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J. David Hawkins

The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)

With an Archaeological Introduction
by Peter Neve

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Contents

Vorwort (H. Otten)	7
Kammer 2 und der 'Heilige Teich' (P. Neve)	9
Introduction	13
Abbreviations	15
The Figure from the Entrance of Chamber 2	19
The Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscription of Chamber 2	
Epigraphic Remarks	21
Transliteration, Translation	22
Commentary	24
The Geography	49
The History	57
Appendix 1. YALBURT	66
Introduction, Transliteration, Translation, Commentary	
Appendix 2. EMİRGAZİ altars	86
Introduction, Transliteration, Translation, Commentary	
Appendix 3. KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group	103
Introduction, Transliteration, Translation, Commentary	
Appendix 4. The Sign LABARNA (HH no. 277)	108
Appendix 5. The Identification and Value of the Sign HH no. 416, and the Royal Title, *416-wa/i-ni	114
Appendix 6. The Sign PUGNUS.PUGNUS (HH no. 40)	118
Appendix 7. Boğazköy Hieroglyphic Inscriptions on Stone	121
Indices	
Glossary	122
Index of discussed items	134
Passages cited	138
Illustrations	141

Vorwort

Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy haben mit den Arbeiten der Jahre 1988–1992 eine kultische Anlage freigelegt, die schon ihrer Lage nach – als ‚Gegenüber‘ gewissermaßen zur Königsburg Büyükkale – besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Hinzukommt, daß eine Kammer dieses Baukomplexes eine umfangreiche, vollständig erhaltene hieroglyphen-luwische Bauinschrift trägt – ein Novum in dem bisherigen Überlieferungsbild der Stadt. So ist es mir eine besondere Freude, hiermit in den „Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten“ die Gesamtbearbeitung vorlegen zu können.

Herr Dr. Peter Neve hat dazu einen zusammenfassenden Bericht des Verlaufes der Grabung und der sich aus den Bauanlagen ergebenden Interpretation beige-steuert. Auch die Photographien und Pläne wurden von ihm zur Verfügung gestellt, wobei wegen der größeren Zahl von Farbaufnahmen dort auf seine Publikation „Hattuşa – Stadt der Götter und Tempel“ (1993) zusätzlich verwiesen sei. – Eine Gesamtaufnahme der Inschrift war wegen der Enge der Kammer technisch zu schwierig, so daß eine größere Zahl von Einzelaufnahmen zur Dokumentation notwendig wurde.

Herr Prof. Dr. John David Hawkins hat in den vergangenen Jahren die Inschrift an Ort und Stelle mehrfach studieren können und dabei auch die Textkopien angefertigt, die der (als Faltafel) am Schluß beigegebenen Zeichnung der sechs Inschriftblöcke zugrundeliegen. Seine ausführliche Kommentierung bietet auch in drei Appendices Umschrift und Übersetzung der inhaltlich oder zeitlich nahestehenden Inschriften von Yalburt, Emirgazi sowie einer Denkmälergruppe im Raume von Konya. Damit ist es möglich, die neugefundene Inschrift aus einem größeren Überlieferungs-Zusammenhang heraus zu interpretieren.

Daß die grundlegende Arbeit in der vorliegenden Form erscheinen kann, ist dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und seinem Präsidenten, Herrn Prof. Dr. Helmut Kyrieleis zu danken, der die Druckfinanzierung ermöglicht hat. Ich bekunde für dieses stets hilfreiche Zusammenwirken meinen aufrichtigen Dank.

Mainz, im April 1993

H. Otten

Kammer 2 und der 'Heilige Teich'

Peter Neve

Mit diesem Kapitel soll einleitend das architektonische Umfeld der Hieroglypheninschrift vorgestellt werden, das für ihr Verständnis zweifellos von entscheidender Bedeutung ist, sich allerdings nicht nur auf die Kammer 2 allein beschränkt – wie im Jahre der Entdeckung zunächst angenommen wurde¹ –, sondern einen ausgedehnten Bezirk betrifft, dessen eigentlicher Mittelpunkt offenbar ein großer, künstlicher Teich bildete (Abb. 1, 2).

Der bisher nur an seinem Westrand vollständig freigelegte, im übrigen durch Sondagen erfaßte Teich nimmt eine fast 6000 m² große Fläche in Form eines oblongen Vierecks ein, das sich von der phrygischen Südburg nach Südosten, in Richtung auf die Stadtmauer beim Königstor, erstreckt. Er wurde von flachgeneigten, steingepflasterten Böschungen eingefasst, die am Südrand noch über mannshoch anstehen (Abb. 3). Als Boden diente der natürliche, aus wasserundurchlässigem Serpentin bestehende Felsgrund, den man zu einer horizontalen Fläche geebnet hatte. Darauf lagerte eine dicke Schicht von eingeschwemmten Sedimenten, die offenbar aus der Zeit stammt, als der Teich noch als Wasserbecken in Funktion war. In dieser Schicht steckten zahlreiche Miniaturgefäße, die angesichts entsprechender Beispiele aus den Kultbauten in der Oberstadt und auf Büyükkale zweifellos Motivgaben repräsentieren.

Wie durch die Reste einer Wasserleitung angedeutet ist, kam das Wasser von außerhalb der Stadt, und zwar, soweit sich nach der Topographie erkennen läßt, aus den bewaldeten Bergen südlich der Oberstadt. Erhalten blieb von der Leitung die einst in Kragsteintechnik überwölbte Unterführung in der Stadtmauer nördlich des Königstores (Abb. 4). Sie weist merkwürdigerweise zwei unterschiedlich breite Rinnen nebeneinander auf, die in große, ursprünglich mit Blei ausgefügte Steinplatten eingemauert sind. Hinweise auf die Wasserleitung gab es auch noch weiter westlich durch einen in den Felsgrund eingetieften Graben, der mit leichtem Gefälle in Richtung auf den Teich verläuft.

Dem Teich war an seiner Westseite – und darüber hinaus noch nach Norden und Süden ausgreifend – ein einst etwa 30 m breiter und mindestens 3 m hoher Staudamm vorgelagert, dessen Material offenbar aus dem Teichaushub stammt. Seine rudimentären Reste benutzten später die Phryger als Untergrund für ihre Burgmauer.

In den Staudamm waren drei Bauten integriert. In der Mitte seiner Westseite und deutlich auf die Längsachse des Teiches bezogen, fand sich eine 5 m breite und 4 m tiefe Anlage, deren nur noch eine Steinschicht hoch anstehendes Mauerwerk in die Füllung des Dammes eingreift.² Wofür sie bestimmt war, ließ sich aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes nicht mehr ermitteln.

In den Ecken des Staudammes, und einst auch davon überlagert, befanden sich zwei Kammern – Kammer 1 in der westlichen, Kammer 2 in der nördlichen Ecke. Sie waren so angeordnet, daß ihre Längsachsen auf die Ecken des Teiches zielten und sich darüber hinaus mit der Achse des Mittelbaus in einem Schnittpunkt kreuzten.

Die Kammern stellen identisch bemessene und auch konstruierte Bauten in Form sich nach innen verjüngender, parabolischer Gewölbe dar. Von Kammer 1 gab es nur geringe Reste in situ, einige Blöcke lagen noch als Versturz herum. Insgesamt bot sich immerhin noch soviel Substanz, um den Bau wenigstens teilweise zu rekonstruieren (Abb. 5, 6).

Kammer 2 blieb dank des Umstandes, daß sie von der phrygischen Burgmauer überbaut war,

¹ P. Neve, Arch. Anz. 1989, 330 ff.

² S. Abb. 2, auf Schnittlinie N/11–12 des Planquadrates Nisantep/Südburg.

von größeren Zerstörungen verschont. Der größte Teil des Gebäudes fand sich noch am Orte als Mauerwerk oder Fallschutt, der Rest wiederverbaut in der Burgmauer (Abb. 7). So ist es möglich, die Kammer nicht nur zeichnerisch, sondern auch tatsächlich mit ihrem originalen Material wiedererstehen zu lassen – womit jetzt, nach endgültigem Abschluß der Dokumentation des Grabungsbefundes (Abb. 8) begonnen worden ist. Diese Restaurierung hat im Herbst 1993 den geplanten Abschluß gefunden (Abb. 9, 10).

Die sich in voller Breite nach Norden öffnende und seitlich von hohen Stützmauern flankierte Kammer ist 4,0 m lang, vorne 2,0, hinten 1,6 m breit (Abb. 11). Ihre Höhe läßt sich am Eingang mit 3,3 m, vor der Rückwand mit 3,1 m rekonstruieren. Die bis zu drei Lagen hoch anstehend vorgefundenen Seitenwände bestanden ursprünglich aus vier, vorne fünf Schichten, wovon die untere den Sockel, die darüber folgenden die eigentliche Gewölbeschale bilden. Diese schloß oben mit vier unterschiedlich langen Scheitelsteinen ab.

Die Rückwand blieb noch mit ihrem Sockel und einer 1,5 m hohen, die ganze Raumbreite einnehmenden Wandplatte erhalten (Abb. 12). Davor ist in dem Fußboden, der gut 1 m unter dem Bodenniveau des Teiches liegt, eine schmale, rechteckige Grube von 50 cm Tiefe ausgespart. Sie war einst offenbar mit einem Gegenstand gefüllt, der – wie sich an einem durchlaufenden Falz erkennen läßt – unter die Rückwand griff. An die Grube schloß sich in gleichem Niveau, also tief unter der Sohle des Teiches gelegen, ein erst teilweise erfaster, in den Felsgrund eingeschnittener und von dem Staudamm überlagerter Graben (Abb. 13). Er verläuft im Abstand von 2 m parallel zum Nordrand des Teiches in östliche Richtung. Sein Ende wurde bisher noch nicht erreicht, so daß sich über den Zweck der Anlage vorerst nichts aussagen läßt. Ein Zusammenhang mit der oben beschriebenen Wasserleitung kommt wegen des großen Niveauunterschiedes sehr wahrscheinlich nicht in Frage, abgesehen davon, daß der Graben nur mit der rotbraunen Lehmterde des Dammes gefüllt war, d. h. in diesem Zustand gar nicht als Kanal fungieren konnte.

Alle drei Wände der Kammer 2 sind mit Reliefs versehen. Im Blickpunkt des Eintretenden – und damit sicherlich das Hauptwerk darstellend – befindet sich auf der Rückwand das Relief einer nach links gewandten, nach Art der hethitischen Königsbilder mit langem Mantel bekleideten und dem Lituus als Zeichen königlicher Würde ausgestatteten Figur. Das mit einer eng-anliegenden, runden Kappe bedeckte Haupt wird von der Flügelsonne bekrönt (Abb. 14). Die vorgestreckte rechte Hand umfaßt einen Gegenstand, dessen kreuzförmige Gestalt an das von den Hethitern aus der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift übernommene Lebenssymbol „ankh“ erinnert. Angesichts der Flügelsonne und der damit gebotenen Parallele zu dem Relief Nr. 34 in Yazılıkaya könnte es sich bei der Figur demnach um eine Sonnengottheit handeln.³

In der Ostwand stand neben dem Eingang das in der phrygischen Burgmauer verbaut vorgefundene, inzwischen wieder an seinem ursprünglichen Platz eingesetzte Relief eines mit Lanze und Bogen bewaffneten Gottes, der der beigefügten Namenskartusche zufolge den „Großkönig Šuppiluliuma“ repräsentiert, der die göttliche Hörnerkrone trägt (Abb. 15).

Die gegenüberliegende Westwand bedeckt in ganzer Länge auf den beiden unteren Quaderschichten eine sechszeilige Hieroglypheninschrift (Abb. 16), von der zwei Blöcke ebenfalls in der phrygischen Mauer sekundär wiederverwendet worden waren.

Gegenüber der Kammer 2 und deutlich auf deren Vorplatz bezogen lagen zwei Gebäude, die dicht an dicht gestellt und in gleicher Flucht gelegen die nördliche, mit einer steilen Felswand endende Spitze des Südburgmassivs einnehmen. Verhältnismäßig gut erhalten blieb nur das westliche Gebäude, so daß sein Plan im wesentlichen wiederzugewinnen ist (Abb. 17). Mit seinem großen Innenhof und der westwärts daranstoßenden, aus schmaler Vorhalle und tiefem Hauptraum bestehenden Raumgruppe sind typische Bestandteile des hethitischen Tempelgrundrisses

3 K. Bittel u. a., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*, Boğazköy-Hattuša IX (1975) 138 ff. Nr. 34 Taf. 21, 1; 22, 1; 24, 1; 57.

gegeben. Demnach dürfte es sich bei der Anlage um einen weiteren Tempel, d. h. in Fortsetzung der bisherigen Zählfolge, um den Tempel 31 in Hattuša handeln.

Das östliche Nachbargebäude, das man im Anschluß an den Felsen auf eine künstliche, durch eine hohe Stützmauer gesicherte Terrasse gesetzt hatte, ist bis auf seine Südwestecke völlig zerstört. Dieser Bau scheint dem Tempel 31 an Größe nicht nachgestanden zu haben und wird mit ihm auch, wie durch die enge Nachbarschaft angedeutet ist, funktional eng verbunden gewesen sein.

Angesichts ihrer Anordnung und der daraus zu entnehmenden Beziehungen gibt es keinen Zweifel, daß die hier geschilderten Bauten einen besonderen Bezirk bildeten, der auf der Basis eines Gesamtplanes entstanden ist (Abb. 18). Der Bezirk wurde vermutlich von Westen über eine ausgedehnte Freifläche erschlossen, welcher der Staudamm mit seinen Einbauten, aber auch der Tempel 31 und sein Nachbar zugewandt lagen. Wie der Zugang im einzelnen gestaltet war, läßt sich nicht mehr nachweisen. Sicherlich wird er in der Gegend zu suchen sein, wo die Phryger später ihr Burgtor errichteten, d. h. gegenüber von Nişantepe, womit dann außerdem noch ein Bezug zu jener Anlage angedeutet sein könnte.

Daß der Bezirk sakraler Bedeutung war, ist durch den Tempel 31, durch die Kammer 2 mit den Reliefs und der Inschrift sowie durch die Votivgefäße in dem Teich bezeugt, wobei dieser, in Anlehnung an ägyptische Beispiele, vielleicht einen heiligen See repräsentiert.⁴

Es wäre nicht die einzige derartige Kultanlage auf hethitischem Boden. Allein aus Hattuša sind bisher vier vergleichbare Einrichtungen bekannt: eine von Büyükkale, zwei aus der Oberstadt sowie eine im Norden der Stadt, unweit des Weges nach Yazılıkaya.⁵ Von den Anlagen außerhalb Hattuša ist vor allem der große Stausee von Karakuyu nahe der Straße Kayseri-Malatya zu nennen, weil er eindeutig als nächste Parallele zu unserem Teich zu gelten hat, und das sowohl wegen seiner Größe und Form als auch wegen des Befundes, indem er mit einem entsprechend gestalteten Staudamm versehen ist.⁶ Er wurde früher als profanes Staubecken angesprochen, wird aber neuerdings aufgrund einer Weihinschrift Tutḫalijas IV., die in einer inmitten des Dammes eingebauten „Schleuse“ vorgefunden wurde, mit dem Quellkult in Verbindung gebracht.⁷ Dieser könnte auch in unserem Kultbezirk eine Rolle gespielt haben, und zwar nicht nur im Hinblick auf den Teich, sondern auch auf die Kammern 1 und 2. Denn dafür gibt es als nächste Parallele eine im Südbereich des Großen Tempels in der Unterstadt gelegene, unterirdische Quellgrotte, die zwar weniger aufwendig gestaltet, aber entsprechend bemessen und konstruiert ist und dazu offensichtlich – worauf eine dort gefundene Inschriftstele und eine in den Türsturz des Einganges gemeißelte Adorationsszene hindeuten – kultischer Bestimmung war.⁸

Doch ist die Quellgrotte mit einem Wasserbecken und einer aus Zu- und Abfluß bestehenden Kanalisation ausgestattet, wofür sich weder in der Kammer 1 noch in der Kammer 2 vergleichbare Einrichtungen finden – es sei denn, daß man den oben erwähnten Graben von Kammer 2 damit in Verbindung bringen will. Andererseits könnte für derartige Vorkehrungen aber auch – wie beim Stausee von Karakuyu – der Mittelbau des Staudammes gedient haben, was sich wegen seines schlechten Erhaltungszustandes allerdings nicht mehr nachweisen läßt.

Interessant ist, daß alle genannten Beispiele in die späte Großreichszeit datieren, ein Datum, das auch für unseren Kultbezirk allein aufgrund des archäologischen Befundes in Frage kommt.

4 B. Gefeller-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 21 (1983).

5 Büyükkale: P. Neve, *Regenkultanlagen in Boğazköy-Hattuša*, 5. Beih. *IstMitt* (1972) 13 ff. Abb. 2, 14, Beil. 7–10; ders. *Büyükkale. Die Bauwerke*, Boğazköy-Hattuša XII (1982) 128 ff. Abb. 70, Beil. 41, Taf. 66 a, b; Oberstadt: P. Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1984, 367 ff.; *Arch. Anz.* 1987, 389 Abb. 9; nördlich der Stadt: W. Schirmer, *Boğazköy IV* (1969) 66 Taf. 32 b, c, Beil. 15.

6 H. H. von der Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia 1930–31*, *OIC* 14 (1932) 123 Abb. 113, 115–119; ders. *Arch. Anz.* 1932, 229 Abb. 32, 33; R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien* (1971) 195 ff. Abb. 253.

7 Kutlu Emre 1990 auf einem Vortrag im Archäologischen Museum in Ankara (unpubliziert).

8 P. Neve, *Eine hethitische Quellgrotte in Boğazköy*, *IstMitt* 19/20 (1969/1970) 97 ff. Abb. 1–6, Taf. 15–17.

Das bezeugen nämlich nicht nur die in dem Schwemmsand des Teiches gefundenen Miniaturgefäße (s.o.), sondern auch die aus dem Schutt der Kammer 2 und der Erdauffüllung des Staudammes stammenden Gefäßscherben, die zum Teil der als 'Töpferofenware' bezeichneten spätgroßreichszeitlichen Keramik aus den Tempelvierteln der Oberstadt entsprechen.⁹ Auf ein gleiches Datum verweist auch die oben (s.S.9) beschriebene Wasserleitung; denn ihre Anlage erfolgte frühestens in deren erste, wahrscheinlich in die Regierungszeit Tuthalijas IV. fallende Bauphase.

Nachtrag: Während der Grabungskampagne 1993 wurde in der Nordecke des Heiligen Teiches eine räumlich begrenzte Nachuntersuchung vorgenommen, aus der sich eindeutig ergab, daß der Teich mit zwei Bauphasen vertreten ist¹⁰.

In der älteren Phase, die mit der ersten Anlage der Stadtmauer und der Wasserleitung zeitgleich ist, besaß der Teich in seiner Nordecke einen Ablauf in Form eines aus Steinen gemauerten Kanals. In der jüngeren, offenbar durch umfangreiche Zerstörungen an der bestehenden Bausubstanz ausgelösten Bauphase wurde der Abfluß aufgegeben und die Teichecke durch ein Steinpflaster zugesetzt. In Verbindung mit den Reparaturarbeiten erfolgte der Neubau der Kammer 2 in die Nordecke und vermutlich auch der Kammer 1 in die Westecke des Staudammes. Damit ist also ein weiterer archäologischer Beweis gegeben, daß die Kammern in die Spätphase der Großreichszeit datieren.

⁹ A. Müller-Karpe, *Hethitische Töpferei der Oberstadt von Hattuša*, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bd. IV. 1988. H. Parzinger – R. Sanz, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša*. Hethitische Keramik aus dem zentralen Tempelviertel, Boğazköy-Hattuša XV (1992) 98 f.

¹⁰ P. Neve, AA 1993, 291 ff.

Introduction

Until 1988, the only substantial Hieroglyphic text of the Hittite Empire period known was the one reconstructable from the overlapping parallel inscriptions on the EMİRGAZI altars. The long-known NIŞANTAŞ rock inscription was almost entirely illegible, apart from its introductory genealogy. Its existence did however establish the possibility of such inscriptions at this date. A small number of fragments of substantial inscriptions and short complete inscriptions made up the corpus. Beyond these, there were only short epigraphs associated with sculpture and a number of graffiti; and a further group, typologically not far removed, the seals.

It was noteworthy that most of the stone inscriptions belonged to the last three generations of the dynasty of Hattusa: they begin in the period of the brothers Muwatalli II and Hattusili III and of their first cousin Talmi-Šarruma, King of Aleppo; but a marked extension of the practice was observable in the reigns of Hattusili's son Tudhaliya IV and of his son, Suppiluliuma II.

The year 1988 then added two major inscriptions to this very limited corpus: that of YALBURT by publication and that of the SÜDBURG at Boğazköy by excavation. Being attributable to Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II respectively, they tend to confirm the impression of the chronological distribution of such inscriptions.

The discovery of the Südburg monument Chamber 2, with its one sculptured and two inscribed blocks reused in the Phrygian wall above it, has been described by the excavator, Peter Neve, in *Arch. Anz.* 1989, pp. 316–332; and further in *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp. 279–286; also in *Anatolica* 16 (1989–1990), pp. 12–14, 18 f. Professor H. Otten, who was at Boğazköy at the time of the discovery, was able to include a preliminary report with that of Neve in *Arch. Anz.* 1989, pp. 333–337, in which he described the salient features of the inscription as they were then apparent.

I myself was invited by Peter Neve to Boğazköy to work on the inscription and prepare the publication. I was there in September 1989 during which time I made the tracings of the inscription on acetate, from which the final copy of the inscription here published is taken. On my return to England I submitted my preliminary report, which was published with Neve's report of that year in *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp. 305–314.

The completion of the present final publication has been somewhat delayed by my concurrent completion of my forthcoming *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. But in fact the production of the final publishable photographs of the inscription has also had to await the partial dismantling and reconstruction of Chamber 2. The delay however has allowed some further useful time for reflection on the interpretation of what is indeed a very difficult inscription.

The completed manuscript was submitted in May 1992, and was to go to the printers in October. In August however I saw Professor Massimo Poetto's edition of YALBURT (see below, Acknowledgements), after which a number of revisions to the manuscript were necessitated. In September I returned to Boğazköy to work on the NIŞANTAŞ inscription, and during that time I was able to inspect the bullae found in the 1991 season. These provided a number of important pieces of new information, and necessitated further revisions. These were completed by the end of 1992, and the revised manuscript was submitted in January 1993.

In the publication, in order to justify the transliteration and translation of the inscription, it has been necessary to give a lengthy commentary, in which all the problems of reading and interpretation are thoroughly examined. As an aid to this, I felt it necessary to include as Appendices 1–3 transliterations and translations of the inscriptions YALBURT, EMİRGAZI altars and KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ, also accompanied by their own commentaries. This is be-

cause the many problems of the SÜDBURG inscription can hardly be discussed without reference to the numerous points of comparison with the other inscriptions.

For the purpose of reference to the inscription the term SÜDBURG, employed already in my preliminary report, has been retained. Elsewhere I have followed the customary practice of naming inscriptions from their place of discovery, so that most are designated by Turkish or less often Syrian place names. As it happens, the particular area within Boğazköy where the monument was excavated has become generally known by the German excavators' designation „Südburg“, instead of a Turkish term, as found elsewhere in the site. The excavators retain this term for archaeological reference, so I accept its convenience and do likewise, noting also the difficulty of finding an appropriate alternative term. In my general numbering of the Boğazköy Hieroglyphic inscriptions under the heading of BOĞAZKÖY (for which see Appendix 7), the SÜDBURG inscription appears as no. 21.

For transliteration of the Hieroglyphic Luwian, I follow the system first set out in J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Nr. 6* [1973]); also in J. D. Hawkins, The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian (*An. St.* 25 (1975), pp. 119–156). For a slightly revised and expanded system, see my *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (forthcoming), Introduction, D. Principles of Transliteration. Note that I follow Laroche's numbering of the signs in *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites*, nos. 1–497. New or newly recognized signs not included in his system I number 501 onwards: see Table 1 (p. 139), and cf. below, p. 30 n. 40.

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due in the first place to the excavator of Boğazköy, Dr. Peter Neve, for his invitation to publish the SÜDBURG inscription; also to the German Archaeological Institute for making available funds for my visits to Boğazköy in 1989 and 1992.

After the original submission of the manuscript, Professor Massimo Poetto informed me that his edition of YALBURT was ready for press, and would appear as *L'iscrizione luwio-geroglyphica di YALBURT. Nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'Anatolia sud-occidentale* (*Studia Mediterranea* 8; Pavia, 1993). Professor Poetto visited London in August 1992, so that we were able to discuss the text of the inscription in detail, and suggest several corrections to each other's readings, which are acknowledged in the respective commentaries. I am very grateful to Professor Poetto for this opportunity. His text, with photographs and drawings, will provide a firm base for subsequent work on the inscription.

The following have also given me very welcome help both by reading and commenting on my manuscript and in many other ways: Dr. Hatice Gonnet, Professor O. R. Gurney, Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies, Dr. Itamar Singer, Dr. Th. van den Hout. My warmest thanks to all of them.

January 1993

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Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> . Berlin/Graz, 1926 ff.
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, 1959–1981.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> .
Akk.	Akkadian
AM	A. Götz, <i>Die Annalen des Muršiliš</i> . MVAeG 38; Leipzig, 1933.
Anatolian Studies	<i>Anatolian Studies presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock</i> . Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, Istanbul, 1973.
Güterbock	<i>Anatolica</i> . Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais à Istanbul, Leiden, 1967 ff.
Anatolica	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia</i> . Pisa.
Annali Pisa	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> . British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London, 1951 ff.
An. St.	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> . Neukirchen-Vluyn.
AOAT	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> . Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.
Arch. Anz.	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> . Berlin, 1974 ff.
AoF	C.-G. von Brandenstein, <i>Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten</i> . MVAeG 46/2; Leipzig, 1943.
Bildbeschr.	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden, 1943 ff.
Bi. Or.	Inventory number of Boğazköy tablets, Excavations 1906 ff.
Bo.	K. Bittel et al., <i>Boğazköy</i> (I), <i>Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt</i> . Berlin, 1935.
Boğazköy I	K. Bittel et al., <i>Boğazköy IV. Funde aus den Grabungen 1967 und 1968</i> . Berlin, 1969.
Boğazköy IV	K. Bittel et al., <i>Boğazköy V. Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971</i> . Berlin, 1975.
Boğazköy V	P. Neve, <i>Boğazköy-Hattuša XII. Büyükkale, die Bauwerke</i> . Berlin, 1982.
Boğazköy-Hattuša XII	H. Otten, <i>Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV. StBoT, Beiheft 1</i> ; Wiesbaden, 1988.
Bronzetafel	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, 1956 ff.
CAD	L. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> . Paris, 1910.
Catalogue	causative
caus.	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> , vol. 3, Chicago, 1980 ff.
CHD	J. D. Hawkins, <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> . Forthcoming.
CHLI	L. Messerschmidt, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum</i> , with Erster Nachtrag, Zweiter Nachtrag. MVAG Jahrgang 5, 7, 11; Berlin, 1900, 1902, 1906.
CIH	citation
cit.	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> . Paris.
CRAIBL	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites</i> . Paris, 1971.
CTH	

Cun.	Cuneiform
dat.	dative
dir. obj.	direct object
DLL	E. Laroche, <i>Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite</i> . Paris, 1959.
DN	divine name
Exploration	G. Perrot, et al., <i>Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie</i> . Paris 1872.
Forsch.	E. Forrer, <i>Forschungen</i> . Berlin 1926–29.
frag.	fragment
FS Sedat Alp	H. Otten et al. (ed.), <i>Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp</i> . Ankara, 1992.
FS van Loon	D. J. W. Meijer (ed.), <i>Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East</i> . Amsterdam, 1992.
FS Matouš	B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (ed.), <i>Festschrift Lubor Matouš</i> , I–II, Budapest, 1978.
FS Mellink	J. V. Canby et al., (ed.), <i>Ancient Anatolia. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink</i> . Wisconsin, 1986.
FS Otten	E. Neu and C. Rüster (ed.), <i>Festschrift Heinrich Otten</i> . Wiesbaden, 1973.
FS T. Özgüç	K. Emre et al., (ed.), <i>Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç</i> . Ankara, 1989.
FS Pugliese Carratelli	F. Imparati (ed.), <i>Studi di Storia e di Filologia Anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli</i> . Florence, 1988.
gen.	genitive
Geography	J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, <i>The Geography of the Hittite Empire</i> . London, 1959.
Glittica Anatolica	C. Mora, <i>La Glittica Anatolica del II Millennio A.C.: Classificazione tipologica</i> . I. I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica. <i>Studia Mediterranea</i> 6; Pavia, 1987. <i>Primo supplemento</i> . Pavia, n.d.
Glyptik	R. Boehmer and H. G. Güterbock, <i>Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy</i> . Boğazköy-Hattuša XIV. Berlin, 1987.
GN	geographical name
Gr	Greek
GS	H. Klengel, <i>Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Zeit</i> , 1–3. Berlin, 1965–1970.
GS Cowgill	C. Watkins (ed.), <i>Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill</i> . Berlin, New York, 1987.
GS Kretschmer	MNHMHC XAPIN. <i>Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer</i> . Vienna, 1956.
Hatt.	Hattian
Hatt.	A. Götze, <i>Hattušiliš. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexen</i> . MVAeG 29/3; Leipzig, 1925.
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> 1–2, 3. Berlin etc., 1984, 1991.
Heth. Glyptik	T. Beran, <i>Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy</i> . Boğazköy-Hattuša V. Berlin, 1967.
HH	E. Laroche, <i>Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites</i> . Paris, 1960.
Hier.	Hieroglyphic
Hitt.	Hittite
HKS	H. T. Bossert, <i>Ein hethitisches Königssiegel</i> . Berlin, 1944.
HT	<i>Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum</i> . London, 1920.
HWb	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Kurzgefaßte Kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter</i> . Heidelberg, 1952.

HWb ²	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte</i> . Heidelberg, 1975 ff.
IBS	<i>Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft</i> . Innsbruck.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft</i> . Leipzig/Berlin, 1892 ff.
IHH	B. Hrozný, <i>Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques</i> , I–III. Prague, 1933, 1934, 1937.
imp.	imperative
Ist. Mitt.	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i> .
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> .
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> . New Haven, 1947 ff.
JKF	<i>Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen</i> . Heidelberg, 1950 ff.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942 ff.
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> . London, 1835 ff.
Kadmos	<i>Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik</i> . Berlin.
Kaniššurwar	H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman (ed.), <i>Kaniššurwar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock</i> . Assyriological Studies 23; Chicago, 1986.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy</i> . Leipzig, Berlin, 1916 ff.
Korucutepe 3	M. N. van Loon, <i>Korucutepe 3</i> . Final report on the Excavations of the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam in the Keban Reservoir, Eastern Anatolia, 1968–1970. Amsterdam etc., 1980.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy</i> . Berlin, 1921 ff.
KZ	(Kuhns Zeitschrift =) <i>Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> . Berlin, Göttingen, 1852 ff.
Luw.	Luwian
LPG	P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, <i>The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia during the Hellenistic Period</i> . Leiden, 1965.
Lyc.	Lycian
Lyd.	Lydian
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> . Berlin, 1898 ff.
Mélanges Laroche	<i>Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche</i> . Paris, 1979.
Mélanges Mansel	<i>Mansel'e Armağan (Mélanges Mansel)</i> . Ankara, 1974.
Mélanges Naster	R. Donceel and R. Lebrun (ed.), <i>Archéologie et Religions de l'Anatolie Ancienne. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster</i> . Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984.
MF	masculine-feminine
mod.	modern
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i> . Munich, 1952 ff.
Mst	Inventory number of Maşat tablets.
MVAeG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft</i> . Leipzig, 1922 ff. (continuation of the following entry).
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i> . Berlin, Leipzig, 1896 ff.
N	neuter
NBr.	A. Götze, <i>Neue Bruchstücke zum großen Text des Hattušiliš und den Paralleltexen</i> . MVAeG 34/2; Leipzig, 1930.
nom.	nominative
Noms	E. Laroche, <i>Les Noms des Hittites</i> . Paris, 1966 (see also <i>Supplément</i>).
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i> . Rivista del Centro per l'Antichità e la Storia del Arte del Vicino Oriente. Rome, 1962 ff.

Oriens	Oriens. Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research. Leiden, 1948 ff.
Or.NS	Orientalia. Nova Series. Rome, 1931 ff.
pers.	person
Phoen.	Phoenician
plur.	plural
PN	personal name
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
PRU	Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit. Paris, 1955 ff.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale. Paris, 1886 ff.
R.A.I.	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.
Recherches	F.Bron, <i>Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe</i> . Paris, 1979.
Recherches	E.Laroche, <i>Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites</i> . RHA VII/46; Paris, 1947.
Recueil	E.Laroche, <i>Recueil d'Onomastique Hittite</i> . Paris, 1951.
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients. Wiesbaden, 1977 ff.
RGTC 6	G.F. del Monte and J.Tischler, <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte</i> . RGTC 6; Wiesbaden, 1978.
RGTC 6/2	G.F. del Monte, <i>Supplément</i> . Wiesbaden, 1992.
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asiatique. Paris, 1930 ff.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin, 1928–1938, 1957 ff.
RN	royal name
RS	Inventory number of Ras Shamra tablets.
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin. Padova, 1987 ff.
SBo	H.G.Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy</i> , I, II. AfO Beiheft 5, 7; Berlin, 1940, 1942.
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali. Pisa.
sing.	singular
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici. Rome, 1966 ff.
Sprache	Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft. Vienna, Wiesbaden, 1949 ff.
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Wiesbaden, 1965 ff.
Studia Mediterranea 3	M.Poetto et al., <i>La Collezione Anatolica di E.Borowski</i> . Pavia, 1981.
Sum.	Sumerian
Supplément	E.Laroche, <i>Les Noms des Hittites: Supplément</i> . Hethitica IV (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981), pp. 3–58.
SV	J.Friedrich, <i>Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache</i> , I–II. MVAeG 31/1, 34/1; Leipzig, 1926, 1930.
T Heth	Texte der Hethiter. Heidelberg, 1971 ff.
trans.	transitive
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969 ff.
VBoT	A.Götze, <i>Verstreute Boğazköi-Texte</i> . Marburg, 1930.
vs.	versus
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig, Berlin, 1900 ff.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete – Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Leipzig, Berlin, 1887 ff.

The Figure from the Entrance of Chamber 2

PURUS.FONS.MI MAGNUS.REX, "Suppiluliuma Great King"

See Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, pp.316 f. with Abb.40, 327 f. with Abb.58.

The discovery of this figure reused in the Phrygian wall has been described by Peter Neve, as has also the evidence for its original emplacement to the left side of the entrance to Chamber 2, where it has now been replaced. The figure appears to be only roughed out and unfinished like a number of other sculptures of the Hittite Empire period, such as those of Fraktin. Certainly it by no means shows the technical mastery apparent in some contemporary monuments, notably the figure from the King's Gate, or even in the recently discovered Tudhaliya stele (see Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1986, pp.394–396 with Abb.29, 30), with which it seems otherwise most comparable.

The figure (see Abb.15), left-facing to confront anyone entering the chamber, is beardless and wears a pointed hat with three frontal horns and a tassel dependent from its point. A lock of hair seems to be visible at the nape of the neck, and may represent a pigtail. Although details are not clearly rendered, it may be assumed that the torso was bare and that a short kilt and boots with upturned toes were worn. The figure carries in its left hand a bow slung over the shoulder and in its right an upright spear. On the background between the spear-point and the hat the five-sign relief epigraph is placed. Neve has noted how the upper left corner of the block, bearing the right hand, spear-point and left side of the epigraph was broken off in antiquity, but was carefully placed in position when the block, turned so that the figure lay on its back, was built into the Phrygian wall.

The figure with bow and spear is found on a number of Hittite Empire rock reliefs, which seem to have been placed as guardians at various geographical points, mostly passes. These include IMAMKULU, HANYERI, HEMITE and KARABEL. They are usually identified by epigraphs giving their name and the title "prince". The only one which seems to wear the pointed hat of divinity is the KARABEL figure.

The epigraph, dextroverse for reading by one entering the chamber, identifies the figure as "Suppiluliuma, Great King". In the name, the damaged sign *suppi-* (HH no.322) either did not have or has not preserved any of the surface markings which in the past have been used to distinguish the *suppi-* in the writing of the names Suppiluliuma I and II respectively. The figure, along with the inscription and the entire structure, is now certainly to be recognized as the work of Suppiluliuma II. Nevertheless we should consider whether perhaps the figure may not represent his ancestor Suppiluliuma I.

Though the figure is apparently represented with the garb and accoutrements of a warrior god, it is not certain that it is intended to be understood as deified, therefore deceased. I have pointed out that while Hattusili in this garb at FRAKTIN could be understood as dead, Tudhaliya IV shown similarly on his seal from Ugarit, RS 17.159, was certainly alive: see *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.311 f. and n.48.

The parallel noted above with the Tudhaliya stele from the precinct of Temple 5 could assist in determining the character of this figure and the question of its identification as Suppiluliuma I or II. It has been convincingly argued by Neve and by Hatice Gonnet that the Tudhaliya represented in this late building by Tudhaliya IV is his deified ancestor Tudhaliya I: see *Anatolica* 14 (1987), pp.64, 67 f., 70 f. We could consider the same interpretation here for the Suppiluliuma figure, namely that it represents the ancestor Suppiluliuma I, acting as the protecting deity of the monument. In favour of this parallel is the way in which both names are written, simply

"RN Great King". The absence of any cartouche, and in particular of the winged sun-disc and *Labama* sign, suggest a deceased rather than reigning king.

Alternatively, as suggested to me by Professor Otten, the figure placed on the left of the entrance may simply be intended as the representation of the builder of the monument himself. The figure could be understood to supply the self-presenting introduction ("I am Suppiluliuma ..." etc.) which is otherwise curiously lacking to the inscription itself.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscription of Chamber 2

Epigraphic Remarks

The SÜDBURG inscription as noted in the Introduction, and earlier in my preliminary report, is a peculiarly difficult text to read and interpret, even in comparison with other known Empire period inscriptions. Unusually, this has nothing to do with its state of preservation, which is practically perfect, but everything to do with its extraordinary style of execution.

The signs are rendered as normal in relief with the background cut away, but by comparison with e.g. EMİRGAZİ and YALBURT, they lack much of the internal detail seen in the elegant forms of the latter two inscriptions. Examples include the forms of *ní* (particularly shapeless throughout), *i(a)*, *sa*, *a*, *ARHA*, *pi* and *137. In general however this does not impede recognition.

Much more problematic is the extremely logographic character of the writing which includes an almost total omission to write noun and verb endings. Allied to this is the further difficulty that the groups of sentence connectives so characteristic of Hittite and Luwian are wholly omitted, which is in stark contrast to EMİRGAZİ, YALBURT, and even NIŞANTAŞ, insofar as it is legible. These features make the division of the text into clauses and determining the subjects and objects very problematic.

One may speculate on the reason for this sharp discrepancy between the other long inscriptions of Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II and that of the SÜDBURG. Were the latter not securely attributable to Suppiluliuma II, one would be tempted to explain its peculiarity as archaic. Since this explanation is not available, one could at least suggest that the style is deliberately archaizing. In the Late period, a group of KARKAMIŞ inscriptions, KARKAMIŞ A21 and others, can certainly be regarded as affecting purposefully and quite successfully an archaic style modelled on Empire period usage. So it could be that Suppiluliuma II affected in his inscription a crude, old-fashioned style, perhaps in the manner of his grandfather Hattusili III, in whose generation, as far as we know, the use of Hieroglyphs on monumental inscriptions was begun.

Other alternative explanations of the peculiarities noted could be considered. A decline in standards of craftsmanship, visible in other fields at the end of the Empire, could be responsible. Perhaps even the inscription, being designed for an interior, was rendered in simplified form. Yet these observations would only explain the peculiarities of appearance. The orthographic peculiarities, however, omission of endings and connectives, seem to demand a more specific explanation, and it is this problem at least which may best be answered by the assumption of deliberate archaism.

Boğazköy-Südburg

Transliteration

- 1, § 1 a. *HATTI* REGIO *430 REL+*na/i* *416-*wali-ni* INFRA *á-ka*
 b. VITIIS *ta-mi-na ma-sa₅ lu-ka i(a)-ku-na*
- § 2 a. *502.*300 MAGNUS.REX [FRO]NS²-*zi/a* PRAE CRUS-ni-pa
 b. PURUS.FONS.MI MAGNUS.REX HEROS ||
- 2, § 3. DEUS *430 (DEUS)SOL SOL (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI* (DEUS)TONITRUS
 EXERCITUS (DEUS)*463.*ni+ US-ku* (DEUS)ENSIS (DEUS)TONITRUS
sa-pi²-ni² DEUS *HATTI ku*.INFRA *su-na-sa-ti* CRUS
- § 4 a. *a-tá* *416-*wali-ni* INFRA *á-ka*
 b. VITIIS *ta-mi-na ma-sa₅ lu-ka i(a)-ku-na* ||
- 3, § 5. CAPUT.VIR *HATTI* REGIO *430 FINES-*zi/a* *HATTI* *416-*wali-ni* *zi/a* *ARHA*
 CAPERE
- § 6. PURUS.FONS.MI MAGNUS.REX HEROS *HATTI* REGIO *430 *zi/a-la*
 AEDIFICARE
- § 7. *i(a)-*503(URBS) *283.REX(URBS) *504(REGIO) ta-*505(URBS) *300(+?)*
 (URBS) *ti-hi²-ha-sa(URBS) || tawati-*506-na(URBS) ti-sa-a zi/a-la* AEDIFICARE
- 4, § 8 a. MONS.IUDEX².QUINQUE *416-*wali-ni* INFRA *á-ka*
 b. PUGNUS.PUGNUS
- § 9. PURUS.FONS.MI MAGNUS.REX *416-*wali-ni* INFRA *á-ka*
- § 10. MONS.IUDEX².QUINQUE DARE²
- § 11. CAPUT.VIR MONS.IUDEX².QUINQUE *zi/a-la* *HATTI* PUGNUS.PUGNUS
- 5, § 12 a. TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO || *416-*wali-ni* INFRA *á-ka*
 b. PUGNUS.PUGNUS
- § 13. *pu-wali-ti* AVUS.*506-*na* NEG-*wali-tá* REI-*ti-ha* *507
- § 14. PURUS.FONS.MI MAGNUS.REX *416-*wali-ni* INFRA *á-ka*
- § 15 a. CAPUT.VIR TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO INFRA *á-ka*
 b. *ARHA* CAPERE
- § 16. *ta*-NEG(URBS) AEDIFICARE
- 6, § 17. TONITRUS(URBS) || *x+na/i-sa-ma(URBS) INFRA.*122(URBS) *137(-)ha-sa*
 DEUS-*zi/a* DARE-*ha*
- § 18. *zi/a+ a-ti* DEUS.*202 *pa-ti-* ANNUS *i(a)-zi/a*

Reclert: nicht INFRA á-ka
 sondern Á+INFRA-ka

Translation

- § 1 a. When (to) Hatti the *Sim(?)* subject(ed) all the land(s) -
 b. *Wiyana-wanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, Ikuna,*
- § 2 a. ... former Great Kings (I) *excel(led)(?)*,
 b. (did) Suppiluliuma, Great King, Hero,
- § 3 all the god(s), the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Hatti, the Storm-God of the Army, Sauska ..., the Sword-God, the Storm-God of Sapini(?), the god(s) of Hatti, ... (they) stood with favour,
- § 4 a. the *Sim(?)* subject(ed) them(?) -
 b. *Wiyana-wanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, Ikuna,*
- § 5. "Prince-Man" (to?) Hatti all the land(s) - (to?) the frontiers of Hatti the *Sim(?)* took away this(?).
- § 6. Suppiluliuma, Great King, Hero (for) Hatti (in) all the land(s) thereupon (I) build(ed),
- § 7. the city ..., the city ..., the country ..., the city ..., the city ..., the city Tihhasa, the city Tarahna(?) ... thereupon (I) build(ed).
- § 8 a. Mount IUDEX².QUINQUE the *Sim(?)* subject(ed),
 b. PUGNUS.PUGNUS(-ed),
- § 9. Suppiluliuma, Great King, *Sim(?)* subject(ed),
- § 10. Mount IUDEX².QUINQUE gave(?),
- § 11. "Prince-Man" Mount IUDEX². QUINQUE thereupon (to?) Hatti PUGNUS.PUGNUS(-ed).
- § 12 a. The land of the city Tarhuntassa the *Sim(?)* subject(ed),
 b. PUGNUS.PUGNUS(-ed).
- § 13. Formerly the ancestors ("grandfather(s)-grandmother(s) (?)") to no one ...,
- § 14. Suppiluliuma, Great King, *Sim(?)*, subject(ed),
- § 15 a. "Prince-Man" the land of the city Tarhuntassa subject(ed),
 b. took away,
- § 16. the city Tana (I) build(ed),
- § 17. (in) the city Tarhuntassa, the city ... rsama, the city ... offering(s) to the gods I gave.
- § 18. Here a Divine Earth-Road in that year (I) construct(ed).

Commentary

Reference is frequently made to passages from YALBURT, EMİRGAZİ altars and the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group. The texts of these inscriptions with commentary are given in full as Appendices 1–3.

The Words

§1. *HATTI*. See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.308 n.26.

The sign, *HH* no.196, was identified in the writing of the name *Hattusili* in ligature with the sign *li* by Güterbock in 1933.¹ Its Late form *há* was so identified by Meriggi in 1934.² From these recognitions it was reasonable to transliterate the *Hattusili* writing as *HÁ+LI* and explain it as an abbreviated writing like Cun. *kán-li* for *Kantuzzili*. Later Laroche was able to identify and transliterate *HÁ*(URBS), “Hattusa”,³ and *HÁ*(REGIO) REX, “king of Hatti”.⁴ Here however, for reasons explained below, the transliteration *HATTI* is adopted. The very damaged writing of “Hatti-land” recognized by Laroche on NİŞANTAŞ has received full confirmation from both the YALBURT and SÜDBURG inscriptions. The former has a particularly clear attestation (block 4 §2):

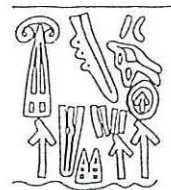


Fig.1: YALBURT, block 4 §2.

MAGNUS.REX-zi/a *HATTI*(REGIO) a-mi-zi/a | TÁ.AVUS-zi/a
“the Great Kings of the Hatti-land, my fathers (and) grandfathers”

SÜDBURG has four attestations of *HATTI* alone (§§1, 5, 6, 11), once (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI*, “Storm-God of Hatti” (§3), once DEUS *HATTI*, “god(s) of Hatti” (§3), once FINES-zi/a *HATTI*, “frontiers of Hatti” (§5).

The use of the sign *HATTI* as a syllabogram *há* belongs to the Late period and is not so far found in an Empire inscription.⁵ The earliest example of this use appears to be in the name *Hartapu* of the KARADAĞ/KIZILDAĞ inscriptions.⁶ This pattern of usage suggests that the

1 *MDOG* 72, p.47; reaffirmed in *Boğazköy I* (1935), p.65; cf. *SBo I*, p.29.

2 *IF* 52, p.46.

3 *HH* no.196.II.

4 *Anatolica* 3 (1970), p.93ff.

5 There is a possible example on YALBURT, block 11 §3: see Commentary there.

6 For these see now, besides Appendix 3, Hawkins, *CHLI*, X.1–8; and id., *The Inscriptions of the KIZILDAĞ and KARADAĞ in the light of the YALBURT inscription* (*FS Sedat Alp*, pp.259–275).

há value is derived from a logogram *HATTI* rather than that “Hatti” is written as an abbreviation *há*(REGIO). For this reason the transcription *HATTI*, treating the sign as a logogram not a syllabogram, is to be preferred. The writing *HATTI*(URBS) on KARAKUYU does seem to imply, as Laroche saw, a further reading “Hattusa”, as does also *HATTI+li* for *Hattusili*. The sign form itself, unclear on NİŞANTAŞ, can now be clearly seen on SÜDBURG, which is important in distinguishing it from the sign TONITRUS, since the two signs, *HH* nos.196, 199, were extensively confused by Laroche.⁷ What the sign *HATTI* represents and why it is used to write “Hatti” is unknown.

In the four clauses where *HATTI* occurs alone (here, also §§5, 6, 11), it poses similar problems of interpretation. In all cases, “for (the benefit of) Hatti” seems to give the most intelligible sense.

REGIO *430. See Hawkins *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.309 n.28.

On SÜDBURG the sign *430 follows REGIO three times (§§1, 5, 6), and DEUS once (at the beginning of the list of gods, §3). On YALBURT it is found in the clause (block 16 §2a):

a-wa/i-mi REGIO *430 (*273) [m]u-wa/i-ha

and on KIZILDAĞ 4 (§2b) and KARADAĞ 1 (§2) in closely similar contexts:

... REGIO *430 (*273)mu(wa)-tá REL
... REGIO *430 REL-sa (*273)FORTIS-tá⁸

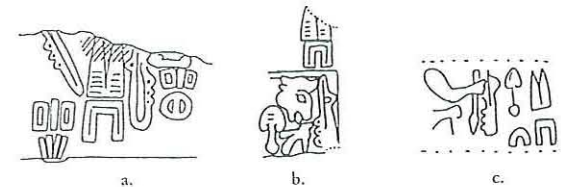


Fig.2: a. YALBURT, block 16 §2a; b. KIZILDAĞ 4, §2b; c. KARADAĞ 1, §2.

In these contexts the verb (*273) *muwa-* (with reflexive pronoun *-mi*) can be shown to be the equivalent of Hitt. *-za ... tarh-*, “conquer”; thus the cited passages can be translated “I/he conquered REGIO *430”.⁹

KIZILDAĞ 4 (§2a) and KARADAĞ 1 (§1) also juxtapose *430 with DEUS in similar passages:

... (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM DEUS-na *430
... (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM (DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS DEUS-ní *430¹⁰

KIZILDAĞ 3 further writes the name *Hartapu* not as elsewhere *há+ra/i-tá-pu-* but *há+ra/i-tá-*430*, i.e. *430 is interchangeable with *pu*. But to read *430 as a syllabogram *pu* when it follows REGIO and DEUS as cited above gives no sense, nor does any other syllabographic value seem more promising. If however the possibility that *430 is a logogram is tested, the contexts following REGIO and DEUS immediately suggest the interpretation “all”. The hypothesis is further supported by the observation that it offers an explanation for the usage as a syllabogram with the value *pu*.

7 See below, p.33 (under discussion of (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI*) and n.60.

8 See above n.6.

9 See YALBURT, block 11 §2, Commentary; argued in detail in *FS Sedat Alp* (see above, n.6).

10 See above, n.6.

In Late inscriptions *tanimi-*, "all", is written with the logogram OMNIS (*HH* no. 366), which has not yet been found in an Empire inscription. In Cun. Luwian, besides *tanimi-*, another word for "all" has been recently identified, namely *punati-*,¹¹ cf. the Hitt. pair *humant-* and *dapiya-*. Thus we suggest that *430 represents *punati-*, "all", from which reading a syllabographic value *pu* was derived acrophonically.

REL+*ra/i* (*kwari*), "when".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 308 n. 25.

Since rhotacism is not expected in the Empire and earlier Late inscriptions, this writing should represent *kwari* not an original *kwati*. It appears also on YALBURT in a clause apparently introducing the historical narrative section (block 10 §3), and further on the immediately post-Empire KARAHÖYÜK in the form REL+*ra/i-i(a)* in a similar context (§2).¹² The form should correspond to Cun. Luw. *kurwar(i)*, though unfortunately this is found only in fragmentary contexts.¹³ We may compare an earlier Late writing REL+*ra/i-i*, "since, if",¹⁴ and we may note also the disjunctive REL+*ra/i(-i(a))-pa*, "or".¹⁵ The contexts here and on YALBURT and KARAHÖYÜK, §2, dictate the translation "when", especially the present one where REL+*ra/i* is taken up by "in that year" (§18); this has a good Late parallel, "... in which year ..., in that year ...".¹⁶ We may also note the Akk. parallel *enūma ... ina ūmīšūma*, "when ..., at that time ...", by which temporal clause the Middle Assyrian kings were beginning to insert historical narrative into their building inscriptions.¹⁷

*416-*wa/i-ni'*, title

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 307 f. and nn. 17–19.

The interpretation of this as a royal title and the identity of *HH* no. 416 with Late *HH* no. 319 (*ta₄*) have been briefly discussed but require a more extended examination here, as does also the significance of the title.

Its status as a title of the king is easily established by YALBURT, where it occurs six times with the ending *-sa*, nom. sing. MF: blocks 2 §2, 7 §2b, 11 §2, 12 §3, 13 §§1, 4. Of these, twice the verb is unclear or lost (blocks 7 §2b, 13 §4); twice it is written with a logogram without any person/tense ending in clauses introduced with the enclitic pronoun *-mu* (blocks 2 §2, 12 §3); but twice it is written phonetically *mu-wa/i-ha* and the clauses are introduced with the enclitic reflexive pronoun *-mi* (blocks 11 §2, 13 §1). These latter two attestations with their verbs in 1 sing. (pret.), together with *416-*wa/i-ni'-sa* as nom. sing. MF, establish that the latter is a term of self-designation by the "speaker" (Tudhaliya IV), thus a royal title. From this we may infer that the two logographically written verbs should also be understood to be 1 sing. pret., which fits the contexts perfectly well. We may further reasonably suppose that in the SÜDBURG occurrences of *416-*wa/i-ni'* it is also the subject of 1 sing. verbs, and that the "speaker" is to be understood as Suppiluliuma, though this will require assessment in each context.

For the identity of Empire *HH* no. 416 with Late no. 319 the following points must be considered. The SÜDBURG and YALBURT sign forms are as given in Fig. 3, (a) and (b), and that from an attestation of the same word on KIZILDAĞ 4 (§3) is given as (c). The sign is quite common

11 See Starke, *StBoT* 31, p. 303 with n. 1034., where my argument *430 = logogram *punati-*, syllabogram *pu* is summarized.

12 See now Hawkins, *CHLI*, V.1.

13 See Starke, *StBoT* 30, pp. 157 ll. 19', 20'; 170 l. 5'; 226 l. 10; 227 l. 5'; 228 ll. 3'–5'; 267 ll. 4'–5'; 282 ll. 21, 23 (+*-ha*), l. 13'.

14 Hawkins, *CHLI*, Commentary to KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §30; A13d, §5; also KARATEPE, 332 (REL+*ra/i* = Phoen. 'm, "if"), 408 (REL+*ri+i* = Phoen. *km*, "as").

15 Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARAHÖYÜK, §§22, 23, and Commentary; cf. below, EMIRGAZI, §25.

16 Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§7 and 15; MARAŞ 4, §2–3.

17 Grayson, *Or.* NS 49 (1980), pp. 150–155.

on Empire seals, as listed by Laroche under *HH* no. 416, with additional, more recent examples.¹⁸ Güterbock concluded from examples known to him that the sign was a logogram,¹⁹ and so indeed it may be on occasion, including in our present word. However, on YALBURT it is further found written at the end of the city name *Pina-* (blocks 12 §§2 and 3, 13 §2),²⁰ where it is undoubtedly a syllabogram, and it is thus likely that it is also a syllabogram in *416-*wa/i-ni'*.

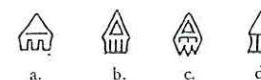


Fig. 3: Forms of signs *HH* no. 416 (a. SÜDBURG; b. YALBURT; c. KIZILDAĞ 4) and *HH* no. 139 (d. KARKAMIŠ A21b, l. 6).

The identification of the sign as the Empire form of Late *HH* no. 319 was originally proposed by Meriggi²¹ and supported by Güterbock, who later gave it up.²² But Meriggi's reasoning, argued on graphic grounds, was valid: KARKAMIŠ A21 is a very late inscription, which affects very accurately an archaic style of sign forms, and on it the sign no. 319 is as given in Fig. 3 (d), i.e. the form is what the late scribe considered to be the archaic form of no. 319. It will be clear that this is recognizably close to the SÜDBURG and YALBURT occurrences.²³ Though this argument for identifying *HH* no. 416 as the Empire form of *HH* no. 319, currently transliterated *ta₄*,²⁴ seems basically sound, a difficulty has recently arisen with the discovery at Boğazköy in 1991 of impressions of a diagraphic signet which appears to equate Hier. *416 with Cun. *li*. The evidence and its implications are examined in detail below, Appendix 5, where it is suggested that the matter is not so straightforward as to attribute the value *li_x* directly to *HH* no. 416. The sign seems rather to represent a consonant alternating between *l* and *d*.

At this point, the significance of the title *416-*wa/i-ni'* should be examined. Thus we must consider whether it corresponds to a known Hitt. royal title or not. Given the rather limited number of such titles,²⁵ the former seems more likely. There are four titles occurring in the Hier. royal aedicula, each with known Cun. Hitt. equivalents: (1) Hier. SOL₂ = Cun. ^DUTU-ŠT; (2) Hier. MAGNUS.REX = Cun. LUGAL.GAL; (3) Hier. IUDEX+*la* = Cun. *La-barna/Tabarna*;²⁶ (4) Hier. HEROS = Cun. UR.SAG. Hitt. phonetic readings are fairly well assured: (1) *istanu-mi*;²⁷ (2) *salli- hassu* (?); (3) (phonetically written); (4) *hastali*.²⁸ Matters

18 See below, Appendix 5, p. 114, nn. 6, 7.

19 Ibid., n. 6.

20 See Commentary there.

21 *RHA* IV/27 (1937), p. 90 n. 1.

22 *Archiv Orientalní* 18/1–2 (1950), p. 219 f.; *JNES* 32 (1973), p. 141 no. 20.

23 It should be noted that this identification of the Empire form of *ta₄* necessitates the discarding of Laroche's derivation of *ta₄* acrophonically from the Empire sign *TESUB* (*HH* no. 318).

24 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975 pp. 130–132; also *Annali Pisa* VIII/3 (1978), p. 769. Cf. the remarks of Stefanini, *Studia Mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* (Pavia, 1979), p. 604 f. with n. 26; Carruba, *SMEA* XXIV (1984), pp. 66–69.

25 See H. Gonnert, *La titulature royale hittite au IIe millénaire avant J.C.* (*Hethitica* 3 (Louvain, 1979), pp. 3–108).

26 On this reading, see Appendix 4.

27 Neu, *StBoT* 18, p. 128 f. with n. 317; cf. the remarks of Starke, *ZA* 69 (1979), p. 49.

28 See most recently Puhvel, *HED* 3 (1991), p. 235 f.

are less clear in Luwian however. Such royal titles are hardly attested in Cun. Luw. texts (*labamas* is once found); in Hier. Luwian MAGNUS.REX may simply be translated with *ura-hantarwati-*, and in HEROS-li-, the phonetic complement suggests a form analogous to Hitt. *hastali-*. SOL₂ might be expected to be rendered by some form of the Sun-God's name, *Tiwa-*.

YALBURT is introduced by the usual aedicula showing all four titles, whereas SÜDBURG lacks this but shows elsewhere *Suppiluliuma* MAGNUS.REX HEROS twice (§§ 2, 6), and *Suppiluliuma* MAGNUS.REX *416-*wa/i-ni* twice (§§ 9, 14). It does not have SOL₂ or IUDEX+*la* in their normal aedicula forms at all. YALBURT in a clause where the verb is obscure but certainly to be understood as 1 sing. from the presence of the introductory enclitic pronoun -*mi*, brackets the clause with HEROS ... MAGNUS.REX (block 10 § 2); and another clause is similarly bracketed with *416-*wa/i-ni*-*sa* ... IUDEX+*la* (block 2 § 2). The occurrence of these two pairs, HEROS with MAGNUS.REX and *416-*wa/i-ni*-*sa* with IUDEX+*la*, in these contexts strongly suggests that *416-*wa/i-ni*-*sa* represents the fourth, otherwise unrepresented title from the aedicula: i.e. that it is the phonetic writing for SOL₂. This is surely the best explanation for the repeated recurrence of *416-*wa/i-ni*- throughout YALBURT and SÜDBURG, including its appearances alone without other titles (YALBURT, blocks 7 § 2b, 11 § 2, 12 § 3, 13 §§ 1 and 4; SÜDBURG, §§ 1, 4, 8, 12).

Support for the identification of *416-*wa/i-ni* as the phonetic reading of SOL₂ (the winged disc) would be forthcoming if the word could be plausibly connected with the Hitt. or Luw. word for "sun". Detailed consideration of this question in Appendix 5, below, suggests that *416-*wa/i-ni*, representing something like *d/liwani-*, could indeed be derived from **diw-*, the origin also of Luw. *tiwat-*, "sun", as well as Hitt. *siu(na)-*, "god", *siwatt-*, "day".²⁹ We should note however that no trace of the "my" in "My Sun", seen in the Akk. *PUTU-ši* (*šamī*) and the Hitt. (*istanu*)-*mi-*, would be represented, but then Luwian, unlike Akkadian and Hittite, does not have the option of expressing the possessive adjective with an enclitic form.

INFRA á-ka

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* (1990), p.308 f. with n.27.

This recurring group (§§ 1, 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15) has been suggested to represent a preverb INFRA (Luw. *kata*, "down" (Hier. only), or *annan*, "under"), and a verb *aka-*, written, as typically in Empire inscriptions, phonetically but without verbal ending.³⁰ The present clause appears to correspond generally in meaning to an introductory clause on YALBURT (block 16 § 2a) with corresponding clauses on KIZILDAĞ 4 (§ 2b) and KARADAĞ 1 (§ 2),³¹ where "all the lands" is the object of -*mi* ... *mirwa-*, shown to correspond exactly to Hitt. -*za* ... *tah-*, "conquer". We may thus envisage that INFRA *aka-* falls within the same range of meaning, though little can be offered to which it may be anchored. Conceivably we might recognize in *aka-* the stem lying behind *akkussa*, "animal-pit", and *aggati-*, "hunting net".³² The translation "subject" has been chosen in an attempt to render the sense of the preverb. Note now that work on NIŞANTAŞ in the summer 1992 suggests the possibility of identifying in that inscription the phrase INFRA á-ka-ha, "I subjected" (twice, line III).

²⁹ See Laroche, *JCS* 21 (1967), pp.174-177; Watkins, in M. Mayrhofer et al. (ed.), *Antiquitates Indo-germanicae. GS für Hermann Güntert* (Innsbruck, 1974), pp.101-110. For Luw. *Tiwa-* we should note that Starke argues that the writings represent a pronunciation *Tiwa-*: see *StBoT* 31, p.150 f.

³⁰ Cf. *i(a)-zi/a*, "make" (§ 18 below; also YALBURT, block 9 § 1b; KARAHÖYÜK, §§ 9, 15); *tu-pi*, "smite" (YALBURT, blocks 2 § 1, 7 § 1, 12 § 2; EMİRGAZI altars, § 10); *á*, "make" (EMİRGAZI altars, §§ 25, 27).

³¹ See above, n.9.

³² Starke, *StBoT* 31 (1990), p.115 f.

§ 1b. Lukka lands

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp.309 n.29, 312 nn.51-53.

The composition of this group of five place names is considered below. The Geography (see p.54 f.). There it is argued to be likely that they represent a coherent group of places in south-west Anatolia conquered during the course of a single campaign, and that we should not expect any of the names to belong to a different geographical sphere, north or east. They are probably all to be regarded as Lukka lands in the wider sense in spite of the presence of a specific *Luka* as one of their number.³³

VITIS: this large sign, determined by REGIO, thus a land, occurs also on YALBURT (block 9 § 1b), there too juxtaposed to *Luka*, which is also determined REGIO. The pendulous end of this sign is closely similar to forms of the Late sign VITIS (*HH* no.160), which is used to determine the vine and associated concepts.³⁴ It seems likely that this elaborate Empire form simply represents (however bizarrely) a vine-stock, and if so, as has been noted,³⁵ "vine-stock (country)" can hardly represent anything but *Wiyawanda*, which may well be the name of more than one place in Hitt. geography.³⁶ For a consideration of the location of this *Wiyawanda*, see below, The Geography, p.54 f.

ta-mi-na: a phonetically written land or city not found elsewhere, and not obviously corresponding with any attested Cun. toponym.³⁷ Perhaps more promising would be comparison with a classical place name such as Temnos (near Izmir) or Tynnos (near Marmaris).

ma-sa, *lu-ka*: no problem in identifying with *Masa* and *Lukka* of Cun. Hitt. texts; *Luka*, as noted occurs also on YALBURT determined by REGIO. The problem whether *Luka* occurring in a list of general Lukka lands could have a more specific reference is considered below, under The Geography, as is also the location of *Masa*, required by the present context to be not widely separated from the other places.

i(a)-ku-na: probably in the context to be read *Ikuma* and identified with Hitt. *Ikuwaniya*, as already suggested. To the attestation of the latter in the Telipinu Edict as one of the store-cities of that king³⁸ is added a new one on the Bronze Tablet,³⁹ which names the city as one of the places adjoining the Hulaya river-land, thus significantly increasing the probability of the identification with class. *Ikonion*, mod. Konya. The addition of the present Hier. toponym to these attestations seems entirely appropriate to the context.

³³ For the Lukka lands, see now besides Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978), s.v. *Luka*, also Röhl, *RIA* VII/3-4 (1988), s.v. *Lukka*, *Lukki*, both with earlier references; also Otten, *StBoT* Beiheft 1, p.37 f. In the last reference the Lukka lands appear to include coastal Pamphylia as far as eastern Lycia and inland to Pisidia. The place names identified on YALBURT raise the question of the relationship between the Lukka lands and *Wiyawanda* (Oenoanda), *Dalawa* (Tlos), *Awarna* (Xanthos) and *Pinali* (Pinara); see below, The Geography, p.49.

³⁴ Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), pp.280-283. Note that I have now altered the Latin transliteration of the sign from VINUM to VITIS since the latter can now be seen to be more appropriate.

³⁵ Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.309 n.29. Massimo Poetto in his study of YALBURT place names came independently to the same conclusion: see below, nn.156, 158.

³⁶ Laroche, *RHA* XIX/69 (1961), p.61.

³⁷ Comparison with *Tumana* or *Tim(m)ana* (Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.312 n.52) now seems inappropriate, since these belong to northern and eastern areas.

³⁸ Telipinu Edict, iii 28, identified with Konya (Ikonion) by Cornelius; see Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. *Ikuwaniya*, with references; and cf. the remarks of Laroche, *Hethitica* 6 (1985), p.89 f.

³⁹ Otten, *StBoT* Beiheft 1 (1988), pp.22 (iii 48), 52 with n.120.

§ 2. *502.*300

Readings and functions of these two signs completely obscure; their unintelligibility also obscures the transition from § 1 to § 2 (cf. also below, the Syntax, p. 47).

*502: the sign⁴⁰ is not recognized by Laroche or Meriggi, but it probably occurs on EMİRGAZI § 33b (altar B, l.5), in the form [...] *502-mi-li, and in what may be the same word on KARAHÖYÜK (§ 18) in the form *259.*502 (reversed) -mi-li.

*300: sign normally added to Empire MANUS to form logogram NEPOS, "grandson"; recurs below, § 7, by itself(?) in writing of city name, presumably logographically.⁴¹ In the Late period, besides its continued use in the compound NEPOS, it occurs independently on the somewhat archaic stele SHEIZAR in two apparently syllabographic usages, one of which seems to demand a reading -ha_x.⁴²

[FR]ONS-zi/a: the first sign is the only one in the entire inscription sufficiently damaged to occasion doubt as to its identity, though in fact the reading FRONS (HH no. 26) is fairly certain; for Empire forms of FRONS see BOĞAZKÖY 1 and 2 (stelae bases), in the compound logogram VERSUS (HH no. 447 + 26). If the sign is correctly identified, the reading here should be *hantilnzi* (nom./acc. plur. MF) or *hantilanza* (dat. plur.), qualifying MAGNUS.REX, thus "former Great Kings"; cf. Hier. FRONS-li-zi REX-ti-zi, "former kings"⁴³; also Hitt. *karuili* LUGAL^{MEŠ} and [*karuili*] *ius labarnus*.⁴⁴ In this context a statement about former Great Kings is likely to correspond in general sense to the one about "the Great Kings of Hatti, my fathers (and) grandfathers" (YALBURT, block 4 § 2).

PRAE CRUS-ni-pa: clearly preverb and verb but very obscure, especially in view of the non-writing of verb ending, which provides no indication of the subject; are the "former Great Kings" subject, or direct or indirect object? CRUS is presumably logogram expressing verb and (-)ni-pa phonetic complement. CRUS when written vertically stands for Hier. *ta-*, "stand" (= Hitt. *tiya-*);⁴⁵ already attested in Empire inscriptions: see § 3 below; also YALBURT, block 12 § 3; EMİRGAZI altars, § 19; EMİRGAZI block, B l.2. The horizontal writing seen here could be for reasons of space, but could indicate another verb. Indeed the rendering suggests the "kneeling leg" (HH no. 85), the hitherto attested Empire forms of which are curiously more unrecognizably "cursive" than the Late forms. We should note that Poetto has now identified an Empire context where (*85)REL-zi/a- does apparently mean "kneel" (YALBURT blocks 6 § 1, 15 § 1). But the phonetic complement (-)ni-pa- gives no assistance in identifying the verb; if the -ni- came last it would at least suggest a causative verb, but I can offer no support for reversing the written order. If we ignore the problem of identifying the verb, we could suppose that a statement about "former Great Kings" is in the context likely to be that "(I) Suppiluliuma excel(led) them" (cf. YALBURT, block 4 § 2); but if we must suppose from the "kneeling leg" that the verb is likely to have some such meaning as "kneeling before", no such contextual parallels occur to me.

40 In my *CHLI*, I adhere to Laroche's numbering of the signs 1-497. New or newly recognized signs not included in Laroche's system have been given numbers beginning with 501 (an unrecognized KARATEPE sign, see KARATEPE, 68). Most of the new and/or unnumbered signs occur on SÜDBURG, YALBURT and KARAHÖYÜK. Priority has been given to the former, which means that its signs are numbered from 502 onwards: see Table 1 (p. 139).

41 On an Ashmolean seal however it seems to be used syllabographically in the writing *ha*-*300 - VIR+zi; see Kennedy, *RHA* XVI/63 (1958), no. 14 (p. 70), where the sign is implausibly identified as an upside-down *pa*.

42 Hawkins, *Mélanges Laroche* (1979), pp. 153 f., 155; id., *CHLI*, s.v. SHEIZAR §§ 2, 3, Commentary.

43 KARATEPE, 136-137; see Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARATEPE, § XXVI, Commentary.

44 Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, p. 15.

45 See below, n. 76.

PURUS.FONS.MI

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp. 310-313, 314 Addendum.

The name and titles seem to fall between two clauses, §§ 2-3, to the extent that it is not quite clear to which they belong (see below, The Syntax, p. 47).

In my preliminary report, I posed the question as to whether the form of the sign PURUS (*suppi-*) did not point to the identification of the king as Suppiluliuma I, in contradiction to the other evidence, archaeological and historical, which strongly favoured Suppiluliuma II. This certainly used to be the case, according to Otten's distinction between the two forms,⁴⁶ where he demonstrated that the *suppi-* of Suppiluliuma I was marked with four internal bars, while that of Suppiluliuma II was the same shape but with an open interior. Thus the *suppi-* of the SÜDBURG inscriptions with its four incised bars should according to this rule indicate Suppiluliuma I.

The evidence has increased considerably since Otten wrote, but the bullae excavated at Boğazköy in 1990 and 1991 maintain Otten's distinction between the *suppi-*s of Suppiluliuma I and II. A series of Suppiluliuma seal impressions excavated in Temple 2 in 1987 however show the *suppi-* with the four bars and might have been expected to represent Suppiluliuma I. Yet according to Neve, the archaeological context and pottery is certainly that of Suppiluliuma II.⁴⁷ This then points to a parallel situation to that of the Südburg monument, i.e. both are archaeological contexts clearly belonging to Suppiluliuma II which have associated inscriptions writing the name with the barred form of *suppi-* otherwise attributable to Suppiluliuma I.

The best solution to the problem is that provided by Otten, who points out (personal communication) a good Cuneiform parallel; older original inscriptions use the older *li*, but when later a new form of *li* was introduced, the older *li* might still be used alongside it.⁴⁸ So Suppiluliuma II might on occasions use the old form of *suppi-* (with bars). The new bullae of 1990-1991 confirm that he never does this on his formal digraphic seals with the full aedicula (including *Labarna*). Yet in the bullae of Temple 2 already mentioned, which according to archaeological context must belong to him, he uses the older *suppi-* with bars. As for the whole Sacred Pool complex, its attribution to Suppiluliuma II can no longer be in doubt.⁴⁹ The employment of the older *suppi-* in writing the name Suppiluliuma in its building inscription, SÜDBURG, must therefore be seen as a further example of deliberate archaism already noted for that inscription (see above, p. 21).

§ 3. The Gods

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 334 f. with Abb. 65 a.

DEUS *430, "all the gods".

This interpretation was partially argued above, § 1, where the interpretation of *430 as *punati-*, "all", was considered in the context of REGIO *430, "all the lands". It was already seen by Otten that this pair of signs at the head of the god-list could not be a divine name, so he envisaged *430 as a plural marker (loc. cit. n. 58). The similar occurrences of DEUS-na^{hi} *430 on KIZILDAĞ 4 (§ 2a) and KARADAĞ 1 (§ 1), also cited above under § 1, reinforce the

46 ZA 55 (1967), p. 226 f. I am most grateful to Belkis and Ali Dinçol for collation of the available Suppiluliuma I and II seals to establish the exact forms of the *suppi-* in each case.

47 *Arch. Anz.* 1988, pp. 374, 376 with Abb. 23 a-c.

48 As established by Neu and Rüster in *StBoT* 20-21.

49 The attribution of this massive and elaborate complex to Suppiluliuma I is archaeologically out of the question, as is clear from Neve's reports since 1989.

impossibility of reading as a god's name, so in these contexts the interpretation "all the gods" virtually imposes itself even without the other evidence for *430 representing "all".

(DEUS)SOL SOL, "Sun-Goddess of Arinna".

The same deity appears on EMİRGAZİ altars A and B (§§ 26, 29), also on EMİRGAZİ block repeatedly (sides A1.1, B1.2, A1.3, B1.5), written (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA//. In my former treatment of EMİRGAZİ passages with negatives, I incorrectly abandoned the identification of the last group as SOL+RA//, which was that of Hrozný, Meriggi and Laroche, in favour of -ri+i, which I took as a phonetic complement.⁵⁰ Emilia Masson in her EMİRGAZİ edition corrected this,⁵¹ but interpreted the whole writing as "Sun-God of Heaven", in spite of the fact that on the seal where it recurs,⁵² the figure holding it is a goddess, thus clearly the Sun-Goddess of Arinna. Masson was following Laroche, who in commenting on the seal suggested this obvious identification, but then proceeded to examine the obstacles.⁵³ These were, first, in the writing (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA//, of which he stated: "Je ne vois aucun moyen d'associer le nom d'Arinna au signe hiér. 'Soleil' avec ou sans épine". Second, he pointed out that on the EMİRGAZİ block (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA// is consistently entitled "my lord" (*mi-sa-* DOMINUS-na), therefore should be a male deity. He concluded: "Le problème reste ouvert".

I think that we may now circumvent these obstacles and recognize the deity of EMİRGAZİ altars and block and SÜDBURG as the Sun-Goddess of Arinna as she is so clearly represented on the seal. With the writing (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA// we may compare (DEUS)TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS), certainly representing the THUNDER-God of THUNDER-city, i.e. Tarhunda of Tarhunta.⁵⁴ Here the Storm-God and his city have the same basic name. Thus I would interpret (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA// as the SUN-god of SUN (city), where the use of the logogram SUN for Arinna would be due to its position as the centre of the deity's cult, but in particular because the deity and the city were designated by the same name, i.e. *Arinitiya/Ariniddu*⁵⁵ of Arinna, which neatly parallels *Tarhunda* of *Tarhunta*.⁵⁶ As for the RA// attached to the second SOL on the EMİRGAZİ attestations, I would tentatively explain this as one of the peculiar Empire phonetic complements drawn from the beginning of the word rather than the end,⁵⁷ thus represent the *ri* of *Arinna* after a characteristic omission of the initial *a-*. We may further note that one of the 1991 bullae found at Boğazköy (Bo. 91/1596) has the writing (DEUS)TONITRUS SOL+RA//, which following the present argument should represent the Storm God of Arinna.

The objection that the deity is addressed as "my lord" can be met with the striking parallel from Late texts from Karkamiš, where the same epithet is applied to the goddess Kubaba.⁵⁸ The reason for this is not certainly known, but we may suppose that the unknown word lying behind DOMINUS was either not gender-specific, or perhaps had a feminine form like Hitt. *isha-*, "lord", *ishassara-*, "lady", which would explain the use of the same logogram for both.⁵⁹

50 *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 129 f. cit. 10 iii, vi, and note.

51 *Journal des Savants* 1979, p. 41 f.

52 *Ugaritica* III, pp. 14–21 with figs. 24–26, pls. III–IV (RS 17.159).

53 *Ibid.*, p. 115 f.

54 The writing on ÇAĞDIN does not represent the Storm-God of Hatti, as stated by Laroche: see the discussion of (DEUS)TONITRUS HATTI, below, p. 33 with n. 60. For the reading of ÇAĞDIN and the city Tarhunta, see below, § 12, TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO, Commentary, with nn. 115–116.

55 For this phonetic reading of the logographic DUTU (URU)Arinna, see Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 106.

56 For the failure to (post)determine SOL+RA// with (URBS), cf. the writing (DEUS)TONITRUS HATTI, "Storm-God of Hatti".

57 Such as (MONS)tu, "Tudhaliya"; (VIR)zi, ziti-, "man"; IUDEX+la, "Labarna" (Appendix 5).

58 KARKAMIŠ A23, § 3; A 18 e, § 6; see Hawkins, *CHLI*, Commentary *ad loc.*

59 There is however a separate Hier. sign for "lady", *HH* no. 15, but this may stand, alone or with MAGNUS, for "queen" (*hasusari-*, see e.g. SHEIZAR, § 7).

(DEUS)TONITRUS HATTI, "Storm-God of Hatti".

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 334 f.

This is the first attestation of a Hier. writing of the "Storm-God of Hatti", as was recognized by Otten. Its importance lies in the clear distinction between the signs TONITRUS and HATTI (*HH* nos. 199, 196), which must be carefully maintained. The two do have some tendency to graphic confusion, especially on seals (and especially those of Meskene), but essentially HATTI is a tall slender sign with three splayed prongs, the middle one showing a pronounced kink; while TONITRUS is a squatter, wider sign, showing in its clearer renderings definite W-loops. Laroche's entries under *HH* nos. 196 and 199 are mutually confused to the extent that he was able to identify the ÇAĞDIN "Storm-God of Storm-city" as the Storm-God of Hatti where in fact he is certainly the Storm-God of *Tarhunta*. A comparison of the present and ÇAĞDIN writings makes the difference clear, as do the attestations in SÜDBURG of HATTI = "Hatti" (§§ 1 a, 3, 5, 6, 11), as compared with TONITRUS(URBS) (REGIO), "(land of) the city Tarhunta" (§§ 12 a, 15 a, 17).⁶⁰

(DEUS)TONITRUS EXERCITUS, "Storm-God of the Army".

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 334 f., and Hawkins cited, *ibid.*

Otten thought that the two signs below (DEUS)TONITRUS could be taken phonetically as an abbreviation of Zipa(landa), but in fact they can be identified as the Empire form of the well known Late logogram EXERCITUS, "army" (*HH* no. 269). The interpretation was established from KARATEPE, 45–46, EXERCITUS-la/i/u-za (acc. sing. N) EXERCITUS-la/i/u-ni(-i) (dat. sing.), = Phoen. *mḥnt* 'l mḥnt, "army upon army".⁶¹ Many Empire attestations are found as an onomastic element on seals and rock inscriptions,⁶² and the logogram is now found on YALBURT (block 9 § 1 b). The equation of personal names Hier. EXERCITUS-muwa = Cun. KARAŠ-muwa was established by Bossert,⁶³ with the phonetic reading of EXERCITUS/KARAŠ as ku(wa)lana-. Laroche however read *kuwatna-* (at for la) for all Cun. attestations of the stem.⁶⁴ Finally Bossert's reading has been confirmed by Poetto on the basis of a Meskene tablet which gives the equation Cun. ku-la-na-LÚ with Hier. EXERCITUS-(VIR)zi.⁶⁵

(DEUS)*463.šā + US-ka, "Sausga".

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 335.

Hier. phonetic writing of the Hurr. goddess Sausga (Cun. *IŠTAR*) established by Laroche in 1952, on the seal SBo II 79 (*Sausga-muwa*),⁶⁶ confirmed by the discovery in 1953–54 at Ugarit of impressions of the Hier. only seal of Sausga-muwa on tablets drawn up by *IŠTAR-muwa* king of Amurru.⁶⁷ This permitted also the reading of the two writings of Sausga at YAZILIKAYA nos. 38 and 56 (YEKBZ).⁶⁸ The present writing shows an extra element preceding the phonetic writing, which although reversed is probably the *463 which appears in the writing CER-

60 I have devoted a detailed study to an attempt to distinguish the two clearly: see "What does the Hittite Storm-God hold?" (*FS M. van Loon*, pp. 53–82). See further below, § 11, TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO, Commentary, with n. 115, 116.

61 Bossert, *Oriens* 1 (1948), p. 185; 2 (1949), p. 102, with incorrect phonetic reading; cf. Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARATEPE, § IX, Commentary.

62 *HH* no. 269(a), to which many new attestations may be added.

63 *Or.* NS 23 (1954), p. 140 f.; *Sprache* 4 (1958), pp. 115–126; see also Hawkins, *RIA* VI/5–6 (1983), s.v. Kuwatna-muwa.

64 *DLL*, s.v. *kuwatna-*; *Noms*, p. 271; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), p. 91 n. 8.

65 *Kadmos* 21 (1982), p. 101 f.

66 *Recueil*, p. 81 f.

67 *Ugaritica* III, pp. 30–34, 131–133.

68 Laroche, *JCS* 6 (1952), p. 117.

VUS₂.DEUS.*463-*ti* on the EMIRGAZI altars (see there, § 26, commentary)–note that *463 facing in either direction is found also in the combination *463.*398, appearing on YALBURT, block 10 § 2 (where see commentary) and the parallel EMIRGAZI fragment. Here it should represent an epithet or attribute attached to the names of Sausga and the Stag-God, and Dr. Ilse Wegner points out to me that the most obvious common element should be LÍL, “field”.⁶⁹

(DEUS)ENSIS, Sword-God

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 335.

This god is now well recognized at YAZILIKAYA no. 27, with Laroche’s recognition of the sign “hand + sword” and his equation with Cun. ^DU.GUR, the Sword-God, a form of Nergal.⁷⁰ Established equivalences for ^DU.GUR/Nergal are: Hatt. *Sulinkatte*,⁷¹ Ugaritic *Rašap*,⁷² Hurr. (loan) *Iriappa*.⁷³ Thus *Iriappa* should be the reading of YAZILIKAYA no. 27, since Hurrian readings predominate there. It would however be risky to pronounce which manifestation of the Sword-God was intended here.

(DEUS)TONITRUS *sà-pi²-ní²*, Storm-God of Sapini(?)

Here the carelessness with which this text is inscribed is evident, since the last two signs are only vague, horizontal shapes for which positive recognition is doubtful. In the circumstances one hesitates between the reading of *Sahpina* and *Sapinuwa*, neither of which fit ideally into what appears to be written. For the non-shape of *ní²*, cf. the writings of this syllabogram in *416-*wa/i-ní* throughout.

DEUS HATTI, “gods of Hatti”.


Not the “god Hatti”, which would be unparalleled, but “god(s) of Hatti”, for which cf. “frontiers of Hatti” (FINES-*zi/a HATTI*, § 5 below). This phrase would seem to take up the initial DEUS *430, “all the god(s)”.

ku.INFRA, ?

First sign of uncertain identification, but cf. the form of *ku* identified in the two writings *i(a)-ku-na* (§§ 1 b, 4 b). This combination *ku*.INFRA recurs on YALBURT (block 11 § 4 b) in a somewhat obscure context where it looks as if it could be a preverb, though the presence of the supposed *ku* renders it less than intelligible. Possibly it could have a preverbal function here in spite of the intervention of the following word before the verb.

su-na-sa-ti, “with plenty, fullness”

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 335 and nn. 54, 65; Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 309 and n. 30.

As already noted by Otten, this word is twice attested on EMIRGAZI altars in sufficiently clear contexts, both times in blessings wished upon benefactors of the stele and Tudhaliya (§§ 29, 37). My association of the word with a Hitt.-Luw. stem *sumna-*, “fill”, was accepted by Starke.⁷⁴ A logographic writing  -*ti* on YALBURT (blocks 6 § 2, 15 § 2) might be compared. A damaged writing [s]u-ni-s[a]-t[i] might be recognized on EMIRGAZI block, B 1.5.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ See Laroche, *Recherches*, pp. 95 (^DISTAR LÍL), 101 (^DKAL LÍL).

⁷⁰ RHA XXVII/84–85 (1969), p. 78–81.

⁷¹ Schuster, *Die hatt.-heth. Bilinguen* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 72 f., 132 f.

⁷² Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V, p. 57.

⁷³ Laroche, *ibid.*, p. 521.

⁷⁴ *StBoT* 31, p. 522.

⁷⁵ *Contra* E. Masson, who reads [RO]I.398-*há-ti*, *Journal des Savants* 1979, p. 16.

CRUS, “stand”

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 335 and nn. 66–70.

CRUS = *ta-*, “stand” (Hitt. *tiya-*), is well enough attested in the Late period in such idiomatic expressions “stand for/with something to someone”,⁷⁶ and Empire examples are now available.⁷⁷ In the present passage Otten identified the two following signs (*a-tá*) as the phonetic complement to the verb, but though this is not impossible, I would prefer an alternative explanation (see following word).

§ 4 a. *a-tá*, “them” (?)

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 309 n. 31.

Three possible interpretations of these signs might be considered:

(1) that of Otten, noted above, that they form the phonetic complement of the verb CRUS. In view of the almost total failure of this inscription to write verb endings,⁷⁸ this is perhaps less likely. (2) that they represent the adverb *anta*, “in”, frequently attested in this writing in the Late period, though definite Empire examples are lacking.⁷⁹ It is not clear how this would fit into the structure of the clause as interpreted, but that does not entirely preclude the interpretation. (3) that they represent *-ata*, “it/they/them”, 3rd person enclitic pronoun, here acc. plur. MF/N. The pronoun may be identified in Empire contexts attached as usual to the connective *wali-*.⁸⁰ Since the present inscription does not write the connectives, this properly speaking enclitic pronoun appears as unattached. This last explanation seems the most satisfactory, in that it provides an object for the verb in § 4 a, which is taken up by the list of places in § 4 b, in the same way as REGIO *430 provides the object in the parallel § 1 a, which is taken up by the same list in § 1 b.

§ 5. CAPUT.VIR

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 335 f. with Abb. 66 a–b; Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 308 with nn. 21–23.

This pair of signs recurs thrice (§§ 5, 11, 15). They were immediately identified by Otten as a title, probably correctly, although we also need to consider whether they could represent a personal name. The choice seems to be, as I noted, between a title referring to the speaker Suppiluliuma, or to another person, or the personal name of another person. A decision has to depend on an examination of each of the three contexts: in fact analysis of the structure of the inscription shows that the three contexts are quite parallel to each other.⁸¹

To anticipate the result, it will appear very hard to envisage a second party, designated by title or name, intruding into the narrative; this would thus leave the preferred interpretation that CAPUT.VIR is another title by which Suppiluliuma refers to himself. An isolated piece of support for this interpretation may occur on KIZILDAĞ 4, where in an obscure context (§ 3), the sequence MAGNUS.REX VIR *416-*wa/i-ní* appears; this may show that VIR alone was a title parallel to MAGNUS.REX *416-*wa/i-ní*.

⁷⁶ A. Morpurgo Davies, *GS Cowgill* (1987), pp. 211–220.

⁷⁷ YALBURT, block 12 § 3: “I the *Sum*(?) stood (for) *muwa-* (against) the city *Pinali*”; EMIRGAZI altars, § 19: “... stand (for) *maluwa*”.

⁷⁸ Apparently only DARE-*ha*, “I gave”, § 17.

⁷⁹ One would expect it to be written thus.

⁸⁰ YALBURT block 7 § 2 a; EMIRGAZI altars, §§ 16, 20, 28.

⁸¹ See below, p. 48, under discussion of Syntax and Structure. It is shown there that each clause introduced by CAPUT.VIR forms the third and last incident in each of three statements of conquest.

Further anticipating the conclusion that CAPUT.VIR is a royal title referring to the king himself, we may consider here what sort of title it could be and whether it might have a correspondence in the Cuneiform titulary. A literal transcription of the Hier. signs into Cun. equivalents (reverse order) produces the title LÜ.SAG, "eunuch(?)", or perhaps "prince(?)",⁸² but neither title would be suitable for the king. Alternatively if we translate each sign individually with its titular connotations, we would get "prince-man",⁸³ which sounds a conceivable title for a Hittite king, though less than likely in the absence of any corresponding term in the Hitt. royal titulary.

Further considerations are somewhat speculative. We have observed that in the YALBURT aedicula (block 1 §1) four titles are represented: SOL₂ (= Cun. ^DUTU-ŠI); MAGNUS.REX (= Cun. LUGAL.GAL); IUDEX+la (= Cun. Labarna/Tabarna); HEROS (= Cun. UR.SAG). Three of these recur in the narrative, or four, if as we have argued, SOL₂ is represented by *416-wa/i-ni.⁸⁴ In SÜDBURG, which lacks the formal aedicula, four titles recur through the narrative: *416-wa/i-ni, MAGNUS.REX, HEROS, and CAPUT.VIR (if this is indeed a title). We should therefore at least consider whether the "surplus" title CAPUT.VIR could correspond to the missing one IUDEX+la/Labarna. There are not many supporting arguments beyond that of the "surplus" and missing titles. We could also point out that the way in which CAPUT.VIR and *416-wa/i-ni bracket §5 is similar to the way in which *416-wa/i-ni and IUDEX+la bracket YALBURT, block 2 §2.⁸⁵ This hypothesis would require us to accept two different ways of writing Labarna, (1) logogram IUDEX + phonetic (pre-)complement la;⁸⁶ (2) compound logogram CAPUT.VIR, perhaps an ideographic rendering of the supposed sense of Labarna. The question is posed but by no means decided.

HATTI alone: for the problem of interpretation, see above, §1, Commentary on HATTI.

FINES-zi/a HATTI, "to the frontiers of Hatti".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, §309 and n.32.

The recognition of FINES as the Empire form of the logogram for arha-firha- (HH no.216), "frontier" (with adverb arha, "out, away"), was permitted by the identification on YALBURT of the verbs arha lala-, "take away" (block 14 §1), and arha DELERE, "destroy" (block 13 §2). This in turn led to further recognitions on EMIRGAZI altars, which had been previously missed because of poor preservation:⁸⁷ arha CAPUT+SCALPRUM, "remove" (§§8, 20); arha tupi-, "erase" (§10); arha CAPERE, "take away" (§22); arha DELERE, "destroy" (§28). The YALBURT, EMIRGAZI and SÜDBURG sign forms are as given in Fig.4 (a-c).

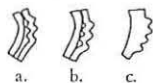


Fig.4: Empire Period forms of sign HH no.216. FINES/ARHA (a, YALBURT; b, EMIRGAZI; c, SÜDBURG).

⁸² Pecchioli Daddi, *SCO* 27 (1977), pp.178-182.

⁸³ Late period CAPUT-ti- is translated "(person,) prince", on the basis of KARATEPE, §LX, 335, where it corresponds to Phoen. *ṛn*, "prince" (for which see Bron, *Recherches*, 112f.). In this use it is further attested on KARKAMIŠ A6, §1; BABYLON 1, §1; and, qualified by *tiwatimi/tiwarimi*-, KARATEPE, §1, 4; KULULU 2, §1; KARKAMIŠ A5a, §1; KARKAMIŠ A18h, §1.

Empire period VIR is attested linked to other elements to give titles to officials, "man of ...": VIR.TONITRUS, "man (priest) of Storm-God" (*SBo* II, 36); PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS, "lord of the pithos-men" (*SBo* II, 223; KARAHÖYÜK, §1). See *HH* no.312.I.

⁸⁴ See above p.27 f. and nn.26-28.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ See Appendix 4 for a consideration of the writing.

⁸⁷ Incorrectly identified by myself as *nī*, and by E.Masson as ' ; see below, Appendix 2, EMIRGAZI altars, §§7-10, Commentary.

The recognition of this sign is very satisfactory in all contexts where it occurs. Here we recognize FINES-zi/a HATTI, "the frontiers of Hatti", where -zi/a is one of the rare case endings written in this inscription: it could represent -inzi (nom./acc. plur. MF), but in the context almost certainly stands for -anza (dat. plur.). For the expression "frontiers of Hatti", Cun. ZAG^{HIA} KUR Hatti, see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, p.20 (i15).

zi/a, ?

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.309 n.33.

Function of this sign in the clause is unclear. It does not seem likely to join to the end of the preceding *416-wa/i-ni, which we have assumed to be understood throughout as nom. sing., the subject of each clause in which it appears.⁸⁸ This leaves zi/a isolated, either purely phonetic, za, "this" (acc. sing. N ?); or possibly it could be interpreted as logographic, standing for the demonstrative pronoun,⁸⁹ thus DEM. This latter interpretation would allow us to supply an unwritten ending, e.g. DEM(-i(a)), zaya, "these" (acc. plur. N); or DEM(-ti), zati, "here", etc. It is perhaps easiest to assume that it resumes the object of the clause "all the lands" with "these", but the structure of the clause appears awkward.

ARHA CAPERE, "took away".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.309 n.34.

This group recurs below, §15; also on YALBURT (block 6 §2); and EMIRGAZI altars (§22). It can be further identified with a phonetic writing ARHA la-la-ha, "I took away" (YALBURT, block 14 §1), which is argued to belong to a parallel context to that on block 6 §2. For the identification of the sign FINES/ARHA, see above FINES-zi/a HATTI. The sense "take away" is very satisfactory in all contexts. For a somewhat comparable statement concerning frontiers, see *Hatt.* iv 57.⁹⁰

§6. HATTI alone: for the problem of interpretation, see above, §1, Commentary on HATTI.

zi/a-la, "thereupon".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.309 n.35.

Recurring further in §§7 and 11 below, this writing clearly gives a form corresponding to Cun. Luw. *zi(-i)-la*, translated as "désormais",⁹¹ or "in Zukunft".⁹² This is quite frequently attested.⁹³ It is also found in Late period Hier. *zi-la*,⁹⁴ which is perhaps connected with a form *zi-la-ta*.⁹⁵ All may be associated with the better known Hitt. *ziladurwa/zilatiya*, "in future", which is also found in Hieroglyphic (EMIRGAZI altar A, §7).

⁸⁸ As is certainly the case with the YALBURT occurrences; see above, p.26.

⁸⁹ It has never been clearly determined whether the arrow-sign, HH no.309, is in origin a logogram standing for the demonstrative pronoun *za*-, and thereby gaining a syllabographic value *zi/a*; or whether it is a syllabogram *zi/a* of unknown origin, which is used *inter alia* for writing the demonstrative *za*-.

⁹⁰ Otten, *StBoT* 24, p.26. The apparent sense of SÜDBURG, §5, "took away all the lands to the frontiers of Hatti" is otherwise expressed in Hitt. historical narrative as "make somewhere again (a land of) Hatti"; see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, p.94 (iii 92).

⁹¹ Laroche, *DLL*, s.v.

⁹² Starke, *StBoT* 31, p.100.

⁹³ Starke, *StBoT* 30, pp.226f. (ii 5-8, iii 7); 68f. (iii 19, 20, 24); 120 (iv 24, 27); 162 (i 13); 181 (iii 8); 266 (iii 10); 327 (iv 4, 8, 11, [15]); 378 (i 15), fragmentary, 125 (i 25); 224 (iii 3); 401 (44, 2).

⁹⁴ KARKAMIŠ A6, §§15, 17 (see *CHL*, Commentary *ad loc.*); KÖRKÜN, §3; TELL AHMAR 1, §13.

⁹⁵ HAMA 4, §3 (see *CHL*, Commentary *ad loc.*).

AEDIFICARE, "(1) build(ed)".

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 336.

The sign AEDIFICARE, "build" (HH no. 246) was recognized in its Empire form ("building element" below rather than above "hand") on ALEPPO 1 by Laroche in his edition of 1956.⁹⁶ It occurs clearly in SÜDBURG three times, here and below, §§7, 16. The clear SÜDBURG forms are very welcome because they permit the recognition of a further early occurrence on KIZILDAĞ 3, the identification of which was not hitherto obvious.⁹⁷ The context of (re)building a country or countries after conquest is common in Hitt. historical narrative.⁹⁸

§7. The City Names

As is typically problematic in Hier. texts, of the six city names and one country name listed here, four appear to be written purely logographically with signs not only of unknown reading but also in part not elsewhere attested.⁹⁹ Other place names subsequently pose the same problems, below §§8–11, 17.

i(a)·*503(URBS): the first sign seems to be *i(a)* (cf. the forms of the sign identified in *i(a)*·*ku-na*, §§1b, 4b), which should indicate that the writing was fully phonetic. Yet the second sign, numbered *503, though it looks like *430¹⁰⁰ with the addition of a semicircular element to the left, also +*RA*II, does not point to any phonetic reading. It is probably best therefore to treat it as a logogram of unknown value.

*283.REX(URBS): the identity of the first sign with the forms listed under *HH* no. 283 is not certain, but since neither is understood, it may be listed there.¹⁰¹ The use of REX as the second sign may imply that the name is compounded with "king", or perhaps simply that the name ends in something like *-hassu(wa)*.

*504(REGIO): the only name determined by REGIO, "land", in the list of cities.

ta·*505(URBS): again, like the first name, the initial phonetic sign awakens the expectation that a phonetic writing will follow, yet the second sign does not resemble any known syllabogram, or indeed any listed sign. The possibility remains of course that the present name does appear among those beginning with *ta*- in *RGTC* 6, but a review of the rather large number of such names does not focus on any one. The sign numbered *505 could be a *rebus*-writing of more than one syllable.

*300(+?)(URBS): for discussion of the sign *300, see above, §2, where the possibility of a phonetic or a logographic value is considered. It is not clear whether the small inscribed roundel is intended as an extra sign or not.

ti·*hi*¹·*ha-sa*(URBS): it is ironic that, when an apparent full phonetic writing occurs, it should produce such an unrecognizable name. The identity of the sign transliterated *hi*¹ is not entirely certain. *tara/i*·*506-*na*(URBS): the only place names listed in *RGTC* 6 with the form *tar...na* are *Tarahna*, *Tarijahtana* and *Tarutina*. If we seek a value for the middle sign *506 (apparently a pictogram of a ladle), which would fit with one of these, we find that in the other occurrence

⁹⁶ Laroche, *Syria* 33 (1956), p. 134f.; cf. Bossert, *Syria* 31 (1954), p. 235.

⁹⁷ See below, Appendix 3, Commentary; also Hawkins, *FS Sedat Alp*, pp. 264–266; id., *CHLI*, X.3, KIZILDAĞ 3, Commentary.

⁹⁸ See e.g. Goetze, *AM*, pp. 94 (iii 91); 72 (iv 35).

⁹⁹ For the numbering system which I have adopted for hitherto unrecognized or unknown signs, see above, n. 40.

¹⁰⁰ For the interpretation of *430 as a logogram *pumati*-, "all", with a once-attested syllabic usage as *pu*, see above, §1a, Commentary.

¹⁰¹ A rather similar combination, X+REX (where X is probably not the same as *283), is seen on the Baltimore seal, outer circle, where there are several city-names determined with URBS, though this group is not. See Güterbock, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36 (1977), pp. 8–10 with fig. 2 and n. 16. He identifies X as the "antler".

of *506, below §13, a reading *HANA* may plausibly be defended. So a reading *Tarahna* seems the most likely, but would give rise to geographical doubts, since the known *Tarahna* belongs to the area north-east of Hattusa. It seems likely that the narrative here concerns only places visited in the course of one year's campaign in the south-west of Anatolia (see below, The Geography, p. 53), so if the name does indeed represent *Tarahna*, it should be a different city to the known one.

ti-sa·: this word appears to be a phonetically written *tis(a)*. We must however consider the possibility that the first sign is logographic, reading *PES-sa*·, and further consider, though probably reject, whether this writing could represent the place *Pedassa*. First, this would be the only name in the list not postdetermined with URBS or REGIO but cf. the writing *HATTI* and the five place names in §§1b, 4b. Secondly, the Luw. word "foot" is the *i*-stem *padi*·,¹⁰² yet the place name *Pedassa* is presumably a derivative of the equivalent of the Hitt. *peda*-, "place", in Luwian,¹⁰³ where the form **pida*- is postulated.¹⁰⁴ The writing *PES-sa*· should point to a reading **Padisa* rather than *Pedassa*. Thus while we may exclude a reading *PES-sa*·, the *ti-sa*· with which we are left has no obvious explanation.

§8a. (MONS)IUDEX.QUINQUE

This place name occurs in three almost consecutive clauses (§§8, 10, 11), though is clearly visible only in the last (the second is damaged, the first has the first two signs apparently written in ligature). The first sign presumably indicates that we have a mountain name which is somehow rendered by the other two signs, syllabically, logographically, or possibly *rebus*-writing.¹⁰⁵

IUDEX: the identity of this sign needs arguing. It is proposed to recognize it as a form of the *LABARNA*-sign (HH no. 277, without the additional *la*), compressed from its usual full height to fit into a column of signs. The usage and reading of this sign are discussed in the Appendix 4, *Labarna*, where the transliteration IUDEX is explained by the identification of *LABARNA* as the Empire form of Late IUDEX (HH no. 371). The likelihood is that it is here used syllabically or as a *rebus*, though a logographic use is not impossible.

QUINQUE: the five strokes writing the numeral "five" is attested in the Late period.¹⁰⁶ It also occurs in a compound logogram in a usage not as yet understood.¹⁰⁷ Here it may be used syllabically, as other numeral signs,¹⁰⁸ though again a logographic use could be understood.

If the name were taken logographically, it would represent, according to the arguments above, "Mount Five-Labarnas", a designation which does not sound out of the question. It is perhaps more probable however that the signs are to be taken phonetically. The Late sign IUDEX, here argued to be descended from *LABARNA*, is used syllabically: IUDEX + *na/i* = *tara/i*,¹⁰⁹ though

¹⁰² Hier. ("PES")*pa-ti-ti* (= *padinzi*) is the only attested form which shows the stem vowel: see MARAŞ 4, §13.

¹⁰³ Forrer, *Forsch.*, 1/1 (1926), p. 6f. n. 3; Laroche, *GS Kretschmer* II (1957), p. 5 no. 49; Gordon, *JCS* 21 (1967), p. 72 n. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARKAMIŠ A11a, §23, Commentary.

¹⁰⁵ I use the term *rebus* for signs outside the regular syllabary of CV signs which are used to write the sound of the word represented, usually a CVCV value. Examples would be: *PRAE* (HH no. 14) = *pari*; *LEPUS* (HH no. 115) = *tapa*; *REL* (HH no. 329) = *kwila*; *CURRERE* (new no. 508) = *hwila*. In fact many of the regular CV syllables originated as *rebus*-writings. For a good further example, see §13, AVUS.*506-*na*, Commentary, which argues the use of *HANA* as a *rebus*.

¹⁰⁶ 4-zī I *ni-pa-wa/i* 5-na·, "four or five": ASSUR letter c, §9.

¹⁰⁷ *179.*347.5(-)*wa/i-sa-pa*·: ASSUR letter e, §18; CEKKE, §12; see Hawkins, *CHLI*, Commentary ad loc.

¹⁰⁸ 3+*na/i* = *tara/i*; 4 = *mi*; 9 = *ni*; all already so used in the Empire period.

¹⁰⁹ Value established by KARATEPE, 277 (Hu. *ta*+*na/i* //Ho. IUDEX +*na/i*). This usage recurs a number of times: see Appendix 4.

this is of dubious relevance to an attempt to divine an Empire syllabic value of *LABARNA*. If the numeral *QUINQUE* here had a syllabic or *rebus* value, we would assume that this would be based on the Luw. form of the inherited IE **penkwe*, though we can at present only guess as to what this would have been. A check through the glossary of mountain names¹¹⁰ offers no immediately obvious candidate. The toponym *Tapapanuwa*, suggested to me by Dr. van den Hout, looks like the sort of form for which we should be looking; but in itself it is hardly suitable, being a city and country, not mountain, name, and belonging to the north-north-eastern area. In the context we expect our mountain to be located between the Lukka lands and Tarhuntassa, in the appropriately mountainous area of Pisidia.

PUGNUS.PUGNUS, “beat(?), defeat(?)”.

This double sign (*HH* no. 40) occurs three times in *SÜDBURG*, here § 8, and the exactly parallel § 12, also § 11. It occurs quite commonly in Late inscriptions as a verb, very problematic in spite of a *KARATEPE* “translation”. These attestations are given as Appendix 6. In the *SÜDBURG* contexts, the signs may be identified also as a verb, which seems to be linked with *INFRA á-ka-* (interpreted as “subject”) to describe different stages of conquest. It is noteworthy that in one Late attestation (Appendix 6, no. 3) PUGNUS.PUGNUS is parallel to *muwa-*, itself parallel to *INFRA á-ka-*¹¹¹ and interpreted from the *YALBURT* occurrences as the exact Luw. correspondence to Hitt. *tarh-*, “conquer”.¹¹² In *SÜDBURG*, the parallelism between §§ 11 and 15 further suggests that PUGNUS.PUGNUS is in some way parallel to *ARHA* *CAPERE*, “take away”. A wider comparison of the *SÜDBURG* and *YALBURT*¹¹³ contexts might suggest a comparison between the PUGNUS.PUGNUS of the former and *tupi-*, “smite”, of the latter. Thus in this inscription, PUGNUS.PUGNUS looks as if it should be interpreted according to the ideographic content of the “double fist”, something like “fight, beat, defeat”, etc. But the implications of this for the Late attestations must be examined in the Appendix 6.

§ 10. (MONS)IUDEX.QUINQUE DARE?

This appears to be a clause on its own, which interrupts the parallelism of the passages §§ 8–11/§§ 12–15.¹¹⁴ The sign transliterated *DARE* is not certainly so identified but this seems most likely; cf. the form of *DARE*, below § 17. As to interpretation, if correctly identified, it would represent the verb *piya-*, “give”. In the context, “Mount IUDEX.QUINQUE gave” could perhaps express “surrender(ed)”.

§ 11. *CAPUT.VIR*: see above § 5, Commentary, for discussion.

zi/a-la, “thereupon”.

See above, § 6, Commentary.

HATTI alone: for the problem of interpretation see above, § 1, Commentary on *HATTI*.

§ 12. TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO, “land of Tarhuntassa”.

See Otten, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, p. 335 f.; Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 310 with n. 36.

The writing recurs below, § 15, and as *TONITRUS(URBS)* alone, “the city Tarhuntassa”, § 17. The recognition of these signs as a writing of the city Tarhuntassa goes back to Güterbock

110 H. Gonnet, *Les montagnes d'Asie Mineure d'après les textes hittites (RIHA XXVI/83 [1968])*, pp. 93–171).

111 See above, § 1, Commentary to *INFRA á-ka-*.

112 See Appendix 1, *YALBURT*, block 11 § 2, Commentary.

113 *YALBURT* blocks 2, 7 and 12 + 13.

114 See below, *The Syntax and Structure*, p. 48.

and Bossert, with their comments on the *ÇAĞDIN* stele, which shows a figure of the Storm-God holding his name written (DEUS)TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS).¹¹⁵ The full implications of this were obscured by the now discarded readings of the Storm-God and his city as *Datta* and *Dattassa*,¹¹⁶ but these are only gradually disappearing from the literature. Also obscuring was the confusion of the signs *HATTI* and *TONITRUS* by Laroche, which led to his identification of the *ÇAĞDIN* figure as the Storm-God of Hatti.¹¹⁷ There is now no doubt, as Otten pointed out, that in this inscription we are dealing with the land and city of Tarhuntassa.

§ 13. *pu-wa/i(-ti)*, “formerly”.

Contextually an identification with Cum. Luw. *puwa*, “formerly” (= Hitt. *kamu*), is obvious and fits well. The latter is not widely attested, but appears in one fortunately clear context.¹¹⁸ It is better known in its derived form *puwatil* (nom./acc. sing. N), “the past”, though even this occurs in restricted contexts.¹¹⁹ The only problem with the present first Hier. attestation of the stem is the *-ti*, whether this is a suffix giving a form *puwat-*, which would serve as a basis for the derived *puwatil*, or whether it is an extraneous element, possibly the enclitic reflexive pronoun of the 2nd/3rd persons, *-ti*.

AVUS.*506-na, “grandfathers (and) grandmothers”.

In the other occurrence of the new sign *506,¹²⁰ the writing of the city name *tara/i* *506-na (above, § 7), the reading *Tarahna* was proposed as most likely because a *rebus*-value¹²¹ *HANA* or the like for *506 gives a plausible explanation for the present attestation. We should note that both occurrences of *506 are followed by *-na*. Bearing in mind the Hitt.-Luw. habit of forming doublets out of kinship terms of the type Hitt. *atta-anna*, “(father-mother), parents”, *hassa hanzassa*, “descendants”, Hier. *TÁ.AVUS-zi/a*, “fathers (and) grandfathers”,¹²² *FEM-INA-INFANS-zi/a*, “women (and) children”,¹²³ we may reasonably hypothesize here “grand-fathers (and) grandmothers, ancestors”, = Hitt. *huhha-hanna*, Lyc. *χῡγα χῡνα*.¹²⁴ Thus the proposal is to recognize in *506 the logogram for “grandmother”, which given the Hitt. and Lyc. equivalents should be Luw. *hanna-* also, and to take *-na* as phonetic complement, thus *HANA-na*. The sign would then be used as a *rebus* in the writing *Tarahna*, i.e. *tara/i* *HANA-na*.

Circumstantial support for the hypothesis may be provided by a plausible explanation of the origin of the logogram, which as already mentioned looks like the pictogram of a ladle or scoop. Hoffner pointed out that “draw (water)” is Hitt. *han-*;¹²⁵ thus the *rebus* “scoop” + *na* may readily be understood as a device to write *hanna-*, “grandmother”.

Do then the hypothesized “ancestors” give good sense in the context? Unfortunately the clause’s logographically written verb is completely obscure, but the general sense appears to be “formerly

115 Güterbock, *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* (Ankara, 1947), p. 66 f. with res. 13–14; Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1951), p. 107 f.; also Gordon, *JCS* 21 (1967), p. 81 n. 30. The attempt of Kohlmeyer to reinterpret the epigraph is incorrect (*Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), p. 84 n. 783).

116 For the demolition of *Datta/Dattassa*, see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 130 n. 3; Gordon, *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 82–85, Excursus A.

117 See above nn. 54, 60.

118 See Starke, *StBoT* 30, p. 222 f. (iii 6, iv 6).

119 *ibid.*, pp. 68 (iii 3); 143 (ii 4); 147 (iii 30); 151 (ii 1) (read *pu-u-wa(-ti)-il*); 159 (iv 5). Curiously Starke omits *puwatil* from his *Stamm-bildung* (*StBoT* 31).

120 For the numbering of new signs see above, n. 40.

121 For the use of the term *rebus* in Hier. writing, see above n. 105.

122 *YALBURT*, block 4 § 2, see Commentary (= Late *tatinzi huhhanzi*, Hitt. *attes huhhes*).

123 *YALBURT*, blocks 6 § 1, 15 § 1, see Commentary.

124 See most recently Puhvel, *HED* 3, s.v. *hanna-*, *huh(h)a-*.

125 Personal communication; for *han-*, “draw”, see also Puhvel, *op. cit.*, s.v.

the grandfathers and grandmothers (did) not ... to anyone", which seems not implausible. In particular we may note that the clause follows one interpreted as recording the conquest of Tarhuntassa, and we may remember that Muwatalli was said to have removed "the gods and the dead"¹²⁶ to Tarhuntassa,¹²⁷ and Urhi-Tešub brought back the gods to Hattusa.¹²⁸ The dead, who are not mentioned as returning, may thus have stayed in Tarhuntassa, and these could be the "grandfathers and grandmothers", who might be expected to exercise some tutelary function over the city and the land referred to in this clause.

NEG-*wa/i*(-*tá*) REL-*tí-ha*, "to no one"

Cf. NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)*-*sa-ha*, "let no one ..." (EMİRGAZİ altar A, §§7, 8, 9, 10). The occurrence of -*tá* is unexpected; it may perhaps be explained as the -*ta* *Ortspartikel*, suffixed, as occasionally, to a word not standing first in the sentence.¹²⁹

*507

Sign previously only known from Boğazköy seal impression, where it appears clearly used as a syllabogram in the name *á*-*507-*na-ni*.¹³⁰ The new bullae found at Boğazköy in 1991 include impressions of other seals with this name: Bo.91/963, Bo.91/1093. Also a Mašat bulla attests it in the name *507-*ní* (Mšt.74/75; information by courtesy of Prof. Dr. Tahsin Özgüç). In the present context, the sign must represent the verb, perhaps logographically, but perhaps, in view of its definite syllabographic usage quoted, as a syllabogram, i.e. a monosyllabic verb stem written without ending, as e.g. *á*-, "make" (EMİRGAZİ altars, §25, see Commentary).

§15a. CAPUT.VIR: see above, §5, Commentary, for discussion.

§15b. *ARIHA* CAPERE, "took away".

See above, §5, *ARIHA* CAPERE, Commentary. The sense here seems to be that of the two YALBURT attestations (blocks 6 §2, 15 §2 + 14 §1), namely "take away" = "carry off, plunder".

§16. *ta*-NEG(URBS), "the city Tana".

This seems to be a good clear example of the use of NEG as a syllabogram *na* found otherwise only in Late texts.¹³¹ A city *Tana* sounds possible, but is not attested as such in RGTC 6. One might perhaps think of an equation with *Adana* (Cun. Hitt. URU *Ataniya*), with non-writing of initial *a*-. The geography of this would however be doubtful: we assume that this rebuilt place should be in Tarhuntassa, and there is no evidence that this could ever have included *Adana*.¹³²

§17. Three cities

The second two are both of problematic reading, and additionally the lack of indication of the case in which they stood, acc. or dat. sing., crucially obscures the sense of the clause.

126 GIDIM^{HILA}, = Hitt. *akkantes*, understood as being the statues of the ancestors to receive offerings.

127 Hatt. ii 52 (Otten, *StBoT* 24, p.14).

128 Goetze, *NBr.*, p.46 ll.B 11-12.

129 For a Late parallel cf. KARATEPE, 151, and the Commentary in *CHLI*, ad loc.

130 Gelb, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 2 (1965), p.225, Fig.8, pl.XXVIII. Gelb identified the sign apparently incorrectly as *pa*. The only names listed in Laroche, *Noms*, which could correspond are: *Ammi-ŠEŠ* (no.52); *Abatananu* (no.103); *Armanani* (no.134); *Aspi-ŠEŠ* (no.176).

131 Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), pp.120, 126-128.

132 See below, The Geography.

TONITRUS(URBS): the city of Tarhuntassa itself, as opposed to the country already attested in §§12a, 15a. Historically it is of considerable importance to know what Suppiluliuma did to the city: whether the action of the verb is directed at the three cities (acc. sing.), or whether it merely took place within them (dat. sing.). No certainty is possible in the absence of case indicators, but at the very least the clause should tell us that Tarhuntassa was in the hands of Suppiluliuma.

x+*na/i*-*sá-ma*(URBS): the first sign is completely unclear, though the rest of the name is purely phonetic, indicating a reading ... *rsama* or ... *rasma*. The most obvious known Hitt. city name would be *Hursama* but this would give rise to orthographic and geographical snags. *Hursama* belongs to the north-east geographical area, and its appearance here would contradict our assumption that this inscription refers only to events in the south-west¹³³ and that here specifically, cities of Tarhuntassa are the topic. It would also be difficult to extract a value *hu* from the first sign. The Empire form of *hu* (HH no.307) is HH no.342, seen in the writing *Hutihwa* (Hutellura),¹³⁴ and the present sign could hardly represent this. A sign *hú* has been identified by Kalāç,¹³⁵ and it is conceivable that the present shapeless hump could represent an Empire prototype of this.

INFRA.*122(URBS): the Baltimore seal, WAG 42.352,¹³⁶ has in the outer circle among other city names both INFRA(URBS), and, separated by at least three signs and a seated figure, *122(URBS),¹³⁷ thus showing that the logograms (or *rebus*-writings?) INFRA and *122 denote different cities. The present occurrence has them written together as if they denote a single city, though maybe this is simply an abbreviated writing, standing for the two cities of the seal. I can make no suggestions towards any identification of the cities or city.

*137(-)*ha-sá* DEUS-*zi/a* DARE-*ha*, "... an offering to the gods I gave".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.307 with n.12.

This is one of the clearest passages in the inscription, because of a good and clear EMİRGAZİ parallel, altar B (+D), §§34, 36.¹³⁸

*137(-)*ha-sá* (EMİRGAZİ, (-)*ha-sa*): the form of the logogram *137 on EMİRGAZİ is elaborate and bizarre, and here it is fairly shapeless and apparently reversed. The (-)*ha-sá/sa* must be a phonetic complement, though it is unclear whether it is complete at either end, thus in particular whether an unwritten case-ending (acc. sing. or plur., MF or N) should be understood. The general sense "offering" imposes itself from the contexts: to king Tudhaliya (EMİRGAZİ), to gods (SÜDBURG). Van den Hout's plausible identification of this word with Cun. Luw. *malhassa*, "ritual" (see EMİRGAZİ, §34, Commentary), would cut through all the difficulties.

DEUS-*zi/a*: logogram with one of only two certainly written case-endings in the inscription (cf. FINES-*zi/a*, above §5); -*zi/a* clearly represents dat. plur. -(*a*)*nza*, "to the gods", parallel to -*mu*, "to me", in the EMİRGAZİ corresponding context.

133 Argued specifically below, p.53, in consideration of the Geography and the History.

134 YAZILIKAYA no.48. This is probably not a different *hu* as listed by Laroche.

135 From an occurrence on AKSARAY, §8 ([DEUS]TONITRUS-*hú-za-sa*), which permitted the readings ("LIGNUM") *hu-hú+ra/i-pa-li* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §10), associated with the stem (LIGARE) *hu-hu+ra/i-pa-* (ALEPO 2, §6); and *hú+ra/i-na-li* (KULULU lead strips 1, entry 38.6b; 2, entry 15.4), associated with Hitt. *huma*-, "hunt". See Kalāç, *KZ* 92 (1978), p.123f.

136 Most recently illustrated by Güterbock, see above, n.101.

137 The present attestation provides only the second attestation after the Baltimore seal of the sign *122, which in the clearer occurrence on the seal looks like a pictogram of a "snail" + *na/i*; it is listed by Laroche among the animals.

138 See below, Commentary. The passages form part of a context which I dealt with in my treatment of the negatives: see *An. St.* 25 (1975), p.130f. cit.11.

DARE-*ha*: logogram with the only certain verb ending of the inscription, clearly representing 1 sing. pret. -*ha*, and demonstrating that the inscription has a 1st person "speaker" (Suppiluliuma [II]).

§ 18. *zi/a*+*a-ti* (*zati*), "here".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 307 n.13.

The writing of this word with *zi/a*+*a* indicating *za* is one of the most striking graphic features of the inscription. It quite unexpectedly reveals the Empire origin of the well recognized Late practice, whereby the originally undifferentiated *zi/a* was differentiated into *zi* (unmarked) and *za* (addition in ligature across the base of the sign *a*, *HH* no. 450, later simplified to two strokes).¹³⁹ The same practice was followed for originally undifferentiated *i(a)* to distinguish *i* and *ia*, and the similar NEG, to distinguish NEG₃ (*ni*) and NEG₂ (*na*). This practice is clearly visible on some early Late inscriptions,¹⁴⁰ and is faithfully reproduced in the latest archaizing style from Karkamiš.¹⁴¹

DEUS.*202 ((DEUS)VIA+TERRA), "divine earth-road".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp. 307, 314.

This is clearly a very important group of signs, since the clear sense of the clause ("here in that year (I) construct(ed) ...") indicates that it constitutes the building inscription proper within the text, thus that DEUS.*202 designates the Südburg monument itself, and is of the essence in determining its character.

The sign *202 is seen more clearly twice on the KARAHÖYÜK stele,¹⁴² where it appears to be a ligature of the signs VIA (*HH* no. 221) and TERRA (*HH* no. 201), with the sign SCALPRUM (*HH* no. 268), determining the whole thing as a stone object or structure, written first outside and second inside the sign TERRA. The precise contexts are unclear, but the general context seems to be one of building works first by a visiting Great King, secondly by the author. In contrast to the KARAHÖYÜK attestations, the SÜDBURG occurrence of *202 is determined by DEUS, "god", emphasizing its divine character rather than physical (stone) structure. Nevertheless the context shows that it is something which is "made".

I have already proposed to interpret this Hier. (DEUS)VIA+TERRA, translating literally as "divine earth-road", by identification with Cun. (DINGIR)KASKAL.KUR, where the constituent signs of each have a one-for-one correspondence.¹⁴³ The Hitt. sources on the latter have recently been assembled by Otten,¹⁴⁴ and the elucidation of its nature as an underground water-course attested in Hitt. topographical and cultic contexts goes back to E. Gordon,¹⁴⁵ who sug-

139 Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Annali Pisa* 8 (1978), pp. 778–781 with figs. 1–2.

140 E.g. KARKAMIŠ A 14 b, § 1 (= *Annali Pisa*, loc. cit., fig. 1): [*k*]ar-ka-mi-sa-zi/a+a-sa(REGIO) REGIO.DOMINUS-i(a)+a-sa, "Country-Lord of the land of Karkamiš".

141 E.g. KARKAMIŠ A 21 (= *Annali Pisa*, loc. cit., fig. 2) and A 22 c with fragments A 20 b 3, 9, 10, 11.

142 §§ 7, 19: see Hawkins, *CHLI*, V.1. KARAHÖYÜK, Commentary.

143 An objection could be made on the grounds that Hier. TERRA is not the equivalent of Cun. KUR; i.e. that the Sum.-Akk.-Hitt.-Hier. correspondences are Sum. KUR, Akk. *mātu/šadū*, Hitt. *utne*, Hier. REGIO-*ni*- (probably representing the Luw. stem cognate with Hitt. *utne*), and Sum. KI, Akk. *eršet/šānu*, Hitt. *tekan/pedan*, Hier. TERRA/LOCUS. But these equivalents are not rigid and mechanical, and Gordon's elucidation of KASKAL.KUR (below, n. 145, esp. p. 76) showed that KUR was to be understood in its underground, chthonic sense inherent in its Sum. usage but hardly in the Akk. and Hitt. equivalents *mātu* and *utne*. This chthonic sense is of course located in Hier. TERRA (= *taskuari*-, *takmi*-, Cun. Luw. *tiyami*-, "earth"). Thus it hardly seems that the equation Cun. (DINGIR)KASKAL.KUR = Hier. (DEUS)VIA+TERRA can be faulted on this ground.

144 *RIA* V/5–6 (1980), s.v. KASKAL.KUR; id., *StBoT* Beiheft 1, p. 33 f.

145 *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 70–86.

gested a possible phonetic reading.¹⁴⁶ He showed that (DINGIR)KASKAL.KUR occurred in the following contexts:¹⁴⁷ (1) as geographical features in boundary descriptions in the Tarhun-tassa, Mira and Wilusa treaties, thus probably characteristic of south-west Anatolia generally; (2) in lists of divine witnesses to treaties etc., along with mountains, rivers and springs; (3) in cultic contexts as recipients of libations.

It is in the latter, cultic context that it seems appropriate to identify the Südburg monument as a (DINGIR)KASKAL.KUR (alias Hier. (DEUS)VIA+TERRA). Recent excavation has clarified the nature of the monumental complex. As Peter Neve shows in his archaeological introduction (above, p. 9 ff.), he has revealed a vast water-cult installation with a sacred pool and at least one *bothros*, the trench at the inner end of *Kammer* 2. The few Hitt. references to (DINGIR)KASKAL.KUR in cultic contexts could designate such a monument, an artificial rather than natural entrance to the underworld. More specific are references to the *bothros* itself under the designation *ḫapi*-, a loan word ultimately from Sumerian(?),¹⁴⁸ also termed in Hittite *hattessar*, "hole".¹⁴⁹

pa-ti-' ANNUS, "in that year".

See Hawkins, *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 307 (note that this preliminary report misprinted the first word as *pa-ti*).

Cf. above § 1, REL+*na/i*, "when", and Commentary. This conjunction, introducing the long historical narrative §§ 1–17, is here taken up by the present phrase introducing the building inscription. The good Late parallel to this phrase is *pa-ti-i*-(') ("ANNUS")*u-si*.¹⁵⁰ ANNUS here provides the first Empire attestation of the sign *HH* no. 336. The logogram is correctly interpreted by Melchert as a "pithos+lid" representing the "year" ideographically by association with the annual festivals of opening and closing the pithoi.¹⁵¹ Güterbock has noted that reference to "carrying the Year into the *hesti*-house" symbolizes the burial of the Old Year, and that the Year itself was probably represented by an actual model of the Hier. sign.¹⁵²

i(a)-*zi/a*, "(I) construct(ed)".

The writing of the verb *izi(ya)*-, "make", phonetically but without verbal ending following a typical Empire practice,¹⁵³ is well attested already in Empire and archaic Late inscriptions,¹⁵⁴ and is imitated in archaizing Late inscriptions.¹⁵⁵

146 *ibid.*, p. 82: the *du-wa-du-na* (*KUB* II 1, iv 33), which he speculatively connected with the modern Turkish word for the phenomenon, *diiden*.

147 *ibid.*, pp. 71–74; see also Otten, loc. cit. (n. 144), with additional unpublished reference.

148 For references and discussion, see Puhvel, *HED* 1 (1984), s.v. *api*-, also Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb²*, Lieferung 3 (1978), s.v.

149 Puhvel, *HED* 3 (1991), s.v. *hattessar*. Studies on the *api*- and *hattessar*, and comparison with the Roman *mundus*, go back to Vieyra (*RA* 51 (1957), p. 100 f.; *RIA* XIX/69 (1961), pp. 47–55). See also Hoffner, *JBL* 86 (1967), pp. 385–401. For a secondary study elaborating the comparison with the Roman *mundus*, see E. Masson, *Le combat pour l'immortalité* (Paris, 1991), ch. 5.

150 KARKAMIŠ A 11 b + c, § 15; MARAŞ 4, § 3.

151 *KZ* 101 (1988), p. 228.

152 The action took place during the *ANTAḤŠUM*-festival: see Güterbock, *apud* Walser, *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 64, 67.

153 See above, n. 30.

154 YALBURT, block 9 § 1 b (but cf. block 4 § 1 c, *i(a)*-*zi/a*-*ha*); KARAHÖYÜK, §§ 9, 15 (but cf. § 17, where the ending is written).

155 KARKAMIŠ A 21, § 10: see Hawkins, *CHLI*, Commentary *ad loc.*

The Syntax and Structure

The complete omission of the SÜDBURG inscription to write connective particles presents a unique problem in segmenting the text into clauses. This is not the case with the two other long Empire-period inscriptions, EMIRGAZI altars and YALBURT, both the work of Tudhaliya IV. These both tend to write connective particles consistently and to end clauses with the verb, and they only break this pattern on comparatively rare occasions. Because it is of assistance in determining the clause-segmentation of SÜDBURG, the structuring of YALBURT and EMIRGAZI altars is given here.

YALBURT

clauses beginning with connectives, ending with verb

blocks 2 §4; 4 §§2, 3; 6 §§1, 2; 7 §1; 11 §§1, 2, 5?; 12 §§2, 3, 4; 13 §§1, 3; 14, §§2, 3, 4. unclear by reason of block division or damage
blocks 2, §§1, 3; 3 §§1, 2; 4 §§3, 4; 5; 6 §3; 8; 9 §2; 11 §6; 12 §1; 14 §§1, 5; 15 §§1, 2; 17 §§1, 2.

clauses beginning without connectives or continuing beyond verb

blocks (1 §1); 4 §1 a, b, c; 7 §2 a, b; 9 §1 a, b; 10 §3; 11 §3(?); 13 §2.

EMIRGAZI altars

clauses beginning with connectives, ending with verb

§§2, 3, 6?, 10, 12, 13?, 14, 15?, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37.

unclear because of damage

§§1, 4, 31, 32 a-b.

clauses beginning without connectives or continuing beyond verb

§§7, 8, 9, 11, 22.

SÜDBURG inscription, verbs

Lacking the markers provided by the connectives, we may attempt to use the verbs for evidence of clause-segmentation by determining whether they end the clauses. The verbs are written logographically (CRUS, CAPERE, AEDIFICARE, PUGNUS.PUGNUS, DARE, *506) or syllabically (*á-ka-*, CRUS(-)*nu-pa-*, *i(a)-zi/a-*), both groups without written verbal endings except in one case (DARE-*ha*, §17). They do to a certain extent assist in segmenting the text, but it seems that it is composed in a curiously repetitious style, in which subjects or objects may be repeated or amplified after the verb. Blocks of words, especially the name and titles of Suppiluliuma, seem to stand as it were parenthetically between clauses. Occasionally also verbs seem to be paired. Such constructions, where the verb is followed by apparent subject or object or another verb, are signalled in the clause-segmentation by the designation (b) following a main clause (a).

We shall see that the general structure of the historical narrative can be analysed as follows:

- A. Conquest 1, §§1-5
- B. Building 1, §§6-7
- C. Conquest 2, §§8-11
- D. Conquest 3, §§12-15
- E. Building 2 + offering, §§16-17
- (F. Building inscription, §18)

A. Conquest 1

For analysis of the full context see below, p.48 f.

§1 a-b is repeated very similarly in §4 a-b. In both cases, according to my interpretation, the direct object which precedes the verb (§1 a, REGIO *430, "all the lands"; §4 a, *ata*, "them") is amplified after the verb by the list of five countries.

§2 a. Transition from §1 b is obscured by the unintelligible pair of signs *502.*300. Yet observing the close parallelism between §§1 and 4 we must certainly place *502.*300 within §2.

Verb CRUS(-)*nu-pa*: peculiarly difficult both to interpret the form, and, in the absence of verb ending, to determine the subject. A guess as to the nature of the context (topos of present king exceeding former kings) would point to the hypothetical analysis: subject "I Suppiluliuma", object "former Great Kings".

§2 b, following the verb, seems to amplify the subject "(I)" with the name and titles of Suppiluliuma. These appear here for the first time; at the beginning the king is introduced only as the *Sum*(?). At the same time the name and titles express the indirect object of the following clause, thus effectively standing between the two clauses.

§3. List of gods is clearly the subject of the verb CRUS which terminates the clause.

§4 a-b. Explained above as resuming §1 a-b. This interpretation depends on the recognition of *ata* as the enclitic pronoun, 3 plur. acc.

§5 seems a rather long and clumsy clause; the end is defined by the verb *ARHA* CAPERE. The pair of words identified as royal titles, CAPUT.VIR and the *Sum*(?), seem to bracket the clause as seen also on YALBURT (block 2 §1, the *Sum*(?) ... *Labarna*; block 10 §2, "Hero ... Great King"). The isolated *zi/a* is hard to understand.

B. Building 1

§6. Again the name and titles of Suppiluliuma seem to stand between the clauses, amplifying the titles of §5, and more normally expressing the subject of §6.

Verb AEDIFICARE ends clause, but is repeated in resumptive fashion at the end of the list of cities, §7. In fact the list of cities appears in the same way as the list of countries, §1 b; both amplify the direct object of the preceding clause, REGIO *430 in each case.

§§6-7. Transition between clauses is obscured by the unknown word *ti-sa-*, which could be important in understanding the structure.

C, D. Conquests 2 and 3

These two passages, §§8-11 and 12-15, are formulated in a very parallel style, apart from the clause in each which interrupts the pattern. We may analyse as follows:

§§8, 12

1. place name (C, MONS.IUDEX.QUINQUE; D, TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO)
2. the *Sum*(?)
3. verb INFRA *aka-*
4. verb PUGNUS.PUGNUS

(D, §13 is outside the pattern)

§§ 9, 14

5. Suppiluliuma
 6. MAGNUS.REX
 7. the *Sim*(?)
 8. verb INFRA *aka-*
- (C, §10 is outside the pattern)

§§ 11, 15

9. CAPUT.VIR
10. place name (repeated from 1)
(C, *zila* Hatti)
11. verbs (C, PUGNUS.PUGNUS; D, INFRA *aka-*, ARHA CAPERE)

Each passage concerns one place: C, the mountain of unknown reading; D, the land of Tarhuntassa. §§ 8, 12 seem to express two stages of conquest by the *Sim*(?), INFRA *aka-* and PUGNUS.PUGNUS; §§ 9, 14 recapitulate the first stage, amplifying *Sim*(?) with the name and titles of Suppiluliuma; §§ 11, 15 recapitulate the final stage, prefaced by the alternative title CAPUT.VIR.

Throughout, the verbs, sometimes paired, terminate all clauses.

§10, pattern-breaking parenthesis, terminates clause with verb DARE².

§15, pattern-breaking parenthesis, terminates clause with verb, the unknown logogram *507.

E. Building 2 and offering.

§16. Simple statement of building terminates clause with verb, AEDIFICARE.

§17. Fairly clear statement (problem of case of city names, acc. or dat.?) terminates clause with verb, DARE-*ha*.

F. Building Inscription

§18. Clear statement terminating clause (and text) with verb *i(a)-zi/a*.

A. Conquest I

Having analysed the similarly patterned conquests 2 and 3 as above, we can see that conquest 1 too follows a similar course, though not exactly so.

- §1, 1. "all the lands"
2. the *Sim*(?)
3. verb INFRA *aka-*
4. list of five countries
(§§ 2, 3 are outside the pattern)

- §4, 5. *ata*, "them"
6. the *Sim*(?)
7. verb INFRA *aka-*
8. list of five countries

§5, 9. CAPUT.VIR

- (HATTI)
10. "all the lands"
(FINES-*zi/a* HATTI)
11. the *Sim*(?)
(*zi/a*)
12. ARHA CAPERE

Note in particular "all the lands" instead of the single place name, amplified by the list of five countries; the similar occurrences of the *Sim*(?) and CAPUT.VIR; and the similar use of the verbs INFRA *aka-* and ARHA CAPERE.

The Geography

Evidence of YALBURT

A major advance in our understanding of the historical geography of the late Hittite Empire has been made by Massimo Poetto's demonstration of the correspondence between place names occurring in the YALBURT inscription and those of classical Lycia.¹⁵⁶ This recognition leads to the probability that YALBURT records a campaign of Tudhaliya IV as far as Xanthos and Pinara (Hier. *Azwama* and *Pinali*),¹⁵⁷ taking in also Oenoanda (*Wiyanaawanda*¹⁵⁸) and Tlos (*Talawa*),¹⁵⁹ as well as some unidentified places. It is particularly unfortunate that the sequence of the YALBURT blocks is uncertain, with the result that the order in which these places are mentioned, hence probably their geographical order on an itinerary, is not unambiguously established. The land of Wiyanaawanda is mentioned in juxtaposition to the Lukka-lands (block 9), and a clear inference to be drawn from the inscription is that the Lukka-lands, by association with the place names coinciding with those of classical Lycia, are here to be located generally in the territory of Lycia (see further below, p. 54 f. and nn. 189, 194).

Poetto also shows that the EMIRGAZI block must have originally contained a very similar narrative to that of YALBURT.¹⁶⁰ Besides the passage relating an attack on Awarna and Pinali, which recurs in an almost identical form on YALBURT,¹⁶¹ Poetto points out further connections between the two texts, notably the still difficult clause following the attack on Awarna,¹⁶² and a clause relating the submission of the women and children of Kuwalatarna and Talawa.¹⁶³

Evidence of the Bronze Tablet

At the same time as the publication of YALBURT and the elucidation of the geographical range of its narrative by Poetto, the discovery and publication of the Bronze Tablet with the text of

156 In his study *L'iscrizione luwio-geroglifica di YALBURT* (see above, Acknowledgements, p. 14), La toponomastica.

157 For support for Poetto's identifications, see below YALBURT, blocks 12 §2, 13 §3, Commentary.

158 For the reading and identification, see above p. 29 and n. 35. Poetto reached the same conclusions independently.

159 See YALBURT, block 14 §4, Commentary.

160 Loc. cit., n. 156 above.

161 EMIRGAZI block, B I.3//YALBURT, block 13 §§2-3. The EMIRGAZI block passage was partially read and elucidated by E. Masson in her Edition (*Journal des Savants* 1979, pp. 14 f., 36 f.), though her inference that the places should be situated close to Emirgazi, and specifically that Millawata should be sought there, is obviously invalid.

162 EMIRGAZI block, B II.3-4//YALBURT, block 13 §4 a-b.

163 EMIRGAZI block A I.5//YALBURT, blocks 6 §1, 15 §1.

Tudhaliya's treaty with Kurunta of Tarhuntassa was providing new information on the southern and western borders of Hatti in Tudhaliya's reign.¹⁶⁴ The description given in this document of the Hatti-Tarhuntassa frontier is of course comparable with the long-known version found in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty, *KBo* IV 10, but it is a good deal more complete, coherent and intelligible.¹⁶⁵ In particular, the relationship of the Hulaya river-land to Tarhuntassa is more clearly expressed, if the following passage may be understood as proposed:

"Also (that) which (is) the frontier of the land of Tarhuntassa – it (is) the Hulaya river-land – ...".¹⁶⁶

This passage would then define the relationship of the two lands: the Hulaya river-land is the frontier zone of the land of Tarhuntassa. It is not synonymous with it but a part of it.¹⁶⁷ That the two were distinct entities is also indicated by another reference: "within the land of Tarhuntassa, and within the Hulaya river-land".¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, the frontier description makes clear that the Hulaya river-land is specifically the Hatti frontier of Tarhuntassa, and not also e.g. the Kizzuwatna frontier. This would then explain why in the passages of frontier description, the Hulaya river-land is mentioned to the total exclusion of the land of Tarhuntassa, which may now be understood to lie well behind the Hulaya marches.

The Bronze Tablet treaty sheds other new light on the geography of south Anatolia. In a passage lacking in the Ulmi-Tešub version, countries surrounding Tarhuntassa are listed:

"Also in the land of Hatti, in Mt. Huwatnuwanda, in the land of Kizzuwatna, the land of Hurniya, the land of Ikkuwaniya, and in the land of Pedassa, (and) in whatsoever land, the cities which are of the *pihassassi* Storm-God ...".¹⁶⁹

These then are (some of) the immediate neighbours of the land of Tarhuntassa, and they can be seen to correspond approximately to the sections in which the frontier itself is described. Here the description begins with Pedassa, Mt. Huwatnuwanda and Ussa, and passes through

164 H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tudhaliyas IV (StBoT; Beiheft 1; Wiesbaden, 1988)*.

165 *Bronzetafel*, i 18–67// *KBo* IV 10, obv. 16'–32'.

166 *Bronzetafel*, ii 4: ZAG KUR URU DU-ta-aš-ša-ia ku-iš KUR ID hu-u-la-ia-aš (na-aš-ta etc.). *KBo* IV 10, obv. 33' is almost identical apart from the omission of KUR ID IL, reading: ZAG KUR URU DU-aš-ša ku-iš (na-aš-ta etc.). Clearly KUR ID hu-u-la-ia-aš is an independent clause added as a gloss in the former text. The final -aš is unusual in the writing KUR ID (or KUR URU; see Goetze, *Hatti*, p. 77f.) + place name and requires explanation. Otten devotes a note to it (op. cit., p. 46), but neither of his two proposed interpretations, both of which identify -aš as the ending of the gen. sing., seems satisfactory. First, case endings are not normally written to place names in the combination KUR ID/URU GN (query: is the GN in such cases to be understood as a genitive dependent on KUR, or in apposition to it?). Secondly, the words ZAG ... *kuiš* are shown by *KBo* IV 10 to be a complete, self-contained relative clause; it is not possible to split *kuiš* off to form a clause with KUR URU IL, as Otten's preferred translation does. These observations support the view already stated, that KUR ID hu-u-la-ia-aš is itself an independent clause, appearing as a parenthetic gloss in the one version and not the other. The -aš is surely best explained not as an unwanted genitive ending, but as -as, the enclitic pronoun, 3 sing. nom., "he/it" (i.e. the ZAG). This interpretation demands the translation given. Cf. further the remarks of Melchert in his review of *StBoT* Beiheft 1 (*Kratylos* 35 [1990], p. 205).

167 Professor O. R. Gurney in discussion pointed out to me a parallel where in the land Mira-Kuwaliya, the land Kuwaliya was to be regarded as the frontier. See Friedrich, *SV* I, p. 116 (§9, C 32).

168 *Bronzetafel*, i 86: ŠA^{BI} KUR URU DU-ta-aš-ša ŠA^{BI} KUR URU ID hu-u-la-ia-ia.

169 *Bronzetafel*, iii 47–50: ŠA^{BI} KUR URU ha-at-ti-ia-kán ŠA^{BI} HUR.SAG hu-u-wa-at-nu-wa-an-ta ŠA^{BI} KUR URU ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni KUR URU hu-ni-ia KUR URU ik-ku-wa-ni-ia U I-NA ŠA^{BI} KUR URU pi-ta-aš-ša ku-e-da-ni im-ma ku-e-da-ni KUR-e ku-i-e-eš URU ID IL ŠA DU pi-ha-aš-ša-aš-šū ...

places which belonged (though not explicitly) to Hatti,¹⁷⁰ up to Mt. Sarlaimmi (and) the "High Mountain",¹⁷¹ and to the city Saliya, this latter being known as a point on the Hatti-Kizzuwatna frontier as defined in the Sunassura treaty.¹⁷²

We should note that the city Ussa in the frontier description¹⁷³ appears to correspond to the city Ikkuwaniya in the list of neighbouring lands. The latter, previously known only as a hapax legomenon in the Telipinu Edict,¹⁷⁴ appears here for the first time in the context of the Tarhuntassa frontier, and by the very probable identification as the contemporary form of the toponym Ikonion-Konya¹⁷⁵ adds an important fixed point in the geography. There were in any case good reasons for seeking Ussa in the neighbourhood of Konya,¹⁷⁶ which would explain the correspondence in the two parallel passages here.

This stretch of the frontier is now pretty well anchored geographically at its eastern and western ends: in the east to the Toros-Bolkar Dağ massif and Kizzuwatna, and in the west to the area of Konya, in particular to a starting point north-west of Konya in Pedassa.¹⁷⁷ What is curious but seems to be the case is that after Saliya, the Hatti-Tarhuntassa-Kizzuwatna frontier, both the Ulmi-Tešub treaty and the Bronze Tablet jump abruptly from the eastern frontier of Tarhuntassa to its extreme west.¹⁷⁸ Why a description of the Tarhuntassa-Kizzuwatna frontier is

170 Note that Mt. Arlanta lies between the Hulaya river-land and Hatti, which are to share the water on it jointly, clearly for access for watering flocks (*Bronzetafel*, i 39–42// *KBo* IV 10, obv. 24'–26').

171 Mt. Sarlaimmi (= Luw. "exalted"), generally identified as some part of the Toros-Bolkar Dağ massif, specifically (by its association in the Muwatalli Prayer with Hupisna (near mod. Ereğli) with Ivriş Dağ, the spur running north-west towards Ereğli; see Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 72, 117 (ii 15–17). They further distinguish the "High Mountain" as the rest of the Toros-Bolkar Dağ range, which runs up to the north-east to form the west side of the Cilician Gates.

172 Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 59–61.

173 *Bronzetafel*, i 32–34// *KBo* IV 10, obv. 21'–22'.

174 See above nn. 38–39.

175 Ibid.

176 Ussa is associated in the Muwatalli Prayer with Parshunta, Mt. Huwatnuwanda, and the Hulaya river-land, all of which are situated in the Lower Land; see Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 63 ff., 118 (ii 38–40). Parshunta (alias Parsuhanta, Purushanda etc.), because of its importance in the Kültepe period, has been often identified with Acemhöyük. It would however be very difficult to locate all these associated places to the south-east of the Salt Lake, so in this context the identification of Parshunta with Karahöyük-Konya, another huge mound of the Kültepe period, seems much more plausible.

177 Pedassa remains where it has normally been located, the area of Ilgin, and Mt. Huwatnuwanda should be sought in one of the high peaks which semi-circle Konya to the west. Since Ikkuwaniya-Konya was not part of Tarhuntassa, the frontier must have passed south of the city. We may note that Tudhaliya's YALBURT monument seems likely to have been erected in the territory of Pedassa.

178 The jump to the west is assured now by the Bronze Tablet, where the linkage of the place names following Saliya with Parha (= Perge) is apparent. The Ulmi-Tešub passage (*KBo* IV 10, obv. 29'–32') shows evidence of textual corruption and omission, and the corresponding Bronze Tablet passage (*Bronzetafel*, i 50–67) is also difficult to follow geographically. *KBo* IV 10 introduces this passage with *arāzenaz*, "from abroad", followed by place names which correspond adequately to the Bronze Tablet's sections introduced "from Hawaliya" (l. 53) and "from the area of the sea" (i.e. the coast, l. 56). The Bronze Tablet however precedes this with the introduction "from Usaula" (l. 50), followed by otherwise unknown place names. Usaula, itself otherwise unknown, seems most likely to be the same as Usawala, found on *KBo* IV 10 among the place names in the section stated to be "from the land of Walma" (l. 32'), which terminates the whole passage, as does a corresponding section "from the frontier of Walma" on the Bronze Tablet (l. 64). The identification is strengthened by the recurrence in each passage, "from Usaula" and "from Walma", of the place Hassuwanta, i.e. the association of Usaula with Walma is corroborated. Note that Walma here is likely to be identified with classical Holmoi, near modern Çay, northwest of Akşehir; Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*,

omitted, we may only speculate, but it is certainly probable from the list of countries adjoining Tarhuntassa noted above that its eastern frontier did abut on Kizzuwatna, and thus must have run south from the Toros-Bolkar Dağ to the sea, presumably somewhere between Mersin and Silifke. Otten's location of this frontier "etwa im Bereich Silifke-Anamur-Alanya"¹⁷⁹ is surely too far to the west. The common frontier with Kizzuwatna would have lain to the east of Silifke.

The Bronze Tablet, as shown by Otten, unequivocally establishes the western boundary of Tarhuntassa on the Aksu river (Hitt. Kastaraya = Classical Kestros), with Perge (Hitt. Parha) lying outside the territory. The place names mentioned in this stretch of frontier description are grouped under the headings "from Usaula", "from Hawaliya", "from the coast", "from Saranduwa", and "from Walma".¹⁸⁰ The order seems peculiar, but apparently begins inland, up the Aksu valley with Usaula near Walma, descending via Hawaliya to the coast and Saranduwa, and finally leaping right inland again to Walma,¹⁸¹ a neighbour of Pedassa, thus joining the end of the frontier back to its beginning.¹⁸²

What emerges from the new geographical recognitions imported by the Bronze Tablet is a clearer perception of the size and importance of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa. It controlled the south Anatolian coast from Perge to Kizzuwatna, and extended inland almost to Konya. From this it would appear that the valley of the river Calycadnos (Göksu) lay deep within the kingdom, and indeed very likely formed its heart. In no way can it be seen as a frontier region, as the Hulaya river-land is described. It is probably here that the city of Tarhuntassa itself and its surrounding land should be sought. Such a location would accord well with the strategic importance which would be expected in Muwatalli's new capital. It would also explain, as noted

p.86. This terminates the frontier description back near its beginning, the end Walma lying to the west of the beginning Pedassa. Another Walma/Holmoi also occurs – see n.181.

179 *StBoT* Beiheft 1, p.36f.; cf. also his remarks in *IBS* 42 (Innsbruck, 1989), pp.15–18 with Abb.6.

180 Cf. n.178.

181 Otten has compared the fragment *KUB* XXI 6+6 a, identified as annals of Hattusili III, which lists as places conquered probably on an itinerary, (ll.5–10) KUR URU Walma KUR URU Watt[a ...] KUR URU Nahita KUR URU Sallusa KUR [URU ...] KUR URU Sanhata KUR URU Suri[mma ...] KUR URU Walwara KUR URU Hawaliya[a ...] KUR URU Inassara, followed by arrival in Kuwalapassa (read *ku-ua-la*?, an easy emendation of the AB of the copy). The combination of Sallusa, Sanhata and Surimma described on the Bronze Tablet as being "on the coast" (*arimaz pedaz*, see n.178), and Hawaliya and Walwara makes it clear that it is the same area being described. The juxtaposition of Walma and Nahita gains significance from the existence of the classical Holmoi and Nagidos on the coast west of Silifke: Nahita was identified as Nagidos, rather than Niğde, by Cornelius, *Or. NS* 27 (1958), p.382 (note that the Iron Age forerunner of Niğde is certainly called *Nahitiya*, as is confirmed by the appearance of the name as the ethnicon applied to the ruler on the ANDAVAL stele); and Walma with Holmoi at the mouth of the Calycadnos by Cornelius, *Or. NS* 27 (1958), p.393 (note that this is a second Holmoi besides the city of that name near mod. Çay, for which see above, n.178). For the implausibility of identifying Walma and Nahita of the present context with Holmoi near Çay and Niğde, see further below, n.199. Sallusa could be identified with Selinus, Babylonian Sallune (Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings* (London, 1961), pp.40f., 76f., 88). The itinerary thus appears to run along the coast from the mouth of the Calycadnos westwards, turning inland up the Aksu valley for Walwara and Hawaliya, and reaching Kuwalapassa (classical Kolbasa north of Lake Kestel). For this passage, see further below, p.56.

182 In the previous note the existence of two towns of the name of Holmoi is noted along with the likelihood that there were correspondingly two Walmas. Although the identification of the Walma of the frontier description as the Walma near Pedassa produces an awkward reversal of the geographical direction, to identify it as the Walma at the mouth of the Calycadnos would produce an even more sickening lurch, particularly in view of its association with Usaula/Usawala. Note that of three possible locations for Walma considered by Otten (*StBoT* Beiheft 1, p.38), his options *a* and *b* are certainly the same, i.e. not alternatives.

above, why Tarhuntassa does not feature in the frontier description: the frontier was not here but well to the north in the Hulaya river-land.

It remains to be noted that the Hulaya river, in the geographical disposition here envisaged, is with considerable probability to be identified with the Çarşamba Çay river system, as originally proposed by Garstang.¹⁸³ It has been suggested that the Hatti-Tarhuntassa frontier is now anchored to the neighbourhood of Konya in the west, to that of the Toros Dağ in the east. The Çarşamba Çay is the name applied to the eastern end of a big system flowing from Lake Beyşehir through Lake Şuğla into the lower Konya plain, and as such corresponds well to this frontier which ran as has been shown, to the south of Konya.¹⁸⁴

Evidence of SÜDBURG inscription

This review of the geography of south-west and southern Anatolia, the Lukka-lands and Tarhuntassa, is important for the understanding of the geography of the events narrated on the SÜDBURG inscription. But before proceeding to a detailed examination of this problem, we must consider a preliminary question which will strongly affect any possible conclusions. This is whether the narrative of the SÜDBURG inscription all belongs to a single campaign, and thus whether all the places mentioned belong to a geographical area accessible to such a campaign, namely south-west and southern Anatolia. This question has already been posed at various points in the commentary above,¹⁸⁵ and it is necessary here to attempt an answer.

Ostensibly the inscription makes a clear statement on the point: its formulation has been shown to introduce the narrative with "When ...", and to terminate it with "in that year ...",¹⁸⁶ which certainly does present the actions and events as belonging to a single year's campaign. But it may well be asked whether such a statement of time is reliable when similar statements in Assyrian historical narrative are notoriously impressionistic.¹⁸⁷ Such evidence as we have from Hittite sources however suggests that such a statement may be understood literally.¹⁸⁸ We may thus approach the places named in the present inscription with the expectation that they were so located as to be all accessible in the course of one campaigning season, while bearing in mind the alternative possibility.

183 Garstang, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp.14–37. Note that this conclusion was strongly supported by E. Gordon, who planned a detailed study, unfortunately never completed: see *JCS* 21 (1967), p.81 with n.29. Forlanini also follows this identification in his geographical contributions.

184 A residual problem is how places which are now clearly to be located along the Pamphylian coast, Mata, Sanhata, Surimma, Saranduwa, Istopanna, Sallusa, Tata, Dasa, can be described as "staying in the Hulaya river-land" (*Bronzetafel*, i 56–59). It may be noted that the inland groups of place names listed under the headings of Usaula, Hawaliya and Walma, presumably located up the Aksu valley to Lake Eğirdir and north of the Lake, are also so described. If the Hulaya river-land indeed includes Lake Beyşehir, the head of the Çarşamba Çay system, these places border on it across the mountains, thus perhaps may be understood as being added to the Hulaya river-land, with which their communications were better than with the more distant Tarhuntassa. The same by extension may be understood of the coastal strip. There also appears to be a well established road running south from Lake Beyşehir to the coast.

185 See Commentary, §1b; also §§7, 8a, 17. The question was already posed and answered as follows in the course of my preliminary report: see *Arch. Anz.* 1990, pp.310 with nn.39–41; 312 with n.54.

186 See Commentary, §§1, 18.

187 Cf. the comments of Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973), p.143. In fact Akkadian usage distinguishes *ina ištēt* 'in one year' (impressionistic), and *ina šatti šati*, 'in that year' (literal).

188 I cited the use in the Ten Year Annals of Mursili of the formula *nu ki INA MU.I.KAM iyanum*, "and this I did in one year"; also the phrase "in one year" describing the First Syrian War of Suppiluliuma I (*Arch. Anz.* 1990, p.312 n.54). Tadmor's citation of the latter as an example of the inexact Assyro-Babylonian usage (see preceding n.) begs the question in a consideration of Hittite usage.

The events of the SÜDBURG narrative fall into four geographical groups:

1. *Conquest 1* (§§ 1–5): conquest and annexation of “all lands”, specifically the five countries Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, Ikuna, stated to be “taken away to the frontiers of Hatti”.
2. *Building 1* (§§ 6–7): construction of seven cities, of which only one is fully phonetically written (*Tihihasa*), and another plausibly hypothesized (*Tarahna*).
3. *Conquest 2* (§§ 8–11): conquest of Mount IUDEX.QUINQUE.
4. *Conquest 3 + Building 2* (§§ 12–17): conquest of Tarhuntassa, and building and offerings in its territory.

1. *Conquest 1*. According to the interpretation of the inscription’s historical geography argued above, these five lands should represent a coherent group which could all be conquered in the first stage of a campaign. The unknown *Tamina* can hardly be brought into the discussion. The lands *Luka* and *Wiyanawanda* are linked again in YALBURT (block 9 §§ 1–2), in a narrative which also mentions *Awarna* and *Pinali*, and (separately) *Talawa* (Xanthos, Pinara and Tlos). This geographical range does suggest that here *Wiyanawanda* is indeed to be identified with Lycian *Oenoanda*. In the case of the land *Luka*, it would seem that the term may be used in an extended sense of “the Lukka lands”,¹⁸⁹ as in classical “Lycia”, to include other named places; but the question is whether here it has a more specific reference and location, as may be supposed from its occurrence in a list with other places, at least one of which might be expected to be a Lukka land (*Wiyanawanda*). If the latter is the case, the further question arises as to where it should be located; see below, p. 55 with n. 194.

The *Masa* of the Cuneiform texts, identified with the present Hier. attestation, is still of uncertain location.¹⁹⁰ One group of references appear to link it with Lukka and Karkisa (Karkiya),¹⁹¹ which along with the present SÜDBURG evidence and the geographical view taken here, seems to draw it generally towards the south-west, especially if it could be conquered in the course of a single campaign against the Lukka lands and Tarhuntassa. Alternative indications which seem to draw it up towards the north-west, associations with Wilusa, Kassiya and the Hulana river and identification with classical Mysia, can in the context of the present enquiry only be countered by pointing out how much a north-westerly location would obstruct an understanding of Suppiluliuma’s campaign here described, and especially of the claim that *Masa* was attached to the frontiers of Hatti. The Garstang-Gurney location in northern Pisidia actually fits very well here.¹⁹²

The identification of *Ikuna* in this list with Hitt. *Ikkuwaniya*, mod. *Konya*, would give the group of countries their most fixed point of reference. *Ikkuwaniya* in the Bronze Tablet reference appeared as a place not actually regarded as Hatti, but certainly like Pedassa and Kizzuwatna under Hittite control.¹⁹³ That it should be presented as a place which had to be conquered and annexed to Hatti would require explanation. This could be viewed in the context of the clash with Tarhuntassa described later in the inscription. If war had broken out between Hatti and

189 For a recent review of the evidence, see Röhl, *RIA* VII/3–4 (1988), s.v. Lukka, Lukki; and a new contribution by Bryce, revising his earlier ideas, *JNES* 51 (1992), pp. 121–130.

190 For a recent review of the evidence see Heinhold-Krahmer, *RIA* VII/5–6 (1989), s.v. Maša.

191 The evidence for Karkisa (and Karkiya) is also reviewed by Heinhold-Krahmer, *RIA* V/5–6 (1980), s.v. Karkisa. The identity of this name with that of the classical Carians (Achaem. *Karka*, Aram. *Krk*) is now well established. See Schmidt, *RIA* V/5–6 (1980), s.v. Karer. Hesitation in locating Karkisa by reference to Caria is justified by similar doubts about Lukka and Lycia; but the increasing likelihood of the latter linkage, as remarked here, strengthens the former linkage also.

192 *Geography*, p. 109.

193 Note the way in which it is presented among the countries bordering Tarhuntassa, including Hatti, Kizzuwatna and Pedassa: above p. 50 and n. 169.

Tarhuntassa, it would not be surprising if *Ikuna*/*Ikkuwaniya*/*Konya*, which directly adjoined Tarhuntassa, had become part of the hostile block.

To sum up, if we are to view these five countries as conquered in the first part of a campaign against Tarhuntassa, they would seem to be most easily understood with *Masa* and *Lukka* contiguous and located between *Ikuna*-*Konya* in the east and *Wiyanawanda*-*Oenoanda* in the west: *Lukka* perhaps specifically eastern Lycia, perhaps extending into western Pamphylia and central-southern Pisidia,¹⁹⁴ and *Masa* adjoining it to the north-west.

2. *Building 1*. The cities built would be assumed, following the usual style of Hittite narrative, to be in the countries described as conquered and annexed. Five of them however, being written with unknown logograms, are unidentifiable, while one phonetically written (*Tihihasa*) is hardly more helpful. The seventh, for the reading of which circumstantial arguments may be adduced, would offer a place-name, *Tarahna*, which is only known in an inappropriate geographical context, that of the north-east rather than south-west. As noted above, if the hypothesized reading *Tarahna* is correct, it should represent the transference of a name belonging to the north-east to a new foundation in the south-west. Little more can be said about these cities other than that the context as it may be understood should place them in the conquered lands in south-west Anatolia.

3. *Conquest 2*. Much the same has to be said of MONS.IUDEX.QUINQUE. If the narrative records a single campaign, this mountain would be expected to lie between the group of five conquered countries and Tarhuntassa, but in the absence of any plausible reading of the name no more can be said. The expected area of location, the mountainous landscape to the west of Tarhuntassa, should provide no shortage of possible candidates for identification.

4. *Conquest 3, Tarhuntassa*. In the discussion above of the frontiers of this country as newly described on the Bronze Tablet, I have attempted to show that they are now comparatively well established as running from the Kastaraya river (*Kestros*, following Otten) in the west to the borders of Kizzuwatna in the east, and abutting Hatti in the north along the Hulaya river in the southern Konya plain. The country as so defined appears to be a much more substantial presence in southern Anatolia than was previously recognized. The search for the actual site of the city of Tarhuntassa, which gave its name to the land, has now become one of the more important goals in Anatolian archaeology.

Muwatalli had selected this previously unremarked site for the establishment of a new capital after a period of general Kaska invasions on the plateau had severely endangered the position of Hattusa.¹⁹⁵ He must have been preparing his expedition against the Egyptian forces in Syria, which followed soon after, and culminated in the Battle of Qadesh. Tarhuntassa would appear to have been a new foundation, but even after the restoration of the capital to Hattusa by Urhi-Tešub,¹⁹⁶ and after Hattusili’s seizure of power there, the latter maintained the importance of Tarhuntassa by appointing Muwatalli’s son Kurunta, his own adherent, as king there.¹⁹⁷ He must have regarded the place as important for the control of southern Anatolia. Here the

194 A combination of the information on the Bronze Tablet showing the western frontier of Tarhuntassa to be on the river *Kestros* at Perge and that on *KUB* XXI 6a suggests that the Lukka lands in general may have extended up to the west bank of the *Kestros*.

195 Apology of Hattusili: see Otten, *StBoT* 24, p. 14, ii 52–53; cf. Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 46, i 30–33; id., *NBr.*, p. 46, B i 2–5.

196 This is implicit in the statements of Hattusili that he made Urhi-Tešub king in Hatti and placed Hattusa in his hands (Otten, *StBoT* 24, p. 20 iii 41–44), but that Hattusa subsequently came over to his side (ibid., p. 24 iv 10–11, 28–29). It is substantiated by the note that Urhi-Tešub brought back the gods from Tarhuntassa to Hattusa (Goetze, *NBr.*, p. 46 B i 11–12).

197 Otten, *StBoT* 24, p. 28 iv 62–64; id., *StBoT* Beih. 1, p. 10 i 14–17.

fragments *KUB XXI 6* and *6a* mentioned above¹⁹⁸ are clearly relevant. Identified as belonging to Annals of Hattusili, these concern hostilities with the Lukka lands, and at one point, a presumed enemy follows an itinerary apparently from east to west¹⁹⁹ through places along the south coast from the mouth of the Calycadnos to Pamphylia then inland to Kuwalapassa (Colbasa), whereupon after general destruction, he fixes frontiers "up" at Zallara, in the Lower Land and in Harziuna. The connection with the establishment of Tarhuntassa is that the coastal places named in this annals text coincide in part with those in the description of seaward and western frontiers in the Tarhuntassa treaties. Thus whatever the identity of the enemy in *KUB XXI 6a*, rev. ll. 5–14, the recurrence of names of places conquered points to the important part played by Tarhuntassa in controlling the south coast of Anatolia westwards to the River Kastaraya (Kestros) and the Lukka lands beyond.

From the foregoing it should be clear that Tarhuntassa was a site of great strategic importance, which should be reflected in its location. Edmund Gordon was preparing to argue for a location at or near Karaman,²⁰⁰ and a large Late Bronze age site has been noted near that city.²⁰¹ If however the identification of the Hulaya river land with the basin of the Çarşamba Çay is correct, the area of Karaman would certainly have lain within it, and the location of Tarhuntassa here would clash with the very clear distinction between the lands of the Hulaya river and Tarhuntassa as now established by the Bronze Tablet treaty and argued above. Thus it seems preferable to seek Tarhuntassa in the Calycadnos valley, the interior of the kingdom not mentioned in the frontier description. This would be the land of Tarhuntassa proper, which by extension gave its name to the whole kingdom including the area of its Hatti-frontier, the Hulaya river land. The city Tarhuntassa should be represented by a site with strategic control of the Calycadnos valley, a crucial route from the Anatolian plateau to the coast, linked by sea to the Levant through the important port of Ura at the river's mouth.²⁰² The one-time identification of Meydanlık kalesi as the site of Tarhuntassa is surely to be discarded.²⁰³ This site appears to be too

198 See p. 52 and n. 181. This fragment has been frequently discussed: see Heinhold-Krahmer, *Tlth* 8, p. 246, with earlier literature; and most recently, Forlanini, *Vicino Oriente* 7 (1988), pp. 157–159; Gurney, *FS Sedat Alp*, p. 218f.

199 The direction would be established by the identifications suggested above, n. 181. Note that Cornelius' identification of Walma and Nahita with Holmoi (nr. Silifke) and Nagidos is much strengthened by the Bronze Tablet's location of the other points on the itinerary, Sallusa, Sanhata and Surimma, in coastal Pamphylia east of Pergé. Forlanini, writing immediately before the Bronze Tablet and its information became available (loc. cit., preceding n.), identified the enemy on *KUB XXI 6+6a*, rev. ll. 5–14 as Piyamaradu and the events referred to as those described also on the Tawagalawa letter. He also identified the Walma and Nahita there as Holmoi near Çay and Niğde. This would give an enormous area of conquest with great distances between the places named: Holmoi near Çay–Niğde, a good 320 km, and Niğde–coastal Pamphylia, a further 300 km. This would appear very improbable, especially when there is a Holmoi and a Nagidos available for identification so close to Pamphylia. Whether such a limited itinerary running from east to west would be probable for Piyamaradu must remain open: as a freebooter relying on naval power, he might have enjoyed the necessary mobility along the coast.

200 *JCS* 21 (1967), p. 81.

201 Information by courtesy of Dr. David French, who informs me that the site is situated on the bluff overlooking Karaman about 2 km to the west, directly to the left of the Silifke-Konya road, which by-passes the city. The site has been disturbed by the construction of a tourist restaurant.

202 For a location of Ura, see A. Davesne, A. Lemaire and H. Lozachmeur, *Le site archéologique de Meydanlık (Turquie): du royaume de Pirindu à la garnison Ptolémaïque* (*CRAI* 1987, pp. 360–383, esp. 373–376, with earlier literature); Gurney, in *FS Sedat Alp*, pp. 217–219; Beal, *An. St.* 42 (1992), pp. 65–73.

203 Laroche, *apud* Mellink, *AJA* 76 (1972), p. 171; 78 (1974), p. 111 and pl. 27 fig. 71; 81 (1977), p. 296. The identification was based on Laroche's report of the discovery of Hittite stelae bearing the cartouches of Muwatalli and Kurunta. Güterbock reported difficulty in seeing these inscriptions even

small and remote to represent the important Late Bronze Age capital, and it has in any case been plausibly proposed as representing the 1st millennium site of Kiršu.²⁰⁴

Building 2 + offering. Report of building a city follows immediately on that of the conquest of Tarhuntassa, with the implication that the city was located in the conquered territory. The city's name is apparently to be read *Tana*,²⁰⁵ and the question is raised as to whether this could represent *Adana*. Though, as argued above, it seems certain that the eastern boundary of Tarhuntassa abutted on Kizzuwatna, it does not seem likely that it extended as far into Plain Cilicia as the city of Adana. One could only envisage the identification if it seemed possible that Suppiluliuma followed the report of the defeat of Tarhuntassa with that of the (re)building of Adana in Kizzuwatna.

Suppiluliuma concludes with a report of the offering to the gods of/in Tarhuntassa and two other cities, which presumably lay in its territory. These cities and names have been discussed above,²⁰⁶ but it was concluded that these were too uncertain in reading to permit any speculation as to their location.

The History

Boğazköy evidence for Suppiluliuma II

The reign of Suppiluliuma II is poorly documented and its events poorly known.²⁰⁷ Following his recognition as a king distinct from Suppiluliuma I by Laroche in 1953,²⁰⁸ a number of

when shown by Laroche, and on my visits to the site I have been unable to see any traces. No corroborative evidence such as photographs has been published. In any case, even if these inscriptions could be verified, they would establish no more than that Meydanlık kale lay within the territory of Tarhuntassa, which is certainly very probable.

204 Davesne, Lemaire and Lozachmeur, loc. cit. (n. 202), pp. 376–377.

205 See Commentary, § 16.

206 See Commentary, § 17.

207 See in particular the contributions of Otten in two symposia: *Zum Ende des Hethiterreiches aufgrund der Boğazköy-Texte* (*Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a.M.* 1976, pp. 22–35); *Die letzte Phase des hethitischen Grossreiches nach den Texten* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 418 [Vienna, 1983], pp. 13–21). Also note the archaeological contributions of K. Bittel in the same symposia, loc. cit., pp. 36–56, and 25–47. More recently see I. Singer, *Dating the end of the Hittite Empire* (*Hethitica* 8 [1987], pp. 414–421). A further study from C. Mora has appeared under the title "Ipotesi sull'ultimo periodo dell'impero ittita" (*Athenaeum* 66 [1988], pp. 553–576). In it, she attempts to establish a co-regency of Tudhaliya IV with Hattusili III, to abolish Arnuwanda III as Great King, and to redate some documents and seals, particularly the letter RS 34.165 and the associated oath *KBo* IV 14 to a new Tudhaliya (V), successor of Suppiluliuma II. Her hypotheses, one of which is even admitted by her to be "ardita" (p. 567), are certainly ingenious but hardly convincing. In particular, her supporting arguments show an unfortunate tendency to be rapidly invalidated by new discoveries. I note here the incontrovertible establishment of Arnuwanda III by the discovery of new seal impressions (Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1991, pp. 328–333); the multiplicity of new forms of Tudhaliya seals undoubtedly attributable to Tudhaliya IV (Neve, *ibid.*, p. 327ff.); the proper interpretation of the seal of Kuzi-Tešub from Lidar, which precludes its use as evidence for a co-regency of Kuzi-Tešub with his father Talmi-Tešub (see Hawkins, *An. St.* 38 [1988], p. 99ff.); also, in another context, the invalidation of her attempt in collaboration with Carruba, to establish a different reading of the *Labarna*-sign (see below, Appendix 4). The recent discovery at Boğazköy of an impression of a seal of Tudhaliya IV (Neve, loc. cit., p. 327, Abb. 27b), which looks likely to be from the same seal as that reconstructed by Mora to support the co-regency, immediately invalidates her reconstruction, thus also her hypothesis (information by courtesy of H. Otten, who will publish his reading in *Ist. Mitt.* 43 [1993]).

208 *RA* 47 (1953), pp. 70–78.

historical texts have been attributed to him.²⁰⁹ A direct synchronism is attested for him only with Talmi-Tešub of Karkamiš (his third cousin),²¹⁰ who himself was a contemporary of 'Amurapi of Ugarit.²¹¹ Definite synchronisms with Assyrian and Egyptian kings are lacking, and in the absence of these it is difficult to establish his absolute dates and to estimate the length of his reign. An estimate of the date of his accession can only be made in relation to the reign of his father Tudhaliya, who is known to have bridged the succession from Shalmaneser I to Tukulti-Ninurta I in Assyria,²¹² and to have corresponded with the latter on a number of occasions.²¹³ On the Egyptian side, the reign of Tudhaliya must have coincided completely or partially with the later reign of Ramses II.²¹⁴ Thus the reign of Suppiluliuma would have fallen in the later reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I and probably overlapped with that of Merneptah,²¹⁵ in absolute terms beginning c. 1210 B.C. and ending some time after 1200 B.C. with the destruction of Hattusa.

Of the historical records from Boğazköy attributed by Laroche to Suppiluliuma II, a major text, that relating to the Hittite defeat in Nihriya, has now been convincingly reassigned to Tudhaliya IV by Singer.²¹⁶ This leaves as the principal historical document of Suppiluliuma's reign the remarkable fragment *KBo* XII 38.²¹⁷ Each of the four columns of this tablet constitutes an isolated passage because of the loss of the top and bottom of the tablet, and the topics covered are as follows:

- i. subjection and imposition of tribute on Alašiya (Cyprus) by unidentified Hittite king.
- ii(a). setting up of a statue of Tudhaliya inscribed with his deeds by his son Suppiluliuma in a ^{NA}hekur SAG.UŠ.
- (b). (after a double ruling) a self-presentation ("I (am) ...") of Suppiluliuma, which breaks off with the words "[my father] Tudhaliya [...]".
- iii. report of a naval battle fought off Alašiya by Suppiluliuma, followed by a landing.
- iv. reference to "this ^{NA}hekur SAG.UŠ", and a statue, followed by a protective curse.

Güterbock showed conclusively that the deeds (LÚ-natar^{HLA}) of Tudhaliya inscribed on the statue must have been the text of which col.i provides the surviving part.²¹⁸ He also showed

209 Laroche, *CTH*, nos. 121–126; note that *CTH* no. 123 has been reattributed to Tudhaliya IV (below, n. 216).

210 *CTH* no. 122, fragments of a treaty of Suppiluliuma II with Talmi-Tešub.

211 *PRU* IV, pp. 208–210.

212 Otten, *A/O* 19 (1960), p. 46.

213 H. Otten *apud* E. Weidner, *A/O Beiheft* 12 (Graz, 1959), pp. 64–68; now also A. Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 15 (Heidelberg, 1989), pp. 158–168.

214 The *insibja*-letters of Ramses II have been shown by Edel, by the use of this title, to belong to his years 42–56. They are addressed to Puduhepa and a Hittite king, apparently Tudhaliya after his accession. See van den Hout, *RA* 78 (1984), p. 90. Cf. also Mora, loc. cit. (n. 207), p. 558 f.

215 As is generally acknowledged, the fall of Hatti, which presumably terminated his reign, fell between the sea-people invasions of Merneptah year 5 and Ramses III year 8: see Singer, loc. cit. (n. 207), p. 416. For a consideration of the statement of Merneptah that Hatti was "at peace", and whether this could have a negative connotation, see Otten, loc. cit. (1976 – see n. 207), p. 24 f. For an attempt at a more detailed estimate of the absolute dates of Suppiluliuma II, see Mora, loc. cit. (n. 207), p. 567 f.

216 *KBo* IV 14 = *CTH* no. 123; see his article, 'The Battle of Nihriya and the end of the Hittite Empire' (*ZA* 75 [1985], pp. 100–123).

217 = *CTH* no. 121, discovered in 1961, published and discussed by Otten in 1963 (*KBo* XII 38 (1963), and *MDOG* 94 [1963], pp. 13–23); further discussed by Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 73–81.

218 loc. cit., p. 74 f. We may note that these deeds of Tudhaliya probably extended all the way from col. i to col. ii 2'–3', where the surviving words, ... iš-pár-za-a-i ... na-ha-ha-an-za ..., indicate the presence

that the new text introducing Suppiluliuma on col. ii 22 was the beginning of Suppiluliuma's own deeds, of which the narrative of col. iii formed a part. Finally he made the point that both of these monumental inscriptions, the deeds of Tudhaliya and of Suppiluliuma, must have been executed in the Hieroglyphic script (and Luwian language), as was the Hittite practice.²¹⁹ Thus the two Cun. Hitt. texts were drafts for the Hier. Luw. inscriptions.

The Tudhaliya deeds were written as described on a statue, doubtless a colossal one of the type found at Alaca Höyük,²²⁰ which was set up in an "Eternal Peak" (^{NA}hekur SAG.UŠ). The latter was already identified by Otten as Yazılıkaya Chamber B,²²¹ the character of which as a mortuary chapel of Tudhaliya IV is so apparent,²²² and this must be regarded as virtually certain. Even a block carved with a pair of colossal feet, which corresponds exactly in dimensions to the podium in Chamber B, has been found in the village Yekbaz,²²³ which could be the actual feet of the statue in question.²²⁴

The Suppiluliuma deeds, beginning "I (am) Suppiluliuma" with titles and genealogy, and continuing "[My father] Tudhaliya [...]", have been shown by Laroche to correspond word for word with the beginning of the great but badly eroded NIŞANTAŞ inscription,²²⁵ and the conclusion that *KBo* XII 38 contained the Cun. Hitt. version of this actual Hier. Luw. inscription is also a virtual certainty.²²⁶ If so, the narrative of Suppiluliuma's naval battle and landing on Alašiya should exist somewhere on NIŞANTAŞ itself.

The other historical texts from Boğazköy attributed to Suppiluliuma II add little information. The fragments of the treaty which he made with Talmi-Tešub of Karkamiš at the accession of one or the other preserve only the beginning of what would have been an important document and give no further information than the synchronism of the two kings.²²⁷ There are two fragmentary loyalty oaths, which have been taken to indicate weakness in Suppiluliuma's internal position,²²⁸ as has the text of an oath imposed on the Hittites to respect funerary cults.²²⁹ A

of a passage similar to that which terminates the Apology of Hattusili (*StBoT* 24, p. 30, iv 86–89), and which thus was probably used to terminate Tudhaliya's narrative.

219 *ibid.*, p. 81.

220 H. Z. Koşay, *Alaca Höyük Excavations 1963–1967* (Ankara, 1973), p. 78 f. (Al. p. 149) and pls. XL–XLI.

221 *MDOG* 94 (1963), p. 22.

222 The features pointing to this include the strong presence of Tudhaliya as a figure in the embrace of his god, and the separate cartouche; the funerary connotations of the human-headed, lion-handled sword stuck in the ground, and of the twelve running gods. See the discussion by Neve, *FS T. Özgüç*, pp. 345–355.

223 P. Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1982, pp. 389–392; *id.*, loc. cit., preceding n.

224 A close parallel of a colossal statue inscribed with a man's deeds set up by his son is known from the Iron Age in the statue of Panammu II of Sam'al, erected and inscribed in Aramaic by Bar-Rakib. This belongs within the neo-Hittite tradition of sculpture and inscriptions. A Hier. Luw. example of such a statue is provided by the statue fragment with the inscription MARAŞ 4, the work of Halparuntiyas II of Gurgum, c. 840 B.C., which when complete would have resembled the uninscribed Zincirli colossus (for which see e.g. Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962), pls. 126–127).

225 *Anatolica* 3 (1970), pp. 93–98.

226 Cf. Güterbock, loc. cit. (n. 217), p. 81. His hesitation in emphasizing the close connection between the Cun. Hitt. and Hier. Luw. versions was perhaps prudent, but from a more recent perspective, the evidence now seems more compelling.

227 *CTH* no. 122, see above, n. 210.

228 *CTH* nos. 124, 125, for which see Otten, loc. cit. 1976 (see n. 207), p. 30 f.; Singer, loc. cit. (n. 216), p. 120.

229 *CTH* no. 256, for which see Otten, *MDOG* 94 (1963), p. 4 f.; Singer, loc. cit. (n. 216), p. 120 f.

fragment of a treaty with Alašiya probably belongs to Suppiluliuma but possibly to his father Tudhaliya.²³⁰

Ugarit evidence for Suppiluliuma II

The documentation from the Boğazköy archives can be supplemented by texts from Ugarit, specifically those which can be associated with the last days of Ugarit, which may be assumed to have occurred in the reign of Suppiluliuma.²³¹ Ugarit texts are often difficult to attribute to specific Hittite Great Kings unless these are personally named, but two groups of related texts can be attributed to the reign of Suppiluliuma II with some certainty: (1) the tablets excavated still in the kiln where they were to be baked at the time of the fall of the city,²³² one of which was a letter addressed by the Hittite king to 'Ammurapi, last known king of Ugarit; and (2) other texts of the reign of 'Ammurapi. 'Ammurapi, as noted, was contemporary of Talmi-Tešub of Karkamiš, who was himself contemporary of Suppiluliuma,²³³ so the Hittite king appearing in 'Ammurapi's documents should be Suppiluliuma, and the historical events recorded there should belong to his reign.

Thus the kiln letter from the Hittite king to 'Ammurapi, which like all this group is in Al-Phabetic Ugaritic, is attributable to Suppiluliuma II.²³⁴ It reproaches the king of Ugarit for neglect of his duty, and demands food, also support against the enemy. Another kiln tablet is from a certain *Pgn* to the king of Ugarit (i.e. 'Ammurapi), addressed as "my son", thanking for one consignment and requesting another.²³⁵ Similar letters of less certain date but probably belonging to the same context include one from the Hittite court to the king of Ugarit, requesting the provision of a boat to carry grain from Mukiš to Ura as a matter of extreme urgency ("life or death");²³⁶ also a fragment with similar demands for boats for food convoys to Ura.²³⁷

Other letters clearly relevant to Suppiluliuma's situation are two exchanged between 'Ammurapi and the king of Alašiya.²³⁸ These refer to the appearance of sea-raiders off the coast of Ugarit and the defenceless state of the city, all the troops²³⁹ being in Hatti and the fleet in the land of Lukka. Suppiluliuma must also be the Hittite king who wrote to the prefect of Ugarit making disparaging reference to the youth and ignorance of the king of Ugarit, but particularly requiring information about the sea-raiding *Sikilaya*.²⁴⁰

230 CTH no. 141, see Singer, *ibid.*, p. 121 f.

231 See in particular contributions by G.A. Lehmann: UF 2 (1970), pp. 40–73; 11 (1979), pp. 481–494.

232 C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV (Paris, 1962), pp. 31–45.

233 See above, p. 58 and nn. 210–211.

234 RS 18.38 = PRU V, 60; Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* V, pp. 723, 725 f.; Klengel, GS II, pp. 399, 404; *id.*, *AoF* 1 (1974), p. 168; Lehmann, UF 2, p. 47 f.

235 RS 18.147 = PRU V, 61; Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* V, p. 721 f.; Klengel, GS II, p. 400; *id.*, *AoF* 1, 168 f.; Lehmann UF 2, p. 51 f. Klengel plausibly identifies *Pgn* with one *Pukana*, a Hittite official, impressions of whose seal were found at Tarsus (see Gelb, *apud* Goldman, *Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* II (Princeton, 1956), pls. 403, 407 no. 42).

236 RS 20.212 = *Ugaritica* V, p. 105 ff. no. 33; Schaeffer, *ibid.*, p. 731; Klengel, GS II, p. 394 f.; *id.*, *AoF* 1, p. 169 f.; Lehmann, UF 2, p. 49 n. 43.

237 RS 26.158 = *Ugaritica* V, p. 323 no. 171; Schaeffer, *ibid.*, p. 731; Klengel, *AoF* 1, p. 169.

238 RS 20.238 and RS L 1 = *Ugaritica* V, pp. 85–89 nos. 24 and 23; Schaeffer, *ibid.*, pp. 695–701; Klengel, GS II, p. 401 f.; Lehmann, UF 2, pp. 53–59; *id.*, UF 11 (1979), p. 483.

239 For the reading ÉRIN^{MEŠ} E[N.NUN]-ia "the troops of my guard", by Mayer, see Lehmann, UF 11, p. 484 n. 15.

240 RS 34.129 = *Ugaritica* VII, pl. XI; Dietrich and Loretz, UF 10 (1978), pp. 53–56; Lehmann, UF 11 (1979), pp. 481–494, esp. 482.

It is difficult from these sources to reconstruct a very coherent picture of the reign of Suppiluliuma II, particularly in view of the uncertainty as to its length—a reign of 20 years would have had a very different character from one of 10 years. The sources certainly suggest the growing threat of the Sea-Peoples to the coastal areas, evidence for which has increased in recent years. Attestations of grain shipments and references to famine in Hatti are also clearly of significance, though it remains unclear whether this was a concentrated crisis at this time or rather a general problem over a longer period.

Recent commentators tend to link the Ugarit evidence of hostile fleets threatening the city with Suppiluliuma's naval engagement off Alašiya. In particular it is suggested that the "enemy of the land Alašiya" and the ships of the same are to be identified with the sea-raiders.²⁴¹

SÜDBURG evidence for Suppiluliuma II

By contrast, most of the Boğazköy documentation, the loyalty oaths and the endowments of funerary cults, relate almost exclusively to the activities of Suppiluliuma II on the home front in Hattusa. Evidence for the Hittite position within Anatolia has been entirely lacking. It is here that the new evidence of the SÜDBURG inscription comes to provide information on a formerly blank area, and it is in this context that it must be evaluated.

Singer was right, writing in 1985, to point out that we had no knowledge of a capability on the part of Suppiluliuma II to campaign in Western Anatolia.²⁴² Yet the appearance of the SÜDBURG inscription unexpectedly supplied just this information. As interpreted above, the text informs us that he undertook a very wide-ranging campaign, extending from Masa in the west through the Lukka lands in the south-west to Tarhuntassa in the south, all apparently within one season. Furthermore he could claim success: SÜDBURG, § 5, appears to narrate the annexation of the Lukka lands.²⁴³ It may be that the claim was exaggerated or the achievement of short duration, but it is difficult to dismiss the narrative entirely. Here we may recall the complaint of the king of Ugarit that his troops were in Hatti and his ships in the Lukka land.²⁴⁴ The campaigns of Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II against the Lukka lands, as narrated by the YALBURT and SÜDBURG inscriptions, were presumably overland operations. But it could be that Suppiluliuma used the fleet of Ugarit in conjunction with a land attack. It is hard to suggest another reason for the presence of the Ugarit fleet in Lukka: it could hardly have been for the benefit of the city itself.

The second part of the SÜDBURG inscription has an even more surprising claim, nothing less than the conquest of the land of Tarhuntassa, which furthermore ended up with the city of Tarhuntassa itself in the hands of Suppiluliuma.²⁴⁵ The history of relations between Hatti and Tarhuntassa are now comparatively well documented, from the time of the foundation of Tarhuntassa by Muwatalli II,²⁴⁶ through the installation of Kurunta as king by Hattusili,²⁴⁷ up to the treaty of Tudhaliya with Kurunta on the Bronze Tablet. A persisting problem has been the identity of Ulmi-Tešub and the dating of his treaty: whether in spite of contrary indications his treaty is later than that of the Bronze Tablet, so that he was a successor of

241 See especially Lehmann, UF 2 (1970), p. 63 f.

242 ZA 75, p. 123.

243 "... (to) the frontiers (of) Hatti took away"; for this interpretation, see the argument in the Commentary, above, p. 36 f.

244 See above, p. 60 and n. 238.

245 See SÜDBURG, §§ 12, 15, 17, and the Commentary justifying this interpretation.

246 See above, The Geography, p. 55 and n. 195.

247 *ibid.*, and n. 197.

Kurunta;²⁴⁸ or whether he could be Kurunta under another name, so that his treaty, as seems otherwise most likely, preceded that of the Bronze Tablet. O.R. Gurney has recently and convincingly argued for the latter view;²⁴⁹ and this is fully accepted for the purpose of the present treatment.

As evidence for Hatti-Tarhuntassa relations in the period after the treaty of the Bronze Tablet, we had until the appearance of the SÜDBURG inscription only the Boğazköy bullae with impressions of Kurunta's seal discovered in the same year as the Bronze Tablet.²⁵⁰ These give Kurunta's name²⁵¹ written inside the Hittite royal aedicula consisting of the titles "My Sun, Great King, Labarna".²⁵² The extraordinary claim represented by this arrogation, nothing less apparently than the great kingship of Hattusa, has led to the supposition that in spite of the oaths and rhetoric of the Bronze Tablet treaty, dissension between Hatti and Tarhuntassa, specifically between Tudhaliya and Kurunta, did in fact break out, during the course of which Kurunta may at least temporarily have seized Hattusa.²⁵³ The find-spot of the Bronze Tablet has been seen as the result of an official annulment of the treaty.²⁵⁴ Slim as this evidence may be, it is hard to produce a more plausible explanation.

Thus the open warfare between Hatti and Tarhuntassa leading to defeat for the latter at the hands of Suppiluliuma II, as narrated on the SÜDBURG inscription, does appear, according to the indications noted, to have originated already in the reign of Tudhaliya IV. It is curious that no more substantial references to this baleful development have been detected in the Boğazköy record. Kurunta's seizure of power in Hattusa, if such it was, must have been brief, since Tudhaliya as we know was succeeded in a regular fashion by his two sons, the childless Arnuwanda,²⁵⁵ then Suppiluliuma.²⁵⁶ The fate of Kurunta after his claim to great kingship and the annulment of his treaty with Tudhaliya has left no trace in the record as yet recognized, nor do we know the name of his successor,²⁵⁷ the man who would have been the opponent of Suppiluliuma II in the SÜDBURG campaign. The deeds of Suppiluliuma as recorded on the

248 This is the view argued in detail by van den Hout in his unpublished thesis (a copy of which I owe to his courtesy) and maintained in the forthcoming published version of this (to appear as *StBoT* 38); see also id., *JCS* 41 (1989), pp. 100–114.

249 *An. St.* 43 (1993), pp. 13–28. I have had the pleasure of detailed discussions of this matter with Professor Gurney.

250 Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1987, pp. 401–403; now supplemented by a further impression of a very similar seal found in 1990, as well as of another more elaborate seal, for which see Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1991, pp. 328, 330 Abb. 35a–b, 332f.

251 Written CERVUS-ti. The identification of this as the Hier. writing of the name *Kurunta* has occasioned some unease as regards the vocalization of the stem, to the extent of appearing to require a value -ta for -ti (the foot, *HH* no. 90), which is not justifiable from the Hier. point of view. Cun. writings ^{DKAL}-aš as nom., -an as acc. (for which see Laroche, *Noms*, no. 1747; Otten, *StBoT* Beih. 1, p. 91) appear to agree with the form *Kurunta*, but in fact the latter is an Akkadian graphic writing ^{1ku-ru-un-ta} in Akk. letters, and thus is not directly relevant to the stem vowel(s). Hier. CERVUS-ti can be reconciled with Cun. ^{DKAL}-a- by the assumption that both represent *Kuruntiya*-. The discrepancy between this and *Kurunta* finds an exact parallel in the Late writings Hier. *Hal-paru(n)tiya*- (MARŠ 1, § 1) = Assyrian *Qalpar(n)da* (PAZARCIK stele of Adad-nirari III, obv. 17).

252 For a consideration of the title "Labarna", see Appendix 4.

253 Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1987, pp. 401–404; Otten, *StBoT* Beih. 1, pp. 4f., 9; id., *JBS* 42 (1989), p. 14f.

254 Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1987, p. 408.

255 *KUB* XXVI 33 ii 3ff.; see Otten, *MDOG* 94 (1963), p. 3f.; id., loc. cit., 1976 (see above n. 207), p. 30f.

256 As referred to in the same text *KUB* XXVI 33, iii 19ff.

257 We follow here O.R. Gurney in his recent detailed reaffirmation that Ulmi-Tešub was not a successor of Kurunta but another name of Kurunta himself: see above, n. 249.

Cun. fragment *KBo* XII 38, cols. ii 22–28 + iii 1–20, and possibly in the unread part of NİŞANTAŞ, might have contained further details of the conflict. Indeed one would very much like to know the connection between the inscriptions of the SÜDBURG and the adjacent NİŞANTAŞ. As has been noted,²⁵⁸ what can be read of NİŞANTAŞ indicates that epigraphically it is surprisingly different from the SÜDBURG and agrees much more closely with the YALBURT and EMİRGAZI inscriptions of Tudhaliya.

Tarhuntassa and the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions

Further evidence suggests that the conquest and occupation of Tarhuntassa by Suppiluliuma, which we gather from the SÜDBURG inscription, may not have represented a terminal disaster for this state. Though Hattusa may have triumphed in this campaign, its own destruction was imminent, and with this the line of Great Kings of Hattusa disappeared from history. In the southern Konya plain however, a long-known monument now seems likely to throw light on the later history of Tarhuntassa. The towering Karadağ to the north of Karaman has traces of a mountain-top shrine, and at the foot of the mountain a steep hill, the Kızıldağ, shows the remains of a fortified city.²⁵⁹ Both sites are marked by inscriptions of a certain Hartapu, who entitles himself "The Sun, Great King, Hero", and names his father Mursili, also entitled Great King, Hero.²⁶⁰ The epigraphy and content of these short inscriptions can now be seen to be so closely connected with the Empire inscriptions YALBURT and SÜDBURG that it can hardly be doubted that they were executed at a date not far removed from the fall of the Hittite Empire.²⁶¹ The Karadağ and Kızıldağ are situated in an area generally agreed to have formed part of the land of Tarhuntassa, indeed, as argued in the present study, in the heart of the Hulaya river-land.²⁶² However it has become clear from a recent discovery that Hartapu's dominion stretched much further to the north-east: a new inscription of his has been located at Burunkaya, some 18 km east of Aksaray.²⁶³

258 See above, Introduction, p. 13, also p. 21.

259 For the topography of the Kızıldağ see the recent article by Bittel in *FS Mellink*, pp. 103–111. The close connection between the Karadağ and the Kızıldağ is not obvious to those who have not visited the site. To one standing facing the inscription KIZILDAĞ 4, the Karadağ towers up behind the inscription, and its highest peak, Mahalıç, where the shrine was located, stands out on the left of the massif. Similarly, one standing facing the inscription KARADAĞ 1, on raising his head above the parapet of rock bearing the inscription, looks straight down on to the Kızıldağ, some 13 km distant.

260 For a recent treatment of the inscriptions with good photographs, see Sedat Alp, loc. cit. below, n. 263, pp. 21–27; also for KIZILDAĞ 3, H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* 5 (1983), pp. 21–28.

261 I have contributed a study of this question to the *FS Sedat Alp*, pp. 259–275. My remarks here summarize this study. For the texts of the inscriptions, see Appendix 3. The dating of the inscriptions to after the fall of the Hittite Empire rests on the employment of the royal aedicula of the Great Kings of Hattusa by Hartapu, which should not have occurred while the dynasty still reigned in Hattusa. In this contribution, while dating the Kızıldağ-Karadağ inscriptions to the 12th century B.C., I agree with those who consider a late dating (8th century) for the incised figure of Hartapu to be more likely, and I suggest circumstances under which it might have been added at the later date.

262 See above the Geography, p. 53 and n. 183. In fact the river system of the Çarşamba Çay originally terminated in the extensive marshy area, the Hotamış Göl, on the south-east side of which Kızıldağ and Karadağ are located.

263 Sedat Alp, Eine neue hieroglyphenhethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kızıldağ-Karadağ aus der Nähe von Aksaray und die früher publizierten Inschriften derselben Gruppe (*Anatolian Studies Güterbock*, pp. 17–27).

Various features of the Kızıldağ-Karadağ group of inscriptions (including Burunkaya) point to an association with Tarhuntassa and its dynasty.²⁶⁴ The location, lower Konya plain, and the date, immediately post-Empire, combine to suggest the link. The assumption of the Hittite royal titulary by Hartapu must have considerable significance, for it has already been seen that Kurunta of Tarhuntassa claimed the same on his seals, impressions of which have been found at Boğazköy,²⁶⁵ and it has also been shown that the kings of Karkamiš made similar claims.²⁶⁶ In the treaty on the Bronze Tablet, Tudhaliya quite specifically conceded the same status to the kings of Tarhuntassa as was already enjoyed by the kings of Karkamiš, i.e. precedence inferior only to that of the Crown Prince (*tuhkanti*).²⁶⁷ Thus it seems that at the disappearance of the dynasty in Hattusa, Kuzi-Tešub of Karkamiš laid claim to the vacant titles by right of his descent from Suppiluliuma I. Similarly Hartapu's claim is likely to have been based on descent from the royal house of Tarhuntassa, itself descended from Suppiluliuma's grandson Muwatalli.

As for Hartapu's lineage, we may note that his father bore the name Mursili,²⁶⁸ and was also entitled "Great King, Hero". James Mellaart *en passant* identified this father as Mursili III of Hattusa, i.e. Urhi-Tešub.²⁶⁹ This suggestion was not generally accepted,²⁷⁰ but actually from our present view-point seems not impossible.²⁷¹ But equally this Mursili could have been another descendant of the "seed of Muwatalli and Kurunta", to which the possession of the land of Tarhuntassa had been guaranteed in perpetuity.²⁷²

Thus the Kızıldağ-Karadağ group of monuments do provide reason to suppose that a successor state to Tarhuntassa survived the collapse of the Hittite Empire and the destruction of Hattusa and its dynasty. This could have resulted in the survival of Hittite Empire traditions in the south-eastern Anatolian plateau, as at Malatya and Karkamiš. Very little is known of this area, historically or archaeologically, for the period c. 1150–750 B.C.²⁷³ Only in the later 8th century B.C. are groups of Hier. inscriptions found whose authors can be identified as kings of Anatolia ("Tabal") named by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon.

264 Already anticipated by Otten, *IBS* 42 (1989), p. 20. Cf. also the remarks of Bittel, loc. cit. 1983 (see above, n. 207), pp. 40–42.

265 See above, p. 62 and nn. 250, 253.

266 J.D. Hawkins, Kuzi-Tešub and the "Great Kings" of Karkamiš (*An. St.* 28 (1988), pp. 99–108).

267 Otten, *StBoT* Beih. 1, p. 18 ii 79–83 (§ 18).

268 The name is written *URBS-li*, not as elsewhere *URBS+RA/I-li*, for which see YALBURT, § 1, Commentary. The absence of the *RA/I* element does not seem likely to affect the reading of the name insofar as the writing is understood.

269 *Mélanges Mansel* I (Ankara, 1974), pp. 514–516.

270 Cf. the remarks of Bittel, loc. cit. above (n. 207), p. 42.

271 Muwatalli and Hattusili were brothers, so their sons Urhi-Tešub and Tudhaliya need not have been separated in age by many years; so it is not unthinkable that a son of Urhi-Tešub might have survived Suppiluliuma II to seize the throne of Tarhuntassa after the latter's disappearance. The possible mechanics of such an outcome, following the defeat of Tarhuntassa by Suppiluliuma II, and the subsequent destruction of Hattusa, do of course lie well beyond any present documentation.

272 Otten, *StBoT* Beih. 1, p. 20 iii 2–9.

273 In 836 B.C. Shalmaneser III marched from Malatya to the Anatolian plateau, passing from the neighbourhood of Kültepe down to Hubišna (Ereğli). He claimed the submission of a paramount(?) king Tuatti and of twenty others. The most detailed narrative is found on the Nimrud statue of Shalmaneser III: Laessle, *Iraq* 21 (1959), pp. 153–155 (frag. E, ll. 19–33). Later, c. 780 B.C., Argišti of Urartu on an expedition against Malatya passed the "land of the sons of Tuatte": see Salvini, *La Parola del Passato* 142–144 (1972), p. 101 and n. 3; Postgate and Hawkins, *SAAB* 2 (1988), pp. 31–40.

II.²⁷⁴ It is notable that two of these, father and son, resurrect the imperial titles "Great King, Hero",²⁷⁵ thereby apparently claiming descent, truly or by pretension, from the dynasty of Tarhuntassa. It is much to be hoped that future research will provide information to fill the blank centuries and reveal some continuity from the end of the Bronze Age through the early Iron Age.²⁷⁶

274 See Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), pp. 162–167; Postgate and Hawkins, op. cit. preceding n.

275 Wasusarma and his father Tuwati on the rock inscription TOPADA. This inscription is only c. 30 km across country from the BURUNKAYA inscription of Hartapu. In my treatment of the Kızıldağ-Karadağ group of inscriptions in *FS Sedat Alp*, I suggest that Tuwati and Wasusarma would have known and been interested in the inscriptions of Hartapu.

276 Known archaeological sites which must be important for the period include Maltepe, near Mut, in the Göksu valley, where the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara is hoping to excavate; the site of Kızıldağ itself, built by Hartapu; and the site of Kululu north of Kayseri, the source of many Hier. inscriptions, a probable political capital of Iron Age Tabal.

APPENDIX 1. YALBURT

Introduction

From the time of its discovery by a bulldozer in 1970 and the subsequent rescue excavations in its environs by Bay Raci Temizer of Ankara Museum, the inscription of YALBURT rapidly became known by name to the academic world under the designation ILGIN, the nearest town, but remained unpublished,¹ and there seemed little hope of a speedy appearance. It was very gratifying therefore when photographs of the inscription were published by Bay Raci Temizer in the book by Professor Tahsin Özgüç on the results of the İnandık excavations, including the famous vase.² The excellent photographs there made available permit the reading of all the clear parts of the inscription. I have written a detailed study of some points of interpretation and translation in a recently published article.³ Of course scale copies of the individual blocks and more details of the exact circumstances of discovery of each remain desirable, but for the present this preliminary treatment should provide the necessary points for comparison with the SÜDBURG inscription.

Order of reading the blocks

It is clear that the blocks were discovered partially reused and generally out of order,⁴ and that the order in which they have been collected and replaced on the plinth created by the blocks forming the sides of the pool (which were discovered *in situ*) in no way reflects their original sequence. For the purpose of understanding the inscription, the sequence of the blocks is crucial, yet no archaeological evidence for this is available. This sequence of reading must therefore be reconstructed, insofar as this is possible, from the internal evidence of the inscription.⁵ For the purpose of identifying the individual blocks in the course of the discussion I have numbered them according to their restored positions. The blocks as published by Temizer are thus numbered as follows:

Lev.-Pl.	88.1	block	10
	2		9
	3		8
	89.1		7
	2		6
	90.1		5
	2		4
	91.1		3
	2		2
	3		1
	92.1		15
	2		14
	93.1		13
	2		12
	94.1		11
	2		18
	95.1		17
	2		16

Blocks with clear, preserved beginning and end: 1, 2, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Blocks with clear, preserved beginning: 3, 6, 7, 11, 17.

Block with clear, preserved end: 12.

Blocks with unclear beginning and end: 5, 8, 9.

Edition of Poetto

As noted in the Acknowledgements, after the submission of this manuscript, Massimo Poetto kindly informed me of the completion of his edition of YALBURT. We were able to meet and compare editions, correcting a number of readings in the process, as acknowledged in our respective commentaries. The reference below "Poetto, Edition" indicates this monograph as seen by me in manuscript, and on occasion also to our discussion of the text.

¹ See reports by Machteld Mellink, *Archaeology in Asia Minor* (*AJA* 76 [1972], p.171; further, 77 [1973], p.174; 78 [1974], p.111; 80 [1976], p.266).

² Tahsin Özgüç, *İnandıktepe. An important cult centre in the Old Hittite period* (Ankara, 1988), pp.172-174 (figs.60-63, plans), pls.85-95; also *ibid.*, Introduction by Raci Temizer, pp.xv-xvii (Turkish), xxv-xxvii (English). Note also the section on Yalburt in E.P.Rossner, *Die hethitischen Felsreliefs in der Türkei. Ein archäologischer Führer* (2nd ed.; Nördlingen, 1988), pp.63-66.

³ The inscriptions of the Kızıldağ and the Karadağ in the light of the Yalburt inscription (*FS Sedat Alp*, pp.259-275).

⁴ In spite of the statement by R. Temizer that the inscribed blocks were restored to their original position (*loc. cit.*, previous n.), the plan *İnandıktepe*, fig.62 (p.173) shows the inscribed blocks as found, i.e. scattered and out of position (cf. the statement on p.144). It is not possible to identify the sixteen inscribed blocks shown on fig.62 with their photographs, since the numbers given on the plan are not attached to the photographs.

⁵ In the commentary given here the possibilities for establishing the sequence are discussed at the beginning and end of each block, where any clues can be found.

YALBURT blocks 1-17: Transliteration

- 1, § 1. SOI₂ MAGNUS.REX IUDEX+*la* MONS+*tu* IUDEX+*la* MAGNUS.REX HEROS *HA'ITI*+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS URBS+*RA'IT*+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS [...]
- 2, § 1. ... *tu-pi*
 § 2. *wa/i-mu-'* [*416-*wa/i-ni-sa* *LA+X-tu-sa*(URBS) POST-*a* URBS+*MI-'* IUDEX+*la* PES
 § 3. *wa/i-mu-'* (DEUS)TONITRUS [...]
- 3, § 1. ...NEG-*wa/i a-sa-tá*
 § 2. REL-*ti-pa-wa*[*a/i*]-*m[u]* FINES²-[...] PRAE-*n[a]* *a+ra/i*-[...]
 § 3. *a-[wa/i...]* ASINUS-x[...]
- 4, § 1a. ... PRAE-*na* (MONS)*pa-tara/i pi-i(a)-ha*³
 b. MANUS+MANUS-*nú-wa/i-ha*
 c. SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS-*zi/a i(a)-zi/a-ha*
 § 2. *zi/a-tá-zi/a-pa-wa/i* REGIO-*ní-zi/a* MAGNUS.REX-*zi/a* *HATTI*(REGIO) *a-mi-zi/a* *ITÁ.AVUS-zi/a* NEG-*a* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha hwi/a-i(a)-tá*
 § 3. *mu-pa-wa/i-'* (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na á-zi/a-tá*
 § 4. *a-wa/i zi/a-i(a)* REGIO-*ní-i(a)*[...]
- 5, § 1. ...*pi*³ ... *pi*
 § 2. *a-wa/i* MONS ... MONS ...
- 6, § 1. [...] REL-*la-tara/i-n[a]*(REGIO) FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* [INFRA] (*85)REL-*[zi/a-tá]*
 § 2. *a-wa/i-mu* [...] BOS.OVIS 510-*ti ARHA* CAPERE
 § 3. *a-wa/i* x [...]
- 7, § 1. *a-wa/i ni-pi+ra/i*(REGIO) *430-*sa₅ tu-pi*
 § 2a. *a-wa/i-tá* DELERE
 b. [*416-*wa/i-ni-s[a]* *ni-pi+ra/i*(REGIO) REL-REL-*lu-wa/i-tá*(REGIO) *511-*sa₅* (REGIO) x x ... [...]
- 8, illegible, except for traces of -
 ... (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* PRAE-*na hwi/a-i(a)-tá a-wa/i* ...
- 9, § 1a. ...*lu-ka*(REGIO)-*zi/a* DELERE
 b. MAGNUS.REX VITIS(REGIO) EXERCITUS CENTUM² ROTA *i(a)-zi/a*
 § 2. *a-wa/i lu-ka*(REGIO)-*zi/a* ... [...]
- 10, § 1. ...*wa/i-sá-ti*
 § 2. *a-wa/i-mi* HEROS *463.*398 VITELLUS.*285 MAGNUS.REX
 § 3. (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* REL+*ra/i* PRAE-*na hwi/a-i(a)-tá*
- 11, § 1. *a-wa/i-'mu*³ (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-tá*
 § 2. *a-wa/i-mi* [*416-*wa/i-ni-sá*³ *a-tá-pa-x*(URBS²/REGIO³) *mu-wa/i-ha*
 § 3. FORTIS.*HATTI*²-*tá*² *i(a)-zi/a-sa*²
 § 4a. *a-wa/i-mu a-mi-zi/a* REL-*i(a)-zi/a*
 b. *zi/a-i(a)²-pa²-wa/i² ku*.INFRA FORTIS-*tá*
 § 5. (connective particles?) [...]

Translation

- 1, § 1. The Sun, Great King, Labarna, Tudhaliya, Hero, Son of Hattusili, Great King, Hero, [grandson] of Mursili, Great King, Hero ...
- 2, § 1. ...] smote,
 § 2. I, the *Sim*(?), the Labarna, came back to the city ...tusa,
 § 3. and me the Storm-God [...]
- 3, § 1. ...] there was not,
 § 2. and when [I] arriv[ed] at the frontier[s],
 § 3. ... [...]
- 4, § 1a. ... (to) Mount Patara I gave over,
 b. I caused to ... ,
 c. and I made a "stone stand-place".
 § 2. And to these countries the Great Kings of Hatti, my fathers (and) grandfathers, no one had run,
 § 3. but the Storm-God, the Lord, loved me,
 § 4. and these countries [...]
- 5, § 1. ...
 § 2. (mountains)
- 6, § 1. ... in [the land of] Kuwalatarna the women (and) children knelt² down [to me?],
 § 2. ..., oxen, sheep in full measure (I) took away,
 § 3. and [...]
- 7, § 1. and (I) smote the land Nipira ...
 § 2a. and destroyed it,
 b. the *Sim*(?) the lands Nipira, Kuwakuwuwanta(?) (and) ...sa ...
- 8, ...] The Storm-God, the Lord, ran before and ... [...]
- 9, § 1a. ...] the Luka-lands (I) destroyed,
 b. (in?) the land of Wiyanawanda (I) the Great King made ...,
 § 2. and the Luka(-lands) ...
- 10, § 1. ...] by the grace.
 § 2. I the Hero ... (*Verb*), the ..., the Great King.
 § 3. When the Storm-God, the Lord, ran before me,
- 11, § 1. The Storm-God, the Lord, ran before (me),
 § 2. and I the *Sim*(?) conquered the city/land Atpa...
 § 3. ...
 4a. ...
 b. these(?) ... he/they conquered,
 § 5. ...

- 12, § 1. ...] x x *pi*/DARE
 § 2. *a-wa/i pi-na-**416(URBS) *tu-pi*
 § 3. *a-wa/i-mu* |*416-*wa/i-ni-sa pi-na-**416(URBS) FORTIS.CRUS
 § 4. *a-wa/i-mu* (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-tá*
- 13, § 1. *a-wa/i-mi* |*416-*wa/i-ni-sa mu-wa/i-ha*
 § 2. *pi-na-**416(URBS) ARHA DELERE
 § 3. *a-wa/i á-wa/i+ra/i-na-*' (REGIO) PES₂
 § 4a. *a-wa/i-mu* |*416-*wa/i-ni-sa* 4×MILLE CENTUM ASINUS
 b. *ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i*[...]
- 14, § 1. ...]ARHA *la-la-ha*
 § 2. *a-wa/i-mi-tá* THRONUS² SOLIUM
 § 3. *a-wa/i* MAGNUS.REX DOMINUS²(-)*ara/i* THRONUS² PES₂.PES₂
 § 4. *a-wa/i-tá* TALA-*wa/i*(REGIO) INFRA-*a* PES₂
 § 5. *a-wa/i-mu* TALA-*wa/i*(REGIO) [...]
- 15, § 1. ...]FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* INFRA (*85)REL-*zi/a-tá*
 § 2. *a-wa/i-mu* *509.BOS.OVIS *510-*ti* [...]
- 16, § 1a. ...] NEPOS-*ka-li*
 b. (DEUS)TONITRUS *wa/i-sá-ti*
 § 2a. *a-wa/i-mi* REGIO *430 (*273)[*m*]*u-wa/i-ha*
 b. [(DEUS)]CERVUS₂[...]
- 17, § 1. ...] x(REGIO) DELERE-*ha*
 § 2. *a-wa/i* *511-*sa*₃(REGIO) REL-*la-tara/i-na*(REGIO) DELERE(?)[...]

- 12, § 1. ...
 § 2. and (I) smote *Pinali*,
 § 3. and I the *Sim*(?) "stood strong" against *Pinali*,
 § 4. the Storm-God, the Lord, ran before me,
- 13, § 1. and I the *Sim*(?) conquered,
 § 2. and (I) destroy(ed) *Pinali*,
 § 3. and (I) went to *Awarna*,
 § 4a. and of(?) me the *Sim*(?) 4,100 ass(es) (there were),
 b. or [...]
- 14, § 1. ...] I took away,
 § 2. I seated myself on the throne,
 § 3. and (I) the Great King ...,
 § 4. (I) went down to the city *Talawa*,
 § 5. and (to?) me the city *Talawa* [...]
- 15, § 1. ...] the women (and) children knelt(?) down [to me?],
 § 2. ..., oxen, sheep, *in full measure*(?) [I took away (block 14?)]
- 16, § 1a. ...] great-grandson
 b. By the grace of the Storm-God,
 § 2a. I conquered all lands,
 b. ... the Stag-God [...]
- 17, § 1. ...] the land ... I destroyed,
 § 2. and the land ...sa, the land *Kuwalatarna* [...]

Commentary

block 1

§1. IUDEX+*la*: for discussion of this writing of the title *Labama*, see Appendix 4.

HATTI+*li*, *Hattusili*: for the logogram HATTI, used to write the land *Hatti*, the proper name *Hattusili*, and possibly the city *Hattusa*, see SÜDBURG, §1, Commentary. An Empire Period syllabic value *há* is there doubted, so the transliteration of the present name as *HA+LI* is abandoned in favour of the HATTI+*li* here employed.

URBS+*RAI-li*, *Mursili*: a value *mu*, for URBS was proposed by Laroche (*Ugaritica* III, p. 107 f.; *HH* no. 225. II), based on a combination of the occurrence in the present name and an incorrect interpretation of KIZILDAG 3. In the latter, URBS has its usual logographic use, “city”, not a syllabic value *mu*; see Hawkins, *FS Sedat Alp*, pp. 264–266. This leaves the Hier. writing of the name *Mursili* unexplained again. For transliteration of the first sign, URBS+*RAI* is adopted, although the *RAI* may well be the MINUS element identified by Melchert (*An. St.* 38 (1988), pp. 32–41). For explanation we are driven back to Laroche’s first discarded explanation, namely that URBS+*RAI*//MINUS represented an unattested stem **mursi*-, from which the name *Mursili* would be derived. If the element is indeed Melchert’s MINUS, the ideographic connotation of URBS+MINUS should be “ruin”, Turkish *höyük*, though it must be admitted that this does not suggest a very plausible interpretation for *Mursili*.

Sequence: the genealogy breaks off at the point where the logogram “grandson” is expected, which leads to the conclusion that block 16 follows here directly or indirectly; see discussion there.

block 2

§1. *tu-pi*, “(I) defeat(ed)” (“smote”): sequence requires this to be preceded by an unfinished clause providing the object. Among blocks with a clear ending, blocks 4 and 14 are possible candidates; blocks 10, 12, 13, 15, 16 are excluded by contexts.

§2. *416-*wa/i-ni-sa*: reading and interpretation discussed in SÜDBURG, §1, Commentary. The YALBURT attestations always write the ending *-sa*, nom. sing. MF, and also provide evidence that it stands as subject to verbs in 1 person sing. (blocks 11 §2; 13 §1), thus is a title of the “speaker”, the king himself. Note in the present clause how *416-*wa/i-ni-sa* and IUDEX+*la* bracket the other words of the clause.

LA+X-tu-sa(URBS): the first sign (*HH* no. 177) is not uncommon on seals; see *SBo* II, 63, 168, 216; Meriggi, *OA* 8 (1969), pp. 131–135 and Tav. XXIII.1, XXIV.1; Güterbock, *JNES* 32 (1973), p. 144 f. no. 14 (also *apud* van Loon, *Korucutepe* III (1980), p. 131, pls. 38, 40, no. 14); Masson, *Syria* 52 (1975), pp. 219 f., 232 nos. 1–2, 235 nos. 6–7; Poetto, *Studia Mediterranea* 3 (1981), no. 4, p. 15 and Tav. IV. The present new occurrence is very clear and shows the form, the sign *LA* (“tongue”, *HH* no. 175) apparently pierced with a nail. While the reading and interpretation of the sign remain as obscure as ever, the phonetic ending *-tu-sa*(URBS) and the context of the clause (see below, after discussion of verb PES) make it very tempting to take this as a writing of *Hattusa*. A Hier. writing of the name of the capital city is not definitely known but is likely in the HATTI(URBS) of KARAKUYU, I.2 (“Hattusa of Tudhaliya”(?); see Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967), p. 80 n. 12; Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985), p. 121 and n. 124). Recog-

nition of the present occurrence as an alternative writing must await a satisfactory explanation of *LA+X*; for the present, it can only be borne in mind as a possibility.

POST-*a*(?): the sign POST, if correctly identified, would provide the first Empire Period attestation of the sign (*HH* no. 34). The alternative identification as a form of *na* would make for a difficult interpretation in the context, while POST (= *appa*, “back”) would be easily understood here.

URBS+*MI-*: appears to connect with *LA+X-tu-sa*(URBS), as in the usual Hitt. usage URUGN URU-*a*-, “the city of GN”, to distinguish from KUR URUGN, “the land of GN”.

IUDEX+*la*: note the interestingly “cursive” form of the logogram IUDEX (*Labama*), which permits a useful connection to be made with a Late sign; see Appendix 4.

PES: the normally oriented “foot”, facing the beginning of the line, in the Late Period represents “come”, Luw. *awi-*, as opposed to the “reversed foot” (PES₂), Luw. *i-*, “go”. The same usages may now be recognized for the Empire Period on YALBURT: compare the present writing with PES₂ (below, block 13 §3).

Context. If *LA+X-tu-sa*(URBS) really represents *Hattusa*, this clause reflects the very common statement in Hitt. annals, *namma appa URU^{URU}hattusi urwanim*, “then I came back to Hattusa” (see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, pp. 80, iii 55 f., 66; 130, iv 33, iii 55, etc.).

Sequence, *wa/i-mu-* (DEUS)TONITRUS[... in this inscription, clauses beginning thus continue either “loved ...” (block 4 §3), or “the lord ran before ...” (blocks ‘8’; 10 §3; 11 §1; 12 §4). No block can be seen to begin with either of these phrases, nor does any begin with the end of a clause in which “the Storm God” could be understood as subject and “me” the object, direct or indirect. Some of the blocks with clear beginnings do start with ends of clauses which could be meaningful with “I” as the subject and “the Storm God” as indirect object (blocks 4 §1, 9 §1, 17 §1), but in no case is the sense gained particularly compelling, and it may be that the block following block 2 is missing.

block 3

§1. NEG-*wa/i a-sa-tá*, “he/it/they was/were not”: the blocks with clear endings which cannot meaningfully precede this are 1, 2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16. Possible reasons for joining this to the end of block 13 are discussed there.

§2. REL-*ti*-(*pa-wa/i-mu*): REL-*ti*- will render *kuwati(n)*, either relative, dat. sing., or derived form “as” etc., = Cun. Luw. *kuwatti(n)*.

Poetto plausibly reads and restores -REL-*ti-pa-w[a/i]-m[u]* FINES-[*zi/a*] PRAE-*n[a]* *a+ra/i-[ha]* *a-[wa/i]* ... “But when [I] came up to the border[s], ...” (cf. *VBoT* 133, obv. 9).

Sequence: unclear.

block 4

§1a-c. Apparently three clauses, verbs 1 sing. pret., without connective particles.

PRAE-*na* ... *pi-i(a)-ha*, “I gave over, dedicated”: cf. Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARAHÖYÜK, §13, and Commentary.

Sequence: this clause, as noted, could provide a sequel to block 2, §3.

MANUS+MANUS-*nú-wa/i-ha*: this pair of antithetic hands occurs on a seal from Korucutepe, where they clearly represent logographically the first element of a Sarruma-name; see Güterbock,

JNES 32 (1973), pp. 136, 138 nos. 1A-B, 2A-B, 140f. (cf. id., *apud* van Loon, *Korucutepe III* (1980), p. 128, pls. 37, 40). Güterbock, after discussing whether they were “giving”, “taking” or “putting” hands, ended with the tentative proposal that they represented Hurr. *ar-*, “give”, in the name *Ari-Sarruma*. Unfortunately the present new attestation does nothing to advance our understanding. The writing can hardly stand for the Hitt.-Luw. stem *pai-piya-*, “give”, which is never found with a caus. in *-nu-*. The context here restricts the sense “I caused to ...” to a certain range of meaning, but is not precise enough to suggest an identification of the represented verb.

SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS-*zi/a*: phonetic complement *-zi/a* must represent either acc. sing. N *-(an)za* or acc. plur. MF *-(in)zi*. A possible avenue for interpreting the word would be opened by transcribing the Hier. signs into their Cun. equivalents, thus ^{NA}KI.GUB. Sum. KI.GUB, “podium, socle”, Akk. *manzānu* (see CAD M/I, s.v.), seems only to be actually used in Hitt. texts in hepatoscopy (see Laroche, *RA* 64 (1970), pp. 127 ff.; its Hitt. *-(Hurr.)* reading is *šintahi*, nor is it found with the determinative ^{NA}₄, “stone”, though this would be quite intelligible. A corresponding Hitt. term may be ^{GIS}*palzahha-*, designating a similar object, which in spite of its determinative ^{GIS} may be of other substances such as iron: see von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, pp. 30f. The interpretation of SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS as “socle” from the sum of its constituent logograms, though speculative, seems reasonable in the context.

§2. This clause provides a welcome Empire Period example of a topos well known from Late inscriptions, KARKAMIŠ A 11b+c, §8//A 12, §2. The parallelism between the early and later passages permits some useful recognitions in Empire usage.

zi/a-tā-zi/a, i.e. *zatanza*, dat. plur. of demonstr. *za-*; compare the Late form *za-ti-ia-za*, i.e. *zatiyanza* (KARKAMIŠ A 11a, §20; A 11b+c, §§19, 20, 24, 33). The Late parallel passage has *pa-tā-za* (i.e. *(a)patanza*, “to those ...”).

REGIO-*ní-zi/a*, i.e. **utni(yu)nza*, dat. plur. The Late parallel passage has (TERRA+*LA*+*LA*) *wā/i-li-li-tā-za* (*wādilitanza*): see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Kanišwar*, p. 74.

MAGNUS.REX-*zi/a HATTI*(REGIO), “the Great Kings of Hatti-land”: phonetic complement *-zi/a* here clearly represents nom. plur. MF. *HATTI*(REGIO) is found written thus clearly only here, in contrast to the very damaged writings recognized by Laroche on NIŠANTAŠ (*Anatolica* 3 (1970), p. 95 (3-4, 10-11), pls. VI, VII). SÜDBURG, which has many clear writings of *HATTI*, does not accompany it with REGIO.

a-mi-zi/a ^{TA}AVUS-*zi/a*, “my father(s) (and) grandfathers”: *a-mi-zi/a*, i.e. *aminzi*, nom. plur. MF. ^{TA}AVUS-*zi/a*: interesting writing, interpretation guaranteed by context and Late KARKAMIŠ parallel, represents *tatinzi hūhhanzi*, typical Hitt.-Luw. doublet, with case-ending of nom. plur. MF written after second element only. AVUS, “grandfather”, is a clear and well known logogram; but the use of ^{TA} by itself for “father” is curious. It could be explained as an abbreviation for the expected *tā-ti-* (for Empire example, see NIŠANTAŠ, Laroche, *Anatolica* 3 (1970), p. 95, pls. VI, VII.17); alternatively ^{TA}, the “hand with dagger”, could be taken as the logogram for “father” (thus transcribe *PA^{TER}*), from which the syllabic value *tā* was derived acrophonically.

Word-divider written before ^{TA} is probably significant but not explained. In this inscription it is used elsewhere only before the title *416-*wā/i-ní-sa* and nowhere else. It is not used on SÜDBURG or EMİRGAZI, or on the immediately post-Empire KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group, but the similarly dated KARAHÖYÜK uses it before URBS (§§9, 13, 22) and CAPUT (§22). The Late archaizing KARKAMIŠ A 21 uses it again before *tā-ti*, “father” (§13). For these appearances in the post-Empire inscriptions, cf. my remarks in *CHLI*, Commentary, ad loc.

NEG-*a* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*, “no one”: writing seems likely to represent *na kwisha*; contrast the writing NEG-*wā/i* (= *nawa*, block 3 §1); also NEG-*wā/i-tā* REL-*ti-ha*, “to no one”

(= *nawa(ta) kwatiha*, SÜDBURG, §13); and further NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*, “let no one ...” (= *nis kwisha*, EMİRGAZI altars, §§7, 8, 9, 10).

hwi/a-i(a)-ta, “ran” (3 sing. pret.): sign *hwi/a* now recognized as distinct sign on the basis of this and subsequent YALBURT attestations (blocks 8, 10 §3, 11 §1, 12 §4), to be numbered 508 in the system for designating additional signs (for which see above SÜDBURG, Commentary, n. 40). This Empire attestation can on the basis of the context be identified as the forerunner of a Late sign (see Fig. 5a-c) up till now mistaken as a variant of the REL-sign (REL₂). The YALBURT sign-form makes clear that it is quite unconnected with REL. It is used to write here the verb “run”, Cun. Luw. *huiya-*, and on EMİRGAZI altars (§§11, 12, see Commentary below) a word perhaps to be identified with Cun. Luw. *huisti-*. Further examples of a syllabographic use are found for its descended form in the Late Period, for which correspondences with Cun. writings in *hu-i-* and *hu-wa-* may be adduced, and for this reason the transliteration *hwi/a* has been chosen. In contrast, Hier. REL in Empire inscriptions is used to write not only the relative but also syllabographically, where it corresponds to Cun. Luw. writings *ku-i-* and *ku-wa-*, so a transliteration *kwia* is likely to represent it accurately. For a detailed examination of these two signs *hwi/a* and REL, see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, “Running and Relatives in Luwian” (*Kadmos* 32 (1993), pp. 50-60); and here, Fig. 5.

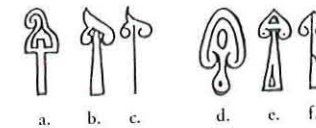


Fig. 5: Forms of signs *hwi/a* (a, Empire; b, c, Late relief, incised) and REL (d, Empire; e, f, Late relief, incised).

§3. DOMINUS-*na*, “lord”: consistently so written in Empire inscriptions; repeated in this context below, blocks 8, 10 §3, 11 §1, 12 §4; EMİRGAZI block, ll. A 1, B 2, A 3, B 5; EMİRGAZI altars, §21. Quite how it is to be understood in relation to Late DOMINUS-*(na)ni-* and DOMINUS-*ia(i)-* is still unexplained: cf. Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARKAMIŠ A 11a, §1, Commentary.

ā-zi/a-tā, “he loved”: clear writing identified by context, attests verb *aza-*, “love”, written without LITUUS, which always determines Late attestations (its determinative usage is confirmed by its absence here). The appearance of this writing also confirms the reading *ā-zi/a-mi* on FRAKTIN (Güterbock, *FS Matoni* (1978), pp. 131-133); cf. E. Masson, *FS Pugliese Camatelli* (1988), pp. 147-154, with the readings *ā-zi/a-mi* and *ā-zi/a-tā* from NIŠANTAŠ.

§4. *zi/a-i(a)*, i.e. *zaya* (nom.) acc. plur. N of demonstrative *za-*, “this”.

REGIO-*ní-i(a)*, probably **utniya*, also acc. plur. N.

Sequence: a verb meaning something like “I conquered” seems the most probable continuation. The only block clearly beginning with a suitable word is block 2 (... *tu-pi*, “(I) smote”), but note that this block is a candidate for preceding the present block 4. Blocks 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are impossible as sequels; 9 and 17 would be possible but not strikingly so. Block 14 would do well but could be required as a sequel to block 15.

block 5

Beginning unclear: 1st sign *pi*?

§ 1. Final word verb, *pi*/DARE, “give”.

§ 2. *a-wa/i*, clear beginning.

MONS... MONS...: two mountain names?

rest unclear: Poetto, Edition, suggests further readings.

block 6

Poorly preserved, but block 15 contains part of a parallel passage, and the two can be used to restore and supplement each other. Poetto has further identified a recurrence of the topos in § 1 on EMIRGAZI block, A1.5 (personal communication: see now Poetto, Edition, commentary to block 15).

§ 1. Poetto, Edition, restores connective particles at beginning.

REL-*la-tara/i-na*(REGIO): reading and restoration by Poetto, Edition, following his reading of EMIRGAZI block, A1.5.

FEMINA-INFANS-*zi/a*, “women (and) children”: typical doublet like ITA.AVUS-*zi/a*, “fathers (and) grandfathers” (above, block 4 § 2); also AVUS.*506-*na*, “grandfather(s) (and) grandmothers” (SÜDBURG, § 13).

INFRA *85 REL-*zi/a-ta*: Poetto has identified here the logogram *HH* no.85, the “kneeling leg”. Less pictographic Empire forms are common on seals and on ALEPPO 1 in the writing of the place name (and onomastic element) *Halab*. I transliterate the sign in this context *HALPA(-pa)*, while considering the possibility that the “kneeling leg” may have a *rebus*-value *hal* by association with Hitt. *haliya-*, “kneel”: see *CHLI*, BABYLON 1, § 2, Commentary. Here the sign seems to determine the verb REL-*zi/a-* (i.e. *kwizi-*, *kwaza-* or the like – useful evidence for the employment of REL as a syllabogram in this period, cf. REL-*la-tara/i-na*(URBS), here and below, block 17 § 2). The determining logogram and context, as Poetto has seen, strongly suggest the sense “the women and children knelt down [to me]”. For Hitt. parallels, see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, p.70, iii 15–16, iv 28–31, and *passim* in *AM*.

§ 2. [*509] BOS.OVIS: the sign *509 is restored from the parallel passage on block 15 (for the numbering of this hitherto unrecognized sign, see above, SÜDBURG Commentary, n.40). The context as tentatively identified suggests that this group may correspond to Hitt. NAM.RA GUD UDU, “deportees, oxen, sheep”.

*510-*ti*: the clearer parallel passage shows that *510 (new number as noted above) looks like a container or beaker; -*ti* probably phonetic complement, abl. sing. A guess based on supposed context together with the possible pictographic content of the “beaker” would interpret “with full measure”. Could we even compare the phonetically written *sunasati* (SÜDBURG, § 3, see Commentary)?

ARHA CAPERE: combination seen twice on SÜDBURG (§§ 5, where see Commentary for identification of the Empire form of the sign *ARHA*, and 15), also EMIRGAZI altars (§ 22); and may be identified with the phonetically written *ARHA la-la-ha*, “I took away” (block 14 § 1). Indeed one may argue that the latter attestation does actually belong with the parallel passage, i.e. that block 14 immediately followed block 15.

Sense: what may be clearly understood in these parallel clauses together with what may be plausibly argued, suggests the interpretation “I took away with full measure deportees, oxen

and sheep”, identified with a common enough Hitt. topos, for which see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, p.182, ii 12 etc. It must be admitted however that in the Hitt. parallels the topos of people kneeling in submission is usually followed by a statement of mercy and pardon, not by the topos of removal of booty. Further the topos in Hitt. historical texts normally follow statements of conquest, but none of the YALBURT blocks very obviously ends in the sort of context which might be immediately followed by either of these parallel passages.

block 7

Sequence: only requirement is a block clearly terminating in the end of a clause, but none of the blocks with clearly preserved ends are suitable (1, 2, 4, 12, 13, 14, 16), except possibly block 10.

§ 1. *430-*sa*: according to the interpretation of *430 offered at SÜDBURG, § 1, Commentary, this word should represent *punatasa*, but its grammatical status is unclear; perhaps an adverbial “entirely”?

§ 2a. *a-wa/i-ta*: probably analyse *awa+ata*, “and it”.

DELERE (also blocks 9 § 1a, 13 § 2, 17 § 1): see below, EMIRGAZI, § 28, and Commentary.

b. Because the text breaks off before the following verb, it is unclear whether b is a continuation of § 2a with subject and objects following the verb, or whether it is a new clause without introductory particles. The latter practice may be seen several times in YALBURT: blocks 4 § 1a-c; 9 § 1a-b; 10 § 3; 11 § 3; 13 § 2.

REL.REL-*lu-wa/i-ta*(REGIO): if correctly read, this place name could be compared with Hitt. (HUR.SAG) *Kuwakwadiyatta* (Otten, *StBoT* Beiheft 1, p.12 i 35).

*511-*sa*(URBS): this otherwise unrecognized sign *511 (for the new numbering see SÜDBURG, Commentary, n.40), recurs more clearly in the same place name on block 17 § 2.

block 8

Surface badly worn, but traces of a repeatedly recurring stock clause (for which see block 10 § 3) are certainly identifiable as occupying most of the first half of the block. At the beginning there is probably space for one word (verb of preceding clause), then a group of introductory particles (which should include -*mu*, “for me”). The stock clause is usually followed by a statement of conquest, a clause containing verb -*mi* ... *muwa-*, “conquer”.

block 9

§ 1a. *lu-ka*(REGIO)-*zi/a*, “the Lukka-lands”: for *lu-ka*, see already above, SÜDBURG, § 2, and Commentary. Here *zi/a* presumably represents a case-ending separated from the place-name by the determinative, as is sometimes found in Late inscriptions (cf. *a-si+na/i*(REGIO)-*ia-na*, “Assyria”, KARKAMIŠ A24 a2+3, § 7). If so, it should represent -(i)*nzi*, acc. plur. MF, thus *lukanzi*, “the Lukka(-land)s”.

b. Clause division uncertain because of absence of connective particles between the two verbs DELERE and *i(a)-zi/a*, but in accordance with the usual arrangement in this text (for which

see above, SÜDBURG, Commentary, Syntax and Structure), the division is provisionally placed immediately following the first verb.

MAGNUS.REX: presumably subject.

VITIS (REGIO): for identification of the logogram and of the place-name which it represents as *Wiyawanda*, see above, SÜDBURG, §2, and Commentary. In the absence of written case-ending the case is uncertain but likely to be acc. or dat. sing.

EXERCITUS: for identification of the logogram, common on Empire seals, see above, SÜDBURG, §3 (DEUS.TONITRUS EXERCITUS), and Commentary. Again the case can only be guessed, acc. or dat. sing.?

CENTUM? ROTA: reading CENTUM? suggested by Poetto, Edition, where he interprets "100 chariots".

i(a)-zi/a: for the rather common Empire and archaic/archaizing practice of writing the verb *izi(ya)-*, "make", syllabically but without tense-endings, see SÜDBURG, §18, and Commentary.

Sense: "(I) the Great King made (in?) the land of *Wiyawanda* the army and 100 chariots." Parallels in Hittite annals would suggest that we have here reference to enrolling a defeated enemy in the Hittite army and chariotry: Hitt. ERÍN^{MES} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA} *iya-*, "make foot-soldiers and horse", for which see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, p.130, iii 49, 51.

block 10

Sequence: For the argument that block 10 joins immediately on to block 16, itself the second or perhaps the third block, see my contribution to *FS Sedat Alp*, pp.260–263. It is necessary to recapitulate the arguments here.

The combination blocks 16 §2b + 10 §1 produces a context almost identical to that found on an EMİRGAZİ fragment, reading:

...] CERVUS₂.DEUS.*463-ti *wali-sà-ti wali-mi-i(a)-'* VITELLUS.*285 *463.*398[...

See S. Alp, *FS Otten* (1973), pp.11–13 with Abb.1a–c; E. Masson, *FS Pugliese Carratelli* (1988), p.149 n.6.

This also connects with a passage on KIZILDAĞ 4, §§2a+3:

(DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM DEUS-na *430 (BONUS₂)*wali-sà-ti*...

...MAGNUS.REX VIR *416-*wali-ní* VITELLUS.*285 CAPERE/*tá* x CAELUM?

cf. below, block 16 §1b, Commentary, for discussion of first part.

[(DEUS)]CERVUS₂ *wali-sà-ti*: Emilia Masson took *wasati* as 3 sing./plur. pres. of a verbal stem *was-*, "be favourable", which is possible, though I prefer to take it as abl. sing. of a noun *was-*, "favour" (see below, block 16 §1b, Commentary), thus "by the favour of the Stag-God".

§2. *a-wali-mi* (or *wali-mi-'*, parallel to the *wali-mi-i(a)-'* of the EMİRGAZİ fragment): the presence of the enclitic reflexive pronoun of the 1st person sing. *-mi* guarantees that the verb is to be understood as 1 sing.

HEROS ... MAGNUS.REX: EMİRGAZİ fragment lacks these titles, though the parallel KIZILDAĞ 4, §3, has MAGNUS.REX VIR *416-*wali-ní*. Note in the present passage how the two titles HEROS and MAGNUS.REX bracket the rest of the clause as do *416-*wali-ní* ... IUDEX+*la* (above block 2 §2).

VITELLUS.*285: combination recurs, besides EMİRGAZİ fragment and KIZILDAĞ 4, §3, also on KARAKUYU, l.2 and EMİRGAZİ altar B l.4 (fragmentary, see below, EMİRGAZİ, §32, and commentary). Poetto, Edition, points out the evidence on a Mersin seal published by A.M. and B. Dınoğlu (*Akkadica* 45 (1985), pp.36f., 40, no.4; cf. Mora, *Glittica Anatolica*, primo

supplemento, XIIa 2.64, Tav.6), who show that the pair form a title borne by the seal's owner. Most of the other occurrences seem to juxtapose it to royal titles.

*463.*398: recurs on the EMİRGAZİ fragment (with *463 reversed), where the parallel KIZILDAĞ 4, §3, has CAPERE x CAELUM¹, which may correspond. As noted, these groups should represent the verb, which must be 1 sing. (pret.), reflexive.

Sense: very obscure; for possible Late Period parallel see below block 16, Commentary.

§3. Note lack of connective particles to introduce this clause. Perhaps this is due to its position at the commencement of the narrative section of the text, which is introduced by REL.+*na/i*, "when", as is the SÜDBURG inscription (see there §1, Commentary).

Clause is stock topos recurring on blocks 8, 11 §1, 12 §4, to be identified with a very common Hitt. topos of "the gods ran before me" (... *pinan huiyer*), which is regularly followed by a statement "and I conquered ..." (Hitt. *-za ... tarh-*): see e.g. Goetze, *AM*, 10-year Annals, §§8 (i 39–40); 17 (ii 25–27); 18 (ii 38–40); 21 (ii 61–63); 24 (ii 81–82); 27 (iii 28–29); 28 (iii 41–44); 29 (iii 50–51); 30 (iii 61–64); 32 (iii 86–88); 40 (iv 26–28).

Sequence: Expected would be connective particles, perhaps titles of king, and a statement of conquest. Clearly impossible are blocks 1, 2, 3, probably 4, 6, 8, 11, 13 (because required elsewhere), 14, 15, 16. Blocks 7, 9 or 17 could possibly serve, but do not look particularly suitable, in view of the observation made below, block 11 §2. If this latter is valid, the block following 10 must be missing.

block 11

Sequence: the block could be placed anywhere after one terminating in a clear ending, but among those with clear endings, none are suitable, neither blocks 1, 2, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, nor 16.

§1. *a-wali-'* *-mi-'*: space for *-mu* seems to be available in this damaged corner, but its presence is not certain; collation required.

§2. Important clause, closely paralleled by block 13 §1 (cf. also block 16 §2a), because together with reflexive pronoun *-mi* and verbs 1 sing. (pret.), they establish that the "speaker", i.e. Tudhaliya IV, refers to himself as *416-*wali-ní-sa* (nom. sing. MF), thus that this is a title parallel to MAGNUS.REX: see SÜDBURG, §1a, and Commentary.

-mi ... mu-wali-: the Luw. stem *muwa-* appears as a loan in Hitt. as a noun, as well as a number of derived forms. Because of a Sum. logographic writing A.A., it had been identified as "sperm", but this has now been decisively rejected by the CHD, which explains the logogram as a rebus use of Akk. *mū*, "water" (CHD, s.v. *muwa-*). In Luw., besides being an enormously widespread and durable onomastic element, *muwa-* appears normally as a verb stem, as here, where its precise sense can for the first time be securely identified. It was pointed out (above, block 10 §3) that in Hitt. historical texts, the clause "the gods ran before me" was normally followed by "and I conquered" (*-za ... tarh-*). In YALBURT, the clause "the Storm-God ran before me" is followed in the only two places where a sequel is clear (here block 11 §§1–2; and blocks 12 §4 + 13 §1 – see argument there) by a clause with verb *-mi* (reflexive pronoun, 1 sing.) ... *muwa-*. It can thus be plausibly argued that Luw. *-mi ... muwa-* is the exact correspondence of Hitt. *-za ... tarh-*, i.e. *muwa-* may be translated "conquer". I have argued this in detail in my contribution to *FS Sedat Alp*, p.262f.; my arguments are already summarized in Starke, *StBoT* 31 (1990), p.487f. Cf. also id., *Bi. Or.* 46 (1989), p.667f.

a-ta²-pa-x (URBS²/REGIO²): Poetto, Edition, recognizes a toponym here, though he separates *ta²*, identifying it as POST, the preverb. Collation however does not support this.

§§ 3–5. Readings, clause-division and sense unclear: neither my readings nor those of Poetto, Edition, are at all confident, nor do they produce any obvious sense.

§ 3. Very obscure.

FORTIS.HATTI²-*tá²*: unclear whether HATTI correctly read, and if so what is its function. As stated above, HATTI is found on Empire inscriptions used only to write “Hatti”, “Hattusili”, and perhaps “Hattusa”. A syllabographic usage *há* is not found, unless this is an example here, but it is too obscure to be sure.

i(a)-zi/a-sa²: collation supports readings, but interpretation remains elusive.

§ 4 a–b. Uncertain whether one clause or two, because of uncertainty of connective particles *-pa²-wa/i²* tentatively identified as introducing § 4 b.

§ 4 a. If an independent clause, should mean “what (is) my own”.

§ 4 b. *zi/a-i(a)²-pa²-wa/i²*: if last three signs correctly read (very doubtful), should mean “but these ...”. No sense however emerges from the context.

ku.INFRA: occurs also on SÜDBURG (§ 3, see Commentary), in context where, like here, it could be a preverb.

FORTIS-*tá*: certainly logographic writing of *muwa-ta*; cf. (*273)FORTIS-*tá* (KARADAĞ 1, § 2), corresponding to (*273)*mu(wa)-tá* (KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2b), in context closely parallel to (*273)[*m*]*u-wa/i-ha* (YALBURT block 16 § 2a, below). For these contexts, see SÜDBURG, § 1, Commentary.

§ 5. Column on right edge of block has traces of signs which are probably connective particles: certainly the first appears to be *a-*. If so they might introduce the clauses at the beginnings of blocks 9, 12 or 17, though no good sense is available. Blocks which could not follow include 1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, probably 14, 15, 16.

block 12

Sequence: in spite of unclearness of § 1, this should follow a block ending in an uncompleted clause. Possible, but contextually not probable, are blocks 2, 4, 6, 14.

§ 1. *x x*: apparently two unidentified signs.

pi/DARE: probably verb “give”.

§ 2. *pi-na*-*416(URBS): as observed in the discussion of the word *416-*wa/i-ni* (above, SÜDBURG, § 1, Commentary), the same sign that begins the latter word ends this place name, and the present occurrence is important in establishing its identity as a syllabogram. The pair of place-names in the present context, blocks 12+13, Awarna and Pina..., were seen on the EMİRGAZI block (B l.3) by Emilia Masson, who identified them with the cities Awarna and Pina known from the Millawata letter (KUB XIX 55 = CTH no.182: see Masson, *Journal des Savants* 1979, pp.15, 36f.). On the left edge of KUB XIX 55, *URU_a-wa-ar-na* (l.1) is abbreviated to *URU_a-wa* (l.4) and *URU_a* (l.3), while Pina is written alongside *URU_a-wa* as *URU_a-pi-na*, and alongside *URU_a* as *URU_a-pi*; its probable occurrence alongside

the fully written *Awarna* is missing. That *URU_a-pi-na* is itself an abbreviation is made clear by the YALBURT writings, which give *416 as its last syllable, and this is also to be restored as the damaged last syllable on the EMİRGAZI block, read as *-sa* or *-ha* by Masson.

Evidence on the value of the sign *416 in the present place name comes from Poetto's convincing identification of Awarna and Pina... with Xanthos (Lyc. *Arīna*, Aram. *ʾwm*) and Pina (Lyc. *Pinale*): see above, The Geography (p.49 and n.156). It is shown in Appendix 5, below p.114ff., that the sign *416 alternates in a digraphic writing with Cun. *li*, and that such a value fits well with a writing on the cruciform seal, where the Great Queen with Mursili I, written *ká*-*416, may be identified with *Kali* of the King Lists. In the title *416-*wa/i-ni* however a value closer to *di* may be implied. In the present toponym either value would be perfectly acceptable: a reading *Pinali* would align the Hier. form closely with the Lycian, but *Pinadi* would also be quite intelligible. For convenience we will here use the former, without implying any commitment to the exact quality of the consonant.

§ 3. FORTIS.CRUS: the verb CRUS, clearly identified in Late attestations as *ta-*, “stand” (= Hitt. *tiya-*; see A.Morpurgo Davies, *GS Cowgill* (1987), pp.212–220), is found there in phrases such as *kati ta-*, “stand for harm (against) ...”, and *tarpa ta-*, with similar meaning. For the Empire Period, cf. *sumasati* CRUS, “stand with full measure” (SÜDBURG, § 3, and Commentary); *maluwa* CRUS (EMİRGAZI altars, § 19, and Commentary). It seems likely that we have a similar phrase here, with FORTIS standing for a noun from the stem *muwa-*, dat. or abl. sing., thus “stand for victory”, or the like. We should note however that the Luw. stem *muwa-*, as attested, is only a verb both in Cun. Luw. and Hier. (Hier. (*273)*mu-wa/i-ti*, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, l.2, is probably a verb; the Cun. *mu-u-wa-an-za*, KUB XXXV 127, iii 10, is an isolated word without context and may not even be Luwian); *muwa-* as a noun is attested only in Hittite (see CHD, s.v.).

Sequence: argued to continue directly on block 13 for two reasons.

(1) blocks 12 § 4 + 13 § 1 produce the same context as block 11 §§ 1–2, which is paralleled, as noted at the latter passage, by the regular Hitt. topos “the god(s) ... ran before me, and the land(s) ... I conquered”;

(2) blocks 12+13 provide the general context of stages in the defeat and destruction of *Pinali*.

block 13

§§ 2–3. Passage almost identical to that already read on the EMİRGAZI block (B l.3) by E.Masson, as noted above, block 12 § 2, Commentary.

§ 2. Note absence of connective particles.

§ 3. *á-wa/i+ra/i-na*-(REGIO), “land of Awarna”: for the identification with Hitt. *URU_aAwarna* by E.Masson, and for Poetto's identification with Lycian Xanthos (Lyc. *Arīna*, Aram. *ʾwm*), see above, block 12 § 2, Commentary.

PES₂, “go”: also block 14 § 4 (see Commentary there).

§ 4 a–b. Now identified by Poetto as parallel to the clause on EMİRGAZI block (B ll.3–4) following the passage parallel to the two preceding clauses. Since that passage runs on beyond the end of the parallel text of the present block, it should give an indication as to which

YALBURT block followed block 13, though unfortunately the state of preservation is hardly sufficient: see below, sequence.

a-wa/i-mu: as on EMIRGAZI block parallel.

*416-*wa/i-ni-sa*: not included in the EMIRGAZI block passage (indeed the title is only attested on YALBURT, SÜDBURG and once on KIZILDAĞ 4), which may have *zi/a* here. The sense of this clause should thus be “I/me), the *Sum*(?) ...”, as elsewhere.

4×MILLE CENTUM: EMIRGAZI block (B 1.4) has CENTUM 4×MILLE. The identification of these numerals is due to Poetto.

ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i: corresponds to the *ni-pa-wa/i* already read on EMIRGAZI block by Masson. It is hard not to identify this as the disjunctive *nipawa*, “or”, well known in Late inscriptions, but also hard to accommodate it to the sense (see below).

Sequence: block 13 breaks off here, but EMIRGAZI block B 1.4 continues though damaged, reading NEG[...]x *wa/i-x* x [...] . The recognition of NEG there, naturally leads to the question whether block 3, beginning NEG-*wa/i a-sa-tá*, could follow block 13. The combination *ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i* NEG-*wa/i a-sa-tá*, “or it was/they were not”, sounds in principle possible, but unless sense can be extracted from what precedes, it can hardly be confirmed.

Sense: blocks 13 §4 + 3 §1 are ingeniously combined with the EMIRGAZI block, B 1.4 by Poetto, Edition. He translates (approximately): “There was not to me, the *Sum*(?), not even so-many equids”, taking *416-*wa/i-ni-sa* as dat. sing., and *ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i* as reinforcing the factual negative. Following in the same direction, but having regard for the final -*s(a)* of *416-*wa/i-ni-sa*, we could suggest “of me the *Sum*(?) (gen. sing.) (there were) 4,100 asses, or there were not” (second clause perhaps a question). The sense is not obvious, but at least we try to follow the grammar, as far as it can be discerned.

block 14

Sequence: the initial *ARHA la-la-ha*, “I took away”, has been observed to be a phonetic writing of *ARHA* CAPERE (above, block 6 §2, and Commentary), which suggested joining this block to block 15 to give a context identical to that on block 6 (i.e. block 6 §§1-2 = blocks 15 §§1-2 + 14 §1). However Poetto, Edition, gives an equally plausible reason for running block 14 directly on with block 15, namely the parallelism of block 16 §1 with blocks 14 §5 + 15 §1 which would result, especially when set beside EMIRGAZI block, A 1.5.

§2. *a-wa/i-mi-tá*: -*mi*, enclitic reflexive 1 sing., establishes that the verb (written here without phonetic ending) is to be taken also as 1 sing. (pret.). The -*tá* must be the *Ortspartikel*.

SOLIUM: clearly verb, well known in Late inscriptions as *asa-*, “sit”, and *isanu-*, “seat”. The sense of particles -*mi-tá* + verb is certainly “I seated myself ...”. Poetto, Edition, interprets SOLIUM as representing the causative *isanu-*, but this seems less likely than the simple verb, since one might expect this to be written SOLIUM-*nu*.

THRONUS: the sense already established for the clause demands the recognition of this sign as a pictogram of a “throne”, hence the transcription. Presumably it is the Empire form of *HH* no. 294. Close Late parallels to this clause are IZGIN 1, §2, and MARAŞ 4, §17 (see *CHLI*, Commentary *ad loc.*). Hitt. parallels are common enough: e.g. Goetze, *AM*, p. 20, i 19 (*mahhan-ma-za-kam* ^DUTU-ŠI ANA ^GŠGU.ZA ABĪYA *eshat*, “when I, My Sun, seated myself on my father’s throne”). What is somewhat surprising is to find this notice of accession appearing in the middle of the narrative, as if the conquests related before took place before the speaker’s accession to Great Kingship. Perhaps it is purely resumptive in tone. The MARAŞ 4, §17,

passage quoted is parallel in this respect too, that it follows a long narrative of the deeds (the text then breaks off).

§3. DOMINUS?(-)*ara/i*: signs identified by Poetto, see Edition. DOMINUS somewhat uncertain, unexpectedly sloping; *ara/i* as Empire cursive form of *HH* no. 132, confirmed by bullae from Boğazköy, 1991, where among the several seals of *Amilizi*, one begins his name with this sign form (Bo. 91/182). Interpretation of these two signs is unclear to me.

PES₂. PES₂: verb of motion well known in Late contexts; see Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARATEPE, 187, Commentary, where an approximate sense of “walk” is noted. In the present context, something like “got up from the throne” seems to be required.

§4. *a-wa/i-tá*: again -*ta* *Ortspartikel* is recognizable.

TALA-*wa/i*: recognition of the sign TALA and identification as *Talawa* (= Tlos), following Poetto (see The Geography, above p. 49 and n. 156), who further identified a recurrence of the place-name on EMIRGAZI block (A 1.5).

INFRA-*a*: presumably renders *kata*, “down”.

PES₂: probably represents *i-*, “go”, the most common verb written with Late PES₂ (as against PES = *awi-*, “come”; see above, block 2 §2, and Commentary). For the now attested paradigm of *i-*, “go”, see Hawkins, *CHLI*, KARATEPE, 181, Commentary.

Sequence: context is likely to require a verb of “defeating” here; block 2, beginning *tu-pi*, “(I) smote”, is a good candidate, though it could also precede block 4; blocks 9 and 17 could also be considered. Impossible are blocks 1, 2 (context), 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 16.

Poetto, Edition, has now shown that blocks 14 §4 + 15 §1 give a good parallel to block 6 §1, especially in relation to EMIRGAZI block A 1.5 (see discussion of sequence at beginning of block 14).

block 15

Discussed, supplemented, and elucidated in the context of the more fully preserved but rather damaged parallel passage on block 6. The fuller context there shows that the verb in the clause parallel to §2 here to be *ARHA* CAPERE, for which reason it seems most likely that this block is followed by block 14, beginning *ARHA la-la-ha*, “I took away” (see Commentary there, but note the argument by Poetto, Edition, that on the contrary block 15 follows block 14).

block 16

Sequence, §1 a. NEPOS-*ka-li*: this unobtrusive group of signs, not easily visible on photographs, definitely places this block at the end of the genealogy on block 1, which ends with Mursili + titles, demanding that the following block begins with the word “grandson”. While at first sight the present block provides this, second thoughts raise a certain difficulty. The Law. word for “grandson” is *hamsi-*; “great-grandson”, frequently paired with it, is *hamsukali-*, which the phonetic complement in the present case shows unequivocally to be the reading of the logogram here. Tudhaliya IV was the grandson of Mursili and great-grandson of Suppiluliuma. Do we therefore have to envisage the loss of a block between blocks 1 and 16, which would have contained “grandson, Suppiluliuma + titles”? Such a block would have hardly been wider than the comparable space on block 1 containing the words “son, Mursili + titles”, i.e. it would have been by far the narrowest block of the whole inscription, only 4 sign-columns wide, and

this suggests that it is improbable that there was such a block. An alternative would be to assume that here for some reason NEPOS-*ka-li*, *hamsukali-*, was used for "grandson", rather than "great-grandson". Thus block 16 was either the third or more probably the second of the inscription.

§1b-2a, b. The continuation of this passage directly on block 10 §1 was noted there, and the combined context partly discussed. We would gain two parallel statements, the first introduced by (DEUS)TONITRUS *wali-sà-ti*, the second by [(DEUS)]CERVUS₂ *wali-sà-ti*, the latter being almost identical to a context found on an EMIRGAZI fragment. The former §§1b+2a, is closely paralleled by KIZILDAĞ 4, §2a-b:

(DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM DEUS-*na* *430 (BONUS₂)*wali-sà-ti* REGIO *430 (*273)*mu(wa)-tá* REL

"who by the grace of the Storm-God of Heaven (and) all the gods conquered all the lands." This is argued in detail in my contribution to *FS Sedat Alp*, pp.260–263; see also *CHLI*, KIZILDAĞ 4, Commentary.

§1b. *wali-sà-ti*: my preference to identify this as a noun *wasā-*, abl. sing., rather than a verb *wasā-*, 3 sing./plur. pres., has been noted above block 10 §1, Commentary. The argument depends partly on the identification of DEUS-*na* (KIZILDAĞ 4, §2a) as standing for gen. plur., DEUS-*na(s)*, rather than nom. plur., which should be written DEUS-*ni(nzi)*; partly on the awkwardness of understanding a verb in the present tense in the context. Poetto, Edition, proposes to read *wali-sà* PES, "came well (for)", which removes the difficult present tense, but still has the difficulty of DEUS-*na* representing nom. plur. MF.

§2a. -*mi* ... (*273)*muwa-*, = Hitt. -*za* ... *tarh-*, "conquer": see above, block 11 §§2, 4b, Commentary.

*430 = *punati-*, "all": see above, SÜDBURG, §1, Commentary.

§2b. [(DEUS)]CERVUS₂: Poetto, Edition, raise the possible objection to this restoration that the god's name is not written as on EMIRGAZI CERVUS₂.DEUS.*463-*ti*, and specifically that there may not be space for the restored DEUS. On the latter point I disagree, and on the former, it does not seem necessary to suppose that the elaborate writing of EMIRGAZI would necessarily be replicated here (cf. the simpler writing of YAZILIKAYA, no.32).

Sense: the full context of blocks 16 §1b-2a, b + 10 §1, the Storm-God's and Stag-God's favours, may be compared with a Late context, BOHÇA, esp. §§2-5 (see *CHLI*, Commentary *ad loc.*). The benefits of the Storm-God's favour ("he grants me to take over the territories") is very similar to that in the present context. The Stag-God's favour entailed success in hunting the wild beasts. It is hard to envisage the verb in block 10 §2, which is obscure though guaranteed as 1 sing. (pret.?) reflexive, closely paralleling the Late context.

block 17

Sequence: at the beginning x (REGIO), x represents a single unidentified sign, presumably a logogram standing for a place-name. To introduce this clause, probably a block ending with connective particles, perhaps also other place-name(s), would be required, e.g. block 14. Impossible are blocks 1, 2, probably 4, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16.

§2. *511-*sa*₅(REGIO): place-name written with otherwise unknown logogram also occurs on block 7 §2b; see Commentary there.

REL-*la-tara/i-na*(REGIO): place-name also appears on block 6 §1 (reading of Poetto, Edition), and EMIRGAZI block, A l.5, where, as Poetto points out, it is linked with Talawa. The writing is useful in demonstrating, as does also the verb REL-*zi/a-* (above, blocks 6 §1//15 §1), the employment of the sign REL as a syllabogram *kwi/a* at this date. The writing presumably represents *Kurwalatama*, curiously parallel to the attested Cun. *Kurwalapassa*, for which see Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. Cf. also the place-name probably read REL-REL-*lu-wali-tá*(REGIO) (block 7 §2b).

APPENDIX 2. EMİRGAZİ altars

Introduction

The EMİRGAZİ altars, being generally worn and difficult to read, have not tempted many scholars to work on them since their discovery before the First World War.¹ Messerschmidt was able to include a copy of altar B² based on autopsy in the second supplement of his *CIH*.³ Hrozný, after working on the stones in Istanbul Museum in 1934, gave the first full publication.⁴ This included photographs from four angles of altars A and B, and from two angles of altars C and D, and his own hand copies of A, C and D. He recognized that the altars all contained parts of a parallel text, a reconstruction of which he presented set in Hier. type accompanied by transliteration, translation and notes. The transliteration and translation, as with all his Hier. editions, were premature and have not stood the test of time. His copies however, though executed in a rather crude hand, show a good eye for sign recognition. Even more so, his tour-de-force of printing the text in linearly arranged Hieroglyphs is astonishingly good at reproducing the sign-forms. Both hand copy and type-set text remain very useful for reference.

Meriggi tackled the stones on the spot in 1958,⁵ and produced some photographs of altar A and some collations, but principally a transliteration of all four texts in *Partitur*, which established in detail what Hrozný had observed that the texts were completely parallel with minimal divergences. Meriggi's full edition of the texts did not appear until 1975.⁶ Essentially he republished the copies of Messerschmidt (altar B) and of Hrozný (altars A, C, D) with his own collations, and for transliteration gave a new *Partitur* of all texts corrected and divided into clauses (*frasi*) instead of line by line.

In the meantime I myself had had the opportunity to collate the texts in Istanbul Museum in 1971. When I subsequently identified the sign for the negative NEG₁₋₃, it was necessary in my treatment of this to include the rather numerous EMİRGAZİ occurrences of NEG, i.e. the passages §§ 7–10, 24–29 and 30–37.⁷ For this I was able to make use of my collations, but on the whole I was more concerned with the establishment of the overall sense of the clauses, insofar as this elucidated the negatives, rather than with the detailed readings and interpretations such as the gods' names. My treatment appeared in 1975.⁸

Emilia Masson worked on the stones in 1977 and published her edition in 1979. This included free-hand copies of all the texts, some photographs, transliterations and partial translations, accompanied by extensive notes. In spite of introducing some new, correct readings, her copies are far from definitive. They introduce a number of incorrect readings, and the free-hand style

does not give an accurate representation of the text and sign-forms. In particular her tendency to represent solid relief signs with single lines as if they were incised is misleading. The transliterations are also unsatisfactory. Parallel transliteration of the individual texts is hardly necessary since Meriggi's *Partitur* showed how nearly identical they are, and indeed when Masson signals divergences, these are largely due to misreadings. Also she has often failed to segment the total text into its individual clauses.

In September 1993 I myself finally had the opportunity to work thoroughly on all the EMİRGAZİ inscriptions in the Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul. I am most grateful to the Turkish authorities for permission to carry out this work. As a result, I am now in a position to offer reliable texts and readings of these difficult inscriptions. The text here presented is based on the work done then, and readings which differ from those which I have given previously supersede them. I intend to publish later, in the context of editions of the other Hier. Luwian inscriptions of the Empire Period, full photographs and copies of the EMİRGAZİ altars. For the present, the text here offered represents my latest thoughts. Some useful suggestions on interpretations by Dr. Th. van den Hout (personal communication) have been noted at the appropriate points.

1 For the early bibliography see the edition of E. Masson (hereafter referred to as "Masson, edition") in *Journal des Savants* 1979, pp. 3–49, especially pp. 3–6.

2 The designation of the altars A, B, C, D, is that of Hrozný, edition (see n. 4), and is maintained here. Masson, edition, numbers them I (= B), II (= A), III (= C), IV (= D).

3 *MVAG* XI/5 (1906), p. 8 and pl. L.

4 *Archiv Orientalní* 8 (1936), pp. 171–199, pls. VIII–XXIV, reprinted in his *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques Hittites* III (Prague, 1937), pp. 403–431, pls. LXXXIII–LXXXVII.

5 *Quaderni di Glottologia* (Bologna) 3 (1958), pp. 3 f., and Appendix pp. 30–34.

6 *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico* II/3 (1975), nos. 19–22, pp. 271–280, Tav. II–V.

7 Clauses numbered according to the present edition.

8 *Anatolian Studies* 25 (1975), pp. 128–131, citations 9, 10, 11. This was of course all written and published before Meriggi's *Manuale* II/2–3 became available.

EMIRGAZI altars A + B + C + D. Transliteration

A

- § 1. ... *la-pa-wa/i*
 § 2. *a-wa/i* (DEUS)MONS.MENSA *Á.CERVUS*₂.^{*}*463²-*zi/a* PONERE
 § 3. *zi/a*²-*ha*²-*wa/i-mi* STELE *pa+ra/i*-^{*}PONERE
 § 4. *wa/i-tá*-^{*}REL-*i(a)-sa mi-sa*-^{*}NEP[OS]-*sa* INFA[NS ...
 § 5. [...]
 § 6. *wa/i-ti-tá*-^{*}*zi/a-ti-i(a)* STELE *pa-sa*-^{*}SOLIUM-*ru*
 § 7. *zi/a-la-tu-wa/i-ha-wa/i* *zi/a* STELE *sá-ka-tá-la-i(a)* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*
 § 8. ARHA NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* CAPUT+SCALPRUM
 § 9. *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-ti-wa/i-tá* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*
 § 10. *zi/a-i(a)-ha-wa/i-tá* *461-*tá* ARHA NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha tu-pi*
 § 11. DEUS-*ní-zi/a* STELE REL-*i(a)-sa hwi/a-sa-ti-sa i(a)-zi/a-tá(-sa)*
 § 12. *wa/i-tá* STELE *pa-sa*-^{*}*hwi/a-sa-ti-sa i(a)-zi/a-i(a)-ru*
 § 13. *ma-pa-wa/i(-ta(-)na-sa* CAPUT-^{*}*la-ri+i...*
 § 14. *wa/i-na*-^{*}MAGNUS-*zi/a tá-tu tá-tu-tu*
 § 15. *wa/i-ti-i(a)-*^{*}*430-*tí-sa* PRAE-*i(a)* x²
 § 16. *ma-pa-wa/i-tá* (MONS) ... *sá-ka-tá-la-i(a)*
 § 17. *a-wa/i* (MONS) ... SCALPRUM.*414 *tá-tu-sa sa-tu*-^{*}
 § 18. AVIS₂-*na-wa/i*-^{*}PORTA-*MI* REGIO-*ní-i(a)* SOLIUM
 § 19. *ma-pa-wa/i* *414.OVIS-*zi/a* REL-*tá-zi/a* STELE *ma-lu-wa/i* CRUS
 § 20. *wa/i-tá*-^{*}*ma-na* ARHA REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* CAPUT+SCALPRUM
 § 21. *a-wa/i* *414.OVIS DOMINUS-*na* SCALPRUM.*414 *tá-tu-sa sa-tu*-^{*}
 § 22. *414.OVIS *pa-na*-^{*}ARHA CAPERE-*tu*
 § 23. *a-wa/i* PORTA-*MI* DARE
 § 24. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE *sá-ka-tá-la-i(a)*
 § 25. REL+*ra/i-pa-wa/i tá-na* NEG-*wa/i á*
 § 26. *wa/i-tu-tá*-^{*}(DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM CERVUS₂.
 DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.MENSA *Á.FEMINA*².DEUS.*461 REX.*398-*zi/a*
 *303-*zi/a* INFRA *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-tu*
 § 27. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE PUGNUS-*MI-na á*
 § 28. *wa/i-tá*-^{*}ARHA NEG-*wa/i* DELERE-*i(a)*
 § 29. *wa/i-na*-^{*}(DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM CERVUS₂.
 DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.MENSA *Á.FEMINA*².DEUS.*461 *su-na-sa-ti*
 PUGNUS-*MI-tu*
 § 30. REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* (DEUS)MONS.MENSA *Á.CERVUS*₂.^{*}*463-*zi/a* PONERE
 § 31. *ma-wa/i-sa* [...]
 § 32. *ma-wa/i-sa* 'VITELLUS'.^{*}*285
 § 33 a. EGO-*pa-wa/i* SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX IUDEX+*la* MONS+*tu* IUDEX+*la*
 MAGNUS.REX
 b. x[...] *502-*mi-li* LOCUS-*ti* DARE-*tu*
 § 34. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu* *137(-)*ha-sa*₅ NEG-*wa/i* DARE
 § 35. *wa/i-ti-i(a)-na*-^{*}CERVUS₂.DEUS.[*463-*ti*] (DEUS)MONS.MENSA [...
 § 36. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu* *137(-)*ha-sa*₅ DARE
 § 37. *wa/i-tu*-^{*}CERVUS₂.DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.MENSA *Á.FEMINA*².
 DEUS.*461 *su-na-sa-ti á-na+ra/i-sá-ha-ti* PRAE *hwi/a*²-*i(a)-tu*

B

Translation

- § 1. ...] ...,
 § 2. and (on) Table-Mountain put *Á.CERVUS*₂,
 § 3. and I for myself set this stele in front.
 § 4. (He) who (is) my grandson's son [...
 § 5. [...],
 § 6. let that one sit/dwell to/for this stele!
 § 7. And in future let no one damage this stele,
 § 8. let no one remove (it),
 § 9. let no one TARZANU- (it),
 § 10. and let no one strike away these words.
 § 11. (He) who has made the stele HWISTISA for the gods,
 § 12. let his stele be made HWISTISA.
 § 13. But if a prince ...,
 § 14. him may the great (ones) TATU- (for) the TATU,
 § 15. and (may) everyone ... himself forth !
 § 16. But if one damages it/them(?) (on?) Mount ...,
 § 17. may Mount ... be the TATU- ...,
 § 18. and AVIS₂ (shall) dwell in the gate (and) in the land(?).
 § 19. But if for which stelae the *414-sheep stand MALUWA,
 § 20. if anyone shall remove them,
 § 21. may the owner of the *414-sheep be the TATU- ...,
 § 22. may he take the *414-sheep away again,
 § 23. and give (them) (in) the gate.
 § 24. But the king who will damage these stelae,
 § 25. or not make them TANA,
 § 26. for him may the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Heaven, the Stag-God,
 the god Table-Mountain (and) the god ... TARZANU- down the royal(?) *303(s)(?)!
 § 27. But the king who shall make these stelae to be firm,
 § 28. and not destroy them,
 § 29. him may the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Heaven, the Stag-God, the
 god Table-Mountain (and) the god ... make firm with full measure.
 § 30. And (he) who will put *Á.CERVUS*₂ (on) Table-Mountain,
 § 31. whether he [...],
 § 32. whether he (is) VITELLUS.*285,
 § 33 a. I/me My Sun, Great King, Labarna, Tudhaliya [...
 b. [...] ... on the spot let him give !
 § 34. (He) who does not give *137(-)HASA to me,
 § 35. him [may] the Stag-God, the god Table-Mountain [(and) the god].
 § 36. (He) who does give *137(-)HASA to me,
 § 37. may the Stag-God, the god Table-Mountain (and) the god ... run before him with
 fullness (and) ANARASUHA- !

Critical Apparatus

- § 1. A. *PRAE-na* (Masson), very uncertain.
- § 2. A. *a-wa/i*: Masson, Hawkins. Hrozný and Meriggi read *(-)la-pa-wa/i-sa-* (i.e. end of §1, + *-sa-* for *a-wa/i*).
- § 3. A. *zi/a³-ha²-wa/i-mi*: Hawkins' recent reading. Masson: *CAPUT-wa/i-sa SCALPRUM*.
- § 4. A. *mi-sa-*: so Hrozný, supported by Hawkins' collation. Meriggi, Masson: *-ti-sa-* (misled by hole).
A. *INFANS-sa* *INFANS-sa*: Masson. Hawkins considers *NEPOS-sa* *INFANS* likely (cf. *KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA*, l.2). Meriggi reads *NEG-sa* ...
- § 5. A. Hrozný's identification of (DEUS)MONS.MENSA and other traces in this damaged area improbable.
- § 6. A. *SOLIUM-nr*: Hawkins' recent reading.
- § 8. A. *ARHA* (Hawkins), now recognized from new attestations (see Commentary); formerly read *ní* (Hawkins), and ' (Masson). Sign-form drawn quite clearly by Hrozný, listed by Meriggi as 411. Additional *-i(a)* added by Hrozný apparently illusory.
A. *CAPUT+SCALPRUM*: Hawkins' recent reading. (Hrozný's additional *ku* apparently illusory). The sign *CAPUT+SCALPRUM* recurs in similar context, below, §20: see Commentary.
- § 9. A. *tara/i-zi/a-ní-wa/i-ti(-wa/i-tá)*: Hawkins' recent reading. Masson reads *wa/i tara/i tu a wa/i tá*, while Meriggi thought to identify *OMNIS*.
- §10. A. *zi/a-i(a)-ha-wa/i-tá*: so Hrozný, Meriggi, Hawkins, Masson. Hrozný's further sign at end probably illusory.
A. *ARHA*: recognized by Hawkins, Masson, but misread (see above, §8).
- §11. A, C. *hwi/a-sa-ti-sa* (recurring §12): so Hawkins, see Commentary, following recognition of sign *hwi/a* from *YALBURT*. Masson reads *-mi sa-ti-sa* (A) and *REL-i(a)-sa-ha* (C).
A. *i(a)-zi/a-tá(-sa)*, C. *i(a)(-zi/a)-tá(-sa)*: Hawkins, see Commentary. Masson reads *i(a)-zi/a-a-tá* (A) and *[i(a)-zi/a]-ta-ha* (C).
- §12. A, C. *wa/i-tá*: so Hawkins; the *ti-* signalled above by Hrozný and accepted by Meriggi and Masson does not seem to be there.
A, 'C'. *hwi/a-sa-ti-sa*: so Hawkins (see preceding clause). Hrozný, Meriggi recognize same signs without knowing value *hwi/a*. Masson incorrectly identifies *hwi/a* as *III* no.460.
- §13. A, 'C'. Hrozný, Meriggi, Masson, Hawkins recognize same signs in this obscure clause (except that Masson's *hi* before *CAPUT* is probably not there).
- §14. A, C. Hrozný, Meriggi, Masson, Hawkins recognize same signs in this obscure clause, except that Hawkins reads *MAGNUS* where others read *sa-* or *hi-*.
- §15. A. *wa/i-ti-i(a)-*: so Hawkins; Hrozný, Meriggi, Masson read *sa-* for *wa/i-*.
A. *430-*ti-sa*: Hawkins' recent reading. Hrozný, Meriggi, Masson read *sa-ti-sa*.
A. *x²*: uncertain sign, representing verb (logogram?); Hrozný reads *i(a) ku* (latter apparently illusory); Masson reads *a*. See Commentary.
- §16. A. General agreement on readings, except that of (MONS) ... (see following clause).

§17. A, C. (MONS) ...: apparently mountain name, written the same in §§ 16 and 17 with two unidentified signs (apparently *511+x; Meriggi's rendering in A is nearest). Masson reads (DEUS)MONS.MENSA in both places, which is certainly incorrect.
A, C. *SCALPRUM*. *414 (here and §21): Hawkins' recent reading. Hrozný, Meriggi read *REL-sa*, Masson *zi/a-sa*.

§18. A, C, B. Readings agreed for A and C (except that Hrozný's *-sa* under *PORTA-MI* is not there). B beginning with this clause is somewhat fragmentary, but the traces are consistent with readings identical to A and C (so Hawkins). Meriggi and Masson follow Hrozný in supposing that *SOLIUM* follows directly on to *PORTA-MI* so that *REGIO-mi-i(a)* (A, C) would be missing from B, but this is not necessary.

§19. A, C. *414-OVIS-*zi/a*: *414 identified by Masson as *hi*, *HH* no.413 (Hrozný reads *sa*, Meriggi *sa₄*); OVIS may now be recognized by comparison of the various forms in all examples of this thrice-recurring word with the form of OVIS identified on *YALBURT* (block 15 §2) (Meriggi reads *PRAE*, Masson as *CAPUT*; Hrozný gave a good rendering of the sign-form in his printed text).

A, C, B. *REL-tá-zi/a*: clearest in C, some damage to *REL-tá-* in A, *REL-t[á]-z[i/a]* in B (so Hrozný, Meriggi, Hawkins; Masson has omitted the damaged signs in A and B).

§20. A, 'C'. Readings generally agreed (for interpretation of *CAPUT+SCALPRUM*, see Commentary).

B. 'CAPUT': traces clearly visible (so Hrozný, Hawkins); Masson reads incorrectly *PORTA-MI*.

§§21–23. A, C, B. Readings generally agreed.

§23. A. Masson omits 'A'-[*wa/i*] which was certainly present.

§§24–25. A, B. Readings generally agreed.

§26. A, B. (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I*: so Meriggi, Masson, correcting Hawkins' former reading of *-ri+i* for *SOL+RA/I*; for identification of the deity, see Commentary.

A, B. *REX*. *398-*zi/a*: signs identified by Meriggi, and Masson, correcting Hawkins' *URBS-ní-zi/a*.

A, B. *303-*zi/a*: for identification of sign and discussion of reading see Commentary.

A, B. *INFRA tara/i zi/a*: signs identified by Masson correcting Hawkins; for interpretation, see Commentary.

'A', B. *-ní-wa/i-tu*: Hawkins' collation establishes that nothing can be restored between these signs and the previous set (contra Hrozný, Masson).

§27. 'A', B, C. Readings generally agreed (except Masson's reading (*REL-i(a)-sa-ha¹-wa/i* for *-pa-wa/i*)).

§28. 'A', B. Reading generally agreed (note recognition of *ARHA*, above §8).

§§29–30. 'A', B. Readings generally agreed (for (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I*, see above, §26).

§31. B. *ma-wa/i-sa*: so Hawkins and (almost) Hrozný's printed text. Masson reads *CAPUT* for *ma-*. Hrozný's additional readings illusory.

§32. B. *ma-wa/i-sa*: so Masson.

B. *VITELLUS*. *285: so Hawkins. Masson identified this group in the break, but read in front *ti* (so also Hrozný), which is in fact the nose of *VITELLUS*. She also inserts an additional *wa/i* which is probably not there.

§33a. B. Reading generally agreed.

§ 33b. B. Perhaps traces of *137 before break (Hawkins).

B. *502-*mi-li*: *502 identified by Hawkins (see SÜDBURG, § 2, Commentary).

§§ 34–36. B + D. Readings generally agreed.

§ 37. B (+ D). *á-na+na/i-sù-ha-ti*: *-ra/i* read by Hawkins; all agree on *-sù*; Masson reads *hi* for *ha*.

B. PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-tu*: general agreement on signs (except Hrozný reads *tá* for *hwi/a*). For recognition of sign *hwi/a*, see above, § 11; here it lacks its usual vertical “tail”.

Commentary

§ 1. *la-pa-wa/i*: possibly verb 1 sing. pres. indicating 1 pers. sing. “speaker” Tudhaliya.

§ 2. (DEUS)MONS.MENSA: recurs in § 30 below, also in sequence of gods of appeal, §§ 26, 29, 35, 36; clearly the name of a mountain, found also on KARAKUYU written *Á.MONS.MENSA* (cf. Gonet, *RHA* XXVI/83 (1968), no. 198 p. 164). In this context the mountain is likely to be that on which the EMIRGAZI altars were set up, namely the Karaca Dağ.

*Á.CERVUS*₂. *463? *-zi/a*: phon. compl. *zi/a* could represent (nom.) acc. sing. N *-(an)za*, or (nom.) acc. plur. MF *-(in)zi*. *Á.CERVUS*₂ presumably in the context represents cult object(s), but the writing is quite opaque: are the signs serving as logograms or syllabograms?

PONERE: identification of sign fairly secure; cf. the repetition of this clause below, § 30. Subject may or may not be “I (Tudhaliya) ...”.

§ 3. *zi/a²-ha²-wa/i-mi*: readings fairly secure; enclitic reflexive pronoun *-mi* establishes that the following verb is indeed 1 pers. sing.

STELE: seems in this inscription to refer to altars themselves.

pa+ra/i-': seems to be phonetic writing of *pari(ya)*, “before”, normally written in Empire texts PRAE-*i(a)* (cf. below, §§ 15, 37). For an archaic (post-Empire) writing PRAE PONERE, “place before, dedicate”, see KARAHÖYÜK, § 1.

§ 4. Apparently same clause as found on KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 1.2:

...]x REL-*i(a)-sa mi-sa-* NEPOS-*sa* INFANS
“(He) who (is) my grandson’s son ...”.

For possibly comparable Late contexts, see Hawkins, *CHLI*, MARAŞ, 14, § 5; SHEIZAR, § 5.

wa/i-tá-': *-ta* can hardly be anything but the *Ortspartikel*, which is however hard to understand in the context as interpreted.

§ 6. *wa/i-ti-tá-'*: *wa* connective, + *-ti* reflexive 3 sing. pronoun + *-ta* *Ortspartikel*.

zi/a-ti-i(a): should represent *zati*, in the context best taken as “here”.

pa-sa-': best taken in context as nom. sing. MF of *(a)pa-*, “that; he”, thus “that one” (referring to descendant introduced in § 4?).

SOLIUM-*ru*: Hawkins’ new reading, difficult not to recognize as 3 sing. imp. Med.-Pass. of SOLIUM (= *asa-*), “sit, seat oneself”.

Sense. “Let that one seat himself on this stele”, though it appears as the natural rendering of the clause as read, hardly commends itself as meaningful. Perhaps the sense should rather be sought in some idiomatic usage arising from “sit/dwell to/for this stele”.

§§ 7–10. Dealt with by myself, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p. 128 f., cit. 9, in context of recognition of the sign NEG. There my misrecognition of the sign, now identified as the Empire form of *ARHA*, as the syllabogram *ní*, and the consequent alleged “double negatives”, were errors which are now corrected. For the establishment of the sign *ARHA*, see SÜDBURG, § 5, Commentary.

§7. *zi/a-la-tu-wa/i*: recognition of *zilatirwa*, “hereafter”, useful support for reading of *zi/a*. *sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)*: clearly verb, 3 sing. pres. in *-i(a)* (= *-i*); but the signs of the verb stem can be read in various orders. I have chosen this order because of the existence of a Late verb *sà-ka-tà-li-sa-* (BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§ 4, 7, see CHLLI, Commentary *ad loc.*). It is however not certain that the two should be identified, especially since the verb here clearly refers to inflicting some kind of damage on monuments, which is hardly appropriate in the BOYBEYPINARI context. Starke now reads *sà-ka-la-tà-i(a)*, identifying with Luw. *sakalda-* (StBoT 31, p. 277 Anm. 939).

§8. *ARHA* CAPUT+SCALPRUM: this is certainly the verb and signifies some kind of removal; cf. the context of the recurrence of the phrase, below, §20. The clearest published attestation of the form of CAPUT+SCALPRUM is on the altar C version of §20, for which see the photograph of Hrozný, *IHH* III, pl. LXXXII (l. 3). The form is basically as identified by E. Masson in her edition (see p. 28 f., “autel II”, ll. 2 and 4, and “autel III”, l. 3, also p. 33, fig. 8 no. 10), although she drew it as an incised form rather than relief; that is, it is the outline of a profile head with two internal elements, an “arch” to the right and “arrow” to the left. I originally identified these internal elements as the sign “army” (*HH* no. 269) and thus tentatively interpreted the verb as “attack”: see Hawkins, *apud* Starke, *StBoT* 31, p. 237 with n. 810 a; also *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 309 n. 32, *arha* EXERCITUS(?). Examination of photographs convinced me that the “arch” represented the head’s ear which is normally shown on Empire “heads”, so the only additional element is the arrow-shaped sign. Thus the interpretation “attack” had to be abandoned. Then when Poetto was showing me the new inscription İVRİZ 2, a verb appeared which could be identified with the verb (“CAPUT+X”) *ku-sà-* (TÜNP 1, §2) and thus read (“CAPUT+X”)REL-*sà-*: the internal element X of CAPUT is the “chisel” (*HH* no. 268), hence the transliteration CAPUT+SCALPRUM. The verbs of both TÜNP 1 and İVRİZ 2 are preceded by *arha*, and the latter context at least is one of the usual and fairly understood series of offences against the monument. Further, the EMİRGAZI contexts are sufficiently similar to permit the identification of the logogram as CAPUT+SCALPRUM, presumably standing for the same verb *kusa-/kwas-* as found in the Late attestations.

§9. *tana/i-zi/a-nu-wa/i-ti(-wa/i-tà)*: new reading assured; sense of *tarzanurwa-*, “cause to suffer (in some way)”; cf. the use of INFRA *tarzanurwa-*, below §26, and note that this is accompanied by *-ta* *Ortspartikel*, which in the present clause may be recognized in the *-wa/i-tà*.

§10. *zi/a-i(a)*: good example of writing *zaya*, “these”, (nom.) acc. plur. N; see also below, §24, and YALBURT, block 4 §4.

*461-*tà*: first sign seems to be Empire form of *pá²(+ra/i)*, *HH* no. 462, thus to equate to Late *pá²+ra/i-ta*, “words” or the like.

tu-pi: a syllabic writing without verb ending now further attested on YALBURT (blocks 7 §1; 12 §2).

§11. *DEUS-ni-zi/a*: could represent *DEUS-ninzi* (nom.) acc. plur. MF, or *DEUS-ni(ya)nza*, dat. plur.; contextually the latter seems necessary, “for the gods”.

hwi/a-sa-ti-sa: sign *hwi/a* now clearly recognized from YALBURT, where it recurs repeatedly writing verb *huiya-*, “run” (blocks 4 §2, see Commentary; also 8 §1; 10 §3; 12 §4). The recognition of the Empire form permits the separation of its Late counterpart (𐎧), formerly read REL₂ from the REL sign with which it was confused. This Late form besides writing verb (*hui*)*huiya-*, “run”, is also used as syllabogram in various words of which the Empire forms are written with Cun. *hu-i-* and *hu-wa-* (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Kadmos*

32 (1993), pp. 50–60). It would seem that in the present word we have an Empire example of its use as a syllabogram, hence transliteration *hwi/a*. The resulting *hwi/a-sa-ti-sa* looks likely to be connected with Cun. Luw. *hwisti-*, itself obscure unless it can be connected with Hitt. *husti(i)-*, “amber(?)” (for which see most recently Puhvel, *HED* s.v.). The form may be interpreted as *hwisti(ya)s(a)*, “(that) of *hwisti-*”, gen. sing. or gen. adj. of the stem, and this might be understood by reference to Hitt. *husti-* as a symbol of strength:

nu-kan hustis GIM-an KALAG.GA ... KALAG.GA-as *esdu* (KBo XII 85, ii 8–9),
“As *hustis* (is) strong, (so) may he be strong” (Haas-Thiel, *AOAT* 31, pp. 138 f.).
See below, under discussion of sense of clause.

i(a)-zi/a-tà(-sa): altar C’s version seems to lack *-zi/a-*; also an unexplained *-sa* appears between *-tā* and the following *wa/i-tā-*, not obviously connected with either. But a 3 sing. verb is demanded by the relative REL-*i(a)-sa*, and to fit the parallelism of the following clause, *izita* seems most likely in spite of epigraphic problems.

Sense: “... made a stele of *hwisti-*”, paralleled by the following “let his stele be made of *hwisti-*”, could be understood if *hwisti-*, like Hitt. *husti-* in the passage cited, was a substance symbolizing strength and durability.

§§ 13–15, 16–18, 19–23: three groups of clauses, each introduced by *man*-protases, followed by two or three apodotes. Two of the three eventualities envisaged by the *man*-clauses are infringements forbidden in the prohibitions §§ 7–9: thus *sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)* (§§ 7, 16), and *ARHA* CAPUT+SCALPRUM (§§ 8, 20). The infringements forbidden and envisaged in §§ 9 and 13 do not however correspond.

The verbs in the apodotes, where verb endings are written, are all in the imperative (§§ 14, 17, 21, 22), and where they are not written, they may or may not be so understood (§§ 15, 18, 23). In the first of each of the apodotes (§§ 14, 17, 21), an expression involving a stem *tatu-* (v. and n.) occurs, in a context which should express punitive action against the infringer of the foundation.

§13. *ma-pa-wa/i*: identify *man(-)*, “if” (note writing *ma-na*, §20), = Cun. Luw. *man*, “if” (see e.g. *StBoT* 30, p. 153, ii 25, 26). Cun. Luw. *man* is normally found paired, *man ... man*, “whether ... or”, which is the only context in which the Late Hier. form occurs.

(-) *ta(-)na-sa*: impossible to determine in the unclear context whether we have *-ta* *Ortspartikel* followed by word *na-sa*, or whether the word is *ta-na-sa*. The first protasis of the following group does seem to have the *Ortspartikel* (§16). Van den Hout now suggests to me the possibility of recognizing a word *tana* (*tana+sa* nom./acc. sing. N + particle *-sa*), the Luw. cognate of Hitt. *istanana-*, “altar”.

CAPUT-*i*: this seems to be all that is there; understand “person, prince”?

la-ri+i...: the writing *ri+i* (or *i(a)+ra/i*) is not elsewhere attested in the Empire Period and not certain here (Hrozný, Meriggi, Masson and I agree on it). It is not likely to be a verb ending rhotacized from *-ti* or *-ta* at this period. A medio-passive form in *-ri* is not likely either by reason of the very sparseness of attestation of such forms in Luw. If correctly read, it is most likely to be a phonetically written verb stem *lari-* written with or without verb ending (unclear).

§14. *MAGNUS-zi/a*: probably nom. plur. MF, the subject, “the great (ones)”; though formally it could also be nom./acc. sing. N or dat. plur.

The other two apodotes corresponding to this (§§ 17, 21) both end with the combination *tā-tu-sa sa-tu-* apparently verb “be”, 3 sing. imp., with predicate *tā-tu-sa* nom. sing. MF.

The present clause has something similar but different, apparently *tá-tu tá-tu-tu* which seems to take dir. obj. -*an*, "him" (in *wa/i-na-*). This phrase may be the equivalent of *tá-tu-tu sa-tu-*, "let him TATU him in/for TATU (dat. sing.?)", as against "let him be TATUS (nom. sing. MF)". The stem TATU- appears to express something like "avenge" (v.), and "avenger" (n.).

§ 15. *wa/i-ti-i(a)-* (reading of *wa/i* fairly certain): *wa-*connective, + *-ti* enclitic 3 sing. reflexive pronoun.

*430-*ti-sa*: presumably nom. sing. MF, the subject. For *430 (= *pumati-*), "all", see above, SÜDBURG, § 1, Commentary.

PRAE-*i(a)*: = *pari*, as against the more commonly attested PRAE-*na*, = *paran* (YALBURT blocks 3 § 2; 4 § 1; 10 § 3). Both forms are of course well attested in the Late period.

x²: verb seems to be written with single sign (logogram?) or possibly *i(a)* (so Hrozný), presumably to be understood in 3 sing. imp., otherwise pres. If Hrozný's identification of the sign were correct, it might be a phonetic writing of *i-*, "go", without written ending, though this verb in the Empire period is normally written PES₂. The sense, not obviously meaningful, would then be: "Let everyone go forth".

§§ 16–17. The object of the offense and the agent of the retribution appears to be another mountain with name of uncertain reading (see Apparatus).

§ 16. *ma-pa-wa/i-tà*: one might suppose that *-ta* represented *Ortspartikel* though this is not present with the other two attestations of the verb § 7, 24. One could thus consider the presence of *-ata*, "it/them" (the stela or stelae, dir. obj.).

(MONS) ...: if *-ata* is dir. obj. this could be taken to be dat. sing., thus "on/for(?) Mount ..." (where we might suppose other similar altars to have been).

§ 17. SCALPRUM.*414: very obscure, recurs in the same context of retribution in § 21. SCALPRUM normally determines stone objects; *414 resembles the Empire Period form of *hi* and indeed may be this sign, but here and elsewhere may have a logographic value. Cf. *414.OVIS, below, § 19.

§ 18. AVIS₂-*na-wa/i-* (*na* and *wa/i* could be in reverse order): first sign does appear to be a bird with wing extended behind (AVIS₂); *-na* may be phon. compl. The sense of AVIS₂ is opaque, presumably logogram not syllabogram, and in the context as understood, something evil (see further, below).

PORTA-*MI*: provisionally accepted as meaning "gate" (see below § 23, for discussion). Case uncertain but nom. and acc. unlikely, thus dat.?

REGIO-*ni-i(a)*: either dat. sing. or nom./acc. plur. N (**utni(ya)*); perhaps dat. sing. paired with PORTA-*MI* best.

SOLIUM: certainly verb known in Late attestations, *asa-*, "sit, dwell", caus. *isanu-*. Here probably the simple intransitive stem is represented, but it is possible that it could be causative without written *-nu-*. "... (it shall) dwell in the gate (and) in the land" looks plausible sense, if we suppose that "it" is something evil suitable to the context, to be sought in AVIS₂-*na-*.

§ 19. *414.OVIS-*zi/a*: this group of signs is clearly the concern of these clauses, recurring as it does in §§ 21 and 22. The form of the second sign can now be recognized as a sheep's head, OVIS, by comparison with that appearing on YALBURT, block 15 § 2, which all the present

attestations in the duplicate passages on altars A, B and C closely resemble. The context, as understood, relates to sacrificial sheep offered to the altars. The first sign, *HH* no.414, is identified by Masson as *hi*, which is probably correct when the sign is functioning as a syllabogram. It also may be used as a logogram however, notably in the combination *414.DOMINUS, a title found on seals, notably *SBo* II 36, and a series of impressions of the seal of Pukana among the bullae found at Boğazköy in 1991. Here too in *414.OVIS it is presumably logographic. The *-zi/a* should be phonetic complement, nom. plur. MF.

REL-*tá-zi/a* (for reading, see Apparatus): may be interpreted as *kwatanza*, dat. plur. of the relative, not hitherto attested even in the Late period.

ma-lu-wa/i: Eichner has suggested that this is a full phonetic writing of the logogram STELE (*MSS* 45 (1985), pp.6–10), but I feel that such a writing, logogram with full phonetic spelling, is unlikely in an Empire inscription. I would prefer to take it as a separate word going closely with CRUS, thus "stand for MALUWA ...". In the context as understood, this seems to express the relationship of the sheep (*414.OVIS) to the stela, thus "stand for dedication/sacrifice ..." or the like. In the absence of any Hitt. or Luw. stems with which to associate *maluwa*, we could in fact maintain Eichner's identification with Sidet. *malwa* = Greek χαριστήρια, "thank-offering", which would fit the context very well.

§ 20. *wa/i-tá-*: best taken as *wa-* connective + *-ata*, "them", the *414.OVIS.



ma-na: clear full writing of *man*, "if".

ARHA CAPUT+SCALPRUM: see above, § 8, where this action in relation to the stela was prohibited. Here the logogram CAPUT+SCALPRUM is identified with a verb twice attested in the Late Period, ("CAPUT+SCALPRUM") *ku/REL-sá-*. The sense of "removal" (but different from "take away") emerges quite clearly from the present context.

§ 21. *414.OVIS DOMINUS-*na*: "owner (lord) of the *414-sheep" seems appropriate to the context, i.e. to become the agent of retribution (*tá-tu-ta*). It looks possible that the present *414.OVIS DOMINUS-*na* might be connected with the title *414.DOMINUS found on seals, as noted above, § 19. The comparison of *414.OVIS and *414.DOMINUS should provide the key to the interpretation of *414.

§ 22. *pa-na-*: could be taken as *-pa* connective, + *an*, "him", but this would lead to difficulty in identifying subject and object. I prefer to suppose an absence of connective particles and to take *pa-na-* as a phonetic writing of *apan*, "back, again"; the *414.OVIS have been -ed away, their owner is invited to take part in the reparation, he must take them *away again* and give them ...

CAPERETU: phonetic evidence from YALBURT suggests that CAPERE would be read *lala-*, = Cun. Luw. *lala-* (alternation of ARHA CAPERE and ARHA *la-la-* on YALBURT blocks 6 § 2 and (15 § 2+) 14 § 1, see Commentary there).

§ 22. PORTA-*MI*: the identification of PORTA (*HH* no.239) as some form of "gate", and in particular with the very pictographic Late sign PORTA (*HH* no.238, to which may be added the cursive KARATEPE forms  ), seems to be confirmed by its recent discovery in a newly observed Empire inscription actually on the Lion Gate at Boğazköy (BOĞAZKÖY 16; see Neve, *Ist. Mitt.* 26 (1976), pp.9–11 Taf.1–2). The sense of *HH* no.239 is by no means obvious in its five attestations: see § 18, above; KARAHÖYÜK, § 21, and MARAŞ 8, § 11 (both the latter discussed in *CHLI*, *ad loc.*). The present context is probably the clearest, where there seems to be a question of recovering misappropriated votive sheep and restoring them PORTA-*MI*. Provisionally accepting PORTA as representing a building, some kind of

gate, we may note that the phon. compl. *-MI*, though somewhat unreliable, may genuinely point to a stem ending in *-mi-*; and further, that Cun. Luw. has *astummant-*, “gate” (*KUB IX 31*, ii 25, parallel to *KĀ, HT 1*, i 46; see *StBoT 30*, pp. 51, 53; also determined by *KĀ, KBo XXIX 31*, iv 5, = *StBoT 30*, p. 364), which could be an *-ant-* enlarged form of **astummi-*. For the sense, giving recovered animals “in the gate”, rather than “to the gate”, seems more likely.

§§24–29. Treated by me in the context of the elucidation of the negative in *An. St. 25* (1975), p. 129 f. cit. 10.

Corrections which may now be made to that treatment are noted in the critical apparatus.

§24. *sā-ka-tā-la-i(a)*: reading and sense of this verb, a prohibited action, discussed above, §7.

§25. *REL+ra/i-pa*, “or”: standing for *kwari-pa*, this has a clear further example on *KARAHÖYÜK*, §§22, 23, for which see Hawkins, *An. St. 25* (1975), p. 131 cit. 12 ii–iii; and cf. the remarks of A. Morpurgo Davies, *ibid.*, pp. 164 f.

-wa/i ta-na: I previously divided *-wa/i-ta* (*wa* connective + *ta* *Ortspartikel*), followed by *na* alone interpreted as a negative, under the misapprehension that the parallel §28 below had *ní NEG-wa/i* (in fact *ARHA NEG-wa/i*). Now it seems best to suppose that we have here a separate word *tā-na* (order *na-tā* is also conceivable but not interpreted as a negative). For possible sense, see after discussion of verb.

ā: since my original suggestion that the verb represented Luw. *a(ia)-*, “make”, the forms and relationship between Hier. *izi(ya)-* (*i-zi-i/ia-*, Empire *i(a)-zi/a-*) and Hier. *a(ya)-* (*ā(-ia)-*) have become more clearly established (see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *Hethitica VIII* (1987), pp. 276–279). This perception strongly supports my original suggestion, i.e. we have here the syllabic writing (*ā-*, comparable to the several Late attestations) without written verb ending, a practice previously known from EMIRGAZI and KARAHÖYÜK and now amply confirmed by YALBURT and SÜDBURG.

Sense: “or he does not make TANA (or possibly NATA)”. One might suggest that this represents a Luw. attestation of Hitt. *dān*, “again, a second time”. Alternatively by comparison with §27 below, where we have infinitive + *ā-*, “make to ...”, we might envisage *CAPERE-na*, “to take”, or *tā-na* (phonetic), “to ...”, although this gives a less easily intelligible sense.

§26. (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA/I, “Sun-Goddess of Arinna”: for identification of this deity, as against Masson’s “Sun-God of Heaven” (edition, pp. 41 f.), see SÜDBURG, §3, Commentary.

CERVUS₂.DEUS.*463-*ti*: the writing (DEUS)CERVUS₂-*ti* (YAZILIKAYA no. 32) renders the Stag-God’s name, presumed reading *Kumnti(ya)-* (cf. above, n. 251). The additional element *463, guessed by Masson on inadequate grounds to correspond to Cun.^{KUS}*kursa-*, now appears also linked to the divine name Sauska on SÜDBURG, §3. As noted there (see commentary) the most obvious epithet shared by the Stag-God and Sauska is LİL, “of the Field”.

Ā.FEMINA².DEUS.*461: this deity remains a mystery (see also §§29, [35], 37). Neither my reading of the first two signs as HEROS, nor E. Masson’s STATUA are likely to be correct. The second sign, an oval, looks more like FEMINA than the vase which would be required by HEROS, and STATUA additionally requires the “head” not the profile. It is impossible to determine the functions of the constituent signs, whether logographic or phonetic, and additional doubt attaches to the sign identified as the Empire form of *pā?* (*HH* no. 461).

REX.*398-*zi/a*: *398 is attested in only five clear examples besides here; *i(a)-*398-wa/i* (URBS) (ALEPPO 1, l. 2); *117.*398, personal name (seal of Indilima); LIS-*398 *a-sa-tu*, “... let him be prosecutor” (KARAHÖYÜK, §24); *463.*398, “?” (YALBURT block 10 §2/EMIRGAZI frag.). It seems on the balance more likely to be functioning as a syllabogram rather than logogram. E. Masson’s identification of it as a “socle” is a guess based on its appearance and otherwise unsupported (see her edition, pp. 19, 21, 38). It is not likely that logograms representing two different words, “king” and “socle” would be written together like this before one phonetic complement *-zi/a* (the YALBURT writings MAGNUS.REX-*zi/a*, “great kings”, ITA.AVUS-*zi/a*, “fathers (and) grandfathers” (block 4, §2), and FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* (blocks 6 §1, 15 §1) may be explained by the close association of each member of the pair). The word appears to go closely with the following, both ending in *-zi/a*, which can of course represent nom./acc. sing. N *-(an)za*, nom./acc. plur. MF *-(in)zi*, or dat. plur. *-(an)za*. It is likely that we have adj. + noun (or vice versa), but it is hard to decide which is which. If this word is the adj., as is likely from its coming first, the logogram REX points to an interpretation “royal”, whatever the value of *398.

*303-*zi/a*: the sign here designated by the number *303 is that read by Laroche in other contexts *sa₅+ra/i*, but actually listed by him in an unrecognizable form under *HH* no. 303. Meriggi numbered the clearer attestations elsewhere as no. 419, but failed to recognize the present attestations, which he listed with erroneous forms as no. 292 a. It is hard to see the sign as *sa₅+ra/i*, because although the top part does resemble a flattened version of *sa₅*, the “seal”, its long curved “leg” in no way resembles any writing of *+ra/i*, and is indeed normally written facing in the wrong direction for this sign, i.e. forwards not backwards.

Laroche did however produce a plausible equation of *303, with Cun. *šar*, namely TARSUS seal no. 42 b, where he identified the writing [DEUS]TONITRUS BOS *303 *ku* as the equivalent of PU URU^h*hatti šar-ku-uš* AMAR.NITA, “Storm-God (of Hatti), mighty bull-calf” (*KUB VI 45*, i 50; see *Syria 35* (1958), p. 258; and cf. *HH* no. 423). He also identified the name written *303-*wa/i* (seals Alaca 1, and Delaporte, *Catalogue* no. 1049) as *Sarawa*, found also written *sā+ra/i-wa/i* (*SBo II*, no. 218) and in Cun. *ša-ra-ma/wa* (*Noms*, no. 1113). It is certainly the case that where it occurs on the seals, *303 must have a syllabographic or possible *rebus* value. The matter is further complicated by the apparent occurrence of *303 on Meskene seals attached to the horn(s) of the “gazelle”, *sā*: see H. Gonnet, *apud* D. Arnaud, *Textes Syriens de l’Âge du Bronze Récent* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa; Barcelona, 1991) nos. 37, 38, pp. 203 f., 14*, and pl. IV; and cf. BOROWSKI seal no. 32. How these can be explained in the context of a value *303 = *sara/i* remains unclear.

Thus while *303 is difficult to take as *sa₅+ra/i*, it does appear to have a value *sara/i*. E. Masson in the present context identifies the writing *303-*zi/a* as a form of Hitt. *sarezzi-*, “upper” (edition, pp. 44–49). This is improbable (1) because the *-zi/a* is likely to represent a case ending, as in the preceding word; (2) because *sarezzi-* is a purely Hitt. formation (cf. Hitt. *sarezzi-*, “upper”, *hantezzi-*, “former, first”, *appezzi-*, “later, second”, against Luw. *sarli-*, *hantili-*, *apari-* (Hier. only); the forms of *sarli-* and derivatives occurring commonly in Hitt. text are obvious Luwisms); (3) because the alleged *katterinzi*, which she reads as the next word, must be interpreted differently (see below), and therefore does not support the recognition of a pair *sarezzi-kattera-*.

What then is *303-*zi/a*? If the syllabographic or *rebus* value *sara/i* suggested above is relevant here, we are left with a word *saranza* or *sarinzi*, which does not lend itself to a ready interpretation. Otherwise it may be that the sign is used logographically here. Either way, further evidence is necessary for interpretation.

INFRA *tara/i-zi/a-ni-wa/i-tu*: readings of first three signs accepted from E. Masson’s edition (p. 47), but her interpretation that they represent *katterinzi*, “lower (acc. plur. MF)”, is improbable because (1) *kattera-* is a Hitt. formation not attested in Luw., where the word seems to be supplied by *ā-na-tara/i-* (i.e. *an(n)a(n)+tari-*, cf. Lyc. *ētri*; see KULULU lead strip 1.15,

Hawkins, *An. St.* 37 (1987), p.144); (2) the last three signs *-nū-wa/i-tu* represent the verb, but collation of altars A and B shows that there is no possibility in either passage of restoring DELERE before them, as Masson suggests, so that the beginning of the verb must be supplied by the preceding three signs, which in fact give a plausible word as transliterated above. A verb written thus is now identified in §9 above, and a probably related verb written (PES₂)*tara/i-zi-*, caus. (PES₂)*tara/i-za-nu-*, is attested in Late contexts: see TELL AHMAR 1, §6; KARKAMIŠ A 11a, §6, and Commentaries in *CHLI*. The exact sense, together with an analysis of the word, remains to be provided, but the identification of the verb in the present context is likely. The general sense of INFRA *taṣṣanu-* here seems to be to “do harm” in some way to the appurtenance(s) (REX-**398-zi/a* **303-zi/a*, probably acc. either sing. N or plur. MF, the direct object of the verb) of the offending king.

§§27, 29. PUGNUS-*MI-na* // PUGNUS-*MI-tu*: the second occurrence shows the verb stem to be written PUGNUS-*MI-*, but many examples show that *-MI-* is a treacherous phonetic complement, which cannot always be taken to render a phonetic *-mi-*. In the context, a blessing on the benefactor of the stele, the verb has a positive sense. One naturally compares it with the Late verb PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi*-(trans.; KARKAMIŠ A 15 b, §3), which has a nominal or adjectival form PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi*-(KARKAMIŠ A 15 b, §2/A 11 a, §4); and a participle in *-(a)nt-*, PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-tā-* (KARATEPE, 96, also 131), which is translated by Phoen. ‘z, “strong”; cf. also the PN PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-li-* (CEKKE, §17 g). For all these attestations see *CHLI*, Commentary, *ad loc.*; presumably PUGNUS here conveys ideographically the concept of “strength, force”. It is unclear whether *-(a)nt-* is a full phonetic writing of the verb. The PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-li-* of CEKKE could well be the same name as the MALATYA royal name PUGNUS-*mi-li-*; if so, the latter writing would support the identification of the Empire verb PUGNUS-*MI-* with the Late stem PUGNUS(-)*la/i/u-mi-*. As to the sense, the evidence points to a general range of “be/make strong”; the single Empire and Late attestations of the verb both show it to be transitive.

But what form is PUGNUS-*MI-na*, where PUGNUS-*MI-* writes the verb stem? One might suppose that *-na* represents the acc. sing. MF of an adj. PUGNUS-*MI-*, from which the verb stem is derived, construed with the verb *á-*, “make” (for which, see above, §25), but this must be ruled out because the direct object of the verb is *zaya* STELE, “these stelae” acc. plur. N, which would exclude an acc. sing. MF apposition. One may therefore suggest that PUGNUS-*MI-na* represents the infinitive of the verb. This would be expected to end in *-una*, but we compare the Late form of the infinitive AEDIFICARE-*MI-na* (KARATEPE, 216; KARKAMIŠ A 1a, §23; and *CHLI*, Commentary, *ad loc.*), where the presumed reading *tamuna* is apparently obscured by the treacherous character of *-MI-*. Thus the meaning “make to be firm” is envisaged (“firm” rather than “strong” seems more appropriate to stelae). Cf. the proposed understanding of §§11–12 above, where there was a context of “making a stele HWISTISA”, interpreted as a metaphor of strength.

§28. *wa/i-tā-’*: presumably *wa-* connective + *ata*, “them” (the stelae).

ARHA DELERE-*i(a)*: for the identification of the verb as DOMUS+MINUS = DELERE, “destroy”, see Melchert, *An. St.* 38 (1988), pp.34–38; and my remarks in *CHLI*, KARKAMIŠ A 4a, §14, Commentary. The verb, with Empire and Late attestations is often causative, DELERE-*nu-*; cf. Empire DELERE-*nū-wa/i-ha* (1 sing. pret.; EMİRGAZI block, B 1.3). The present form appears to represent the simple (non-caus.) verb; cf. the endless attestations on YALBURT, blocks 7 §2a, 9 §1a, 13 §2 (identical context to EMİRGAZI block).

§29. *su-na-sa-ti* (also below, §37): now appears also on SÜDBURG, §3, see discussion there.

§30. Same action envisaged as recorded above §2, doubtless in the context a positive action. REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*: presumably relative (*kwis*) + copula *-ha*, rather than indefinite (*kwisha*); but note absence of *-wa* connective.

§32. Clause seems to be complete *ma(n)+wa+as* VITELLUS.*285, thus “whether he (be) VITELLUS.*285”; VITELLUS.*285 appears to represent a title (see YALBURT, block 10 §2, for discussion).

§33. EGO-*pa-wa/i*: EGO (*amu*) common introduction to Late inscriptions, probably occurs also as introduction to NIŞANTAŞ accompanied by particles normal in Late period, thus EGO-*wa/i-mi*; see Laroche, *Anatolica* 3 (1970), pp.93 f., 96, pls. VI–VII, group 1. It is not usual to find *amu* introducing a clause other than at the beginning of an inscription. One wonders how the inscription of altar A began, and why Tudhaliya formally reintroduces himself at this point. There is also the question of how the clause was integrated into the context which is obscured by the break following it. We await a main clause since the sense thus far has been “And (he) who ... (§30), whether he ... (§31) (or) whether he ...” (§32); indeed the main clause is apparently that ending in “let him give” (§33b). Thus our clause §33a must either be parenthetical: “– but I (am) the Great King etc., [to me] ... let him give”; or it may be possible to understand §33a–b all as one clause if *amu* could be taken not as nom. sing. as usual but as dat. sing., “to me the Great King ... let him give”. In practice there is not much difference in sense between these two.

§33b. Restoration: it is likely that we should restore as object of DARE-*tu* the same **137(-)ha-sa₅* as is found object of DARE in §§34 and 36. Indeed the traces following the Tudhaliya cartouche immediately are consistent with the elaborate sign *HH* no.137. This would occupy two columns’ space, leaving only a further one to two columns, which might have been at least partly filled by connective particles if, following the reasoning above, they had been in place here. All in all it does not look as if much of significance were lost here.

502-mi-li*: the first sign here seems to be the same as that with the new number **502* now found on SÜDBURG, §2, in a completely unclear context. A word **259(-)*502-mi-li* (502* reversed), which may be the same as the present word, is found on KARAHÖYÜK, §18, also in an unclear context.

LOCUS-*ti*: probably represents Luw. equivalent of Hitt. *pedi*, “on the spot”; cf. KARAHÖYÜK, §12, LOCUS-*tá* LOCUS-*tá* (**pida* **pida*), “everywhere.”

For these two words, van den Hout suggests a comparison with Hitt. *dammeli pedi*, “in an immaculate place”.

§§34–37. Treated by me in the context of the recognition of the negative, *An. St.* 25 (1975), p.130 f. cit.11.

§34. **137(-)ha-sa₅* (also in §36 below, restored in §33b above): this word with its elaborate logogram **137* may now be recognized as recurring in the context of offerings to gods on SÜDBURG, §17; see discussion there. Van den Hout now plausibly suggests that the word represented here is the Hier. form of Cun. Luw. *malhassa*, “ritual”. He would see in the logogram **137* an inclined libation vessel pouring liquid, as represented in the Malatya Lion Gate sculptures and also held by Hattusili at Fraktin.

§35. *wa/i-ti-i(a)-na-’*: *wa-* connective, *+ti-* reflexive 3 sing., *+an*, “him”.

Restoration of *Ā.FEMINA*.*DEUS*.#461 at beginning of l.6 leaves only narrow space for verb, one to two columns of signs, before restoring *REL-i(a)-sa-pa-* from altar D.

§37. *á-na+ra/i-sù-ha-ti: -sù-* read independently by Hrozný, Masson and myself is fairly certain, indeed visible on photographs; this would be the only Empire attestation of the sign to the present.

PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-tu*: recognition of the sign *hwi/a* used to write verb *hwiya-*, "run", was provided by YALBURT examples (see block 4 §3, discussion). The topos of the gods "running before" is now recognized in Empire Hier. (YALBURT blocks 8, 10 §3, 11 §1, 12 §4), as well as Late Hier. (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §11; cf. A12, §3; TOPADA, §17), and very commonly in Hitt. historical narrative. In the present writing, the sign *hwi/a* has lost its vertical stroke, but the shape is otherwise unmistakable.

APPENDIX 3. KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group

Introduction

The inscriptions KARADAĞ 1 and 2 were discovered in May 1907 by Gertrude Bell, and those of the KIZILDAĞ (1-4) by Ramsay the following month.¹ The Cornell Expedition visited the Karadağ shortly after,² but not apparently the Kızıladağ. Güterbock visited the inscriptions in 1939,³ and Meriggi in 1963, when the stele KIZILDAĞ 5 was seen.⁴ Sedat Alp examined them in 1965, and the appearance of a new inscription of the same type at the 150 km. distant Burunkaya in 1971 prompted his study of the whole group, "Eine neue Hieroglyphenhethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kızıladağ-Karadağ aus der Nähe von Aksaray und die früher publizierten Inschriften derselben Gruppe".⁵ I myself saw the Kızıladağ in 1967, as did Hatice Gonnet in 1971 and 1981.⁶ Together we visited Karadağ and Kızıladağ as well as Burunkaya in 1989. It was the publication of the YALBURT inscription in 1988 that placed this group of inscriptions in context, and permitted me to write the study "The inscriptions of the Kızıladağ and the Karadağ in the light of the YALBURT inscription".⁷ The following edition is summarized from there and from my forthcoming *CHLI*.

1 Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909), pp.505-512, 515, figs.371-375.

2 Charles, *Hittite Inscriptions* (New York, 1911), pp.3f.

3 In *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* I (Ankara, 1947), pp.63f.

4 *Oriens Antiquus* 4 (1965), pp.310-315, Tav.LVIII-LXI.

5 In *Anatolian Studies Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pp.17-27, pls.I-X.

6 See her publications *Hethitica* 5 (1981), pp.21-28; *Mélanges Naster* (1984), pp.119-125.

7 Recently published in *FS Sedat Alp* (1992), pp.259-275.

Transliteration

KIZILDAĞ 1

MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX

KIZILDAĞ 2

(DEUS)TONITRUS FORTIS X SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX

KIZILDAĞ 3

(DEUS)TONITRUS SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-430-sa* MAGNUS.REX
URBS+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS URBS+*MI* *zi/a* AEDIFICARE

KIZILDAĞ 5

URBS[+*li*] MAGNUS.REX HEROS [...]

KIZILDAĞ 4

- § 1. SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX HEROS (DEUS)TONITRUS
AMPLECTI URBS-*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS
- § 2a. (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM DEUS-*na* *430 (BONUS₂) *wa/i-sá-ti*
- § 2b. REGIO *430 (*273) *mu(wa)-tá* REL
- § 2c. *ma-sá-ka³-na* (REGIO) *mu(wa)-tá*
- § 3. TERRA-X-X ... *430 MAGNUS.REX VIR *416-*wa/i-ní* VTELLUS.*285
CAPERE/*tá* X X

KARADAĞ 1

- § 1. *zi/a-ti* LOCUS-*i(a)* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM (DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS
DEUS-*ní* *430 SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX *468
- § 2. REGIO *430 REL-*sa* (*273) FORTIS-*tá*
- § 3. (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM 'DEUS'-*ní-ha* [...]

KARADAĞ 2

MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX

BURUNKAYA

- § 1. *zi/a[-ti³]* LOCUS-*i(a)* MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX
(DEUS)TONITRUS x-*zi/a* URBS-*li* MAGNUS.REX HE[ROS ...]
- § 2. ... (§ 3?) ... *t]u-pi+ra/i*

Translation

KIZILDAĞ 1

Great King Hartapu

KIZILDAĞ 2

Beloved (??) (of) the mighty Storm God, the Sun, Great King Hartapu

KIZILDAĞ 3

Beloved (??) (of) the Storm God, the Sun, Great King Hartapu, son of Mursili, Great King,
Hero, built this city.

KIZILDAĞ 5

Mursi[li], Great King, Hero [...]

KIZILDAĞ 4

- § 1. The Sun, Great King, Hero, Hartapu, beloved of the Storm God, son of Mursili, Great
King, Hero:
- § 2a. by the goodness (of) the celestial Storm God (and of) every god,
- § 2b. (he) who conquered every country,
- § 2c. (and) conquered the country Maska,
- § 3. ...

KARADAĞ 1

- § 1. In this place (to/for?) the celestial Storm God, the divine Great Mountain (and) every
god, the Sun, Great King, Hartapu ...,
- § 2. (he) who conquered every country,
- § 3. (to/for?) the celestial Storm God and every god [...]

KARADAĞ 2

Great King Hartapu

BURUNKAYA

- § 1. [In] this place Great King Hartapu below(ed)(?) of the Storm God, son of Mursili Great
King, He[ro ...
- § 2. ... (§ 3?) ...] he did/will smite.

Commentary

KIZILDAĞ 2

See H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* 5 (1983), pp. 21–28, correcting the readings of J. Börker Klähn, *ZA* 67 (1977), pp. 260–266.

KIZILDAĞ 3

há-ra/i-tá *430-*sa*: for the alternation of the sign *430 with the syllabogram *pu*, and for its explanation as an acrophonic value derived from *pumati*-, “all”, see above SÜDBURG, § 1, commentary.

URBS+*li*: for reading *Mursili*, see YALBURT, block 1 § 1, commentary; also above, p. 64 and n. 268.

URBS+*MI* *zi/a* AEDIFICARE: passage incorrectly interpreted by Laroche, *Ugaritica* III, p. 108, who, not recognizing the verb AEDIFICARE (listed among the animal heads, *HH* no. 119), posited a syllabic value *mu*_x for URBS. The appearance of AEDIFICARE three times on SÜDBURG established the identification of the present form: see above, SÜDBURG, § 6, commentary, with n. 97. This in turn permitted the recognition of URBS+*MI* here as the usual logogram “city”, and *zi/a* as the demonstrative without case-ending. Thus “build(ed) this city”.

KIZILDAĞ 4

§ 1. (DEUS)TONITRUS AMPECTI, “beloved of the Storm God”: logogram AMPECTI recognized independently by Hawkins, *An. St.* 22 (1972), pp. 113 f.; and Sedat Alp, in his edition, pp. 24 f., 27.

§ 2 a–b. Passage closely paralleled by YALBURT, block 16 §§ 1 b–2 a: see commentary there; also for (*273)*mu(wa)*-, YALBURT blocks 11 § 2, 12 § 5.

§ 2 c. *ma-sá-ka²-na* (REGIO): *ma-* was Meriggi’s original reading, subsequently and incorrectly changed to *mu-*, when he further proposed the identification with the *Muski* (Phrygians). The possibility of maintaining this identification is discussed in detail in my contribution to *FS Sedat Alp*, p. 267.

§ 3. MAGNUS.REX VIR *416-*wa/i-ní*: for the occurrence of these titles, which along with the other parallels link the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group closely with SÜDBURG and YALBURT, see SÜDBURG, §§ 1 and 5, commentary.

VITELLUS.*285: for this repeatedly recurring group, apparently a title, see YALBURT, block 10 § 2, and commentary.

CAPERET/ta x x: see YALBURT, *ibid.*

KARADAĞ 1

§ 1. *zi/a-ti* LOCUS-*i(a)*, “in this place/precinct”: certainly refers to mountain-top sanctuary, at the entrance of which KARADAĞ 1 and 2 were placed, but which has now disappeared below the ruins of the Byzantine church.

(DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS, “divine Great Mountain”: clearly the Karadağ massif itself, perhaps also to be identified with Cun. HURSAG GAL/RAB₁, for which see H. Gonnet, *RHA* XXVI/83 (1968), pp. 152 f.

*468: identified as verb, but by no means understood; subject probably Hartapu, object probably the gods.

§ 2. Closely parallel to KIZILDAĞ 4, § 2 b: see references there.

BURUNKAYA

§ 1. (DEUS)TONITRUS x-*zi/a*: apparently parallel to (DEUS)TONITRUS AMPECTI (KIZILDAĞ 4, § 1), perhaps standing for participle, *azami*-, which is found on FRAKTIN written *á-zi/a-mi* (see Güterbock, *FS Matouš*, pp. 127 ff.).

§ 2. *tu-pi+ra/i*: apparently “he did/will smite”, perhaps part of curse formula, though it is very unexpected to find rhotacism of verb ending -*ta* or -*ti* (> -*ra* or -*ri*) at this date.

APPENDIX 4. THE SIGN LABARNA (HH no. 277)¹

The Hier. sign HH no. 277² is found in the titularies of the last two generations of the dynasty of Hattusa only,³ that is on seals and stone inscriptions of Tudhaliya IV and his two sons Arnuwanda III and Suppiluliuma II, and also as recently discovered on seals of Tudhaliya's cousin, Kurunta, King of Tarhuntassa.⁴ That this Hier. title corresponded to Cun. *Tabarna* was recognized in the 1940's by Güterbock⁵ and Bossert.⁶ This was confirmed by Laroche's demonstration that the Cun. Hitt. titulary of Suppiluliuma II on the tablet KBo XII 38, ii 22-26, corresponded word for word with the Hier. titulary of the same king on NİŞANTAŞ, l. 1, which thus produced the equation Cun. *Tabarnas* = Hier. *277+*la*.⁷ In spite of this demonstration, which is in itself hardly to be questioned, there remained unanswered questions as to the nature and usage of the ligature *277+*la*:

1. What is the sign *277 and how should it be understood, transcribed and read?
2. What is the function of the sign *la* in the writing, and in particular how does it relate to the Cun. equivalent *Tabarna*?
3. Why is the title used only by the last two generations of the Hattusa dynasty, when the Cun. equivalent, *Tabarna*, appears in the royal titulary from the Old Kingdom, through the Middle Kingdom, to the Empire period?

A recent study by O. Carruba and C. Mora⁸ places more weight on these questions than on the established Cun./Hier. equivalence, and therewith rejects the proposition that *277+*la* is the Hier. writing of Cun. *Tabarna*. Instead they propose a "reading" of *277+*la* as *lahhiyala*-, "campaigner", a term attested as applied to Tudhaliya I/II. This proposal, it must be admitted, strikes one at once as intrinsically improbable. Nowhere is it adequately explained why Tudhaliya IV and his successors should suddenly adopt as a part of their royal aedícula a common noun of no obvious royal connections,⁹ and one which moreover has left no trace in their well attested Cun. titularies.

The proposal is supported by Carruba and Mora by claims to recognize the constituent elements of *277 as (1) the internal part as the sign *i(a)*, and (2) the external part as some kind of pouring vessel, to be interpreted as a *rebus*-writing *lahh(i)*- derived from the Hitt. stem *lahh*-, "pour". One cannot really consider these "readings" as any more convincing than the original proposal. I offer as Fig. 6 a selection of sign forms of *277 taken from stone monuments and

¹ This appendix is an expanded form of a paper which I read at the XXXVIII R.A.I. in Paris in July 1991. General recent studies on *Labarna* include those of F. Starke, *RIA* VI/5-6 (1983), s.v. *Labarna*; and *CHD* 3/1, s.v. *Labarna*.

² Laroche's entry *HH* no. 277 actually includes two elements, the upper vertical element, in the past incorrectly identified as a dagger (German *Dolch*), and the lower element, long correctly identified as the sign *la* (*HH* no. 175). For the purpose of the present discussion the no. 277 will be used to refer to the "dagger" only, thus the two together will be transcribed *277+*la*.

³ As demonstrated by Otten, *ZA* 58 (1967), p. 229f.; see also H. Gonnert, *La titulature royale hittite au II^e millénaire avant J.-C.* (*Hethitica* 3 (Louvain, 1979), pp. 20-22).

⁴ For these seals, see above, p. 62 and n. 250.

⁵ *SBo* I, p. 55f.

⁶ *HKS*, pp. 7f., 246.

⁷ See above, p. 59 and n. 225.

⁸ Il segno L.277 del geroglifico anatolico (*Or. NS* 59 (1990), pp. 143-149).

⁹ Apart from its application to Tudhaliya I/II in a context by no means endowing it with connotations of royalty; the usage of the term *lahhiyala*- is now fully documented in *CHD* 3/1, s.v.

as Fig. 7 those from seal impressions. Naturally the former tend to be clearer, being much bigger than small and often unclear impressions. As Fig. 8 I offer a selection of sign forms of *i(a)* taken from the same sources as *277, and from these I think it will be clear, without prolonged and detailed discussion, that the recognition of an internal *i(a)* in *277 is illusory. Unfortunately for Carruba and Mora it is in the main the new attestations on YALBURT, hardly available to them at their time of writing, which are particularly telling in this regard.

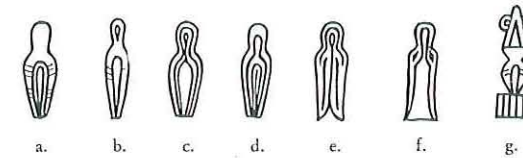


Fig. 6: Forms of sign HH no. 277, monumental
(a, YAZILIKAYA no. 64; b, YAZILIKAYA no. 83; c, KARAKUYU; d, BOĞAZKÖY 18;
e, YALBURT, block 1 § 1; f, YALBURT, block 2 § 2; g, SÜDBURG, § 11).

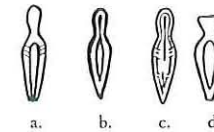


Fig. 7: Forms of sign HH no. 277, glyptic
(a, Beran, *Heth. Glyptik*, no. 160; b, *ibid.*, no. 197; c, *ibid.*, no. 236a; d, Cruciform Seal).

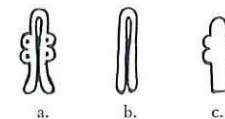


Fig. 8: Forms of sign HH no. 210, *i(a)* (a, b, YALBURT; c, SÜDBURG).

The recognition of the external part of *277 as a pouring vessel must be viewed as equally fanciful, and parallel to its earlier recognition as a dagger. It is true that in some occurrences, particularly on seals, *277 appears to end in the closed point, which might permit the dagger or pouring vessel interpretation. Much more commonly however, and invariably on the clearer monumental stone occurrences, *277 can be seen as a sign dividing at the bottom into two "legs", which completely obviates the dagger and vessel identifications.

For these reasons, the rejection by Carruba and Mora of the already established equation Cun. *Tabarna* = Hier. *277+*la*, in favour of their alternative hypothesis designed to answer the residual questions does not appear well founded. But indeed they were further unfortunate in that already when they wrote, there was in existence, but unknown to them, evidence categorically confirming the Cun./Hier. equation and thereby invalidating their hypothesis.

The impressions of the cruciform seal excavated at Boğazköy in 1986, were subject to preliminary readings and comments by Otten.¹⁰ While working at Boğazköy in 1989, I had the opportunity to examine these impressions. It has to be said at once that they are very small and difficult to read. The first impression given is one of impossibility. Only prolonged examination in various lights and repeated comparison of all exemplars of each reading gradually permit a reconstruction of the original whole. I was at that time able to suggest new readings, and I was fortunate in having present Professor Gernot Wilhelm, with whom I was able to discuss them. Subsequently in 1990, Professor Ali and Dr. Belkis Dinçol examined the impressions, and not only confirmed my readings but added new and important ones of their own.¹¹

Here I summarize our conclusions only insofar as they bear on the question of the reading of the sign *277+*la*. The cruciform seal is reconstructed as having on either side a central boss surrounded by four "wings" in the manner of a Maltese cross. Each of the five areas on each side bears the names of a Great King coupled with a Great Queen. One side may be reconstructed as having in the centre Mursili II and in the surrounding wings a genealogy, [... ?] – Tudhaliya III – [Arnuwanda I] – Tudhaliya I/II.¹² The other side has in the centre Suppiluliuma with Great Queen Henti,¹³ thus Suppiluliuma I, not as was previously supposed II. Here the wings give Great King *277+*la* (see Fig. 7d) with Great Queen [...]x-na, the Great Kings Hattusili and Mursili with still problematic Great Queens,¹⁴ and either terminating or more probably inaugurating the sequence a still unread Great King and Great Queen. Although the problems of interpretation of this side are not entirely resolved, it seems certain, as noted, that the central king is Suppiluliuma I. The appearance of our sign *277+*la* in this context guarantees it as the name of a Hittite Great King, not as a title as it is known elsewhere, thus its reading as *Labarna*. Also in the context the sequence *Labarna-Hattusili-Mursili* seems certain to refer to the first of each name, i.e. the Old Kingdom kings.¹⁵

Thus in spite of other uncertainties on the reading and interpretation of this side of the cruciform seal, the occurrence in the context of the sign *277+*la* would seem to confirm beyond doubt the equation already established from the *KBo* XII 38, ii 23/NİŞANTAŞ parallel that Hier. *277+*la* is indeed the Hier. writing of Cun. *Tabarna/Tabarna*. It is also worth noting in this context that with the interpretation of the cruciform seal as given, the latest king to be named on it is Mursili II, and thus we must suppose that the seal itself is a document of his reign. If so, we have on it the earliest attestation of the sign *277+*la*, not found elsewhere until the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

Having adduced, as may be hoped, additional corroboration for the already securely established identification of *277+*la* as *Labarna/Tabarna*, we should turn to the unanswered questions of reading and interpretation which led Carruba and Mora to their attempt at an alternative

explanation. Here we hope to point the way towards a solution less drastic than theirs, even though some questions may still remain.¹⁶

Already Bossert in his interpretation of *277+*la* recognized the *la* as rendering the first syllable of *Labarna*, though his attempt to attribute a value *barna* to *277 led nowhere.¹⁷ As I have suggested, it seems preferable to regard the writing as an example of logogram + first syllable of the type already recognized in the writings MONS+*tu*, "Tudhaliya", and VIR+*zi* = *ziti*, "man".¹⁸

Positive support for the identification of *277 as a logogram is somewhat circumstantial. The most recent appearances of *277+*la* on YALBURT¹⁹ present, as noted above, a somewhat different appearance from that already known, showing the sign a good deal more open at the bottom (see Fig. 6, c-f). It is further possible to recognize a form of *277 in the SÜDBURG inscription, used not in the title *277+*la* but as an element of a mountain name, logographic or syllabic²⁰ (see Fig. 6, g). These three forms reinforce by their appearance the idea which I had already ventured, that the logogram HH no. 371 is the Late form of the Empire period *277. This *371 is used primarily as the logogram to write the words *tarwani*- and *tarwana*-, conventionally translated "ruler" and "justice", widely attested in KARATEPE, KARKAMIŞ, MARAŞ, TABAL etc. (see Fig. 9, a). On the fragments TELL TAYINAT 1, alongside the occurrence of the usual *371-*ti*-i, "by (my) justice" (frag. 1, l. 2), a somewhat variant form of *371 closer to the Empire *277 is found (see Fig. 9, b), writing an isolated and otherwise unknown word *371-*li*-i.²¹

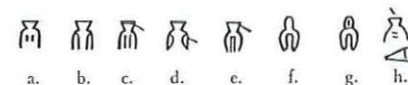


Fig. 9: Forms of sign HH no. 371, IUDEX

(a, normal; b, TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 2 l. 3; c, KARATEPE, Ho. 277; d, ÇİFTLİK, §16; e, KARKAMIŞ A 5 a, §2; f, TOPADA, §§14, 24; g, KARKAMIŞ A 27 ee; h, KULULU 4, §5).

A secondary usage of *371 is as a syllabogram: in KARATEPE, Hu. 277 *ha-tà-ra/i-ti-ha* appears on Ho. 277 as *ha*-*371+*ra/i*-*ri*+*i*-*ha*, "with life" (= Phoen. *b-hym*), thus giving an equation *371+*ra/i* = *tara/i*.²² This word *hatara*-, "life", written with the sign *371+*ra/i*, recurs on ÇİFTLİK, §16, and KARKAMIŞ A 5 a, §2.²³ For the forms of *371+*ra/i* on KARATEPE, ÇİFTLİK and KARKAMIŞ, see Fig. 9, c, d, e. One supposes that the value *tara/i*

10 P. Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1987, pp. 400-402 with Abb. 18 a-b; H. Otten, *IBS* 42 (Innsbruck, 1989), pp. 24-27.

11 See now *Ist. Mitt.* 43 (1993), pp. 87-106.

12 This reading of the genealogy supersedes Otten's suggestion that it established Hattusili (II) as the father of Suppiluliuma I, and appears to reestablish Tudhaliya III as his father in agreement with the evidence of Suppiluliuma's fragmentary seal impression from Maşat (for which see now Sedat Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara, 1991), pp. 48-52 and Abb. 3 with Taf. 3).

13 Reading of Belkis and Ali Dinçol, confirmed by the Boğazköy bulla found in 1991 for which see Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1992, pp. 313, 314, Abb. 7a.

14 But not Puduhepa and Gassulawiya (see following n.).

15 As to their problematic Great Queens, the Great Queen [...]x-na with *Labarna* should of course be Tawananna, the writing of whose name in Hier. is unknown. The Great Queens with Hattusili and Mursili, following the evidence of the King List, should be *Kaddusi* and *Kali*, and we now envisage the possibility of demonstrating that the two names may be read to correspond to these queens.

16 What follows is an elaboration of the view which I have already expressed in print: see Hawkins *apud* Starke, in *RLA* VI/5-6 (1983), s.v. *Labarna*, §5.

17 See Bossert, loc. cit. above, n. 6. The suggestion suffered from a total lack of corroboratory evidence which persists up to the present.

18 Carruba and Mora have already attempted to counter the proposed comparison on the grounds that MONS+*tu*, being a royal name, does not provide an exact parallel with *277+*la* (op. cit., n. 10). But unfortunately for them, we have now seen that the earliest attestation of *277+*la* is in the writing of the name *Labarna* on the cruciform seal. The nearest Cuneiform parallel to such Hier. writings would appear to be the abbreviations URU^a and URU^p for *Awama* and *Pinali*: see above, Appendix 1, YALBURT, block 12 §2, commentary.

19 See Appendix 1, YALBURT, blocks 1 §1; 2 §2, and commentary.

20 See SÜDBURG, §8a, and commentary.

21 See Hawkins, *CHLI*, s.v. TELL TAYINAT 1, frag. 2 l. 3.

22 See id., *ibid.*, s.v. KARATEPE, 277, commentary.

23 See id., *ibid.*, s.v. ÇİFTLİK, §16, and KARKAMIŞ A 5 a, §2, with commentary.

is derived acrophonically from *tarwani*.²⁴ Two otherwise unknown sign forms which somewhat resemble Empire *277 could also be connected: a form on TOPADA, §§ 14 and 24, with probable reading *la*; and an isolated sign on the fragment KARKAMIŠ A 27 ee.²⁵ For these forms see Fig. 9, f, g.

The purpose of pressing this derivation of Late *317 from Empire *277 is that if correct, it supports the view that in the ligature *277+*la*, *277 is a logogram. Where *277 writes the name/title *Labarna/Tabarna*, the descended logogram *371 writes another word for "ruler", *tarwani*.²⁶ If the connection of *371 with *277 is not correct, then the identification of *277 as a logogram is left to stand or fall on its own merits.

But there is one further piece of Late evidence which may bear on the question though it is somewhat difficult to evaluate. On the recently discovered KULULU 4 (later 8th century B.C.), § 5, we read (Fig. 10):

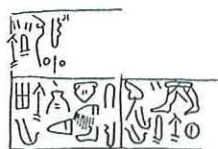


Fig. 10: KULULU 4, § 5.

la-wa/i á-mi-ia-za DOMINUS-na-za ¹*371-*la* VAS-*la-ti-i*- SUB-na-na SARMA+RA/I+MI-ia-za-ha.

"and with my soul I SARMIYAZA-ed under my lords ..."²⁷

Here "my lords" are probably to be understood as the gods, who are the subjects of the two preceding clauses recording their benefactions to the author. What then is ¹*371-*la* (see Fig. 9, h)? We have noted that *371 as a logogram is known only as writing the words *tarwani*- and *tarwana*-, "ruler" and "justice", and that the syllabographic value *tar/i* probably derived from this. Here however I have to say that, unexpected as it would be in a Late inscription, the writing ¹*371-*la* suggests to me a Late occurrence of Empire *277+*la*.²⁸ Indeed this would permit a reasonable understanding of the clause which is otherwise hard to arrive at:

"and with my soul, I submitted to my lords [the gods] (and) Labarna"

thus "to my divine masters and earthly sovereign". This would indeed be an extraordinary reappearance at so late a date of the Empire writing and concept of *Labarna*, yet the context appears to favour such an interpretation. If correct, it would provide final confirmation of the proposal here advanced of the close connection of Late *371 with Empire *277.

We have suggested that *277+*la* is to be regarded as a logogram with first-syllable complement, and we have sought to support this by adducing possible but not certain Late parallels. We return finally to two still unanswered questions relating to the equation *277+*la* = *Labarna/Tabarna*. The first is the obvious one, why Hier. should write *277+*la* indicating by the complement, as we have interpreted it, a reading *Labarna*, when Cun. phonetic writings in

²⁴ Laroche, *HH*, p. 198, following Bossert, *JKF* 2 (1953), p. 322.

²⁵ See Hawkins, *CHLI*, s.v. TOPADA, § 14; KARKAMIŠ A 27 ee, and commentary.

²⁶ This is not to suggest that the word *tarwani*- is in any way connected with *Tabarna*, although a line of enquiry not pursued here might attempt to make the connection.

²⁷ For the general interpretation, see Hawkins, *CHLI*, s.v. KULULU 4, § 5, commentary.

²⁸ Note in particular the use of the personal determinative in ¹*371-*la*. This has the appearance of reflecting the use in Cun. of the personal determinative before *Labarna/Tabarna*.

the parallel contexts of the titularies are almost always *Tabarna*.²⁹ The reason for the *La-/Ta*-alternation in Cun. writings remain even today not clearly understood, and equally uncertain is the exact connection of the name/title *Labarna/Tabarna* with the Luw. (-Hitt.) stem *tapar(iya)*-, "rule, govern".³⁰ But in the case of the Hier. writings we must remember that we are dealing with Luwian not Hittite language texts, which may apply even to the writings in the royal aedicula on stelae and seals. It could well be that the Luw. form was always *Labarna*,³¹ and this might be the explanation for the invariable writing with +*la*. Alternatively the writing may have been originally devised for writing the name *Labarna*, as we see on the cruciform seal, and may then have been maintained even in writing the title *Tabarna*.

Finally we return to the problem of why the title *277+*la* only appears in the Hier. titulary, particularly but not exclusively in the aediculae,³² of the last two generations of Hattusa. Even here the question is not exactly as formulated by Carruba and Mora, since we have seen that the cruciform seal, dated to the reign of Mursili II, attests the occurrence of *277+*la* as early as that period, though there used to write the name not the title. Also it has been observed that neither Suppiluliuma I nor Mursili II use the title *Tabarna* in their Cun. titularies.³³ Muwatalli, Urhi-Tesub and Hattusili certainly did.³⁴ The question thus reduces itself to an enquiry why the latter three kings did not use an equivalent of Cun. *Tabarna* in their Hier. titularies,³⁵ and why it was only Tudhaliya IV and his successors that introduced the Hier. equivalent *277+*la*. In fact it must be admitted that there is no very obvious answer to this question. One can observe that it seems to have been the reign of Tudhaliya IV that saw a great extension in the use of the Hier. script with the sudden appearance of substantial monumental inscriptions. It could be that the fuller rendering of the Cun. titulary in the Hier. script was connected with this expansion. What is certain however is that the queries still remaining on the usage of *277+*la* identified as *Tabarna* are of little significance compared with those that would be raised by the *lahhiyala*-hypothesis.

²⁹ See *CHD* 3/1, s.v. *Labarna* b 1' a'-b'; and note the writing there cited ^DUTU-^{ti} ¹la-ba-ar-na ¹NIR.GÁL.

³⁰ The problems are examined in the recent general studies referred to in n.1 above.

³¹ We have little evidence on this, except for the attestation of the form *Labarna* in Luw. in a late copy of an early 16th century original, *KUB* XXXV 133, ii 13//134, ii 8. See Laroche, *DLL*, s.v. *labarna*; Starke, *RIA* VI/5-6, s.v. *Labarna*, § 2 a; id., *StBoT* 30, pp. 280, 283.

³² An example of the use of the title outside the aedicula is found on YALBURT, block 2 § 2. Another somewhat doubtful occurrence is on KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, l.1. Note that I have also speculated on whether the signs CAPUT.VIR, identified as a title on the SÜDBURG inscription (see § 5, commentary) could possibly be an alternative writing of the title *Tabarna*, besides the usual *277+*la*.

³³ Gonet, *Hethitica* 3, pp. 20-22; *CHD* 3/1, s.v. *Labarna*, p. 43.

³⁴ Gonet, *ibid.*, *CHD* *ibid.*, b 1' a'-b'. The observation is confirmed by all the accession of new seal impressions found at Boğazköy in 1990 and 1991: see Neve, *Arch. Anz.* 1991, pp. 325-335; 1992, pp. 311-316. These include impressions of new seals of Muwatalli, Urhi-Tesub and Hattusili.

³⁵ Perhaps it should also be noted that Arnuwanda I used the Cun. title *Tabarna* on the donation *KBo* V 7 and on his seal impressed thereon (*SBo* 1 no. 60), but that the same seal, though little remains of the central Hier. legend, presumably had no Hier. equivalent of *Tabarna*.

APPENDIX 5. THE IDENTIFICATION AND VALUE OF THE SIGN HH no. 416, AND THE ROYAL TITLE, *416-*WA/I-NI*

The sign HH no. 416 is found in a word repeated several times in SÜDBURG¹ and YALBURT,² also once on KIZILDAĞ 4,³ namely the word *416-*wa/i-ni*, which has been shown to represent a title by which the Hittite kings, Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II refer to themselves.⁴ In my preliminary publication of SÜDBURG I argued in favour of identifying *416 as the Empire Period form of the sign *ta*₄ (HH no. 319), and thus for reading the title as *Tawani*.⁵ Since then further evidence has appeared which necessitates a full reconsideration of the question.

Until its appearance on SÜDBURG, YALBURT and KIZILDAĞ 4, HH no. 416 was known only on seals, and on some of these it appears to be a logogram, when it occurs as the first and only element in a name, thus *416-LEO (SBo II 96), *416-VIR(zi) (*Tarsus* no. 13), and *416-ŠARRUMA (*Korucutepe* no. 3). In the last instance Güterbock speculated on the possible identification of the name with that of Ehli-Šarruma, king of Išūwa.⁶ In these cases our understanding of the sign has progressed no further.




Elsewhere however HH no. 416 is certainly used as a syllabogram. Its most common occurrence on seals is in an often repeated personal name, read *172-*416-*mi*.⁷ Among the 1991 bullae found at Boğazköy, there are a number of impressions of a signet⁸ bearing this name in Hieroglyphic with in addition a legend in Cuneiform, which clearly provides a digraphic writing. From this Hier. *172-*416-*mi* // Cun. ¹*a-ad-li-me-eš*,⁹ we may recognize the following correspondences, *172(*ta*₅) // *ad* (but cf. n. 9), *mi* // *me*, and thus *416 // *li*.

Further Empire Period evidence supports this correspondence. On the cruciform seal,¹⁰ side 2, we have identified in three of the surrounding "wings" the Old Hittite kings Labarna I, Hattusili

I and Mursili I. With the last, the Great Queen's name is written *ká*-*416,¹¹ which if identified with the ¹*Kali* of the King Lists¹² instantly preempts any problem which other values of *416 would create.

Further, on YALBURT we find the place name *pi-na*-*416 in association with *Awarna*.¹³ Poetto has convincingly identified the pair as the classical Pinara and Xanthos (= Aram. ²*wm*).¹⁴ Greek *Pinara* appears in Lycian as *Pinale*,¹⁵ so while other readings of *416 in *pi-na*-*416 could be accommodated, clearly the *416 = *li* correspondence provides as satisfactory a value as any.

Thus the equivalence *416 = *li* may be seen to be strongly supported. How, if at all, it differs from the common and well established *li* (HH no. 278) is not at present apparent. Indeed we should note that for the Empire Period all three signs *la*, *li* and *lu* are well established, though in the Late Period *lu* may stand also for *la* and *li*.¹⁶ For the present, the value *Li*_x seems to be indicated for HH no. 416, which would leave us with a reading *Li*_x-*wa/i-ni* for the title formerly read *tawani*.

At this point we should return to the argument for the identification of HH no. 416 as the Empire forerunner of HH no. 319, which led to the transliteration *ta*₄ for the former sign. It is presented in detail above, p. 26 f., and is essentially based on the use in the Late but archaizing inscription KARKAMIŠ A21 of a form of *ta*₄ () which is apparently the same as the Empire monumental forms of HH no. 416 (YALBURT , SÜDBURG ).

Our problem then is this, whether we can reconcile these two observations: first that Empire Period *416 alternates with Cun. *li*, and secondly that it was the forerunner of the Late form *319, for which in the past we have adopted the transliteration *ta*₄.

Here we must return to the doubts attaching to the value of Late *ta*₄ and its interchangeable sign *ta*₅. These two are found prominently in the writing of certain words: LOCUS-*ta*₄/*ta*₅-, "place" (= Hitt. *peda*-); *á-ta*₄/*ta*₅-*ma-za*, "name" (= Hitt. *laman*); ("PES")*pa-ta*₅/*tá*-, "at the foot"; SERVUS-*ta*₄/*ta*₅-(*i*)-, "servant"; MALUS-*ta*₄/*ri*-, "bad" (= Hitt. *idalu*-); also *ta*₅ is used on occasion for the ending of 3 sing. pret., -*ta*. We have noted that most examples favour an *a*-vocalization, except the phonetic complements to SERVUS and MALUS, which may point to *i*; also the dental was probably voiced.¹⁷ These observations point to the value *di/a* for the signs *ta*₄/*ta*₅. Could we envisage such a value descending from Empire *li*_x?

When the two values are compared, the vocalism -*i* vs. -*i/a* is hardly a problem. In the Late Period there are several signs with dual vocalization, notably *wa/i*, *ra/i*. In this context we may also remember that Empire *lu* may be used in the Late Period for *la* and *li*.¹⁸ Additionally the Empire Period has *zi/a* and *i(a)*, later distinguished, and we may note also *kwi/a* and *hwi/a*.¹⁹

11 Reading of Belkis and Ali Dinçol.

12 For whom see Otten, *Die heth. historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 122.

13 blocks 12 §§ 2, 3 and 13 §§ 2, 3.

14 See above, p. 49 and nn. 156-157.

15 See e.g. Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 107.

16 In the Empire Period, there is no evidence for *lu* (HH no. 445) having any other value. Even in the Late Period, definite cases of *lu* being used for *la* or *li* are rare: (1) with *la* in ("CRUX") *wa/i-la*//*LU*, "fatally" (CEKKE, § 24 // KARKAMIŠ A 4d, § 2); also in "PORTA"-*la*//*LU-na*, "gate" (KARATEPE, 358 etc. // KARKAMIŠ A 11a, § 13 etc.); (2) with *li* in FRONS-*li-i*//*LU*-, "first, former" (KARATEPE, Hu./Ho., 136, 279); also the name *mu-wa/i-ta-LU-i-i*//*li*- (MARAS 4, § 1, 10).

17 Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975, pp. 130-132.

18 See above, n. 16.

19 See above, p. 75.

1 §§ 1a, 4a, 5, 8a, 12a, 14.

2 blocks 2 § 2, 7 § 2b, 11 § 2, 12 § 3, 13 §§ 1, 4a.

3 § 3.

4 Above, p. 26.

5 *Arch. Anz.* 1990, p. 307 and n. 17.

6 *JNES* 32 (1973), p. 141 and n. 20.

7 Gelb, *Anadolu Arastirmalari* 2 (1965), pp. 223-226, nos. 1 (= "Ağansik"), 2, 3, 4 (he read the name *ze-zi-me*); Güterbock, *Boğazköy V* (1975) pp. 70-73 no. 37 = Boehmer and Güterbock, *Glyptik* (1987), p. 67 no. 194; Dinçol, *Anadolu Arastirmalari* 9 (1983), pp. 223-225 no. 10A, 237 no. 26A. See now most recently Poetto, *FS Sedat Alp* (Ankara, 1992), pp. 431-443.

8 Clearest are Bo 91/474 and 91/592.

9 Massimo Poetto now points out to me that this name, which with this reading finds no correspondence in Laroche's onomasticon, should probably be identified with *Alalimi*, a rather common name (see *Noms*, no. 22, also *Supplément*). Though the name's second sign is certainly written with *ad* not *la* on the seal, the two signs are notoriously easy to confuse in hand-written Cuneiform, so the identification of the two names may well be correct. This would give an alternation Hier. *ta*₅ // Cun. *la*, a further example of Hier. **d* // Cun. *l*. Indeed the alternation in the Empire Period of HH no. 175 (*ta*₅) with Cun. *la* and HH no. 416 = 319 (*ta*₄) with Cun. *li* would be very much in line with our earlier observations on the character of the two interchangeable signs (see below, n. 17). As a reverse example Poetto notes the Middle Euphrates writing Cun. *da-di-ba-nu* // Hier. *la-tá-pa-nu* (Gonnet *apud* Arnaud, *Textes Syriens de l'Âge du Bronze Récent* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 1; Barcelona, 1991), p. 202 no. 31b). For further consideration of the phonetic implications, see Poetto, *op. cit.* above (Acknowledgements, p. 14).

10 See above, Appendix 4, p. 110 and nn. 10, 11, 13, 14, 15.

The consonantism of the supposed values Empire *li_x* // Late *di/a* requires a more detailed consideration. When we were provisionally transliterating the two signs *ta₄*, *ta₅*, we hypothesized two possibilities for the consonant: either a voiced dental stop, or another consonant prone to merge or indeed having merged with a dental. The reason for the latter hypothesis was that it seemed difficult otherwise to account for the fact that some words are constantly written with *ta₄/ta₅* but not with the other *ta-* signs. Since the latter (*ta/tā/tā*) are normally used to write those dentals prone to rhotacism (i.e. voiced or lenited dentals), voice or lenition do not seem to explain sufficiently the distinction of the former (*ta₄/ta₅*). In this regard the word *á-ta₄/ta₅-ma-za*, “name” (always so written), may be instructive. We know that the first consonant originates in a dental nasal, *n*, which must have been dissimilated, as happened with Hitt. *laman*, “name”, and clearly it would be most relevant to our present enquiry if we could establish the nature of the dissimilation in Hier. Luwian. We could suppose that the Hier. writing for “name” represents *adamanza*, but we note for this *d* a number of correspondences with *l*, not only in Hitt. *laman*, Lyc. *alāma*, “name”, but also within Hier. itself in the verb *lamanisa-*, “name”.²⁰

We conclude that the signs formerly transliterated *ta₄/ta₅* may have an *a-* or *i-*vocalization and a consonant of uncertain value, which may alternate with *d*, e.g. in the verbal ending, 3 sing. pret. We could even suppose that the Empire Period value of the sign, which corresponds to Cun. *li* in the names *Adlime* and *Kali*, represented the sound *l* alternating with *d*, which would account for the distinction of the sign from the usual *li*-sign (*HH* no. 278). We should remember the sporadic interchange of *d/l* found in Anatolian territory, as seen in Empire *tabama/labama*; Hitt. *lappiya-*, Cun. Luw. *tapassa-*, “fever”; Cun. Luw. *lawariya-*, Hitt. *diwama-*, “break”; Luw. *la-* and *da-*, “take”; cf. also Lyc. *χesñtedi* = Gr. *Κεσινθηλις*; Lyc. *Dapara* = Gr. *Δαπαρας*; Lyd. *Lametrū* = Gr. *Λημητηρ*, etc.

We return to our original problem, the Hittite King's title *416-*wa/i-ni*, which from what has been said above seems to have a reading *d/liwani*. Reason has been given above, p. 27 f., for supposing on contextual grounds that this may be the phonetic rendering of the Hier. logogram *SOL₂* (the “winged-disc”, equivalent to Cun. ^DUTU-*ŠI*, “My Sun”). Could a word of this form be plausibly connected with the Hitt. or Luw. words for “sun”, which would further support the identification?

The Hitt. name of the Sun-God *Istanni*, a loan from Hatt. *estan-*, “sun”, has no part in this problem. The Cun. Luw. Sun God is *Tiwaz* (acc. *Tiwatan*),²¹ as against the Hier. *Tiwatis* and *Tiwazas* (both Late attestations only). The root of course is the well known **diw-*, found in Skt. *dyauh*, Gr. *Zeus* and Hitt. *siu-*. Cun. Luw. derivatives from the stem *tiwat-* include an adj. *tiwali-* (with variant *tiwari-*), explained as due to a *d/l* interchange, and a verb *tiwataniya-*.²² The *d/l* interchange postulated in *tiwali-* < **tiwadi-* could perhaps also be envisaged for the initial consonant, thus *liw-* < **diw-*, but only if the initial dental had not yet been devoiced into *t*, as is shown in the Late Period in KARATEPE by the Hier. name (*Aza*)*tiwata-* rendered by Phoen. (ʿz)*twad*.

Turning to the formation of the word, we could consider two possibilities. First, *d/liwani* could be a direct derivative from **diw-* which would parallel Hitt. *siuni-*. This would however be difficult to defend semantically, unless we were prepared to argue that the root by itself came to refer to the Sun-God.²³ Alternatively we might envisage a secondary *-i(ya)-* derivative from *tiwat-*, either **diwad-i-* or **diwad-ani-*. The former could conceivably have been dissimilated to *diwan-i-* before being replaced by *liwani-* (though if so, the *l* would not be due to dis-

simulation); the second should pass though **diwadni-* to **liwadni-* > *liwanni*.²⁴ Obviously here we are producing a series of ad-hoc hypotheses, which may nevertheless suffice to suggest that it is not impossible to link *d/liwani* with the word for “sun” and the associated royal title.

We thus conclude in this review of the sign *HH* no. 416 that it is indeed ancestral to the Late sign *HH* no. 319, transliterated at present *ta₄* but probably representing *di/a*. The alternation of this sign with Cun. *li* in some Empire writings suggests an original value *d/li*. In the context of the present publication however, until the matter is more thoroughly considered, the numerical transliteration *416 will be retained. In the case of the royal title *416-*wa/i-ni*, for which an identification as a phonetic writing of Hier. *SOL₂/Cun. ^DUTU-ŠI*, “(my) Sun”, seems contextually probable, the writing appears to express *liwani*, originating in **diwani*, which itself may well reflect the Luw. word for “Sun(-God)”.

20 See Starke, *StBoT* 31, pp. 288–291.

21 See Starke, *StBoT* 31, pp. 145–151.

22 Ibid., p. 147.

23 Neu, *StBoT* 18, pp. 116–131.

24 The original postulated form **diwad-ani-* could be supported by comparison with the attested verbal derivative *tiwatani(ya)-*, for which see above, n. 21. For *-tn-* > *-nm-* in Luwian, identified as a Common Anatolian development, see Melchert, in *Rekonstruktion und Relative Chronologie* (Leiden Fachtagung, Innsbruck, 1992), p. 47 n. 15.

APPENDIX 6. THE SIGN PUGNUS.PUGNUS (HH no. 40)

The double sign PUGNUS.PUGNUS, occurring three times on the SÜDBURG inscription, has been identified as a verb expressing some stage in the process of attacking and defeating a country, perhaps parallel to *tupi*, “smite”, as seen in YALBURT, perhaps to be interpreted from the ideographic content of two fists as “beat, fight” or the like: see above, SÜDBURG, §9, commentary. It was noted as highly probable that the verb PUGNUS.PUGNUS of the Late inscriptions was descended from the Empire writing, which necessitates a consideration of the Late attestations here, to see how they may fit with the interpretation offered for the Empire verb.

I had already finished writing my commentary on the Late corpus, including the attestations of PUGNUS.PUGNUS, when the SÜDBURG inscription appeared, and it has to be admitted that a combination of the Late contexts in which PUGNUS.PUGNUS is found did not suggest a sense “fight” which might be deduced from the ideographic implications of the sign. Thus the SÜDBURG attestations have necessitated a reexamination of the Late contexts as a whole. It will be seen that no very firm conclusions can be reached, and the verb remains something of a puzzle. No phonetic reading can be suggested at present. Even before the appearance of the SÜDBURG inscription and its contexts, it was difficult to decide a sense which would fit all Late contexts, and the accession of the SÜDBURG evidence has hardly improved matters. Earlier a sense “live” was envisaged as being most generally appropriate, but now this hardly seems adequate.

The Late attestations of PUGNUS.PUGNUS are as follows:

- KARATEPE, §XXI, 108–113:
Hu. NEG₂-wá/i REL-zi | SUB-na-na PUGNUS.PUGNUS-ta₄-ta | mu-ka-sa-sa-na
IDOMUS-nf-i
Ho. NEG₂-wá/i REL-zi | SUB-na-na | tá-tá-ta | mu-ka-sá-sá-na DOMUS-nf-i
“who had not P.P.-ed under Muksa’s house”
Phoen. ʔʕ bl ʔʕ ʕbd kn l-bt mpš
“none of whom had been servant to the house of Mupsa”
- KARATEPE 4, §1:
IREL-pa-wa/i (“PORTA”) ku-rú-pi-ia+ra/i (URBS) | PRAE-i | pi-ia-ta-na (URBS)
PUGNUS.PUGNUS-ta
“and (from) before the city Kurupiya(ra/i) he P.P.-ed the city Piyata”.
- SULTANHAN, §§43–45:
la-wa/i IREL-sá IREL-sa | za | LOCUS-ta₅-zaⁱ PUGNUS.PUGNUS-ta
| wa/i-tá | NEG-ʔ | HWI/A-sa-ha | mu-wa/i-ta
la-wa/i-tá | lá-pi-i | sa₅+ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sá á-tá ...
“Whosoever has P.P.-ed this place,
no one has conquered it,
but Sarwatiwaras has made it again ...”
- ÇİFTLİK, §11:
a-wa/i tu-wa/i-tiʔ...ʔ | ʔ...ʔ(-)ma-tá-ru PUGNUS.PUGNUS-tu-u OMNIS-mi-i-zi
DEUS-ni-i-zi
“and [for?] Tuwatis may all the gods P.P. ... (-)MATARU”.

5. ASSUR letters, a/b/d, §2:

Isa-na-wa/i+ra/i PUGNUS.PUGNUS-si

(d, §3:

Isa-pi-su+ra/i-ha-wa/i-ri+i)

“you shall P.P. well(?)

(and peace (be) to you)”.

6. ASSUR letter f(+g), §6:

[*473]-hi-sá-wa/i (BRACCHIUM) hu-mi+ra/i-ha | zi-ku-na-ti | ARHA | wa/i-la-mi-na-ʔ
| PUGNUS.PUGNUS-nu

[*476-wa/i-pa-wa/i (*476.*311) hi-ru-ra+a-ti-i | ARHA | wa/i-la-u-ta

“cause to P.P. the *WASINASHI(?) and the HUMIRA dead from ZIKUNA-

... they died from the oath.”

7. HİSARCIK 1, §5:

a-wa/i | lá-wa/i | ha-tu+ra/i-la-ʔ PUGNUS.PUGNUS-la | tu-wa/i-na | si-sá+ra/i-li-na

| ku+ra/i-ti-sa-ʔ SERVUS-ta₅-na

“and I shall make for(?) the HATURALA P.P.-LA your SISARALI- Kurti’s servant”

Commentary

1. KARATEPE, 111, appeared to provide not only an alternation of a logogram PUGNUS.PUGNUS -ta₄- (Hu.) with a phonetic rendering tá-tá- (Ho.) but also a Phoen. translation ʕbd kn, “be servant (to the house of Mopsos)”. Unfortunately it seems necessary to question both these apparent data. In Hu. PUGNUS.PUGNUS-ta₄- we do appear to have a phonetic complement to the stem, and it is possible that Ho.’s tata- is a phonetic rendering of the verb, although ta₄ and ta₅ do not normally alternate with ta/tá/tá. But a rendering tata- gives a very indeterminate looking stem supported by no further evidence, and one may suspect that tá-tá- is simply a graphic error for the very similar PUGNUS.PUGNUS. As to sense, “be servant (to)” does not fit the other Late attestations, let alone the SÜDBURG contexts. Here it seems probable that the Phoen. sense finds its equivalent more in Hier. “under Muksa’s house”, thus “do something under ...”, with the sense of the verb itself remaining open. If we try the sense inferred from SÜDBURG, “fight under Muksa’s house” seems possible.

2. The problem with this clause is the determination of the subject and object: see CHLI, commentary. Assuming a 3 sing. subject and the city Piyata as acc. sing. MF, we have PUGNUS.PUGNUS as a transitive verb, and as sense “he fought/defeated the city Piyata”, which seems possible.

3. This passage looks the most promising, in that it aligns PUGNUS.PUGNUS with the verb *muwa-*, very much in the way in which the respective uses of PUGNUS.PUGNUS and *muwa-* on SÜDBURG and YALBURT might align. Indeed it seems that PUGNUS.PUGNUS was very close to *muwa-* in sense. One might even be tempted to suggest that *muwa-* was the phonetic reading of PUGNUS.PUGNUS, but we already have two logograms used in the writing of *muwa-*, namely *273 and FORTIS (see YALBURT, block 11 §5, commentary) and it hardly seems likely that yet another logographic writing would have been used. The passage belongs to a series of recurring topoi of the type “Who did something? Nobody did it, but the author did it”. The verb PUGNUS.PUGNUS is again transitive. The sense “whosoever fought this place ...” looks possible if perhaps somewhat over-militaristic in the context, the establishment of a vineyard.

4. Unclear clause, because of the loss of ending of *Tuwati-* and the unknown word. *Tuwati* is known as the lord of the author of the inscription, therefore the gods are likely to be adjured to do something good for him. If *Tuwati-* can be understood to be dat., indirect object, and *-matari* is either a noun denoting something bad, or an adverb meaning "strongly" or the like, the clause could be understood, thus: "[for] *Tuwati* may all the gods *fight* ...".

5. Part of a greetings formula in three of the ASSUR letters. It was this context above all which suggested the meaning "live", by parallelism with other such formulae, especially in Akkadian: see *CHLI*, commentary. As translation, "you shall fight well" seems altogether less likely. Possibly a more neutral original sense such as "be strong" could be envisaged.

6. Pretty unintelligible passage. The sense "live" for PUGNUS.PUGNUS, here apparently in 2 sing. imp. caus., seemed likely in contrast to the presence of the verb *wala-*, "die". Possibly the meaning "cause to fight" or as in the previous citation "cause to be strong" might be appropriate.

7. Very unclear mainly because of vocabulary. The addressee in the inscription is a sacred mountain, the recipient of offerings from the author, and this is the final clause. The words *ha-tu+ra/i-la-* PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la* seem to go together and to be dat. sing. One would expect *haturala-* to mean "messenger", derived from *hatura-*, "writing", and by the same reasoning PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la* should mean "warrior", but no sense is apparent in this direction.

APPENDIX 7. BOĞAZKÖY HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE

following the numbering of Laroche, *RHA* XXVII/84–85 (1969), p. 112 (BOĞAZKÖY 1–11) and Meriggi, *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico* II/3 (1975), p. 340, Tav. VI–IX (BOĞAZKÖY 1–13).

BOĞAZKÖY 1, 2	stele bases Winckler, <i>MDOG</i> 35 (1907), pp. 57 f., Abb. 6, 7.
BOĞAZKÖY 3	stele (Tudhaliya IV) Bittel-Güterbock, <i>Boğazköy</i> 1 (1935), Taf. 27.
BOĞAZKÖY 4	graffito (sphinx) Bittel, <i>WVDOG</i> 60 (1937), p. 8, Abb. 1.
BOĞAZKÖY 5	NIŞANTAŞ (Suppiluliuma II) Perrot, <i>Exploration</i> (1872), pl. XXXV.
BOĞAZKÖY 6	fragment Otten, <i>MDOG</i> 87 (1955), p. 13, Abb. 1.
BOĞAZKÖY 7	block Neve, <i>Boğazköy-Hattuša</i> XII (1982), pp. 81 f., Abb. 32 a.
BOĞAZKÖY 8	boulder Bittel, <i>MDOG</i> 89 (1957), pp. 18 f., 23, Abb. 18.
BOĞAZKÖY 9–11	fragments Beran, <i>MDOG</i> 93 (1962), pp. 48–51, Abb. 41–44.
BOĞAZKÖY 12	stele Güterbock, <i>Boğazköy</i> IV (1969), pp. 49–52, Taf. 19 b.
BOĞAZKÖY 13	fragment Güterbock, <i>Boğazköy</i> IV (1969), p. 52, Abb. 14.
<i>new numbers</i>	
BOĞAZKÖY 14	graffiti (pavement, Great Temple) Güterbock, <i>Boğazköy</i> IV (1969), p. 53, Taf. 28.
BOĞAZKÖY 15	graffiti (2 blocks, Great Temple) Bittel, <i>MDOG</i> 102 (1970), p. 9, Abb. 4.
BOĞAZKÖY 16	graffito (Lion Gate) Neve, <i>Ist. Mitt.</i> 26 (1976), pp. 9–11, Taf. 1–2.
BOĞAZKÖY 17	block Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1980, pp. 299 Abb. 17, 304 f., Abb. 23.
BOĞAZKÖY 18	stele (Tudhaliya IV) Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1984, pp. 336–337, Abb. 9, 10.
BOĞAZKÖY 19	epigraph (Tudhaliya IV) Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1986, pp. 394–396, Abb. 29, 30.
BOĞAZKÖY 20	epigraph (Suppiluliuma II) Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1989, pp. 316 f., Abb. 40, 327, Abb. 58.
BOĞAZKÖY 21	SÜDBURG (Suppiluliuma II) Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1989, pp. 316 ff., Abb. 41, 42, 59.
BOĞAZKÖY 22	block (Boğazkale Museum) unpublished
BOĞAZKÖY 23	3 fragments of inscription Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1992, pp. 317, 319, Abb. 12.
BOĞAZKÖY 24	stele fragment (Tudhaliya IV) Neve, <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1993, p. 629, Abb. 8.

Glossary

S	SÜDBURG (BOĞAZKÖY 21)	Ki	KIZILDAĞ
Y	YALBURT	Ka	KARADAĞ
E	EMİRGAZI altars	Bu	BURUNKAYA

Hier. Luw. Syllabic

<i>a-</i>	"(and)"	connective	
	<i>a-wa/i</i>		Y3 §3, 4 §4, 5 §2, 6 §3, 7 §1, '8', 9 §2, 12 §2, 13 §3, 14 §3, 17 §2 E §2, §17, §21, §23 Y7 §2 a Y14 §4 Y6 §2, 11 §1(?), 11 §4 a, 12 §3, 12 §4, 13 §4 a, 14 §5, 15 §2 Y10 §2, 11 §2, 13 §1, 16 §2 a Y14 §2 E §18 Y2 §2, 2 §3 Y4 §3 E §14, §29 E §28 E §4, §20 E §15 E §35 E §6 E §37 E §26
	<i>a-wa/i-tà</i> (+ <i>-ata</i> , "them"(?))		
	<i>a-wa/i-tà</i> (+ <i>-ta</i> Ortspartikel(?))		
	<i>a-wa/i-mu</i> (+ <i>-mu</i> , "(to) me")		
	<i>a-wa/i-mi</i> (+ <i>-mi</i> , "me", reflexive)		
	<i>a-wa/i-mi-tà</i> (+ <i>-mi</i> , + <i>-ta</i> Ortspart.)		
<i>-a</i> (-a)	<i>-wa/i-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-mu-</i>		
	<i>mu-pa-wa/i-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-na-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-tà-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-tà-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-ti-i(a)-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-ti-i(a)-na-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-ti-tà-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-tu-</i>		
	<i>wa/i-tu-tà-</i>		
<i>-a-</i>	"he/she/it/they"	enclitic personal pronoun	
<i>-as</i>	<i>ma-wa/i-sa</i>	nom. sing. MF	E §§31, 32
<i>-an</i>	<i>wa/i-na-</i>	acc. sing. MF	E §14, §29
	<i>wa/i-ti-i(a)-na-</i>	acc. sing. MF	E §35
<i>-ata</i>	(-)a-tà	acc. plur. MF/N(?)	S §4 a(?)
	<i>a-wa/i-tà</i>	acc. plur. MF/N	Y7 §2 a
	<i>ma-pa-wa/i-tà</i>	acc. plur. MF/N	E §16
	<i>wa/i-tà-</i>	acc. plur. MF	E §20
	<i>wa/i-tà-</i>	acc. plur. N	E §28
<i>a-</i>	"make"	verb	
	<i>á</i>	(3 sing. pres.)	E §25, §27
<i>aka-</i>	"subject"	verb	
	<i>á-ka</i>	(1 sing. pret.)	S §1 a, §4 a, §8 a, §9, §12 a, §14, §15 a

Glossary

123

(a)mi-	"my"	possessive adj.	
	<i>a-mi-zi/a</i>	nom. plur. MF	Y4 §2, 11 §4 a(?)
	<i>mi-sa-</i>	nom. sing. MF	E §4
anarasuha-	"?"	noun/adj.	
	<i>á-na+ra/i-sù-ha-ti</i>	abl. sing	E §37
(a)pa-	"that"	demonstrative pronoun	
	<i>pa-sa-</i>	nom. sing. MF	E §6
	<i>pa-ti-</i>	dat. sing.	S §18
	<i>pa-sa-</i>	gen. sing.	E §12
apan(?)	"back, after"	adverb	
see also POST	<i>pa-na-</i>	(preverb)	E §22
ara-	"arrive"	verb	
	<i>a+ra/i-[-...]</i>	[1 sing. pret. ?]	Y3 §2
arha	"out, away"	adverb	
see ARHA			
(a)sa-	"be"	verb	
	<i>a-sa-tá</i>	3 sing.(?) pret.	Y3 §1
	<i>sa-tu-</i>	3 sing. imp.	E §17, §21
aza-	"love"	verb	
	<i>á-zi/a-tá</i>	3 sing. pret.	Y4 §3
-ha	"and, also"	enclitic copula	
	(REL-i(a)-sa)-ha		E §30
	-ha-wa/i		E §7
	-ha-wa/i-tá		E §10
	(DEUS-ní)-ha		Ka1 §3
hwisti-	= Cun. Luw. hwisti-?, noun/adj.		
	Hitt. <i>hust(i)-?</i>		
	<i>hwi/a-sa-ti-sa</i>	gen. sing./ gen. adj.(?)	E §§11, 12
hwiya-	"run"	verb	
	<i>hwi/a-i(a)-tá</i>	3 sing. pret.	Y4 §2, '8', 10 §3, 11 §1, 12 §4 E §37
	<i>hwi/a'-i(a)-tu</i>	3 plur. imp.	
izi(ya)-	"make, do"	verb	
	<i>i(a)-zi/a</i>	(1 sing. pret.)	S §18; Y9 §1 b
	<i>i(a)-zi/a-ha</i>	1 sing. pret.	Y4 §1 c
	<i>i(a)-zi/a-tá(-sa?)</i>	3 sing. pret.?	E §11
	<i>i(a)-zi/a-i(a)-ru</i>	3 sing. imp. Med.-Pass.	E §12
	<i>i(a)-zi/a-sa?</i>	?	Y11 §3
ku.INFRA	"?"	?	S §3; Y11 §4 b
kwi-	"who, which"	relative pronoun	
	REL-i(a)-sa	nom. sing. MF	E §4, §11, §24, §27, §30, §34, §36
	REL-sa/REL	nom. sing. MF	Ka1 §2/Ki4 §2 b
	REL-i(a)-zi/a	nom./acc. plur. MF?	Y11 §4 a
	REL-tá-zi/a	dat. plur.?	E §19
kwati	"when"	conjunction	
	REL-ti		Y3 §2
kwari	"when"	conjunction	
	REL+ra/i		S §1 a; Y10 §3
kwisha	"anyone, anything"	indefinite pronoun (mostly following NEG)	

	REL- <i>i(a)-sa-ha</i>	nom. sing. MF	Y 4 § 2 E §§ 7, 8, 9, 10; § 20 S § 13
<i>kwari-pa</i>	REL- <i>ti-ha</i> "or"	dat. sing. disjunction	
<i>kwiza-/kwaza-</i>	REL+ <i>ra/i-pa(-wa/i)</i> "kneel" (?)	verb	E § 24
<i>lala-</i>	(*85)REL- <i>zi/a-tá</i> "take"	3 plur. pret. verb	Y' 6 § 1', 15 § 1
see also CAPERE	<i>la-la-ha</i>	1 sing. pret.	Y 14 § 1
<i>lapa(-?)</i>	"?"	verb?	
<i>lari(-?)</i>	<i>la-pa-wa/i</i> "?"	1 sing. pres.? verb?	E § 1
<i>liwani(-?)</i>	<i>la-ri+i...</i> "the <i>Sin</i> " (?)	?	E § 13
	*416- <i>wa/i-ní</i>	title (nom. sing. MF)	S § 1 a, § 4 a, § 5, § 8 a, § 12 a, § 14; Ki 4 § 3 Y 2 § 2, 7 § 2 b, 11 § 2, 12 § 3, 13 § 1 Y 13 § 4 a
	!416- <i>wa/i-ní-sa</i>	nom. sing. MF	
<i>malurwa</i>	!416- <i>wa/i-ní-sa</i> "dedication"?	gen. sing(?) noun	
<i>man</i>	<i>ma-lu-wa/i</i> "if"	dat. sing.? conjunction	E § 19
	<i>ma-na</i> <i>ma-(pa-wa/i)</i> <i>ma-(wa/i-sa)</i> "myself"		E § 20 E § 13, § 16, § 19 E §§ 31 (?), 32
- <i>mi</i>		enclitic pronoun (reflexive)	
	<i>a-wa/i-mi</i> <i>a-wa/i-mi-tá</i> <i>-ha³-wa/i-mi</i>		Y 10 § 2, 11 § 2, 13 § 1, 16 § 2 a Y 14 § 2 E § 3
<i>mu</i>	"I, (to) me"	pronoun	
- <i>mu</i>	<i>mu-pa-wa/i</i> "I, (to) me"	acc. enclitic pronoun	Y 4 § 3
	<i>wa/i-mu-'</i> <i>a-wa/i-mu</i> <i>-pa-w[a/i]-m[u]</i> <i>wa/i-mu-'</i> <i>a-wa/i-mu</i> <i>a-wa/i-mu</i> <i>a-wa/i-mu</i> <i>a-wa/i-mu</i> <i>-pa-wa/i-mu</i> "conquer" (+ - <i>mi</i>)	nom. nom. nom.? acc./dat.? dat. gen.? ? dat. verb	Y 2 § 2 Y 6 § 2, 12 § 3, 15 § 2 Y 3 § 2 Y 2 § 3 Y 11 § 1, 11 § 4 a, 12 § 4 Y 13 § 4 a Y 14 § 5 E §§ 34, 36
<i>murwa-</i>	<i>mu-wa/i-ha</i>	1 sing. pret.	Y 11 § 2, 13 § 1
see also FORTIS	(*273)[<i>m</i>] <i>u-wa/i-ha</i> (*273) <i>mu(wa)-tá</i>	1 sing. pret. 3 sing. pret.	Y 16 § 2 a Ki 4 § 2 b
<i>nipa</i>	<i>mu(wa)-tá</i> "or"	3 sing. pret. disjunction	Ki 4 § 2 c
- <i>pa</i>	<i>ní-i(a)-pa(-wa/i)</i> "but"		Y 13 § 4 b
	- <i>pa-wa/i</i> - <i>pa-wa/i-'</i>	enclitic conjunction	Y 4 § 2, 11 § 4 b(?); E § 24, § 27, § 33 a Y 4 § 3

	- <i>pa-wa/i-mu</i> (<i>ma</i>)- <i>pa-wa/i</i> (<i>ma</i>)- <i>pa-wa/i-tá</i> "forth, before"		Y 3 § 2'; E §§ 34, 36 E § 13, § 19 E § 16
<i>pari(?)</i> see also PRAE- <i>i(a)</i> <i>paran</i> see PRAE- <i>na</i> <i>piya-</i> see also DARE <i>puwa(ti)</i>		adverb preverb	E § 3
	"forth, before"	adverb	
	"give"	verb	
	<i>pi-i(a)-ha</i> "formerly"	1 sing. pret. adverb	Y 4 § 1 a
	<i>pu-wa/i-ti</i> "damage"	verb	S § 13
<i>sakatala-</i>	<i>sá-ka-tá-la-i(a)</i> "fullness"	3 sing. pres. noun	E § 7, § 16, § 24
<i>sumasa-</i>	<i>su-na-sa-ti</i>	abl. sing enclitic <i>Ortspartikel</i>	S § 3; E § 29, § 37
- <i>ta</i>	(<i>a-wa/i</i>)- <i>tá</i> (<i>a-wa/i-mi</i>)- <i>tá</i> (<i>wa/i</i>)- <i>tá</i> (<i>wa/i</i>)- <i>tá-'</i> (<i>wa/i-ti</i>)- <i>tá-'</i> (<i>wa/i-tu</i>)- <i>tá-'</i> (<i>-ha-wa/i</i>)- <i>tá</i> "?"		Y 14 § 4 Y 14 § 2 E § 12 E § 4 E § 6 E § 26 E § 10
<i>tan(a)(?)</i>	<i>tá-na</i> "altar" (?)	?	E § 25
<i>tana(-?)</i>	<i>ta-na-sa</i> "?"	noun? acc. sing. N?	E § 13
<i>tarzanurwa-</i>	<i>tara/i-zi/a-ní-wa/i-ti</i> <i>tara/i-zi/a-ní-wa/i-tu</i> "father"	verb, caus. 3 sing. pres. 3 plur. imp.	E § 9 E § 26
<i>tati-</i>	!7Á(AVUS- <i>zi/a</i>) "?"	noun nom. plur. MF	Y 4 § 2
<i>tatu-</i>	<i>tá-tu-sa</i> <i>tá-tu</i> "?"	noun? nom. sing. MF?	E § 17, § 21 E § 14
<i>tatu-</i>	<i>tá-tu-tu</i> "himself"	verb 3 sing. imp. enclitic pronoun (reflexive)	E § 14
- <i>ti</i>	<i>wa/i-ti-i(a)-'</i> <i>wa/i-ti-i(a)-na-'</i> <i>wa/i-ti-tá-'</i> "?"		E § 15 E § 35 E § 6
<i>tis(a)(?)</i>	<i>ti-sa-a</i> "to him/her/it"	?	S § 7
- <i>tu</i>	<i>wa/i-tu-'</i> <i>wa/i-tu-tá-'</i> "smite"	enclitic pronoun	E § 37 E § 26
<i>tupi-</i>	<i>tu-pi</i> <i>tu-pi</i> <i>tu-pi+ra/i</i>	verb (1 sing. pret.) (3 sing. pres.) 3 sing. pres./pret.?	Y 2 § 1, 7 § 1, 12 § 2 E § 10 Bu § 3

<i>wali-</i>	" "	particle of reported speech	
<i>wali-mu-</i>			Y 2 §§ 2, 3
<i>wali-ti-i(a)-'</i>			E § 15
<i>wali-ti-i(a)-na-</i>			E § 35
<i>wali-ti-tá-</i>			E § 6
<i>wali-tu-</i>			E § 37
<i>wali-tu-tá-</i>			E § 26
<i>wali-na-</i>			E § 14, § 29
<i>wali-tá-</i>			E § 20
<i>wali-tá-</i>			E § 28
<i>wali-tá-</i>			E § 12
<i>wali-tá-</i>			E § 4
<i>-wali</i>	" "	enclitic particle of reported speech	
<i>a-wali</i>			
<i>a-wali-tá</i>			
<i>a-wali-tá</i>			
<i>a-wali-mu</i>		see under <i>a-</i>	
<i>a-wali-mi</i>			
<i>a-wali-mi-tá</i>			
<i>-ha-wali</i>			
<i>-ha-wali-tá</i>		see under <i>-ha</i>	
<i>-pa-wali</i>			
<i>-pa-wali-</i>			
<i>-pa-wali-mu</i>		see under <i>-pa</i>	
<i>ma-pa-wali</i>			
<i>ma-pa-wali-tá</i>			
<i>ma-wali-sa</i>		see under <i>man</i>	
<i>-wali-</i>			E § 18
<i>was-</i>	"goodness" (?)	noun (?)	
<i>wali-sa-ti</i>		abl. sing. (?)	Y 10 § 1, 16 § 1 b
<i>(BONUS₂) wali-sa-ti</i>		abl. sing. (?)	Ki 4 § 2 a
<i>za-</i>	"this"	demonstrative pronoun	
<i>zi/a</i>		acc. sing. MF?	Ki 3
<i>zi/a</i>		acc. sing. N	S § 5 (?); E § 3 (?), § 7
<i>zi/a-i(a)</i>		acc. plur. N	Y 4 § 4; E § 10, § 24, § 27
<i>zati</i>	"here"	dat. plur.	Y 4 § 2
		adverb	
<i>zi/a + a-ti</i>			S § 18
<i>zi/a-ti-i(a)</i>			E § 6
<i>zilatwa</i>	"hereafter"	adverb	
<i>zi/a-la-tu-wali</i>			E § 7

Hier. Luw. Logograms

* numbered following E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*, première partie (Paris, 1960). Recently identified signs are numbered from *501 onwards (see Table 1, p. 139).

AEDIFICARE	"build"	verb	
(*246)	AEDIFICARE	(1 sing. pret.)	S § 6, § 7, § 16
		(3 sing. pret.)	Ki 3

AMPLECTI	"love"	verb	
(*9)	AMPLECTI	(participle)	Ki 4 § 1
ANNUS	"year"	noun	
(*336)	ANNUS	(dat. sing.)	S § 18
ARHA	"out, away"	adverb	
see FINES			
ASINUS	"ass"	noun	
(*101)	ASINUS	?	Y 3 § 3, 13 § 4 a
AVIS ₂	"?"	noun?	
(*131)	AVIS ₂ -na	nom. plur. N?	E § 18
AVUS	"grandfather"	noun	
(*331)	AVUS(*502-na)	(nom. plur. MF)	S § 13
	(17A) AVUS-zi/a	nom. plur. MF	Y 4 § 2
BOS	"ox"	noun	
(*105)	BOS	(acc. plur. MF)	Y 6 § 2, 15 § 2
CAPERRE	"take"	verb	
(*41)	CAPERRE	(1 sing. pret.)	S § 5, § 15 a; Y 6 § 2
see also lala-	CAPERRE-tu	3 sing. imp.	E § 22
	CAPERRE?	?	Ki 4 § 3
CAPUT	?	?	
(*10)	CAPUT-	?	E § 13
CAPUT+			
SCALPRUM	"remove"	verb	
(*10+*268)	CAPUT+SCALPRUM	(3 sing. pres.)	E § 8, § 20
CAPUT+VIR	title	noun	
(*10+*312)	CAPUT+VIR	(nom. sing. MF)	S § 5, § 11, § 15 a
CENTUM	"hundred"	numeral	
(*399)	CENTUM		Y 9 § 1 b (?), 13 § 4 a
CRUS	"stand"	verb	
(*82)	CRUS	(3 plur. pret.)	S § 3; Y 12 § 3; E § 19
CRUS	"?"	verb	
(*82)	CRUS-nú-pa	(1 sing./3 plur. pret.?)	S § 2 a
see also SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS			
DARE	"give"	verb	
(*66)	DARE-ha	1 sing. pret.	S § 17
see also piya-	DARE	(3 sing. pres.)	E §§ 34, 36
	DARE-tu	3 sing. imp.	E § 33 b
	DARE	(3 sing. imp.)	E § 23
	DARE?	?	Y 12 § 1
	DARE?	(3 sing. pret.?)	S § 10
DELERE	"destroy"	verb	
(*248)	DELERE-i(a)	3 sing. pres.	E § 28
	DELERE-ha	1 sing. pret.	Y 17 § 1
	DELERE	(1 sing. pret.)	Y 7 § 2 a, 9 § 1 a, 13 § 2, 17 § 2 (?)
DEUS	"god"	noun	
(*360)	DEUS-zi/a	dat. plur.	S § 17
	DEUS-mí-zi/a	dat. plur.	E § 11
	DEUS	(nom. plur. MF)	S § 3 (x 2)
	DEUS-mí	acc./dat. sing./plur.	Ka 1 § 1, § 3
	DEUS-na	gen. sing./plur. (?)	Ki 4 § 2 a

DEUS.*202 (*360+*202)	"divine earth-road" DEUS.VIA+TERRA = Cun. Hitt. DINGIR.KASKAL.KUR	noun (acc. sing.)	S § 18
DOMINUS (*390)	"lord" DOMINUS-na	noun (nom. sing. MF)	Y 4 § 3, '8', 10 § 3, 11 § 1, 12 § 4 E § 21 Y 14 § 3
EGO (*1)	DOMINUS? "I, me"	?	
EXERCITUS (*269)	EGO(-pa-wa/i) "army"	pronoun ?	E § 33 a
FEMINA (*79)	EXERCITUS EXERCITUS "woman"	noun (gen.) (acc./dat. sing.) noun	S § 3 Y 9 § 1 b
FINES (*216)	FEMINA(INFANS- zi/a) "frontier"	nom. plur. MF noun	Y 6 § 1, 15 § 1
(= ARHA)	FINES-zi/a FINES? [...] "out, away"	dat.(?) plur. (dat. (?) plur.) adverb	S § 5 Y 3 § 2
FORTIS(1) (*28)	ARHA "conquer"	(preverb) verb	S § 5, § 15 b; Y 13 § 2, 14 § 1; E § 8, § 10, § 20, § 22, § 28
see also <i>muwa-</i>	(*273)FORTIS-tá	3 sing. pret.	Ka 1 § 2
FORTIS(2)	FORTIS-tá "mighty"	3 sing. pret. adj.	Y 11 § 4 b
FORTIS(3)	FORTIS "might" (?)	noun?	Ki 2
FRONS (*26)	FORTIS.CRUS FORTIS.HATTI ² -tá	dat.? ?	Y 12 § 3 Y 11 § 3
HEROS (*21)	"former"	adj.	
INFANS (*45)	[FRO]NS-zi/a "hero"	nom./acc./dat. plur. title	S § 2
INFRA (*56)	HEROS		S § 2 b, § 6; Y 1 § 1 (x 3), 10 § 2; Ki 3, Ki 5, Ki 4 § 1 (x 2), Bu § 1
see also <i>ku</i> .INFRA	INFANS INFANS INFA[NS] (FEMINA.)INFANS- zi/a	noun genealogy [nom. sing. MF] nom. plur. MF	Y 1 § 1; Ki 3, Ki 4 § 1, [Bu § 1] E § 4
IUEX+la (*277)	INFRA "down, under"	adverb (preverb)	Y 6 § 1, 15 § 1
LOCUS	INFRA-a "place"	(preverb) noun	S § 1 a, § 4 a, § 8 a, § 12 a, § 14, § 15 a; Y [6 § 1], 15 § 1; E § 26 Y 14 § 4

(*201)	LOCUS-ti LOCUS-i(a)	dat. sing. dat. sing.	E § 33 b Ka 1 § 1, Bu § 1
see also SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS			
MAGNUS (*363)	"great"	adj.	
MAGNUS.REX (*18)	MAGNUS-zi/a "Great King"	nom. plur. MF title	E § 15
	MAGNUS.REX	titulary	Y 1 § 1 (x 4); E § 33 a (x 2); Ki 1 (x 2), Ki 2 (x 2), Ki 3 (x 3), Ki 4 § 1 (x 3), Ki 5, Ka 1 § 1 (x 2), Ka 2 (x 2), Bu § 1
	MAGNUS.REX	nom. sing. MF	S § 2, § 6, § 9, § 14; Y 9 § 1 b, 10 § 2, 14 § 3
	MAGNUS.REX-zi/a	nom. plur. MF	Y 4 § 2
	MAGNUS.REX	nom. plur. MF	S § 2
MANUS+ MANUS (*66(?) x 2)	"?" MANUS+MANUS- ni-wa/i-ha	verb, caus.	
MILLE (*400)	"thousand"	1 sing. pret. numeral	Y 4 § 1 b
NEG (*332)	MILLE x 4 "not"	negative	Y 13 § 4 a
	NEG-a		Y 4 § 2
	NEG-wa/i		Y 3 § 1; E § 25, § 28, § 34
	NEG-wa/i(-tá)		S § 13
	NEG-sa	prohibitive	E §§ 7, 8, 9, 10
NEPOS (*45+*300)	"grandson"	noun	
	NEPOS-ka-li	genealogy	Y 16 § 1 a
	NEP[OS]-sa	gen. sing.?	E § 4
OVIS (*110)	"sheep"	noun	
	OVIS	(acc. plur. MF)	Y 6 § 2, 15 § 2
	*414.OVIS-zi/a	nom. plur. MF	E § 19
	*414.OVIS	acc. plur. MF	E § 22
	*414.OVIS	gen. plur.	E § 21
PES (*90)	"come"	verb	
PES ₂ (*93)	PES	(1 sing. pret.)	Y 2 § 2
PES ₂ .PES ₂ (*95)	"go"	verb	
PONERE (*65)	PES ₂	(1 sing. pret.)	Y 13 § 3, 14 § 4
	"walk"	verb	
	PES ₂ .PES ₂	(1 sing. pret.)	Y 14 § 3
	"put"	verb	
	PONERE	(1 sing. pret.?)	E §§ 2, 3
	PONERE	(3 sing. pres.)	E § 30
PORTA (*239)	"gate" (?)	noun	
POST (*34)	PORTA-MI	(dat. sing.?)	E §§ 18, 23
PRAE (*13)	"back, after"	adverb	
	POST-a	(preverb)	Y 2 § 2
	"forth, before"	adverb	
	PRAE	(preverb?)	S § 2
	PRAE-i(a)	(preverb)	E § 15
	PRAE	(preverb)	E § 37; Y 12 § 4
	PRAE-na	(preverb)	Y 3 § 2, 4 § 1 a, '8', 10 § 3, 11 § 1

PUGNUS (*39)	"be/make firm"	verb	
	PUGNUS- <i>MI-tu</i>	3 plur. imp.	E § 29
	PUGNUS- <i>MI-na</i>	inf.?	E § 27
PUGNUS. (*40)	"beat, defeat" (?)	verb	
REGIO (*228)	PUGNUS.PUGNUS "country"	(1 sing. pret.)	S § 8 b, § 11, § 12 b
	REGIO	noun (acc. plur. N)	S § 1 a, § 5; Y 16 § 2 a; Ki 4 § 2 b, Ka 1 § 2
	REGIO	(dat. plur.?)	S § 6
	REGIO	(acc. sing. N)	S § 12 a, § 15 a
	REGIO- <i>ní-i(a)</i>	dat. sing.?	E § 18
	REGIO- <i>ní-i(a)</i>	nom./acc. plur. N	Y 4 § 4
	REGIO- <i>ní-zi/a</i>	dat. plur.	Y 4 § 2
REL(*329): see	<i>kwi-/kwa-</i>		
REX (*17)	"king"	noun	
REX.*398	REX	(nom. sing. MF)	E § 24, § 27
(*17+*398)	"royal" (?)	adj.?	
ROTA (*292)	REX.*398- <i>zi/a</i>	acc. sing. N/plur. MF	E § 26
	"chariot" (?)	noun?	
SCALPRUM. CRUS.LOCUS (*268+*82 +*201)	ROTA	(acc. plur.?)	Y 9 § 1 b
	"stone stand-place" (?)	noun	
SOL ₂ (*190)	S. C. L.- <i>zi/a</i>	acc. sing. N/plur. MF?	Y 4 § 1 c
	"the Sun"	title	
	SOL ₂	titulary	Y 1 § 1; E § 33 a; Ki 2, Ki 3, Ki 4 § 1, Ka 1 § 1
SOLIUM (*299)	"sit, dwell"	verb	
	SOLIUM	(1 sing. pret.)	Y 14 § 2
	SOLIUM	(3 sing./plur. pres.)	E § 18
	SOLIUM- <i>ru</i>	3. sing. imp.	E § 6
STELE (*267)	"stele"	noun	
	STELE	(nom. sing. N)	E § 12
	STELE	(acc. sing. N)	E § 3, § 6, § 7, § 11, § 24
	STELE	(acc. plur. N)	E § 27
	STELE	(dat. plur.?)	E § 19
TERRA (*201)	"earth"	noun	
THRONUS ² (*294(?))	TERRA-X-X	?	Ki 4 § 3
URBS (*225)	"throne" (?)	noun	
	THRONUS ²	(dat. sing.?)	Y 14 §§ 2, 3
	"city"	noun	
	URBS+ <i>MI'</i>	(dat. sing.?)	Y 4 § 2
	URBS+ <i>MI</i>	(acc. sing. MF)	Ki 3
VIR (*312)	"man"	noun	
see also CAPUT.VIR	VIR	(nom. sing. MF?)	Ki 4 § 3
VITELLUS.*285 "2"		title?	
(*109+*285)	VITELLUS.*285	(nom. sing. MF?)	Y 10 § 2; E § 32; Ki 4 § 3

*85: see	<i>kwiza-/kwaza-</i> (= (*85)REL- <i>zi/a-</i>)		
*137	libation(?)	noun	
	*137(-) <i>ha-sa₅</i>	acc. sing. N	E §§ 34, 36
	*137(-) <i>ha-sa</i>	acc. sing. N	S § 17
*285 : see	VITELLUS.*285		
*300	?	?	S § 2
*303	"2"	noun/adj.	
	*303- <i>zi/a</i>	acc. sing./plur. MF?	E § 26
*398: see	*463.*398		
*414: see	OVIS (*414.OVIS)		
*430	"all, every"	adj.	
	*430- <i>ti-sa</i>	nom. sing. MF	E § 15
	*430	(acc. plur. N)	S § 1 a, § 5; Y 16 § 2 a; Ki 4 § 2 b, Ka 1 § 2
	*430	(dat. plur.?)	S § 6
	*430	(nom. plur. MF)	S § 3
	*430	(acc. sing./plur.)	Ka 1 § 1
	*430	(gen. sing./plur.)	Ki 4 § 2 a
	*430- <i>sa₅</i>	?	Y 7 § 1
*461	"word" (?)	noun	
	*461- <i>tá</i>	acc. plur. N	E § 10
*463.*398	"2"	verb(?)	
	*463.*398	(1 sing. pret.?)	Y 10 § 2
*468	"2"	verb(?)	
	*468	(3 sing. pret.?)	Ka 1 § 1
*502	"2"	?	
	*502	?	S § 2
	*502- <i>mi-li</i>	?	E § 33 b
*506-na	"grandmother"	noun	
	(AVUS.)*506-na	nom. plur. MF	S § 13
*507	"2"	verb	
	*507	(3 plur. pret.)	S § 13
509	"deportees" (?)	noun?	
	*509	(acc. sing./plur.?)	Y [6 § 2], 15 § 2
*510	"fullness" (?)	noun/adj.	
	*510- <i>ti</i>	abl. sing.?	Y 6 § 2, 15 § 2

Divine Names

Á.FEMINA ² .DEUS.*461	E § 26, § 29, [§ 35], § 37
CERVUS ₂ .DEUS.*463- <i>ti</i>	E § 26, § 29, § 35, § 37
[(DEUS)]CERVUS ₂	Y 16 § 2 b
(DEUS)ENSIS	S § 3
(DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS	Ka 1 § 1
(DEUS)MONS.MENSA	E § 2, § 26, § 29, § 30, § 35, § 37

(DEUS)*463. <i>sà+US-ka</i>	S §3
(DEUS)SOL SOL+ <i>RA/I</i>	E §26, §29
(DEUS)SOL SOL	S §3
(DEUS)TONITRUS	Y2 §3, 4 §3, '8', 10 §3, 11 §1, 12 §4, 16 §1b; Ki2, Ki3, Ki4 §1, Bu §1
(DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM	E §26, §29; Ki4 §2a, Ka1 §1, §3
(DEUS)TONITRUS.EXERCITUS	S §3
(DEUS)TONITRUS. <i>HATTI</i>	S §3
(DEUS)TONITRUS <i>sà-pi²-ni²</i>	S §3
DEUS.*202	S §18

Personal Names

Hartapu	
<i>há+ra/i-tá-pu/*430</i>	Ki1, Ki2, Ki3, Ki4 §1, Ka1 §1, Ka2, Bu §1
Hattusili (III)	
<i>HATTI+li</i>	Y1 §1
Mursili (II)	
<i>URBS+RA/I-li</i>	Y1 §1
Mursili	
<i>URBS+li</i>	Ki3, Ki4 §1, Ki5, Bu §1
Suppiluliuma (II)	
<i>PURUS.FONS.MI</i>	S §2b, §6, §9, §14
Tudhaliya (IV)	
<i>MONS+tu</i>	Y1 §1; E §33a

Place Names

Atpa...(?)	
<i>a-ta-pa-x(URBS/REGIO)</i>	Y11 §2
Awarna	
<i>á-wa/i+ra/i-na'-(REGIO)</i>	Y13 §3
Hatti	
<i>HATTI</i>	S §1a, §3 (×2), §5, (×2), §6, §11
<i>HATTI(REGIO)</i>	Y4 §2
Ikuna	
<i>i(a)-ku-na</i>	S §1b, §4b
I(a)...	
<i>i(a)*503(URBS)</i>	S §7
Kuwakuwawanta	
<i>REL-REL-lu-wa/i-tá(REGIO)</i>	Y7 §2b
Kuwalatarna	
<i>REL-la-tara/i-na(REGIO)</i>	'Y6 §1', 17 §2
Lukka	
<i>lu-ka</i>	S §1b, §4b
<i>lu-ka(REGIO)(-)zi/la</i>	Y9 §1a, §2

Masa	
<i>ma-ta_s</i>	S §1b, §4b
Maska(?)	
<i>ma-sà-ka²-na(REGIO)</i>	Ki4 §2c
Nipira	
<i>ni-pi+ra/i(REGIO)</i>	Y7 §1, §2b
Pinali	
<i>pi-na*416(URBS)</i>	Y12 §2, §3, 13 §2
Talawa	
<i>TALA-wa/i(REGIO)</i>	Y14 §§4, 5
Tamina	
<i>ta-mi-na</i>	S §1b, §4b
Tana	
<i>ta-NEG(URBS)</i>	S §16
Tarahna(?)	
<i>tara/i*506-na(URBS)</i>	S §7
Tarhuntassa	
<i>TONITRUS(URBS)</i>	S §17
<i>TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO</i>	S §12a, §15a
Ta...	
<i>ta*505(URBS)</i>	S §7
Tihihasa(?)	
<i>ti-hi²-ha-sà(URBS)</i>	S §7
Wiyawawanda	
<i>VITIS</i>	S §1b, §4b
<i>VITIS(REGIO)</i>	Y9 §1b
...rsama/...rasma	
<i>x+ra/i-sà-ma</i>	S §17
<i>INFRA*212(URBS)</i>	S §17
<i>LA+X-tu-sa(URBS)</i>	Y2 §2
<i>*283.REX(URBS)</i>	S §7
<i>*300(+?)(URBS)</i>	S §7
<i>*504(REGIO)</i>	S §7
<i>*511(REGIO)</i>	Y7 §2b, 17 §2
<i>[...](REGIO)</i>	Y17 §1

Mountain Names

Patara	
<i>(MONS)pa-tara/i</i>	Y4 §1a
<i>MONS.IUDEX².QUINQUE</i>	S §8a, §10, §11
<i>(DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS</i>	} see under Divine Names
<i>(DEUS)MONS.MENSA</i>	
<i>(MONS)...</i>	E §16, 17
<i>(MONS)... (×2)</i>	Y5 §2

Index of discussed Items

Hier. Luw. words

<i>a-</i> , "make" (v.)	98
<i>aka-</i> , "subject" (v.)	28
<i>anarasuha-</i> , "?" (n./adj.)	102
<i>apa(n)</i> , "back, after" (adv.)	97
see also *34 (POST)	
<i>arha</i> , "out, away" (adv.)	
see *216 (FINES)	
<i>asa-</i> , "sit" (v.)	82, 93, 96
<i>aza-</i> , "love" (v.)	75
<i>awi-</i> , "come" (v.)	
see *90 (PES)	
<i>hamsukali-</i> , "(great-)grandson" (n.)	83 f.
<i>hanna-</i> , "grandmother" (n.)	
see *506	
<i>hantili-</i> , "former"	
see *26 (FRONS)	
<i>huhha-hanna-</i> , "grandfather (and) grandmother" (nn.)	41 f.
<i>hwisti-</i> , a substance (n.)	94 f.
<i>hwiya-</i> , "run" (v.)	75
<i>i-</i> , "go" (v.)	
see *93 (PES ₂)	
<i>izi(ya)-</i> , "make, do" (v.)	45
<i>kusa-ikwasa-</i> , "remove" (v.)	94
<i>kwari</i> , "when" (conj.)	26
<i>kwariya</i> , "or" (disj.)	98
<i>kwizi-ikwaza-?</i> , "kneel" (v.)	76
<i>labama-</i> , "Labarna" (title)	108 ff.
<i>lala-</i> , "take" (v.)	76, 82
see also *41 (CAPERE)	
<i>liwani-</i> , "the <i>Sim</i> ?" (title)	114 ff.
<i>malwa-</i> , "dedication" (?) (n.)	97
<i>man</i> , "if" (conj.)	95
<i>muwa-</i> , "conquer" (v.)	79 f.
see also *273, *28 (FORTIS)	
<i>nipa</i> , "or" (disj.)	82
<i>pari(ya)</i> , "forth, before" (adv.)	93, 96
<i>*pumati-</i> , "all, every" (adj.)	
see *430	
<i>puwa(ti)</i> , "formerly" (adv.)	41
<i>sakatala-</i> , "damage" (v.)	94
<i>sumasa-</i> , "fullness" (n.)	34

<i>ta-</i> , "stand" (v.)	
see *82 (CRUS)	
<i>tana-</i> , "altar" (?) (n.)	95
<i>tarzanuwa-</i> , "?" (v. caus.)	94, 100
<i>tati-</i> , "father" (n.)	
see *29 (<i>TÁ</i>)	
<i>tati-huhha-</i> , "father (and) grandfather" (nn.)	74
<i>tis(a)?</i> , "?" (?)	39
<i>wasu-</i> , "favour" (n.)	78, 84
<i>zila</i> , "thereafter" (adv.)	37

Hier. Luw. signs

*1 (EGO)	101
*10 (CAPUT)	95
*10+*268 (CAPUT+SCALPRUM)	94
*10+*312 (CAPUT+VIR)	35 f.
*17 (REX)+*398	99
*26 (FRONS)	30
*28+*82 (FORTIS.CRUS)	81
*29 (<i>TÁ</i>)	74
*34 (POST)	73
*39 (PUGNUS)	100
*40 (PUGNUS.PUGNUS)	40, 118 ff.
*41 (CAPERE)	37
*66 (×2) (MANUS+MANUS)	73 f.
*79+*45 (FEMINA.INFANS)	76
*82 (CRUS)	35
*85 (GENUFLECTERE)	76
*90 (PES)	73
*93 (PES ₂)	83
*95 (PES ₂ .PES ₂)	83
*109 (VITELLUS) + *285	78 f.
*122 (?)	43
*131 (AVIS ₂)	96
*137 (= Cun. Luw. <i>malhasa</i> ?)	43, 101
*160 (VITIIS)	29
*196 (<i>HATTI</i> , <i>há</i>)	24 f.
*201 (TERRA/LOCUS)	101
*202 (VIA+TERRA)	44 f.
*216 (FINES, <i>arha</i>)	36 f., 90
*239 (PORTA)	97
*246 (AEDIFICARE)	37 f.
*248 (DELERE)	100
*268+*82+*201 (SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS)	74
*269 (EXERCITUS)	33
*277 (<i>LABARNA</i> /IUDEx)	39, 108 ff.
*283 (?)	38
*294? (THRONUS?)	82

*299 (SOLIUM)	82, 93, 96
*303 (?)	99
*309 (za-)	44
*322 (PURUS)	31
*329 (REL)	76
*336 (ANNUS)	45
*386 (word-divider)	74
*390 (DOMINUS)	75
*398 (?)	79, 99
*414+*110 (OVIS)	96 f.
*416 (<i>li</i> _x)	26 f., 81, 114 ff.
*430 (<i>pumati</i> -, <i>pu</i>)	25 f., 31 f., 77, 96
*445 (<i>lu</i>)	115
*463 (= Cun. Hitt. LÍL?)	33
*463+*398 (?)	79
*468 (?)	107
*502 (?)	101
*502+*300 (?)	30
*503 (?)	38
*505 (?)	38
*506 (<i>HANA</i>)	38, 41
*507 (?)	42
*509 (= Cun. Hitt. NAM.RA?)	76
*510 (?)	76

Divine Names

Á.FEMINA ³ .DEUS.*461	98
CERVUS ₂ .DEUS.*463- <i>ti</i>	98
(DEUS)CERVUS	84
(DEUS)ENSIS	34
(DEUS)*463. <i>sà</i> + <i>US-ka</i>	33 f.
(DEUS)SOL SOL(+ <i>RA/I</i>)	32
(DEUS)TONITRUS EXERCITUS	33
(DEUS)TONITRUS <i>HATTI</i>	33
(DEUS)TONITRUS <i>sà-pi²-ni²</i>	34

Personal Names

Adlime (Alalime?)	114
Hartapu	106
Kali	115
Kurunta	62
Labarna	110
Mursili II	72
Mursili III(?)	64
Suppiluliuma I	19 f.
Suppiluliuma II	31

Place Names

bold: Hitt.-Luw.	<i>italic: Classical</i>	roman: modern
Arlanta		51 n. 170
Awarna		49, 81
<i>Calycadnos</i>		52, 56
Çarşamba Çay		53, 56
<i>Hobmoi</i>		51, 56
Hulaya		50 f., 53, 56
Ikkuwaniya		29, 51, 54 f.
Ikuna		29, 54 f.
INFRA		43
Karadağ		63 ff., 103 ff.
Karkisa/Karkiya		54
Kastaraya		52, 55 f.
Kızıldağ		63 ff., 103 ff.
Kuwakuwaluwanta		77
Kuwalapassa		52, 85
Kuwalatarna		49, 76, 85
LA + X-tusa		72 f.
Lukka		29, 49, 54 ff.
Masa		29, 54 f.
Maska(?)		106
Meydancik		56 f.
<i>Nagidos</i>		52, 56
Nahita		52, 56
Nahitiya		52
Niğde		52, 56
<i>Oenoanda</i>		49, 54
Parha		51 f.
Pedassa		39, 51
Pina(...)		80
<i>Pinali</i>		49, 80 f., 115
<i>Pinara</i>		49, 80 f., 115
Sallune		52
Sallusa		52 f.
Sapini(?)		34
Sarlaimmi		51
<i>Selinus</i>		52
Talawa		49, 83
Tamina		29, 54 f.
Tana		42, 57
Tarahna		38 f., 54 f.
Tarchuntassa		40 f., 50 ff., 61 ff.
Tihiasa		38, 54
<i>Tlos</i>		49, 83
Ura		56, 60
Usaula		51 f.
Usawala		51 f.
Ussa		50 f.
Walma		51 f., 56

Wiyawawanda	29, 54, 78
Xanthos	49, 81
...rsama	42
*122	43
(DEUS)MAGNUS.MONS	107
(DEUS)MONS.MENSA	93
MONS.IUDEX.QUINQUE	39f., 55

Passages cited

<i>Cuneiform</i>	
<i>Bronzetafel</i> i 86	50
ii 4	50
iii 47-50	50
<i>KBo</i> IV 10, obv. 33'	50
XII 38, ii 2'-3'	58f.
XII 85, ii 8'-9'	95
<i>KUB</i> XXI 6+6a, ll. 5-10	52
<i>Hieroglyphic</i>	
ASSUR letters a/b/d, § 2	119
ASSUR letter f+g, § 6	119
ÇİFTLİK, § 11	118
HİSARCIK 1, § 5	119
KARATEPE, § XXI	118
KARATEPE 4, § 1	118
KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, l. 2	93
KULULU 4, § 5	112
SULTANHAN, §§ 43-45	118

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

Table 1. Numbering of signs not recognized in Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*.
Cf. above, pp. 14, 30 n. 40.

ILLUSTRATIONS

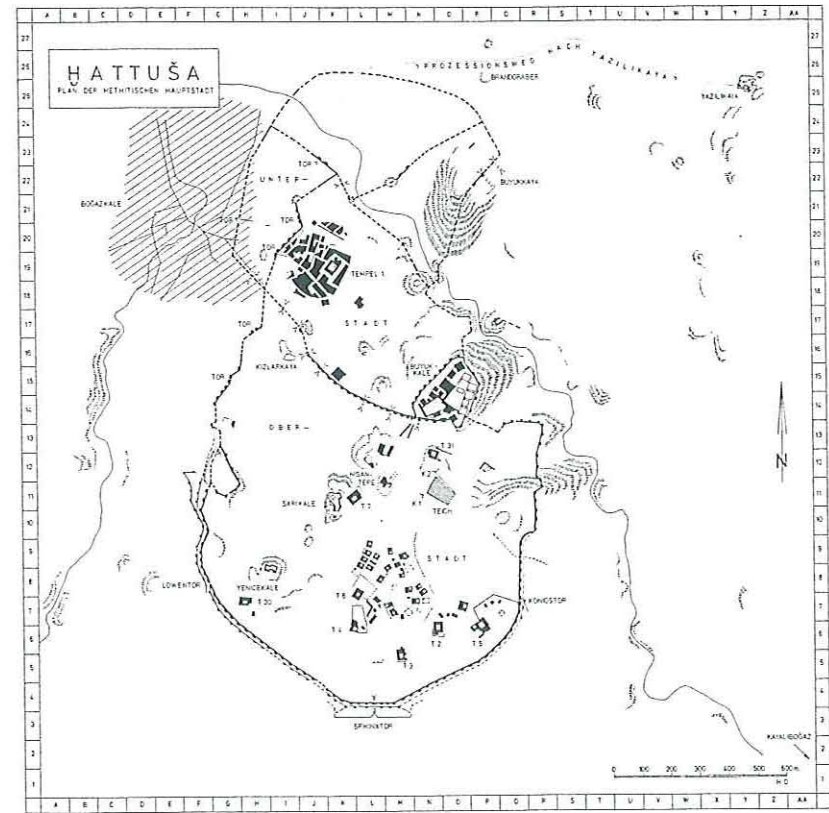


Abb. 1: Stadtplan von Hattusa

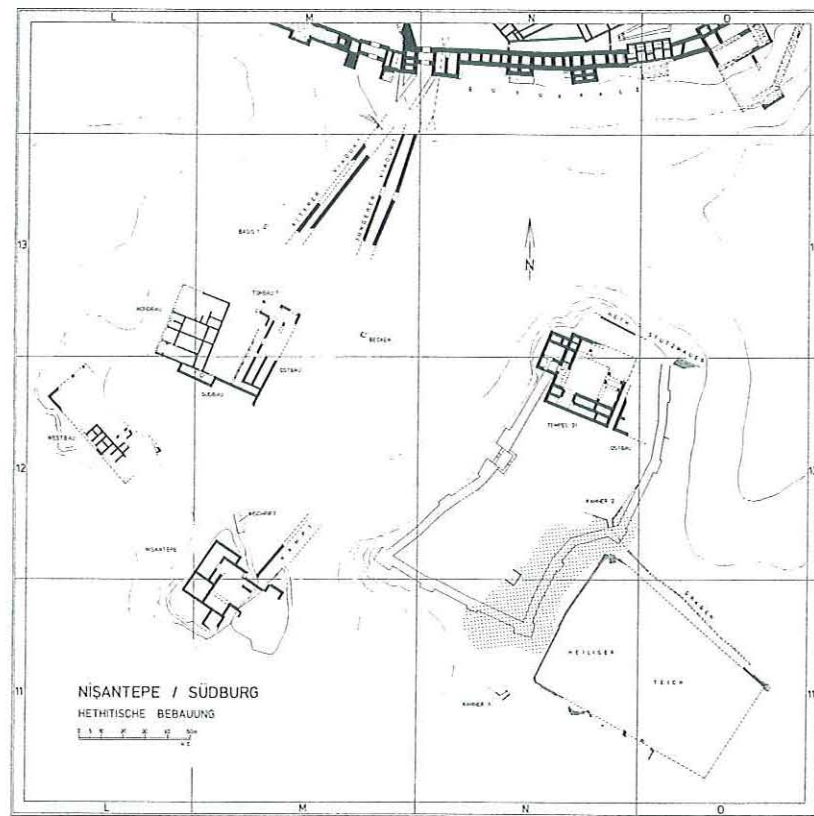


Abb. 2: Nişantepe/Südburg, Plan der hethitischen Bebauung

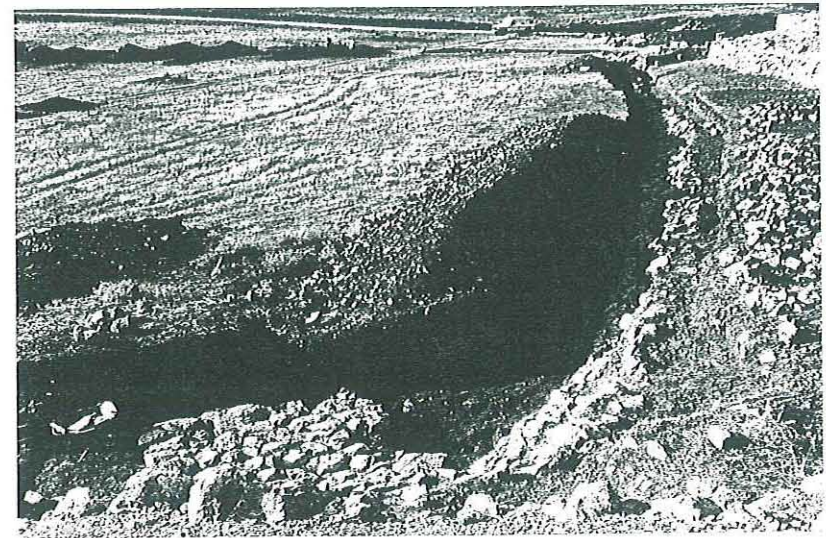


Abb. 3: 'Heiliger Teich', Westseite

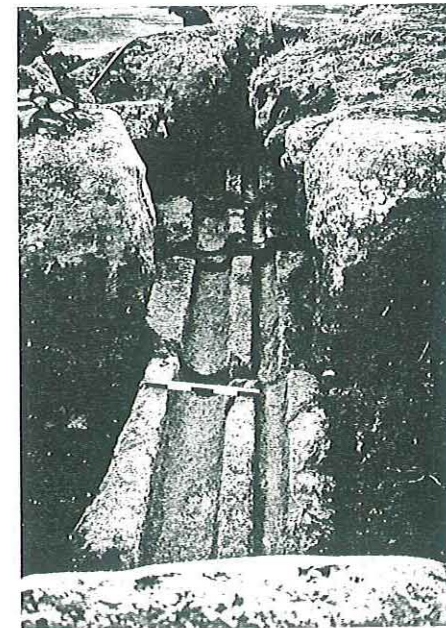


Abb. 4: Hethitische Wasserleitung in der Stadtmauer beim Königstor

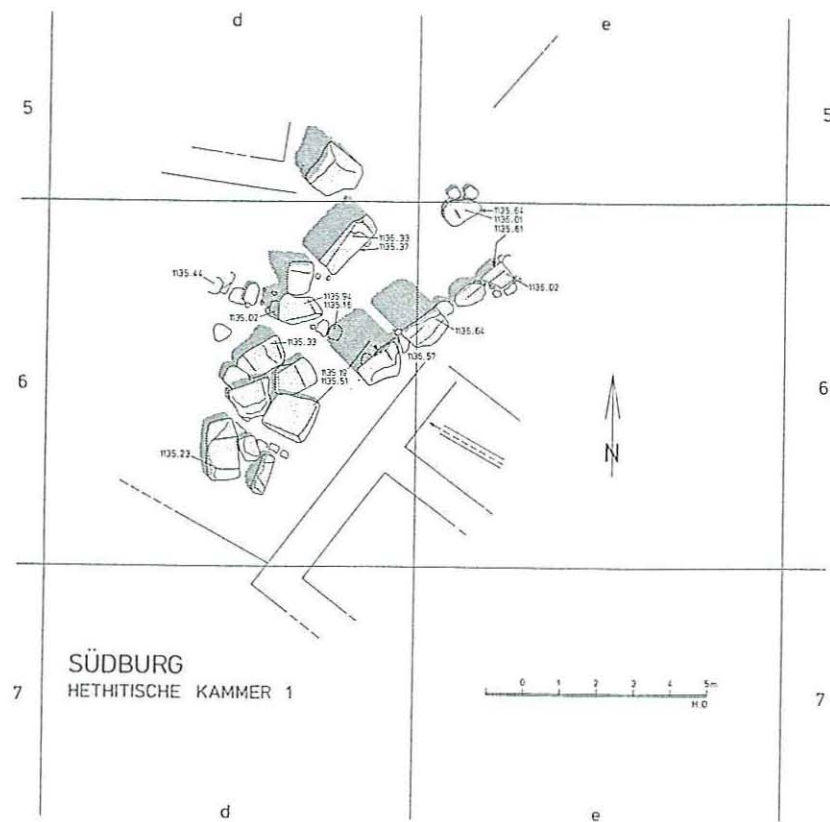


Abb. 5: Kammer 1, Plan



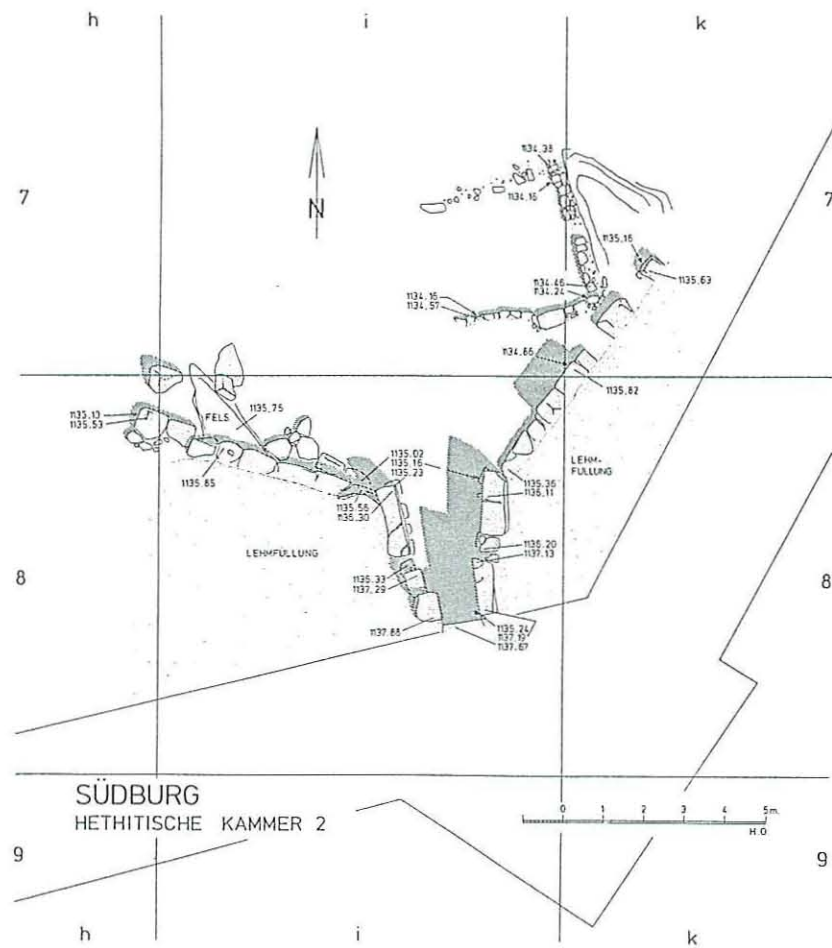


Abb. 8: Kammer 2, Gesamtplan



Abb. 9: Kammer 2, Rekonstruktionsskizze

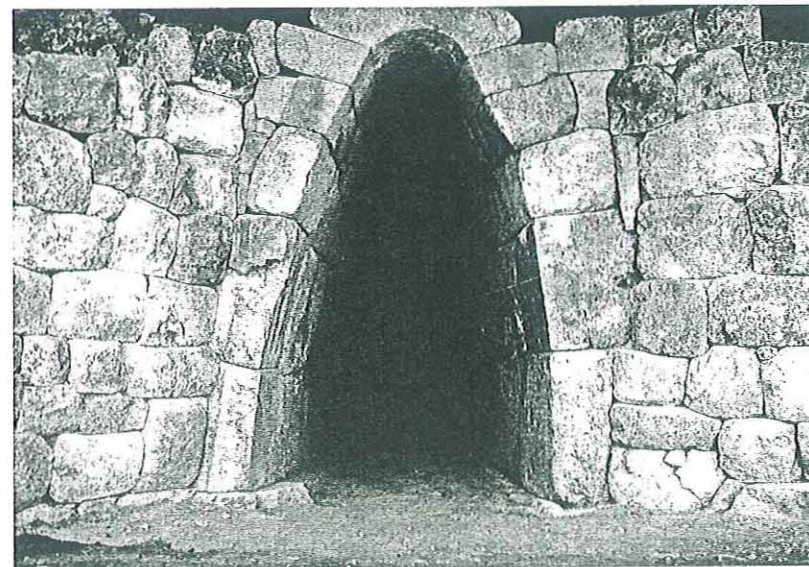
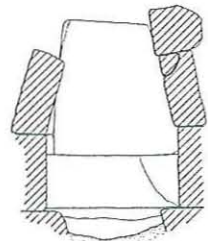
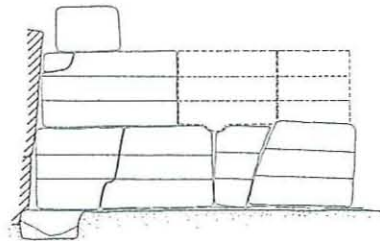


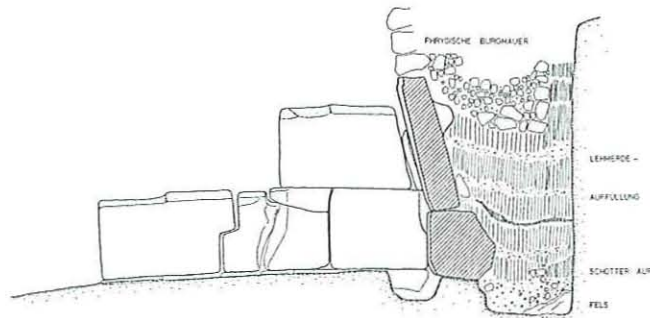
Abb. 10: Kammer 2 nach der Restaurierung



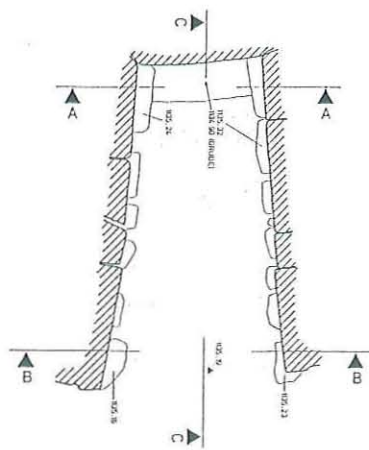
SCHNITT A-A



SCHNITT C-C
Westwand (mit Inschrift)



Schnitt C-C Ostwand



GRUNDRISS



SCHNITT B-B



Abb. 11: Kammer 2 Plan, Grundriß und Schnitte



Abb. 12: Kammer 2, Schacht vor der Rückwand

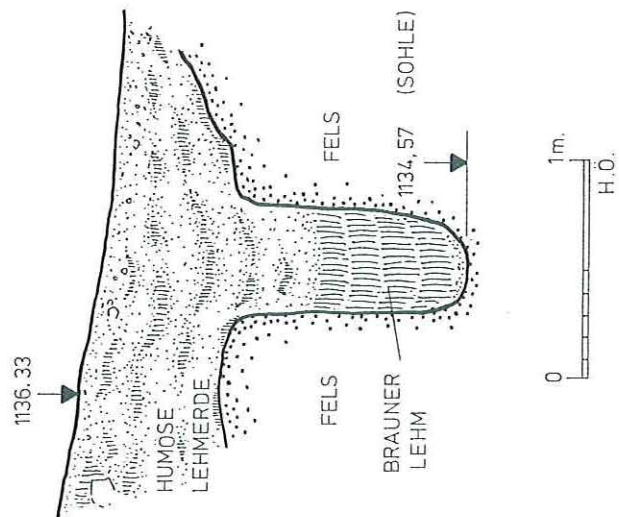
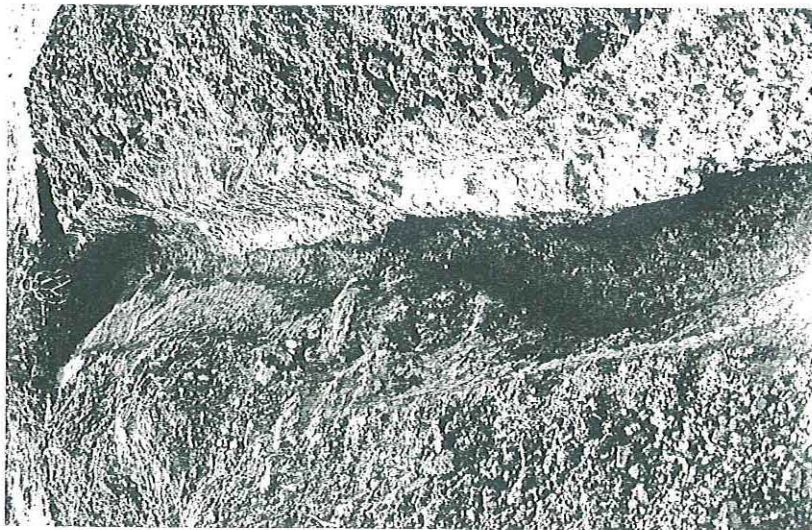


Abb. 13: Graben am Nordrand des 'Heiligen Teiches'



Abb. 14: Kammer 2, Relief des Sonnengottes



Abb. 15: Kammer 2, Relief Suppiluliumas mit der göttlichen Hörnerkrone



Abb. 16: Kammer 2, Westwand nach Wiederaufbau; im Hintergrund Ansatz der Rückwand

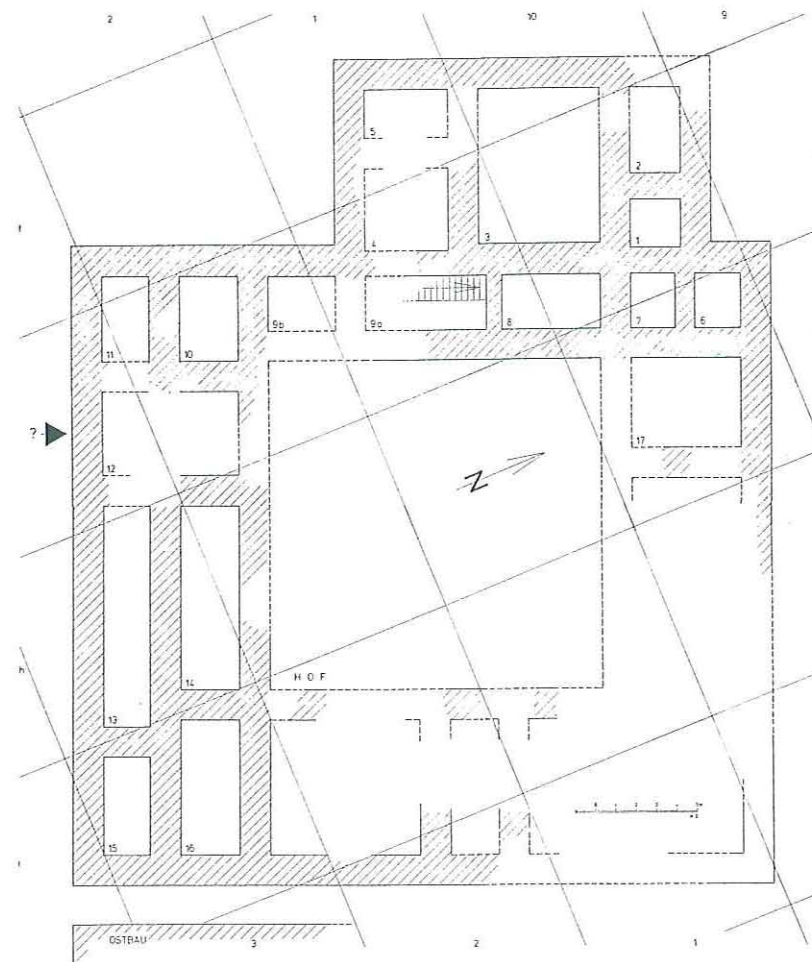


Abb. 17: Tempel 31, Plan

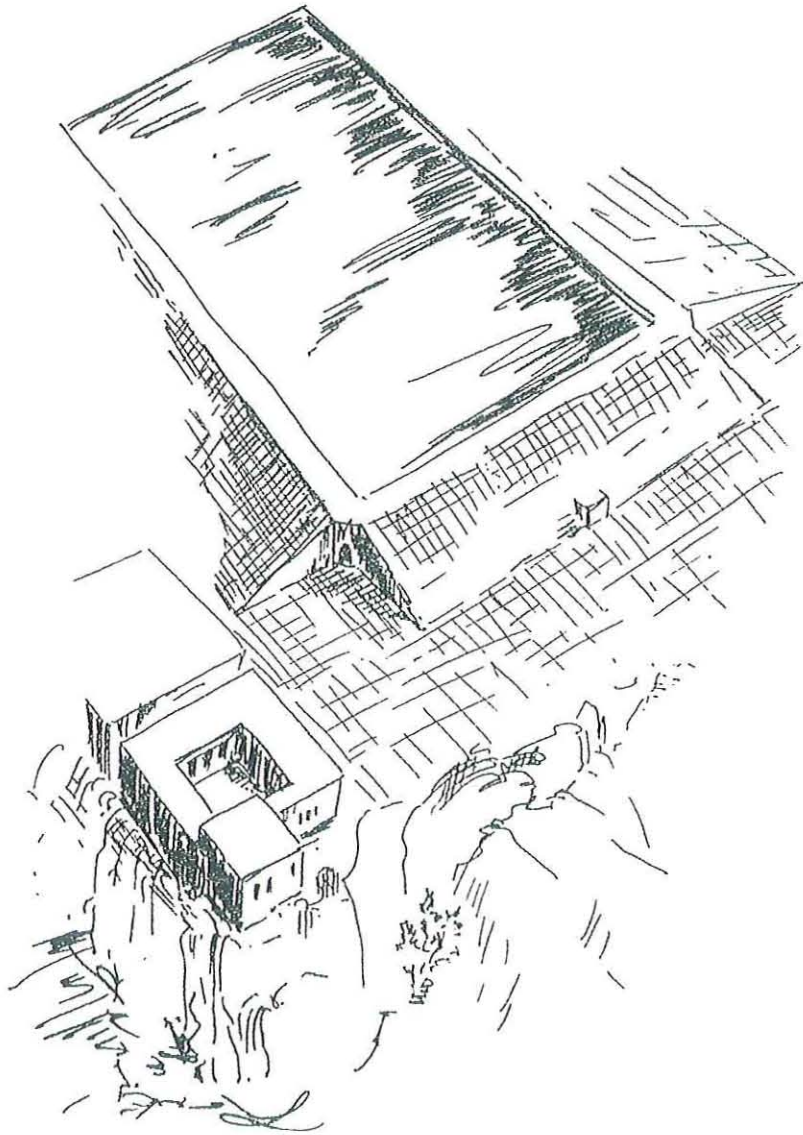


Abb. 18: Rekonstruktionsskizze vom Kultbezirk des „Heiligen Teiches“

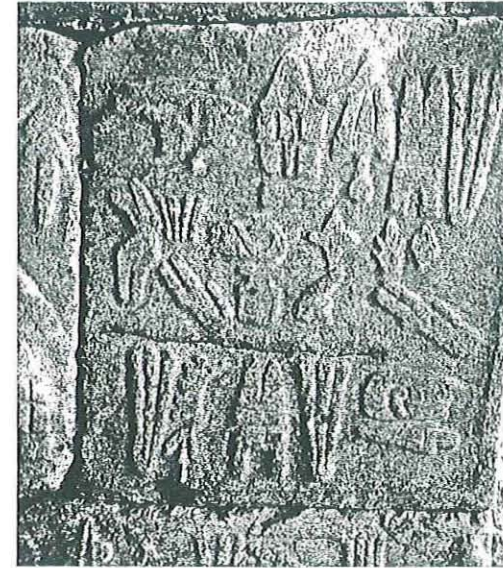


Abb. 19: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block I am Eingang (§§ 1a, 4b, 5)



Abb. 20: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block II, rechte Hälfte (§§ 1b, 4, 5, 6)



Abb. 21: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block II (§§ 1b, 3, 4, 5, 6)



Abb. 22: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block II und III (untere Reihe Block IV). Links Kammerrückwand



Abb. 23: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block III, rechte Hälfte (§§ 2, 3, 7)

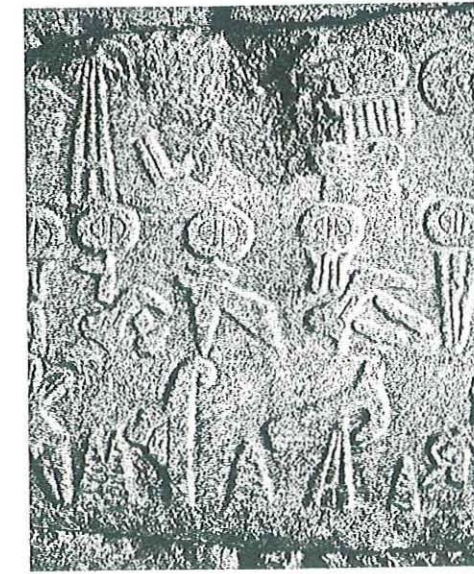


Abb. 24: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block III, Mitte (§§ 2a, 3, 6, 7)

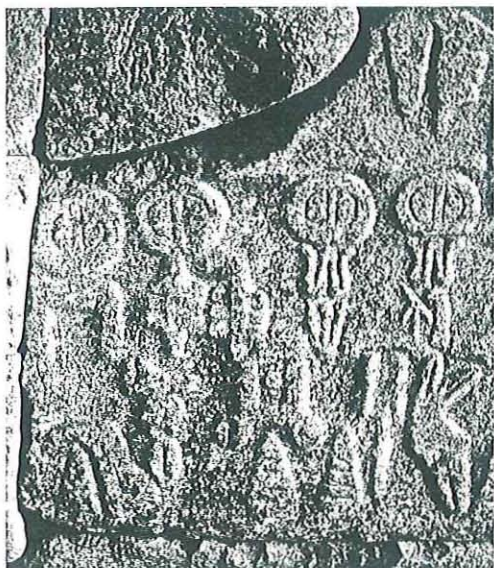


Abb. 25: Inschrift, obere Reihe, Block III, linke Hälfte (§§ 2b, 3, 7)

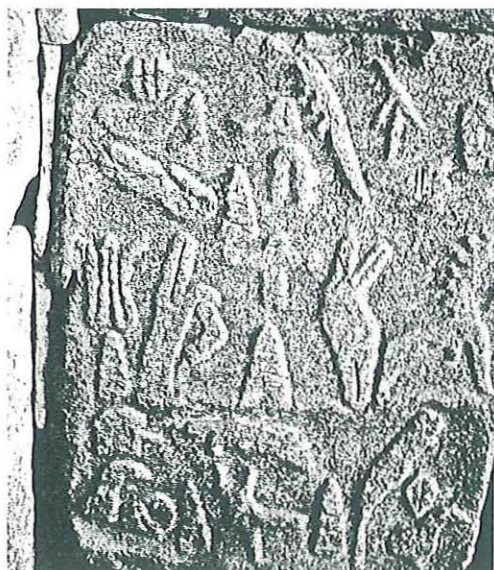


Abb. 26: Inschrift, untere Reihe, Block IV, linke Hälfte (§§ 7, 15b, 16, 17)



Abb. 27: Inschrift, untere Reihe, Block IV, V (§§ 7, 8a, 15, 16, 17)



Abb. 28: Inschrift, untere Reihe, Block IV, V (§§ 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17)



Abb. 29: Zusammenschluß der Blöcke II/III (obere Reihe) und IV/V (untere Reihe)

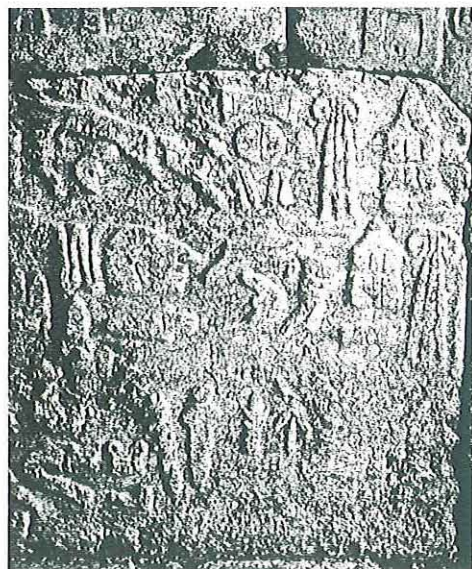


Abb. 30: Inschrift, untere Reihe, Block V, rechte Hälfte (§§ 8, 9, 14, 15, 18)

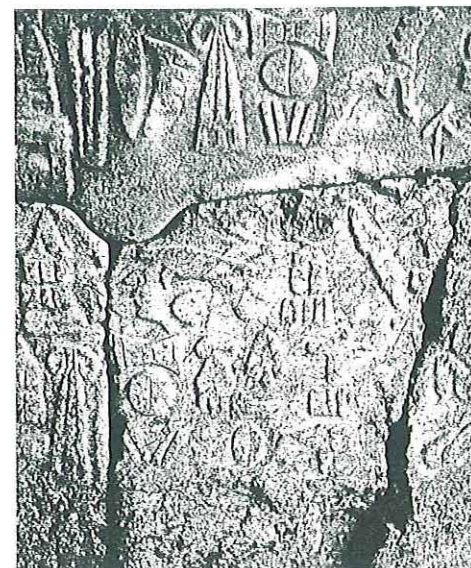


Abb. 31: Inschrift, untere Reihe, Block VI, linke Hälfte (§§ 9, 10, 13, 14)

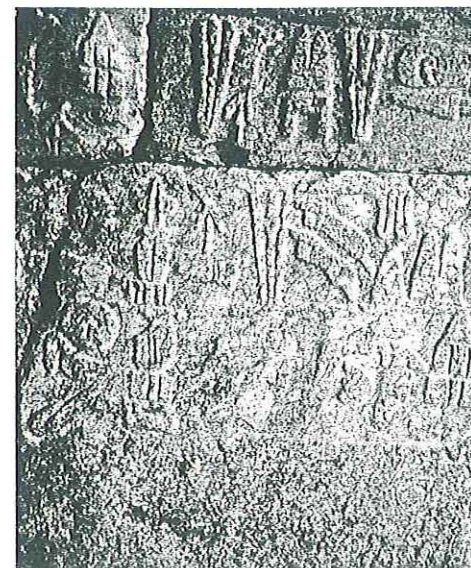


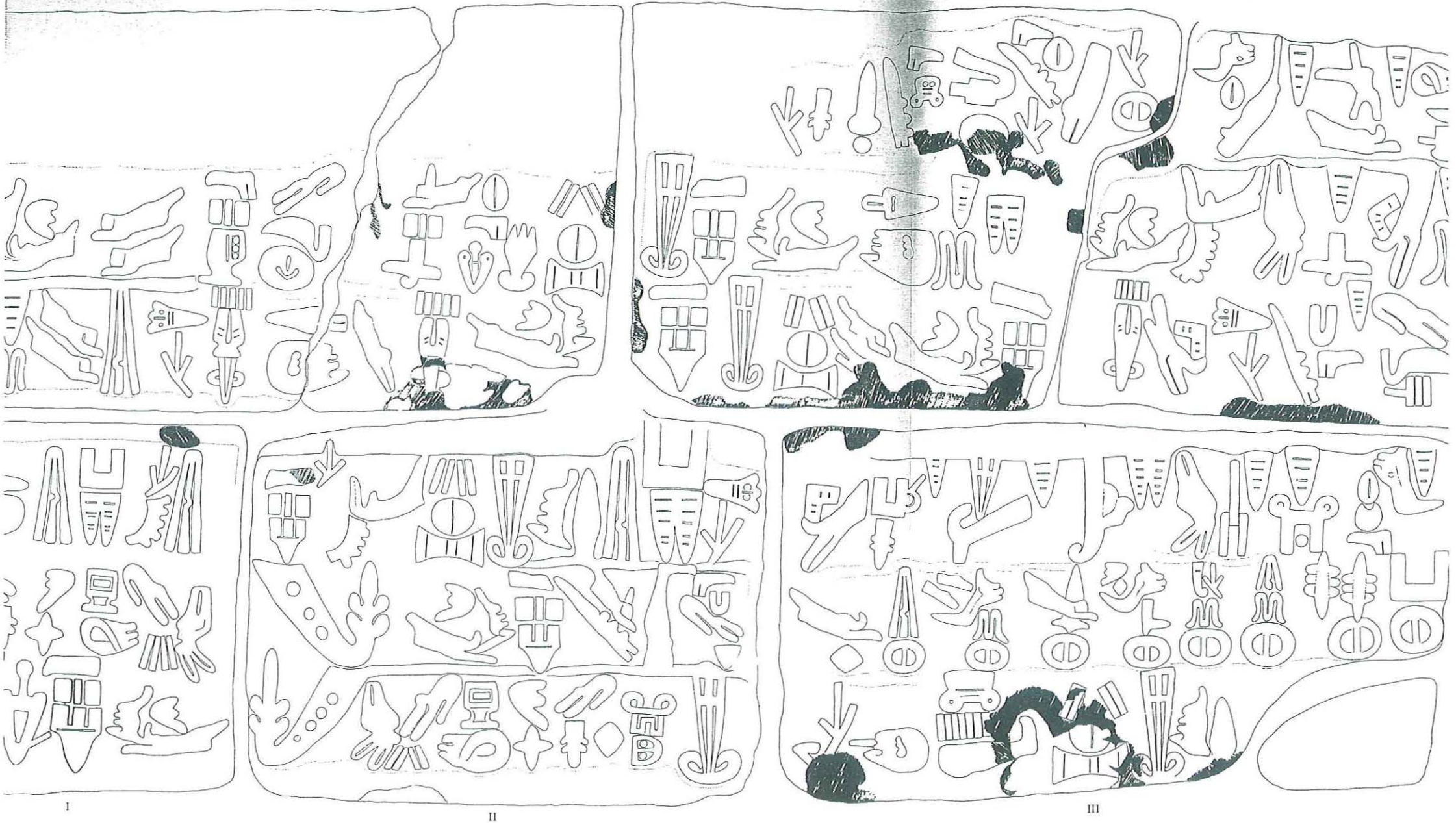
Abb. 32: Inschrift, untere Reihe, Block VI, rechte Hälfte (§§ 11, 12, 13)



Abb. 33: Inschrift, Detailaufnahme. Zusammenschluß der Blöcke I/II und (dem gesprungenen) Block VI

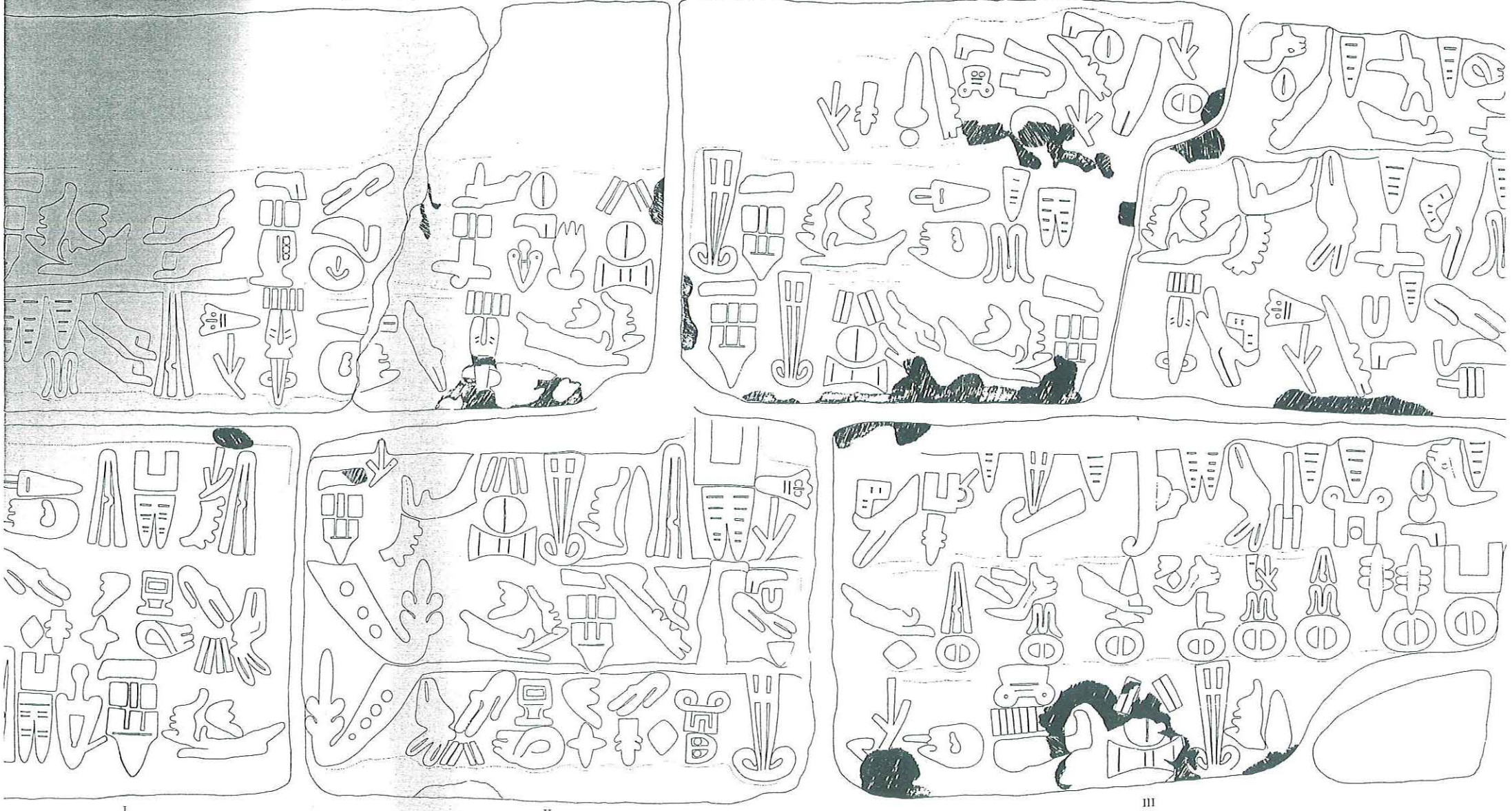


Abb. 34: Blick aus dem Innern der Kammer auf die linke (West-)Wand.
Oberste Zeile linksläufig, dann boustrophedon



V

VI



I

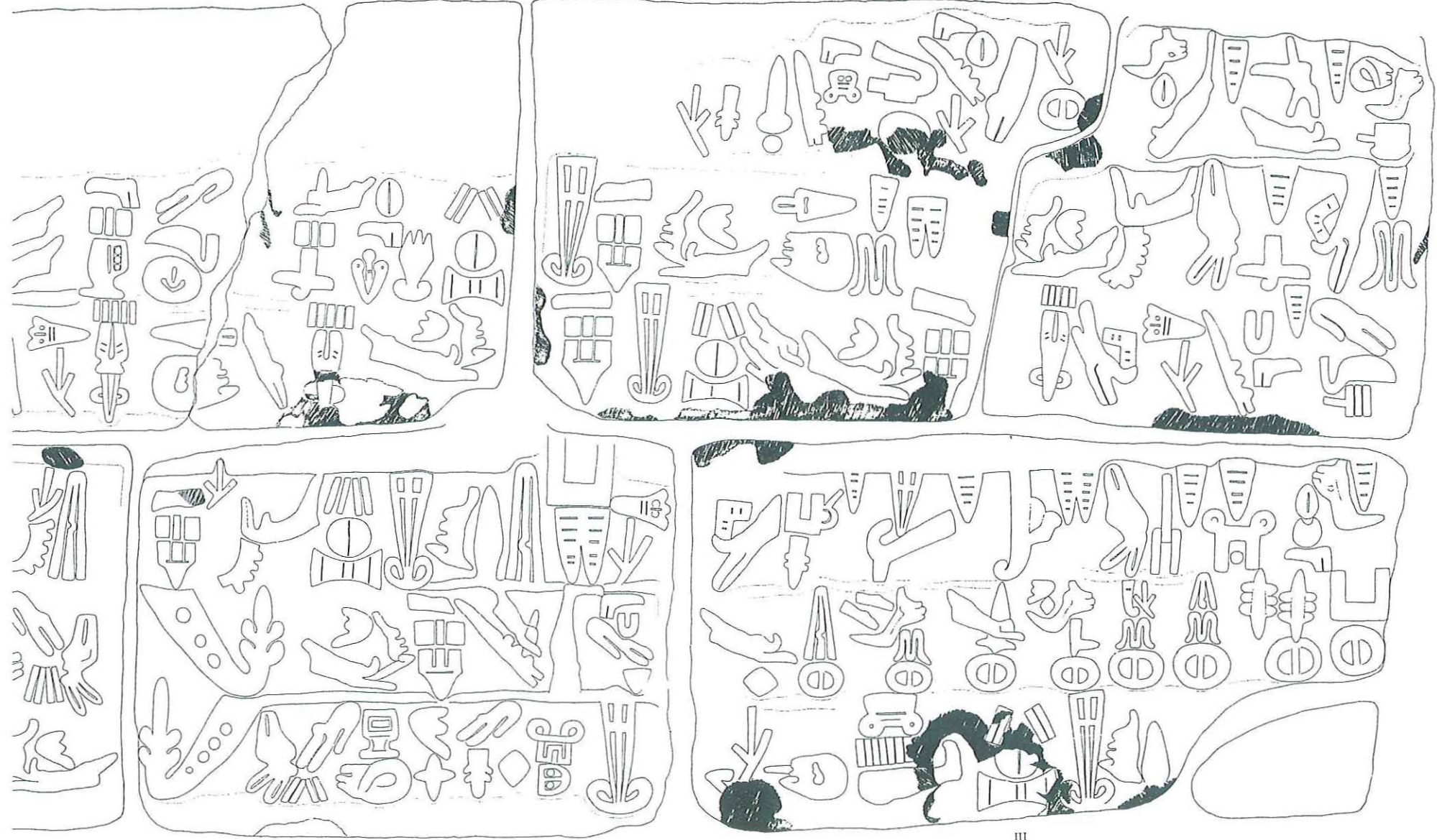
II

III

Abb. 35: Verkleinerte Kopie der Inschrift BOGAZKÖY 21 (J. D. Hawkins) mit Nummerierung der Blöcke, I-VI.

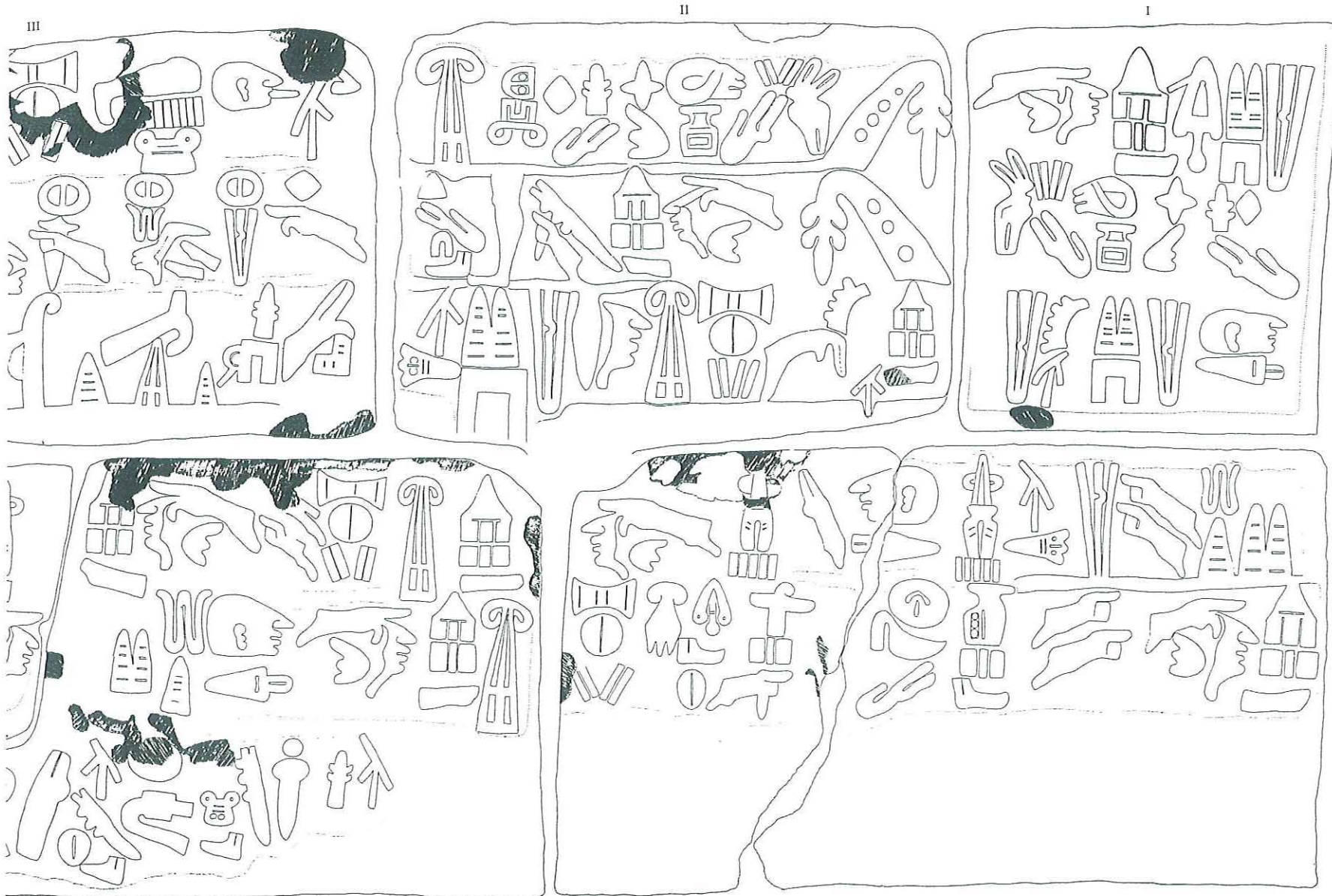
V

VI



II

III



s) mit Numerierung der Blöcke, I-VI.

V

VI