ta-'* (PANIS)*tú*+*ra/i-pi-na* (LIBARE) *sa₅*+*ra/i-la*||-*ta-za-ha* NEG₃-*sa* ARHA | *tá-ti-i*

(i) "Me my lord Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba loved for my justice.

...

(ii) with him (the malefactor) may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba be angry,

(iii) and from him may they not accept bread and offering!"

Note

(ii-iii)—see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 143 citation 49.

(13) KARKAMIŠ A 3, 3-4:

(i) | *pa-pa-wa/i-'* | *za-á-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* | (LOQUI)*tá-tara/i-ia-tu*

(ii) *wa/i-sa-'* | *ku-ma-na sa-ti-'* | *pa-la-sa-ti-i*

(iii) *á-wa/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* || (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-sa* | ("FRONS")*ha-tá* | NEG₃-*sa* | LITUUS+*na-ti-i*

(iv) *wa/i-sa-'* | DEUS-*na-za* | CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | *zà-na-na* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* | (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru*

(i) "Him (the malefactor) may this Tarhunzas curse!

(ii) (And) when he shall . . . ,

(iii) let him not behold Tarhunzas's (and) Kubaba's faces,

(iv) (and) let him be made accursed by Tarhunzas *before* gods and men!"

Note

For this passage, see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 142 citation 47a; and for the more precise interpretation of (iii), *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 130 citation 7 ((("FRONS")*hanta*, "face" (*plurale tantum*); LITUUS+*na-*, "see").

(14) KARKAMIŠ A 14 a, 6 // A 14 b, 4-5:

(a) *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-'* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-sa-ha* IRA-2[*a* . . . -*t*]*ú-u-'*

(b) *wa/i-tú-'* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*p[a-sa-ha]* || | IRA-*sa-lá/i/u-sa-t[ú . . .]*

"With him may Karhuhas and Kubaba be angry!"

(15) KARKAMIŠ A 4 a, 2-3:

(i) *wa/i-tu-u* ("CAELUM".DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá-'* || (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-ha* (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa-'* (DEUS)SOL-*sa-[ha-']* (DEUS)*pa*+*ra/i-[k]a+[r]a/i(?)*-*sa-ha-'* IRA-*lá/i/u-sa-tu*

(ii) *á-wa/i* | *á-pa-sá* (CAPUT)[*ha*+*ra/i*]-*ma-[hi-na]* AR[HA] "DOMUS+*RA/I*"-*na²-nu-tu*

(i) "with him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, the Moon and the Sun, and Parakaras(?) be angry,

(ii) and may they remove his head!"

Notes

("CAELUM".DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunzas* (l. 2) is clearly followed directly by (DEUS) *Karhuhas* (l. 3), which indicates that the right-hand edge of this damaged inscription must have been located exactly at this point, though this was noted neither in the publication of the text nor by Meriggi's edition (*Manuale* II/2, no. 162, pp. 108-111; see fr. 12, "15"). The further inference that the inscription began immediately above this point on line 1 is important for its restoration; see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, in *Festschrift G. Neumann* (Wiesbaden, 1981), forthcoming. Cf. Bossert, *AfO* 18 (1957-58), 361.

(DEUS)pa+ra/i-[k]a+[r]a/i(?) -sa-ha-: Bossert (loc. cit., 362), after examining the fragment in question, reported clear traces of a *ra/i* attached to the broken *ka*, which gives a divine name *Parakaras* (our reading). He identified this as a late form of the goddess *Piringir*, a form of the goddess *Ištar*, and presumably, in view of this grouping with the Sun and Moon, in her astral character as the planet Venus. Although Bossert's reading and identification were ignored by Meriggi (*Glossar*, s.v. *Pa-r[-k]a-s*; *Manuale* II/2, 111), his collation must carry weight, and the identification receives further support from the Meskene evidence that *Piringir* was equated with the goddess *Ninsianna*, herself the manifestation of *Ištar* as Venus (Laroche, *RHA* XXXV (1977), 201 s.v. *Piringir*).

"DOMUS+RA/I"-na²⁷-nu-tu: the possible reading of *na* here was noted in *An. St.* 20 (1970), 105, and is important in a consideration of the form of this common verb. The question is still undecided (cf. Meriggi, loc. cit., 111), and collation awaited.

(16) KARKAMIŠ A 25 b 2, 1-2 (collated, readings assured):

pa-ti-pa-wa/i | (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa || (DEUS)ka+ra/i-hu-ha-sa (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ha | IRA-lá/i/u-h[i]-ri+i-ti [. . .

"Against him [may] Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba [. . .] with anger!"

Note

IRA-lá/i/u-h[i]-ri+i-ti: presumably this is the ablative of the abstract *-ahi(t)-* derivative of the adjective IRA-li- (for stem-vowel see *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 152 § 4), for which we would expect the form IRA-lahitati. Must we suppose that the spelling with *ri+i* points to the possibility of an *-iti/iri* ablative for these nouns too? For the expression, cf. below, citations 23 a (vi) and 23 b, . . . IRA-tà-ti CUM-ni x-tu.

(17) CEKKE, rev. 11-12:

(i) á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)ka+ra/i-hu-ha-sa (DEUS)ku-AVIS-ha (DEUS)BONUS (DEUS)i-sa-ha (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa (DEUS)SOL (CRUX)wa/i-la "PES"-wa/i-tú

(ii) á-wa/i | "CAELUM"-sa CORNU+RA/I-na | ní LITUUS+na-ti

(iii) TERRA-pa-wa/i CORNU+RA/I-na | ní || PES₂.PES [. . .]

(iv) (DEUS)ku-pa-AVIS-pa-si-pa-wa/i *476-wá/i-sa-ha-na CORNU+RA/I-na | ní LITUUS+na-ti

(i) "Against him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, the Good God and Ea, the Moon (and) the Sun come WALA,

(ii) and may he not behold the sky's abundance,

(iii) and may he not [. . .] the earth's abundance

(iv) and may he not behold Kubaba's . . . abundance!"

Notes

(i), (CRUX)wala "PES"-wa/i-: an attestation of this phrase on the recently discovered KULULU 10, made known to me by the courtesy of Professor Mustafa Kalaç, has *wa/i-la* written without the logogram and revealing, as Kalaç remarks, that *wala* is the full phonetic writing. He further suggests that this word should be associated with the verb *arha* (MORI)wala-/wara-, "die" (see *KZ* 94 (1980), 109-119).

(CRUX)wala can hardly be dissociated from the verb of the same writing KARKAMIŠ A 23 (see above, citation 2, § 9 and note). In that context it has been suggested that a possible means of linking *arha* (MORI)wala-/wara-, "die", with the verb (CRUX)wala- (assuming with Kalaç that MORI is a form of CRUX) is to translate the latter "suffer" and to consider that the finality of "dying" is added by the *arha*. If this were correct, the present adverb (CRUX)wala (a deverbative noun in the dat. sing., or acc. plur. N. of an adjective?) would have to mean in the context something like "(come) with suffering".

(ii-iv)—see mostly recently *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 131, citation 8.

CORNU+RA/I-: interpreted as "abundance" by identification with KARATEPE (35 and 191) (CORNU+RA/I) *su+ra/i* = Phoen. *šb'* (Bossert, *Ar. Or.* 18/3 (1950), 29 f.; *JKF* 1 (1951), 281 f., followed by Laroche and Meriggi).

"*476"-*wá/i-sa-ha*:- contrary to *Glossar*₂, 151, and *HH*, no. 476, 2, this word is not to be identified with the noun (*419/*420)*washa*-. It appears to be an adjective and a longer, perhaps full, phonetic writing can be read on BOYBEYPINARI IV D 3 + III A 3 (see below, citation 23a(v) and note).

(18) KARKAMIŠ A 13 *c* + *a* + *b* (complete text):

§ 1. ... (c 4) [*kar*]-*ka*-[*mi-sa* ...](URBS)[...]x[...] (c 1) (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-sa AMPLECTI-mi*[... -*s*]*a-t*[*i*?-...] -*sa* INF[ANS(?)] ... (c 2) ...] NEP[OS ...]

§ 2. (a) ...]-*na-ia*

§ 3. *ní-pa-wa/i*+*ra/i* *za-la-na* | PONERE-*wa/i-ia*

§ 4. *ní-pa-wa/i-ta á-ma-za* | *á-ta_x-ma-za* | ARHA "MALLEUS"

§ 5. (b) *pa-pa*-[*wa/i*] (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-sa* | *á-ta*- [...]

§ 6. [... -*p*]*a*-[*wa/i*]-*tú-tá* *464[...] PES₂ [...]

§ 7. (DEUS) SOL [...]

§ 1. [... of] the city [*Kar*]*ka*[*miš* ...] the beloved of Kubaba, [...]'s son, [...]'s grandson.

...

§ 2. [...] shall ...

§ 3. or shall put it/them ZALA,

§ 4. or shall erase my name,

§ 5. him [may] Kubaba eat [up],

§ 6. for him [may ...] trample the ruins (/ruinously),

§ 7. (and) the Sun [...]

Notes

Edition: Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 174, pp. 117 f.

For the arrangement of the fragments of side *c*, see the excavators' remarks, *Carchemish* II, pp. vii and 92, and Meriggi's observations. It is not possible to gather from the excavators' report which sides of the base, left-hand, front or right-hand, sides *a-c* represent. Logically it is clear that the inscription must have begun with side *c* with its fragmentary titulary and genealogy, and it is noteworthy that most of this ran in an opposite direction to the inscription on sides *a-b*, which shows that it originally occupied a line above them. Sides *a-b* appear to run consecutively and could contextually form the end of the inscription if one or two words may be assumed to be lost from the right-hand end of *b*. It is to be hoped that all fragments are still preserved in Ankara Museum (*Carchemish* III, Index p. 266, gives the Museum registration number 10960 for some of it), since an examination might yield further readings and observations of the original form.

§ 1, the damaged genealogy: this, when compared with the titulary of KARKAMIŠ A 21/22 (citation 7, § 1), is very suggestive but gives rise to genealogical problems. I have several times suggested the ascription of this piece to Sasturas's son on the grounds of (a) the occurrence of the epithet (DEUS)*ku*+*AVIS AMPLECTI-mi* on both A 13 *c* 1 and A 21/22 *b* (and only here), (b) the similarity of style of the broken colossus KARKAMIŠ B 27 *a* and damaged relief figure A 21 *b*, and the association of these with the latest Syro-Hittite sculptural style as seen at Zincirli, Sakça Gözü and Malatya (*ZA* 63 (1973), 308 f.; *Iraq* 36 (1974), 73; *RLA* V, Karkamiš, § 14, Sph III *b*, § 15 (a) (2) 4).

In attributing A 13 *c* + *a* + *b* to Sasturas's son, I may have given insufficient attention to the fragmentary genealogy. Immediately after (DEUS)*ku*+*AVIS-sa AMPLECTI-mi*[...], there joins

the beginning of a genealogy of which the last preserved sign is probably INFANS...⁷, HH, no. 45, a *hand* + *word-divider* (HH, no. 386). It is not absolutely excluded that we might have here NE[POS...], i.e. HH, nos. 45 + 3[00 + 488], though this is rendered less likely by the appearance of HH, nos. 45 + 300 on an associated fragment A 13 c 2. It thus seems that the genealogy starts with "son", or less likely "grandson" or "great-grandson". Now clearly if the author was indeed Sasturas's son, the name *Sasturas* should be found before INFANS. The only certain sign of the name is the final -sa of the genitive/genitival adjective, but traces of other signs survive, in particular [...s]a-t[i²...], the first certain, the second possible. Now it must be admitted that if that *ti* can be confirmed, the name suggested is not *Sasturas* (sa-sa-tū-ra/i-) but *Astiruwas* (á-sa-ti-ru(-wa/i)-), and indeed the traces on the preceding fragment could be taken as I¹á¹-. We must therefore I think envisage the possibility of reading here I¹á¹-[s]a-t[i²-ru(-wa/i)]-sa INFANS..., "Astiru(wa)s's son(?)". Collation would probably serve to confirm or disprove, but unfortunately it is not clear whether the fragments are still extant or not.

If this reading is substantiated or even provisionally accepted, the attribution of this inscription and the associated colossus must be probably to Kamanis, the only son of Astiruwas known to have reigned in Karkamiš. This reattribution need not invalidate the identification of Sasturas's son as Pisiri, last king of Karkamiš, and the dating of the style of A 21/22 to the period Tiglath-pileser III-Sargon. It would, however, mean stretching the span of the style back to the previous generation, that of Kamanis. It would also mean that Sasturas's son adopted not only the regional title of Kamanis ("country lord of the city Karkamiš and the land * 109") but also his epithet "beloved of Kubaba".

§ 3: a similar protasis clause was noted on BOYBEYPINARI III A 2 + IV D 2 (*An. St.* 20 (1970), 93 f.; cf. now the remarks of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 81 and 118). *za-la-na* is still unclear in both places, whether a noun in the acc. sing. MF, or something else (cf. *zala* above, citation 7, § 4 and note?).

§ 5, restoration: Kubaba and other gods in curses are often invoked to "eat up" (*arha ata-aza-*) the malefactor; cf. below citations 26 (iv); 28 (iii); 29 a (iii); 29 b (ii); 30 (i-ii). While there is apparently no space for *arha* here, some similar imprecation may be considered.

§ 6: for the restoration see Meriggi's edition.

(19) KARKAMIŠ A 15 e, 1:

... k[ar-ka-mi-si-za-sa (URBS) REGIO.DOMINUS (DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa-[] B[ONUS ...

Note

Following "Karkamišean country-lord", Kubaba is clearly appearing in a ruler's titulary. Examination of a squeeze preserved in the British Museum shows that the traces of the following sign indeed represent BONUS, so a likely restoration would be (DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa-[si] (B[ONUS]wasam's mitas), "Kubaba's dear servant"; cf. ŠIRZI, 2; ALEPPO 2, 1—*An. St.* 30 (1980), 151. Such a title is not found elsewhere in the Karkamiš corpus.

(20) KÖRKÜN, 1-2:

wa/i-mu-ta á-mi-ti "VAS"-na-ti "VAS"(-)ha-pa-sü + ra/i-wa/i-ti DOMINUS-na-sa ha-ti-sá |
NEG₂ (21) || ma-nu-ha zi-la | "PES"(-)hi-nu-ha | (DEUS)ku + AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ti LEPUS + RA/i-ia-ti
TONITRUS-hu-ta-sa-ti-ha

"... by Kubaba's command and Tarhunzas's."

Notes

The accumulated doubts on the morphology and syntax of this clause inhibit a confident interpretation.

(DEUS) *Kupapasati tapariyati Tarhuntasati*: cf. (DEUS) *Tarhuntasati* (DEUS) *Iyasati* *ha tapariyati* (MARAS 1, 5).

(21 a) TELL AHMAR 1, 1-2:

(i) wa/i-mu-(-)ia | á-ta-na | INFANS(-)ni-wa/i-á + ra/i-*282 | "CAELUM"-si-i-sa |
(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-sa (DEUS)i-ia-sa | REX-ti-i-sa (DEUS)BONUS(-)ku-pá² + ra/i-ma-sa₅ |

(DEUS)*454*(-)ma-ti-lá/i-sa (DEUS)FORTIS-su-pa-sa | ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa-ha(URBS)
 (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa [...] (DEUS)k[u+AV]IS-pa[-pa]-sa-ha x-x-si | á-[...] -ha? [...] -mu-ti-sa
 [...] -sa [...]

(ii) [...]xxx (LITUUS+)á-za-ta

(iii) wa/i-mu- | á-ma-za | tá-ti-ia-za | (*382) || s[á-la-h]a-za | pi-ia-t[a]

(i) "Me (as) a ... child celestial Tarhus(?), Ea the king, the good god Kuparmas, Matilis(?), Tešub and the Harranean Moon-God, [...] and Kubaba ... [...]

(ii) [...] they loved

(iii) (and) to me they gave my paternal power."

(21 b) TELL AHMAR 2, 2-3: †

(i) wa/i-mu-(-)ia | á-t[a₆]-i-na [...] (DEUS)TONITRUS]-sa (DEUS)i-ia-sa | REX-ti-i-sa
 (DEUS)BONUS-sa | (DEUS)*454-lá/i-i-sa | ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa(URBS) || (DEUS)LUNA+
 MI-sa | á-ta-na | (PES₂)tara/i-za-mi-sa "DEUS(?)SOL(?)" [...] -sa (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa
 [...]

(ii) [...]

(iii) wa/i-mu- | á-ma-za | tá-ti-ia-za || (*382) sá-la-ha-za pi-ia-tá

(i) "Me (as) a ... [child celestial Tarhu]s(?), Ea the king, the Good God, Matilis(?), the Harranean Moon-God, the A(N)TAN TARZAMI Sun-God(?), [...], Kubaba [...]

(ii) [...]

(iii) (and) to me they gave my paternal power."

Note

For these two closely parallel passages on two different stelae by two different rulers, see most recently my edition of TELL AHMAR 1 (*An. St.* 30 (1980), 140 f. and notes on p. 146).

(DEUS)BONUS(-)ku-pá²+ra/i-ma-sa₅: the "good god" written (DEUS)BONUS seems to be established as the grain god by KARATEPE 307 and 318 (=Phoen. šb'): Bossert, *MNHMHC XAPIN* (*Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*) (1956), I, 45 ff.; Kalag, *Or.* n.s. 34 (1965), 416, s.v. NISABA; Ginsberg, *JANES* 5 (1973), 138. The full phonetic writing of the word seems to be provided by the present attestation together with another which indicates a root ending in -m(a)- (TELL TAYINAT, frag. 1 B, 1). In the Hittite Empire pantheon the god-lists (*kaluti*) of Tešub show an alternation of Hitt. *Halki* (^dNISABA) and *Kumarbi* (Laroche, *JCS* 2 (1948) 114 ff.), an alternation explained and amplified by the evidence of Ugarit, where *Kumarbi* of the Hurrian pantheon corresponds to Dagan of the Semitic (Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, 518 ff., esp. 523-5; Nougayrol, *ibid.*, 42 ff., esp. 47). This evidence now establishes *Kumarbi*'s character as the Hurrian grain-god and indicates that the grain-god of Yazılıkaya represented him (no. 40—Laroche, *RHA* XXVII/84-85 (1969), 70; Güterbock *apud* Bittel *et al.*, *Yazılıkaya* (1975), 172 f.). The present TELL AHMAR sequence of gods shows clear links with the second-millennium Hurrian pantheon, in particular (DEUS)*iyas* REX-tis (=Ea-šarri: see Laroche, *RHA* XXXIV (1976), 76 f., s.v. Eya), and (DEUS)FORTIS-supas (=Tešub, only attested here: Kalag, *Or.* n.s. 34 (1965), 423). The Moon-god of Harran and Kubaba belong in the same milieu.

Since *Kuparma* seems to be a first-millennium grain-god from a Hurrian milieu, and *Kumarbi* is now recognized as that god in the later second millennium in the same context, there would seem good reason to suppose that *Kuparma* is simply a late form of the name *Kumarbi*. Phonetically either a simple transposition of the labials or the easy shifts of m > b and b/w > m could have given rise to the form. The not entirely established

value *pá*? should also be borne in mind; the present context adds little beyond a further indication of the labial character of the consonant.

(22) ALEPPO 2, 6:

pa-pa-wa/i-' (DEUS)*ku*+A[VIS ...] (DEUS)[*i*]-*ia*-[...]
 "him [may] Kubaba [and] Ea [...]"

Note

See most recently *An. St.* 30 (1980), 152.

(23 a) BOYBEYPINARI IV B1-C1:

(i) *za-wa/i á-ta₅-na* (DEUS)AVIS *mu-u* ^I*pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa* ... (SOLIUM)*i-sá-nu-wa/i-ha*

III D1 (+?) D2:

(ii) *mu-pa-wa/i* | *za-á-ti á-ta₅* (DEUS)AVIS PRAE-*na* X+MI²(-)*ha-ta[-?]-mi²-na* ||
sa-ma-ni-ha

(iii) *á-wa/i á-pi* SCRIBA+RA/I(-)*wa/i-ma-za* ARHA (PES₂)*i-ha*

(iv) | *za-pa-wa/i* (FEMINA)*á-ta₅-na* (DEUS)AVIS REL-*i-sa* X-*wa/i-si-ia-na* REL-*sa* MALUS₁-
ta₄-sa-tara/i-ti ARHA MALLEUS-*i*

IV D3 + III A-C3 (+?) IV A 3:

(v) *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i á-ta₅-sa* (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS *á-pa-si-i-na* "VAS"(??)-*ni-na* "*476"(-)*ta-wa/i-sa-ha-na* PRAE-*na* TONITRUS(?)*-wa/i-nú-wa-tu*

(vi) ("CAELUM")*ti-pa-sa-ti-sa-pa-wa/i-tu-u* ("TERRA") *ta-sá-REL*+RA/I-*ti-sa-ha* CAELUM
-sa-ha TERRA-REL+RA/I-*sa-ha* DEUS-*ni-i-zí* IRA-*tá-ti* CUM-*ni* X-*tu*?

(i) "This ATA Kubaba I Panamuwatis ... seated.

(ii) Before this ATA Kubaba ... I myself founded(?),

(iii) and I went forth ...

(iv) (He) who this ATA Kubaba, (or) who ... shall erase with badness.

(v) for him may the ATA Kubaba cause to ... his (-)TAWASHA- body(?),

(vi) and against him may Heaven and Earth and the gods of heaven and earth ... with anger!"

(23 b) BOYBEYPINARI II C:

pa-ti-pa-wa/i á-ta₅-sa [(DEUS)]AVIS IRA-*tá-ti* CUM²-*ni* X-*tu*

"against him may ATA Kubaba ... with anger!"

Notes

Context: BOYBEYPINARI IV + III bear an inscription recording the setting up of a (statue of the) goddess Kubaba by Panamuwatis (citation 23 a (i) above), and the dedication of a throne and offering-table to her by Panamuwatis's father. The throne and table were doubtless placed on a podium formed by the blocks and the statue set on the throne.

BOYBEYPINARI I + II formed a similar podium for a throne and table recorded in the inscription as dedicated by Panamuwatis, doubtless also to Kubaba who is invoked in the protecting curse (citation 23 b) as on IV + III (citation 23 a (v) above).

For the texts see most recently the edition of Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, nos. 128-131, pp. 73-84), and his comments on my earlier edition and comments on his earlier edition. A few additional comments are necessary here.

(iii), (PES₂)*i-ha*: for the verb see *HHL*, [47] and n. 163; cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 128.

(v), *476(-)*ta-wa/i-sa-ha-na*: this appears to be the same word as is found on ÇEKKE rev. 12, *476-*wá/i-sa-ha-na* (see above, citation 17(iv)). There it appeared to be an adjective and is presumably the same here, in spite of following the noun which it would qualify. These considerations hamper the possibility of recognizing in it a verbal abstract in *-sha-*, a formation recently examined by Starke (*KZ* 93 (1979), 247-261).

"*VAS*"(??)-*ni-na*: in a forthcoming study on the word ("*VAS*") *at(a)ri-*, "form, figure, image", I note also a word used in similar contexts *VAS-ni-* (TELL AHMAR 2, 7—see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147; the word now makes a further appearance on the new KULULU 9—information by courtesy of Mustafa Kalaç). I have suggested that this stands for *wasini-* (= Cun. Luw. *waššina/i-*, "body"; *DLL* 109, s.v.), a derivative of which is found in (*474) *wasinasi-/usinasi-*, "(body-)servants, attendants" (*An. St.* 30 (1980), 143). It seems not impossible to read the word here, though further collation would be necessary to confirm or reject.

(24) ANCOZ, 1:

(i) ...]*pi-ia*[-...]-*tá* PURUS-*mi-ia* | *za-à-ti* (MENSA)*wa/i-si* PONERE-*wa/i-ti*.

(ii) *à-wa/i za-ia* (*257.DARE)*ti-na-tá* (LIBARE) *sa₅+ra/i-la-i-ti i-pá?* (DEUS)CERVUS₂ (FEMINA)*á-ta₅* (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-pa-pa* [...]

(i) "They will put pure gifts(?) on this table,

(ii) and they will offer these offerings(?) to IPA Runzas and ATA Kubaba."

Notes

(i), PURUS-*mi-ia*: it is now clear that the logogram *HH*, no. 322/323, stands for the now better known Luw.-Lyc. root *kumma/i-*, "pure" with its large number of derivatives. There seems no reason not to recognize it here as the acc. plur. N of the simple adjective. The sign must be kept separate, contrary to what was said both by myself and Meriggi, from *tú*, *HH*, no. 325.

pi-ia[-...]-*tá*: the noun qualified by the adjective is thus probably to be sought in these signs, and a derivative of *piya-*, "give", would obviously fit the context well. Attested nominal forms are: (a) *pi-ia-za* (KULULU lead fragment 1), uncertain morphology—what stem, number, gender, case? Cf. Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* VI, 107, table. (b) (*257)*pi-ia-tara/i*[-...]. (KARKAMIŠ A 12, 4-5), also uncertain, perhaps an abstract in *-tara/i-*.

Here perhaps one or two signs are missing: the *ARHA* claimed by Meriggi on the basis of a photograph of a cast of ANCOZ (*AJA* 64 (1960), Plate 12, Fig. 6) does not exist—it is an irregularity on the surface of the cast. Collation of the stone shows a break here. The final *-tá* could be part of the word or perhaps represent the enclitic pronoun *-ata-* or particle *-ta*, in which case at least a *-wa₅* would have to be restored.

PONERE-*wa/i-ti*, (LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-la-i-ti*: these two verbs can now confidently be identified as 3rd plur. pres. according to A. Morpurgo Davies, who has pointed out that verbs with 3rd sing. pres. in *-i* (as both *tuwa-* and *sarlai-*) do not duplicate this ending with one in *-ti* (*Festschrift O. Szemerényi*, 577 ff. esp. 590-592).

(ii), *i-pá?*: the second sign is definitely *pá?* (*HH*, no. 462) and not *HH*, no. 273, as asserted by Meriggi, nor is the word followed by a further sign. The word is certainly identical with that attested on *ŞIRZI* as pointed out in *An. St.* 20 (1970), 100. The *i-pá?* (DEUS) CERVUS₂ attested on ANCOZ and *ŞIRZI* is closely paralleled by the *i-pá²-si* (DEUS)*ru-ti-ia-sa* twice attested on the MARAŞ 1 (lion), once paired with *IRA+lá/i/u-si-sa* (DEUS)*ru-ti-ia-sa*. IPA Runzas/Runtiyas of the IPA seem to be specially distinguished manifestations of the deity, which is suggestive also for the ATA Kubaba.

The deity honoured by the BOYBEYPINARI blocks appears written in the following ways:

- | | | |
|--|-----------|--------|
| (a) <i>á-ta₅-sa</i> (DEUS) <i>ku-AVIS</i> | (IV D 3) | } nom. |
| (b) <i>á-ta₅-sá</i> [(DEUS)] <i>AVIS</i> | (II C) | |
| (c) <i>á-ta₅-na</i> (DEUS) <i>AVIS</i> | (IV B 1) | } acc. |
| (d) (FEMINA) <i>á-ta₅-na</i> (DEUS) <i>AVIS</i> | (III D 2) | |
| (e) <i>á-ta₅</i> (DEUS) <i>AVIS</i> | (III D 1) | dat. |
- also (f) (FEMINA)*á-ta₅* (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-pa-pa*[-...]. (ANCOZ).

A combination of (a), (d) and (f) serves to confirm that the other writings are merely abbreviations of the usual way of rendering Kubaba's name. The curious epithet (FEMINA)ata- can still only be guessed at: *An. St.* 20 (1970), 89 f. Meriggi still thinks in terms of "image, statue": *Manuale* II/2, 77. A title such as "mother" or "lady" would be appropriate to the sense, but the same title may be applied to a (male) god. Could any distant connection with the second-millennium Adamma-Kubaba (for which see now, Fauth, *Glotta* 45 (1967), 129-148) be envisaged?

(25) MALATYA 13:

Although photographs of the front of this stele have been quite often reproduced (Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954), Taf. 44(1); Vieyra, *Hittite Art* (London, 1955), pl. 65; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätheth. Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), Taf. 42 f.; Genge, *Nordsyrisch-Südanatolische Reliefs* (Copenhagen, 1979), Abb. 42), the inscription has long remained unpublished, but see now, Meriggi and Poetto, *Or.* 49 (1980), 259-61 and Tav. XXI-XXIII.

The inscription is not such as to permit a connected reading, and all that can be stated with certainty is that it names the two deities, on the left Karhuhas ((DEUS.CERVUS₂)karhu-ha-sa), and on the right Kubaba ((DEUS)ku+AVIS). My collation of the text suggested some minor differences of reading from those of Meriggi-Poetto. I confine myself to presenting what I thought that I could see without further comment (Figs. 2-3, p. 170 f.).

(26) BULGARMADEN, 2 and 5 (collated, readings assured):

(i) | wa/i-ma-na (DEUS)TONITRUS-za (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ha | pa+ra/i-na ARHA
| la+ra/i-ta

(ii) á-pa-... CAPUT-ti-na (DEUS)TONITRUS-z[a] DEUS-ni-zi-ha | ARHA | DOMUS
+RA/I-nú-tu

(iii) (DEUS)LUNA+MI-pa-wa/i-na | ha+ra/i-tu

(iv) (DEUS)ni-ka-ru-ha-sa-pa-wa/i-na AR[HA] EDERE-t[u]

(v) (DEUS)ku-pa-wa/i-na "X"-tu-¹X¹

(i) "Tarhunza and Kubaba prospered it (Mount Muti) for me.

(ii) that man may Tarhunza and the gods exterminate,

(iii) may the Moon-God curse him,

(iv) may Nikarugas eat him up,

(v) may Ku(baba) ... him!"

Notes

(i)—see *An. St.* 28 (1978), 105.

(ii): although the reading is not clear it seems that the connective particles have been omitted.

(v), (DEUS)ku-...: it seems that the connective particles are -pa-wa/i-na as in the two preceding clauses. This means that the writing of the deity's name is very defective, omitting the AVIS logogram and the phonetic complement -papa-, perhaps by double haplography before -pa(wan). Yet it can hardly be doubted that Kubaba is intended here.

(27 a) ÇİFTLİK, 3-4:

(i) zi-wa/i-ta (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa (DEUS)hi-pu-tà-sa-ha [SOLIUM]-MI[-i?]

(ii) [zi-pa-wa/i-ta] (DEUS)i-ia-[sá] || (DEUS)ku[-AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ha] ¹SOLIUM¹-MI

(iii) zi-pa-wa/i-ta (DEUS)sa₅+ra/i-ru-ma-sá (DEUS)á-la-sù-wa/i-sa-ha SOLIUM+MI-i

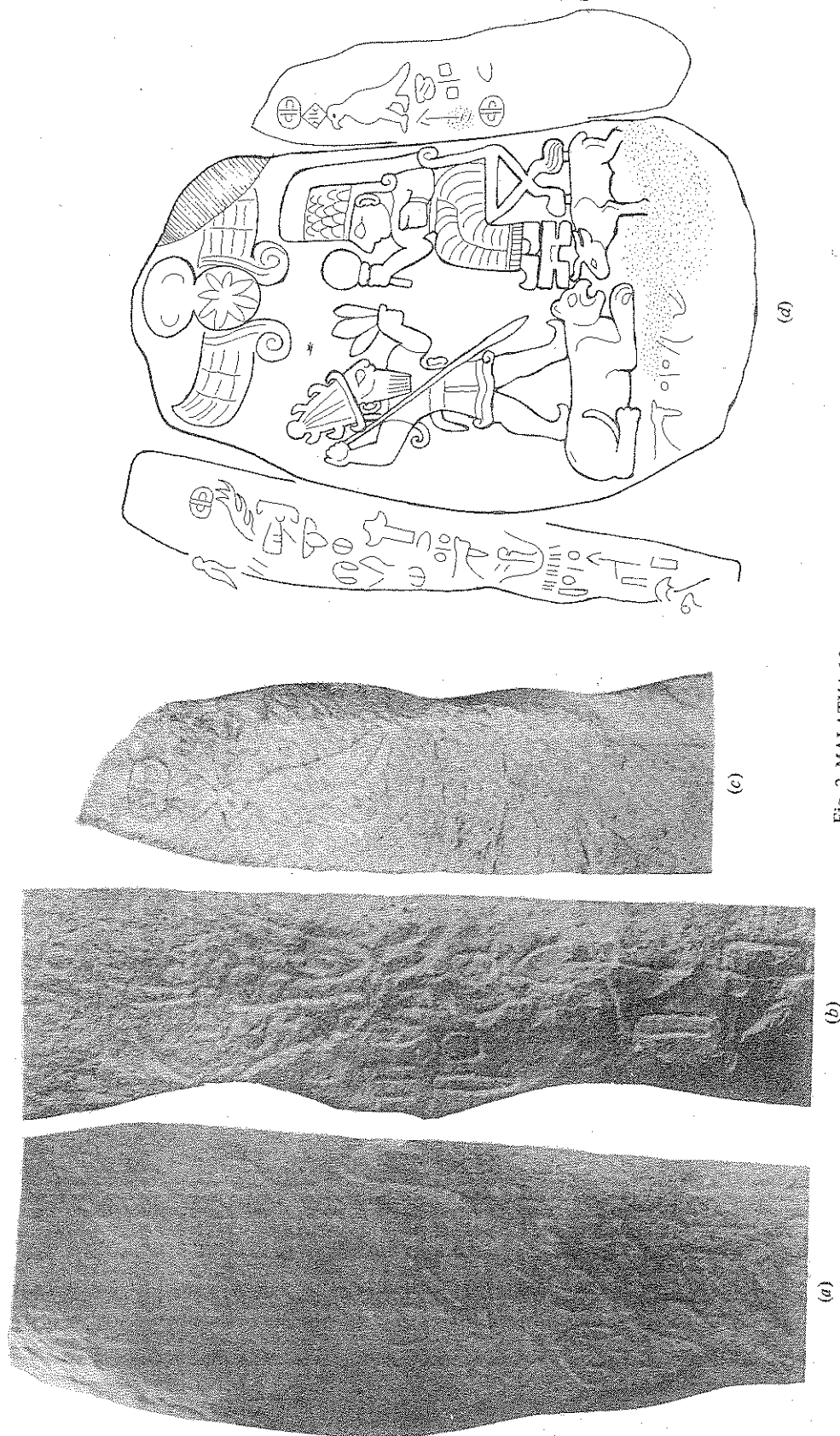


Fig. 2. MALATYA 13.

(a)-(c) Inscription, left side (a-b) and right side (c), not to scale. (d) Drawing, showing relief and inscription.



Fig. 3. MALATYA 13. Relief.

- (i) "On the one hand Tarhunzas and Hebat [sits],
- (ii) [and on the other] Ea and Ku[baba] sits,
- (iii) and on the other Sarrumas and Alasuwas sits."

Notes

For the continuity and reading of this text, see *An. St.* 28 (1978), 109. A welcome parallel for this grouping of the gods comes now from the new KULULU 10 (information by courtesy of Professor Mustafa Kalaç).

(i), (DEUS) *hi-pu-tà-sa*: the KULULU parallel reads *hi-pu-*, and though I formerly read *pa* here, examination of my squeeze of the text indicates that *pu* is more likely.

(27 b) KULULU 10, 1-2:

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (DEUS)*hi-pu-tà-s[a]* [(DEUS)*i-ia-sa(?)*] (DEUS)[*ku*]-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa* (DEUS) *hà-ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa* [(DEUS) SARMA]-*ma-sa* (DEUS) *á-la-sù-wa/i-sa* || [...?] *ha-ra/i-ma-na*(URBS) (DEUS)*hà-ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa* (DEUS)LUNA+MI "(DEUS)SOL" [...]

"Tarhunzas, Hebat, [Ea(?),] Kubaba, Harranean Sarrumas, Alasuwas, [...?], in(?) the city Harmana, the Harranean Moon-God, the Sun [...]"

Notes

(DEUS)*iyas*: this restoration seems likely by comparison with *ÇİFTLİK* and space does seem to be available.

(DEUS) *á-la-sù-wa/i-sa*: the appearance of this goddess coupled with Sarruma links up well with the Cun. Hitt. evidence on the connection of Sarruma with Allanzu (Laroche, *Syria* 40 (1963), 289 ff.) and the identification of Allanzu at Yazılıkaya as no. 45 (Güterbock, in Bittel et al., *Yazılıkaya* (1975), 171, and Nachtrag, 187; and now E. Masson, *Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya* (Paris, 1981), 33).

(28) KULULU, 1, 3-5:

(i) | *á-pa||-ti-pa-wa/i* | *á-ra/i-ta-la-si-sá* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-u-za-sá* | *á-pa-si-na* | *á-ra/i-ta-li-na* | INFRA-*ni-na* | *ha-pa-za-nu-wa/i-tu-u*

(ii) *Ihu-wa/i-ti-sá-pa-wa/i-tu-u-ta* | *á-mu-ra/i-sá* | (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa-sa* | *ha-sa-mi-sa* *sù-wa/i-ni-i-sá* | *á-pa-na-*' || *i-zi-ia-tu*

(iii) | *á-wa/i* | *á-pa-si-na* | *ha-sa-mi-na* | *pá-ra/i-ta-mi-i-na* | ARHA | *á-za-tu* | *á-pa-si-ha* | *á-tara/i-i-na*

(i) "For him may ARATALASI Tarhunzas cause to HAPAZA down his ARATALI.

(ii) May the HASAMI dog of Kubaba, the AMURA of Tuwatis, 'make after' (i.e. pursue) him,

(iii) and may it eat up his HASAMI PAR(A)TAMI and his (own) form!"

Notes

(ii-iii) is best understood by comparison with the similar imprecation, KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9: "... as for him may the dogs of Nikarawas eat up his head!"—i.e. subject—*hasamis suwanis*; *Kupapas*—dependent genitive; *amura/is*—probably genitive, apposition to *Kupapas*, but possibly nominative, apposition to *suwanis*; *Tuwatis*—genitive dependent on *amura/is*; object—physical attributes of the malefactor, as in KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9, and cf. also citation 30 below.

(iii), *hasami*—seems to be a participle and is associated by Meriggi with Hier. *has(a)-*, Cun. Hitt. *hašš-*, "beget", thus very plausibly "begotten". *par(a)tami-(?)* also seems to be a participle and is associated by Meriggi with *par(a)ta(?)*, "words (of imprecation)", thus "accursed". Of the pair *hasamin par(a)tamin* one must be nominalized to express the physical object of the curse, parallel to *at(a)rin*, and perhaps we may interpret *hasami-* by comparison with the nominalized participle of Cun. Hitt. *hašš-*, namely *haššant-*, in the phrase:

nušši [Iammunan *apel*] *haššandan* DINGIR^{MES} LÚ KÚR-SU *iyer*

"For him the gods made [Ammunas his own] begotten his enemy."

(KBo III, 67 ii 12 f. // KUB XI, 5 obv. 9—Edict of Telipinus, § 19.)

at(a)ri-, "form, figure, image" (Cun. Hitt. *eš(ša)ri*), to be examined in a forthcoming study.

(29 a) SULTANHAN base, sides b-c:

(i) | "LUNA"-*ma-sa-pa-wa/i-na* | *ka+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá* | *á-pa-sá* | ("CORNU")*ki-pu-tá-*
| *á-ta* | *tu-wa/i-i-*

(ii) | REL-*i-pa-wa/i-na* | *ka+ra/i-<ka>-mi-si-za-sa* | (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa* | *á-pa-na*
| *mu-wa/i-i*

(iii) | *á-ta-ha-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na* | DEUS-*ni-i-zi* ARHA | *á-tá-tu-u*

(i) "Him shall the Harranean Moon-God put on(?) his KIPUTA,

(ii) and him shall Karkamišean Kubaba un-man.

(iii) May the gods of the ATAHA eat him up!"

(29 b) KAYSERİ, 4-5:

(i) . . . | *wá/i-tá?-'* | (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa-* | POST-*na* | FORTIS-*wa/i-i*

(ii) | *á-ta-há-s[i-zì]-pa-wá/i-na* | DEUS-*ni-zì-* | *á-ta[-?]-i-zì* [AR]HA-*'* | *á-tá-<tu>-u*

(iii) | *há+ra/i-[-na-w]á/i-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-tu-u-ta* | LUNA+MI-*ma-sa* | *á-pa-sa* |
("CORNU")*k[i-p]u+ra/i* | *á-ta* | ("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pi-ru-u-*

(i) "Him Kubaba shall un-man,

(ii) and him may the gods of the ATAHA . . . eat up!

(iii) on him let the Harranean Moon-God trample (with?) his KIPURA!"

Notes

a (i) and b (iii): the cases of the direct and indirect objects in these and the other comparable passage, KARKAMIŠ A 2, 6, are confusing. The latter has:

wa/i-ta-' pa-sa-' | *tá-ti-ia-za* | DOMUS-*ni-za* | *kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa*(URBS) | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* |
(CORNU)*ki-pu-tá-ti-i á-ta* | (PES₂.PES)*tara/i-pi-tu-u*

"May Karkamišean Tarhunzas trample on his paternal house with his KIPUTA!"

In a (i), direct object—"him" (the malefactor), *kiputa*—apparently dat. sing.

b (iii) and KARKAMIŠ A 2, 6: indirect object—*tu*, "him" (the malefactor) and *parinza* (dat. plur.), "houses"; *kipura/kiputati*—latter is easier to translate (instrumental); is former dat. sing. or should instrum. ending be supplied?

a (ii): REL-*i(-pawan)*—apparently a connective particle not subordinating conjunction: see *An. St.* 28 (1978), 113.

kar<ka>misizas: for other examples of "Karkamiš" written without the second *ka* see KARKAMIŠ A 2, 3 (*kar-mi-si-za*(URBS)); also ASSUR letter a, ii (*ka+ra/i-mi-sá*(URBS)).

a (ii) and b (i): *apan muwai* / POST-*n* FORTIS-*wai*—interesting alternation of phonetic and logographic writings. Since *muwa-* is a desirable physical attribute (probably "semen", hence "potency"—Laroche, *Noms*, 322 f.), and the denominative verb *muwa-* presumably conveys the positive sense "endow with *muwa-*", can the negative connotation required here be supplied by the *apan*, which would then reverse the sense of the verb?

b (ii): on KAYSERİ, B 4 is continued on the partially erased side A 4. Collation shows the erased signs to be recognizable for this part of the line: [AR]HA-*'* | *á-tá-u* | *á-wa/i-i-* etc. Context and comparison with a (iii) demands that *<tu>* be supplied (it is definitely absent); thus | *á-tá-<tu>-u*.

á-ta[-1]-i-zì: a further adjective qualifying DEUS-*ni-zì*?

(30) KARABURUN, 2-3:

(i) *si-pi-ia-pa-wa/i-ta* REX-ti *hà+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) (DEUS)ku+AVIS-ia *ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i* PES-zi-ha INFRA á-za-tu

(ii) *si-pi-ia-pa-wa/i-ta ni-ia-sa-na* *hà+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) (DEUS)ku+AVIS-ia *ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i* INFRA-ta á-za-tu

(i) "For Sipis the king may the Harranean, together with (?) Kubaba, swallow down his eyes and feet!"

(ii) For Sipis, Nis's (son), may the Harranean, together with(?) Kubaba, swallow down his eyes!"

Note

(ii)—see recently A. Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30 (1980), 127.

(31 a) BABYLON cup 1:

á-mu-pa-wa/i-tu ("*419") *wa/i-sa-ha-i-za* *ku+ra/i-i-sà(-)ka-tara/i-sa-ha* | *i-zi-i-ha*
(DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa (DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sa

"And I myself, KURI- and KATARA-, for him (Tarhunzas) made WASHAIZA (and) of(?) Kubaba (and) of(?) Karhuhas."

Notes

wa/i-sa-ha-i-za: collated, reading assured. This is presumably a derived form of the more usual *washa-*, and is best taken as an acc. sing. N.

ku+ra/i-i-sà(-)ka-tara/i-sa-ha: although this is very uncertain, it is probably best to follow Neumann in his edition of the text (*JKF* 2 (1965), 341) and divide into two, taking the final *-sa* of each word as the nominative ending and gaining two words linked by the copula—*ha* in apposition to the subject *amu*.

Kubabas Karhuhas: Neumann takes these as nominatives for vocatives, introducing the inscription. It is perhaps also possible to take them as appendages to the last sentence in the genitive case, and translate as above.

(31 b) Unpublished stone bowl fragment, 2:

pa-ti-pa-wa/i (DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sá (DEUS)ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sá (DEUS)sá-ta-sa-h[a . . .

"With him [may] Karhuhas, Kubaba and Santas [be angry!]"

Note

For a mention of this fragment, see *An. St.* 22 (1972), 114 addendum. The present whereabouts of the piece is unknown to me.

(32) Seal inscription (Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals* (Washington, 1948), no. 1102):

(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu (DEUS)ku-AVIS *na-wa/i+ra/i-li-sa*

"Tarhu(nzas) (and) foreign(?) Kubaba."

Note

The word *nawaralis* here can presumably be identified with Cun. Luw. (Hitt.) *anivarallis* and the denom. verb *anivaralla-* (*HT* 25 + *KUB* XXXIII, 111 9-10 // *KUB* XXXVI, 2d 40-41). The word was interpreted by Güterbock from the context as "aufsässig" (*Kumarbi*

(Istanbuler Schriften 16; Zurich-New York, 1946) 42 f.). Greater precision may be achieved from the identification of Hier. *warali-* as the positive from which the negative *niwaralli-* was formed (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975/2, 129). *waral(li)-* clearly means "own, personal, proper" (cf. also now Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), 79 and n. 22), so *niwaralli-* will have the opposite sense of "not-own, alien, hostile".

nawaralis here, a phonetic or perhaps only orthographic variant of *niwarallis*, seems likely in the context of an epithet of Kubaba's name inscribed on a seal to mean simply "foreign". The implications of such a designation are uncertain. Porada (loc. cit., commentary on no. 1102) considers the seal to come from Asia Minor or Syria because of the Hieroglyphs, and suggests a dating to the earlier part of the seventh century B.C. by comparison of the garment worn by the worshipper portrayed on the seal with that of Šamaš-šum-ukin on the Zincirli stele of Esarhaddon.

Kubaba is normally termed "Karkamišean". Would "foreign" point to a non-Karkamiš Hittite adopting an "alien" deity? Or might an exiled citizen of Karkamiš record on his seal reverence for a Storm-God and a foreign goddess identified by him with his native Kubaba?