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# THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARIYAHINAS'S SON": AN EDITION OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN STELAE *TELL AHMAR 1* AND *ALEPPO 2*

By J. D. HAWKINS

I am very happy to be able to offer to Oliver Gurney, to whom I owe many years of generous and unstinted teaching, advice and support, a token Hieroglyphic repayment for my Cuneiform debt to him.<sup>1</sup> I only trust that this contribution of mine to this journal, being the first which has not had the benefit of his careful scholarship and judicious criticism, will not fall below his high standards.

Of the two large stelae found at Tell Ahmar (the ancient Til-Barsip),<sup>2</sup> the mutilated *TELL AHMAR 2*, now in the Louvre, names as its author a certain king Hamiyatas, who presumably ruled the city Til-Barsip and its surrounding territory, although his and his kingdom's titles have been carried away by the damage to the stele.<sup>3</sup> In the remains of his genealogy, Hamiyatas names Masuwarazas,<sup>4</sup> perhaps his father, but perhaps grandfather or even earlier forebear.<sup>5</sup> The broken stele *TELL AHMAR 1*, a new edition of which is here presented,<sup>6</sup> has lost the name, office and titles of the author and preserves only his genealogy, "Hapatilas's great-grandson, the ruler Ariyahinas's son"<sup>7</sup> (by which patronymic he must be named by us).<sup>8</sup> The text of this stele subsequently names a Hamiyatas, not, as has been usually supposed, as the son of the author,<sup>9</sup> but as the son of someone else,

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used in this article are as noted in J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann, "Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection" (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Nr. 6, 1973), preliminary note on p. [3] (and this article abbreviated *HHL*). The system of transliteration employed is as tabulated in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 153-155; note also additional transcriptions of logograms into Latin, *BESTIA*, *CAPER*, *CENTUM*, *FILIA*, *PURUS*, as listed in *KZ* 92 (1978), 116; *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Paris, 1979), 156; *Studia Mediterranea P. Meriggi Octuagenario* (hereafter *Studia . . . Meriggi*; Pavia, forthcoming); also *FORTIS* (*HH*, no. 28); *IUDEX* (*HH*, no. 371); *FLAMMAE* (?) (*HH*, no. 477); *MALUS*<sub>1</sub> (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, no. 9.3); *MALUS*<sub>2</sub> (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, no. 405a-b); *REL*<sub>2</sub> (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, no. 161). Note also that in the transliteration the symbol || with a number in the margin is used to mark the line division in the texts.

This article, like its predecessors, owes much to the collaboration and timely criticism of Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies, for which I am most grateful.

The two stelae forming the subject of this study (*TELL AHMAR 1* and *ALEPPO 2*) are now located in Aleppo Museum, and my thanks are due to the Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, Damascus, and to its Director General, Dr. Afif Bahnassi, for permission to study them, and to the staff of the Museum for their assistance and courtesy while I was working there.

<sup>2</sup> Both were found on the surface out of archaeological context: F. Thureau-Dangin (and M. Dunand), *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), 134 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A recent examination of the historical background of the *TELL AHMAR* stelae, together with comprehensive bibliographical references, has been presented by D. Ussishkin, "Was Bit-Adini a Neo-Hittite or Aramean state?" (*Or.* NS 40 (1971), 431-437). The most recent edition of the text of *TELL AHMAR 2* is that of P. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (Rome, 1975), no. 281, to which M. Poetto, "Una revisione dell' iscrizione luwio-geroglifica di Til-Barsip II" (*Or. Ant.* 17 (1978), 279-285), adds notes on collations and some useful photographs.

<sup>4</sup> For this name, my collation agrees with that of Poetto, loc. cit., 279 f.: read *ma-su-wa/i + ra/i-za-s[a]* (or possibly *ma-su-za-wa/i + ra/i-s[a]*).

<sup>5</sup> Ussishkin, loc. cit., 432 f., reports the doubts on the relationship, which are occasioned by a comparison with *TELL AHMAR 1*, l. 1, where the genealogy includes only the great-grandfather and father, in that order—cf. footnote 7.

<sup>6</sup> The earlier editions are: (i) Meriggi, *RHA* III/18 (1935), 51-57 with pls. 1-2; (ii) Hrozný, *IHH* III, 465-480; (iii) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 280.

<sup>7</sup> For a consideration of this genealogy, and the reading of the father's name, see below, note on *TELL AHMAR 1*, § 1.

<sup>8</sup> This of course follows the Hier. Luwian practice, in which the patronym is expressed by a genitive dependent upon, or genitival adjective in agreement with, the *nomen*; thus our hero would indeed have been known as [PN] *ariyahinas(is)*—cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 148.

<sup>9</sup> The idea goes back to Hrozný, *IHH* III, 474, 480, 489; cf. recently Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späteth. Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), 183—corrected by Hawkins, *ZA* NF 63 (1973-4), 308. See the edition below, §§ 11-13.

in a context which makes it clear that he ruled prior to the reign of Ariyahinas's son. It is of course extremely probable that the name Hamiyatas refers to the same individual in both cases, and the historical context as drawn below from the two stelae would seem to support this.<sup>10</sup>

A further occurrence of the name Hamiyatas is found on the small stele of completely unknown provenance, named from its present whereabouts ALEPPO 2.<sup>11</sup> Here Hamiyatas is described as the "lord and brother" of the author Arpas.<sup>12</sup> If Hamiyatas here too refers to the same individual, which is possible but not demonstrable, then the ALEPPO 2 stele must belong with the sculpture and inscriptions of Tell Ahmar, which is not contradicted by the style and the palaeography of the piece.<sup>13</sup>

The surviving clauses of TELL AHMAR 2 consist of typically formulaic expressions of dedication and curse, with little that can be identified as historical information.<sup>14</sup> TELL AHMAR 1 on the other hand, in spite of the damage which it has sustained, can be seen to have contained a dynastic narrative, comparable to that written by Bar-Rakib of Sam'al for his father Panammu II.<sup>15</sup> This narrative presumably led up to the accession to the throne of Ariyahinas's son, though a direct statement of this is not preserved, and is in its brief way curiously reminiscent of the narrative composed for Hattusilis III, his so-called "Autobiography", whence the title of this article. To this narrative, ALEPPO 2, if indeed it may be linked by the Hamiyatas reference, would add an interesting footnote. It is the purpose of this paper therefore to present new texts, transliterations and translations, with explanatory notes, of TELL AHMAR 1 and ALEPPO 2, on the basis of which the historical information contained thereon may be reviewed.

## TELL AHMAR 1

*Transliteration* (Fig. 1, p. 144).

- (1) § 1. [EGO ... PN, *titles*, ...-s] á-ia-mi-i-sá REGIO | REX-ti-i-sa <sup>1</sup>ha-pa-ti-la-si-i-sa | (NEPO[s]) ha-ma-su-k[a]-[L]a-[sa] <sup>1</sup>ara/i-ia-hi-na-si-i-sa | ("IUDEx") tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa | (INFANS) ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa
- § 2. wa/i-mu'(-)ia | á-ta<sub>5</sub>-na | INFANS(-)ni-wa/i-á+ra/i-<sup>\*</sup>282 | "CAELUM"-si-i-sa ||
- (2) (DEUS)ONITRUS-hu-sa (DEUS)i-ia-sa | REX-ti-i-sá (DEUS)BONUS(-)ku-pá<sup>2</sup>+ra/i-ma-sa<sub>5</sub> | (DEUS)"\*454"(-)ma-ti-lá/i-sa (DEUS)FORTIS-su-pa-sa | ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa-ha(URBS) (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa [...] (DEUS)k[u+AV]IS-pa-[pa]-sa-ha x-x-si | á-[...]-ha<sup>3</sup> [...]mu-ti-sa [...]sa [...]
- § 3. [ ... ] xxx (LITUUS+)-á-za-ta

<sup>10</sup> See below, Analysis of historical content (p. 154 f.), where the information provided by both stelae is combined on the assumption of this identity. The uneconomical postulation of a second Hamiyatas by Meriggi was based on an attempt to date TELL AHMAR 2 earlier than 1 while accepting the Hamiyatas of the latter as son of the author (*RHA* III/18 (1935), 45 f.). My edition, I hope, makes clear that the TELL AHMAR 1 reference is to a past (not future) Hamiyatas, and this recognition makes possible the identification with the author of TELL AHMAR 2 and the consequent establishment of that stele as the earlier work.

<sup>11</sup> Entered in the Aleppo Museum register as having been seized by the police during an attempt to smuggle it out of the country. First edited by R. D. Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), 137 and Plates XXIII-XXIV; and recently by Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 307.

<sup>12</sup> I have already quoted some relevant passages (§§ (8), 9-11, 24-25)—*An. St.* 25 (1975), 134 and Fig. 1, 140, 146 and Fig. 4.

<sup>13</sup> The fact that it was apparently found inside Syrian territory does of course restrict the provenance to those centres of Hieroglyphic inscriptions within the modern frontiers, i.e. Hamath or Til-Barsip, or (very partially and less likely) Carchemish or Unqi.

<sup>14</sup> I cannot add very substantially to the interpretations of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 212-217, except on a different reading of a clause, ll. 5-6, for which see below, note on TELL AHMAR 1, § 10; and on the verb LITUUS(-)pa-la-ni-ia-, for which see *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 138 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Donner and Röllig, *KAI*, no. 215; Gibson, *TSS* II, no. 14.

- (3) § 4. *wa/i-mu-' | á-má-za | tá-ti-ia-za* ("\*382") || *s[á-la-h]a-za | pi-ia-t[a]*  
 § 5. *á-[wa/i] (FINES)i+ra/i-[ha]-z[a/i]...* | *pa-[...]-x x-[...]-x [...]-wa/i+ra/i*  
*[CR]US [...U]RBS? [...](-)pa-si-i [SUP]ER +RA/I pa+ra/i-[x-x]"i-ha* | ("CAPUT")  
*ha+ra/i-ma-hi-na*  
 § 6. "X"-*tú-sa-pa-wa/i-tá | 1-ti-i | PES<sub>2</sub>(-)tara/i-zi-ha*  
 § 7. *á-wa/i | ku-ma-na [(á-mi-(i-)s)a-' [(AVUS)] hu-ha[-?]-sa [REX-ti]-i-sá [sa-tá]-'*  
 § 8. *[wa/i-sa]-' pa-[sa]-na-' | (\*274)u-pa-ti-ti | DOMINUS-na-ni-i-sa sa-tá-'*  
 (4) § 9. *á-wa/i | ("OCCIDENS") i-pa-||ma-ti-i (DEUS.ORIENS.MI) ki-sá-ta-ma-ti-ha |*  
*\*382.CRUS(-)LEPUS+RA/I-ta*  
 § 10. *| á-na(REGIO)-pa-wa/i-sa | REL-i | ARHA ("MORI")wa/i-la-tá*  
 § 11. *mi-pa-wa/i-' tá-ti-na[-' REL(?)]-za pa-si-' | 20-tá-ti-i-sa | INFANS-ni-i-na |*  
*SUB-na-na | BITUUS+na-tá-'*  
 § 12. *pa-s[a]-wa/i-' ("\*382")sá-la-ha-za | "\*314"(-)ha-CRUS-sá-tara/i-ti | SUPER*  
*+RA/I-' | tá-ta*  
 § 13. *wa/i-tá-' | zi-la | pa-si-' | (INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa 1ha-mi-ia-ta-sa |*  
*PUGNUS-ri+i-ta*  
 § 14. *wa/i-mu-' mi-i-' (AVUS)hu-ha-ti | \*382-la-ha-ti | SUPER+RA/I-' x-x-ta*  
 (5) § 15. || [...] x [...] tá pa [...] pa-s[á?]-' | "DOMUS"-[...] | "DOMINUS"-na-i-na |  
*i-zi-i-tá*  
 § 16. *pa-sa-za-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>r</sup>-wa/i-mu-' | FRATER-la-za | MAGNUS+RA/I-za-na | i-zi-i-tá*  
 § 17. *wa/i-mu-' | CRUS-ni-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>r</sup>-i-sa | ("FRONS")ha-ta-za | SUB-na-na | "LITUUS*  
*+pa"-za-la-ni-ta*  
 § 18. *[ARHA]-<sup>r</sup>pa-wa/i-<sup>r</sup>sá | REL-i ("MORI")wa/i-la-tá*  
 § 19. *wa/i-mu-' pa-si-i-' | (INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa MALUS<sub>1</sub>-wa/i-z[a]-' | CUM-ni |*  
*("\*382")LEPUS+RA/I-ia-ta*  
 (6) § 20. *mi-i-ha-wa/i-' | (\*274)u-pa-ti-ti-i | ("MALUS"<sub>2</sub>)ha-ha-ni-wa/i-||z[a]-' |*  
*CU[M-ni] | VAS [...] z[a]+ra/i-ti-i-ta*  
 § 21. *| m[u]-pa-wa/i-' | za-[á]-ti-i-' | "CAELUM"-sa-na [(DEUS)]TONITRUS-hu-ti |*  
*(MANUS)i-s[a-tara/i-x]-x | SUPER[+RA/I-'] | [...]*  
 § 22. *wa/i-tu-' | á-[...] pá<sup>2</sup>+ra/i-[...]*

(text completely destroyed for rest of line 6 and half of line 7 except for two insignificant patches)

- (7) § 23'. || [...](-)mi-zi | INFANS-ni-zi-i x x [...] ...  
 § 24'. *[á-mi-pa-wa/i]-mi-i-tu-' | ("\*314") ka-pi-la-li-na (FILIA)tú-wa/i-tara/i-na*  
*(FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)ta-ni-ti-na | i-zi-i-wa/i-i*  
 § 25'. *wa/i-mu-' | "AUDIRE"-ti-i-tá | za-á-sa | "CAELUM-si"-i-sa || (DEUS) TONITRUS*  
*[...]*  
 § 26'. *wa/i-mu-[-] | pi-[?]-x mi-i-n[a]-' | ("\*314") k[a]-pi-la-li-i-na*  
 § 27'. *wa/i-tá-' | ARHA | CAPUT 69(-)i-ti-[x]*  
 § 28'. *pa-si-pa-[wa/i]-' | INFANS [...]*  
 § 29'. *pa-si-pa-wa/i-' (FILIA)tú-wa/i-ta[ra/i-na] FE[MINA] ...*

#### Translation

- § 1. [I am PN, tilles, ...] ...-ed country-king, Hapatilas's great-grandson, the ruler Ariyahinas's son.  
 § 2. Me (as) a ... child celestial Tarhuns, Ea the king, the good god Kuparmas, Matilas(?), Tesupas, and the Haranean Moon God, and Kupapa ... [...]  
 § 3. [ ... ] they loved,  
 § 4. they gave me my paternal power.

- § 5. ...  
 § 6. and I TARZI-ed ...  
 § 7. When [my great-]grandfather(?) 'was king(?)'  
 § 8. he was lord to/for his *demesne*,  
 § 9. he governed in the west and the east.  
 § 10. But when he *died* in the country Ana,  
 § 11. my father, because his 20-TATIS *despised* (him) (as) a child,  
 § 12. he took over his *power* by *violence*(?).  
 § 13. Thereafter his son Hamiyatas *arose*(?),  
 § 14. he [...]ed me over my great-grandfather by/with/from *power*,  
 § 15. [...] me] he made lord of his (own) house,  
 § 16. and me he made great(er) than his (own) brothers, +  
 § 17. everyone *regarded* my face (i.e. obeyed me).  
 § 18. But when he *died*,  
 § 19. his son decreed evil for me,  
 § 20. and he *contrived* wickedness for my *demesne*.  
 § 21. But I [raised] up (my) han[d(s)] to this celestial Tarhunzas,  
 § 22. to him 'those words' [I spoke: "...]

(prayer largely missing)

- § 23'. [...] ... sons ... [...]  
 § 24'. [and] I myself shall make [my] *enemy*(s) daughter a hierodule for him".  
 § 25'. This celestial Tarhunzas heard me,  
 § 26'. to me [he] ga[ve(?)] my *enemy*,  
 § 27'. (his) head [I] destroy[ed],  
 § 28'. and his son[s ...]  
 § 29'. and his daughter a hi[erodule] I made ...

#### Philological Notes

§ 1. *The missing titulary*: cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 204. The Hier. inscriptions qualify the name of the authors with any of three elements in variable order—(a) genealogy, (b) office(s), (c) ornamental epithets. The traces of a word formerly preserved before REGIO REX-*tis* (see *Carchemish* III, A 33 h\*), apparently a participle in -*mi*- rather than an ethnic adjective in -*wani*- or -*iza*-, imply that this phrase should be restored as an ornamental epithet ("honour'd country-king" or the like—so Meriggi). The otherwise unattested REGIO REX corresponds to the common Carchemish title REGIO DOMINUS.

Such ornamental epithets, after office title and genealogy are best exemplified on MARAŞ 1 (lion), 3-4 (collated):

DEUS-na-ti (LITUUS+) á-za-mi-sà CAPUT-ta-ti X-X-X-ni-mi-sà | FINES-ha-ti AUDIRE-mi-sà  
 REX-ti-sà (LITUUS+) á-za-mi-sa | (BONUS)u-li-ia-mi-sà ("\*422")mu-hi-nu-wa/i-ti-sà | ("PANIS")  
 ma-li-ri+i-mi-i-sà REX-ti-sà

"the king beloved by the gods, [...]ed by the people, heard of abroad, the beloved, exalted, MUHINUWA(N)TI, sweet (lit. 'honeyed(?)') king" (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 151; (BONUS) *uliyami*- clearly participle of (BONUS)*waliya*(nu)-, "exalt").

Here the sizeable gap would accommodate several such epithets, and would be expected to have contained also the author's office. The office title is missing also from TELL AHMAR 2, so that the indigenous designation of the kingdom of Til-Barsip is unknown: the possible identification on the fragment *Til-Barsib*, VIII. 3 is extremely doubtful, as is also the dependent attribution of the value *pá* (see *HH*, no. 462 for bibliography; and most recently, Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 217).

*The genealogy*: the order of the forebears, great-grandfather—father, is unparalleled but



the MALATYA inscriptions regularly have grandfather—father (so Meriggi). According to the restoration and interpretation offered below (especially §§ 7–12), the great-grandfather and father were the regnant forebears, which would account for this genealogy.

*Iara/i-ia-hi-na-si-*: reading subject of much former doubt. Repeated collation now convinces me that Hrozný's reading is correct, i.e. *sign 1—HH*, no. 133, value established (with cursive form, no. 134) as *ara/i*; *sign 2—HH*, no. 210, *ia*; *sign 3—HH*, no. 413, *hi* (contrary to my statement in *ZA* 63 (1973–74), 308, where I mistook it for *HH*, no. 415, *sa*). We thereby reach the transcription *Ariyahina-* and earlier attempts to bend this name into some form of the (cuneiform) *Ahuni*, last king of Til-Barsip, must be abandoned.

(INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-*: this spelling, which occurs twice on this stele, seems to imply that the word should be interpreted as *nimuwiza-* rather than *nimuwanza-* (i.e. a form ending in *-iza-* rather than *-anza-*).

§ 2. Although the beginning of this clause is very difficult, it may be suggested<sup>1</sup> that the general sense could be comparable with that of *KBo* VI, 29 i 7 f.:

*nu-mu kap-pi-in-pát DUMU-an dIŠTAR uru ša-mu-ḥa A-NA A-BU-IA ú-e-ik-ta*  
 "me as a small child Ištar of Samuha required of my father". (Hattusilis III)

The following observations are offered in support of this interpretation:

*wa/i-mu-'ia-*: peculiarity of writing noted by Meriggi; *-ia* apparently an unknown particle otherwise unattested except in an identical context in *TELL AHMAR* 2, 2. Conceivably in both contexts it could be read as a part of the following word *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-(i)-na*, thus *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-(i)-na*.

INFANS(-)*ni-wa/i-á-ra/i*-\*282: order of reading uncertain, as often in the *TELL AHMAR* inscriptions. The sign 282 occurs in the word (\*256)*ka*-\*282-*na* (*CARCHEMISH* A 30 h), which is plausibly considered to represent the word *karunan* (acc. sing. MF), "granary" (*HH*, nos. 255–256; *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, s.v. *karuna*). I cannot suggest any sense to be yielded in the present context from any value which could be attributed to \*282 on the basis of this context.

If, however, we may distinguish the sign of *CARCHEMISH* A 30 h from that in the present context (following Meriggi, *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, nos. 359c, 418), I would suggest that we might identify the word with (INFANS)*niwarani-* in the following context, *MARAS* 4 statue, 5 (collated):

*wa/i-tá VIR-ti-i-zi-i* ("PES")*pa-ti-zi* | *ARHA* ("MANUS+CULTER") *REL+RA/I-ha'*  
 | (INFANS(-))*ni-wa/i-ra/i-ni-zi-pa-wa/i* ("\*474")*u-si-na-si-zi-i* | *i-zi-i-ha'*  
 ("I captured a city,  
 (of) the men I cut off the feet,  
 and the children I made attendants".

For the verb *REL+RA/I* (i.e. \*kwir-), "cut", see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 143; for the mutilation inflicted on captives by Shalmaneser III, a contemporary of the author of the quoted inscription, see L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs*, Band X.3 (lower register), plate LVI; (\*474)*wasinasi-/usinasi-* is clearly identifiable with the Cun. Luwian *waššinašši*, "(that) of the body", here "body-servants, attendants".

(INFANS)*niwarani-*, parallel formation to *nimuwiza-*, "not-potent, not-mature" (i.e. "child"), thus "not-warani", the latter element perhaps being a *-ni* suffixed *nomen actionis* of the root *wari(ya)*, "help" (*An. St.* 25 (1975), 139), therefore "helpless(?)". In contrast to "males", *niwarani-* could have the basic meaning "the helpless", or simply be a further circumlocution for "child", like *nimuwiza-*.

If we can indeed identify the same word *niwarani-* here, the sign Meriggi 418 would be used to write the end of the stem (-*ni*-) + case ending, which, if as suggested the word stands in apposition to *-mu*, would be dat., or more probably, if *a-ta<sub>5</sub>-na* is a noun or adjective in agreement (see below), acc. sing. MF; thus we would expect *-ni(ya)* (dat.) or *-nin* (acc.). In Hieroglyphic, syllabograms of the type CVC(V) are largely confined to those with *-r-* as second consonant (thus *HH*, nos. 13–14, *para/i*; *HH*, no. 248, *DOMUS+RA/I* = *para*; *HH*, no. 315, *kar*; *HH*, no. 389, *tara/i*); cf. however also *HH*, no. 366, *OMNIS < TA<sub>2</sub>+NI*—Laroche, *Syria* 33 (1956), 132; *HH*, no. 367, *tal < TA<sub>2</sub>+LI*—Laroche, *Ugaritica* III, 129; *HH*, no. 391, *MUWA(?)*—Mittelberger, *Die Sprache* 8 (1962), 280; *HH*, no. 429, *TANA*. It seems that—rarely—either compound signs may be constructed from two originally separate elements, or logograms of words of the form CVC(V) may be used as a corresponding syllabogram. Could it be that the sign Meriggi 418 is of this type? Alternatively we could suppose it to have the value *ni<sub>2</sub>*, and

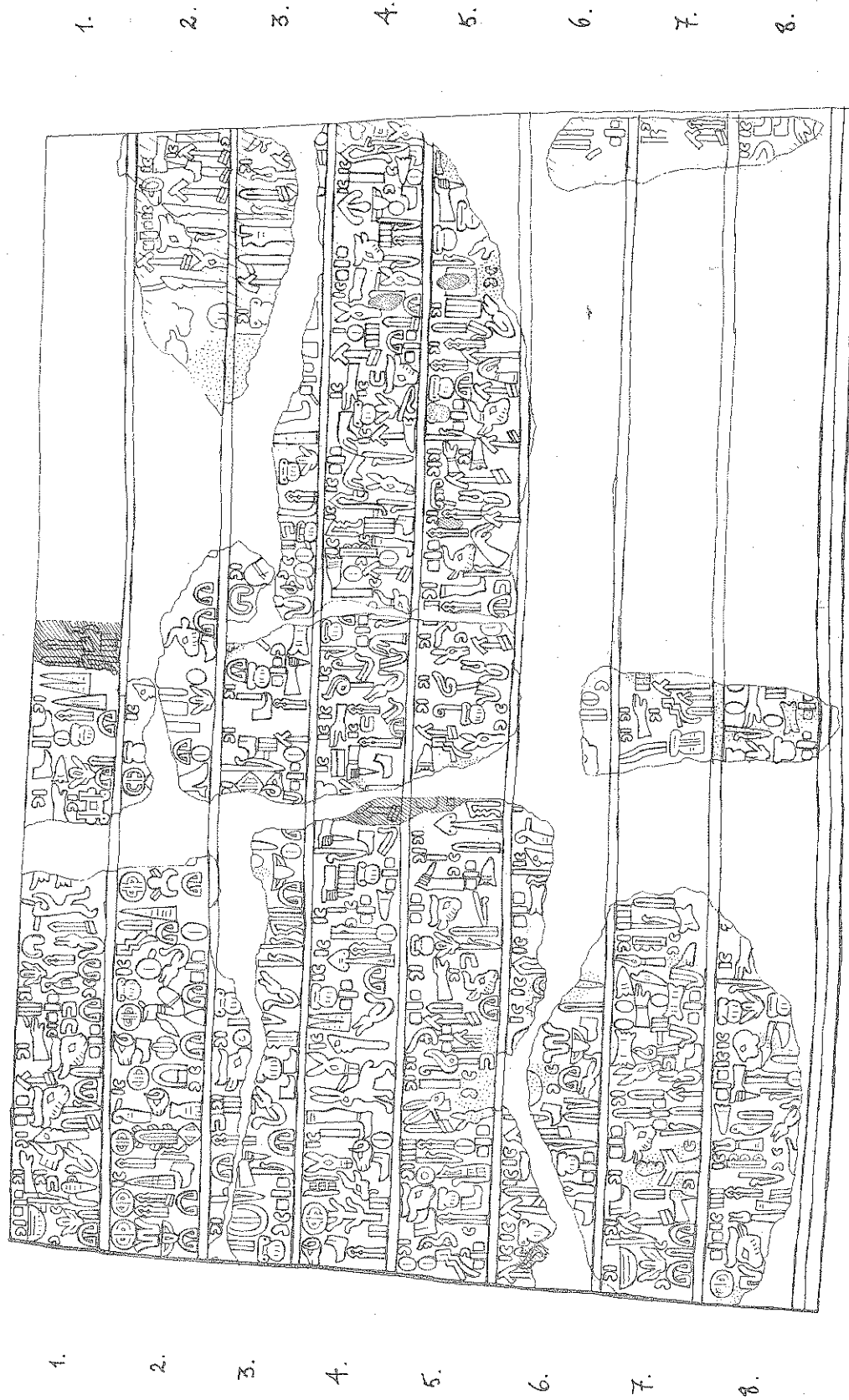
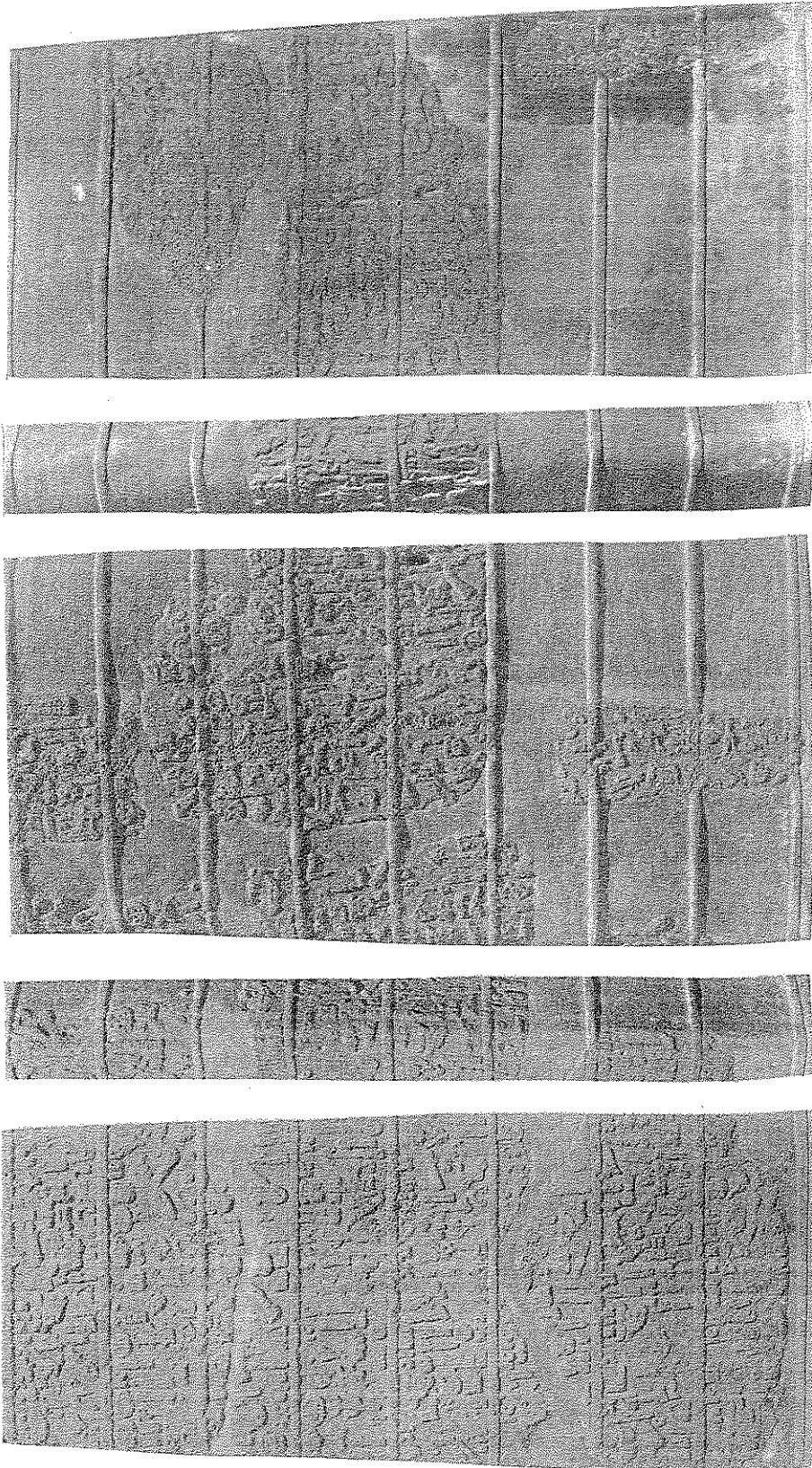


Fig. 1 The stele TELL AHMAR I: collated text.





The stele TELL AHMAR 1: photograph of sides, corners and back.



The stele ALEPPO 2: photograph of back.  
(For the front, see Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), Plate XXIV).

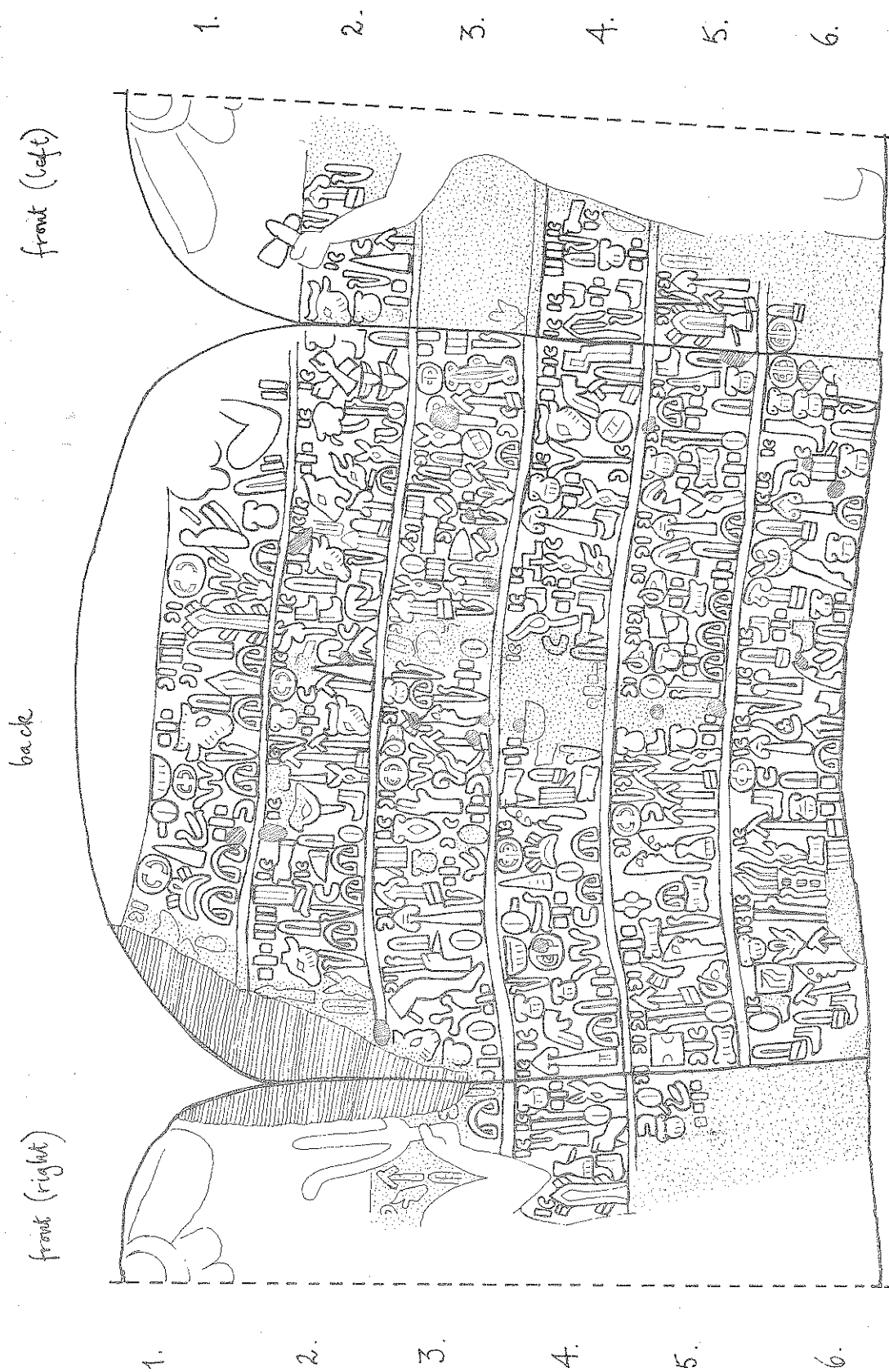


Fig. 2 The stele ALEPPO 2: collated text.



the word to be either dat. sing., or acc. sing. with the case-ending not written (for which cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 127).

*á-ta<sub>5</sub>-na* (or perhaps *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-na*): cf. TELL AHMAR 2, 2, *á-t[a<sub>5</sub>]-i-na* (collation of Poetto, *Or. Ant.* 17, 280) or perhaps *á-ia-t[a<sub>5</sub>]-i-na*, similar, broken, context (transliteration raises the problem examined in *JRAS* 1975/2, 130 ff., on the vocalization of *ta<sub>4</sub>* and *ta<sub>5</sub>*). Meriggi identifies and lists this word with the *á-ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>*, which stands before gods' names in BOYBEYPINARI, ANCOZ and TOPADA (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, s.v. *áti-s*; cf. also Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), 90). Neither this context, nor an occurrence in ASSUR letter e (*An. St.* 25 (1975), 135) offer any assistance to the understanding of the word, so for the present the contexts are best kept separate. Here the word seems to be acc. sing. MF which prompts a similar identification of the preceding *-mu* and following INFANS(-) *niwara*-\*282. Since the options for the latter have been suggested to be either an adjective ("helpless") or a noun ("child"), the options for this word are either noun ("a helpless child(?)") or adjective ("an *ata*-/*aiata* child"). Having said this, one must remember that the sense is merely guessed from the possible parallelism with the Cun. Hittite quotation from Hattusilis III, with which the section was introduced. The possibility of identifying a word *ata*- or *aiata*- as "child", or an appropriate adjective (e.g. "young"?) is here presented.

The sequence of gods: seems to correspond at least approximately with that on TELL AHMAR 2, 2-3, though both are mutilated. See in general M. Kalaç, *Or. NS* 34 (1965), 401-427, s.v. *Tarhu*(<sup>2</sup>t)-, *Aā*, NISABA, *Mu(wa)tila*-, *Tešup*, *Arma*, *Kupapa*.

(DEUS)\*454(-) *ma-ti-lá/i-sa* / (DEUS)\*454-*lá/i-i-sa*: full phonetic reading probably but not certainly *Matilis*. Kalaç now suggests a reading *Hummatilis* (*KZ* 92 (1978), 121).

(DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa* [ . . . ] (DEUS)*k[u+á]VIS-pa-[pa]-sa-ha*: small lacuna corresponds to longer passage in TELL AHMAR 2, 3, where I would read—

| *á-ta-na* | (PES<sub>2</sub>)*tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* X [ . . . ]. Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, 212) would read X as KUTU, and Poetto (*Or. Ant.* 17, 280, n. 7) as <sup>d</sup>[U]TU. Although these readings would give good sense, my own collation does not fully support them, but I would provisionally accept one or other. *á-ta-na* (= *a(n)tan*?) *tarzamis* taken here as divine epithet (cf. § 6 below for verb (PES<sub>2</sub>)*tarzi*-). In the following gap, Poetto restores Meriggi's <sup>d</sup>Ka? . . . s (with which my collation agrees) as <sup>d</sup>Ka+*ra-h[u-ha]-s*, a difficult but perhaps not impossible reading.

§ 5. *á-[wa/i]* — | ("CAPUT")*ha+ra/i-ma-hi-na*: provisionally taken as single clause, since the broken remains of the intervening words do not readily suggest the sequence *verb—connective particles—verb*, which would be required if two clauses were represented. Further collation might contribute to the elucidation.

[ . . . U ] RBS?: suggested by squeeze in the B.M.; preceded by city-name?

[ . . . ] (-) *pa-si-i* [ . . . SU ] PER+*RA/I pa+ra/i* [ . . . ]: at a guess, a restoration [(CABLUM) *ti*] *pa-si-i* SUPER+*RA/I pa+ra/i*, "up into the sky" might seem not implausible.

verb: presumably to be sought in [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>7</sup>-*ha*.

*harmahin*: clearly a direct object.

A sense for this passage similar to that of CARCHEMISH A 6, 2, is contemplated ("the gods caused my name to go up to the sky, and my name they caused to pass abroad").

§ 6. PES<sub>2</sub>(-) *tara/i-zi-ha*: cf. PES<sub>2</sub>(-) *tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-tá* (CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 2; cited below, § 11); PES<sub>2</sub>(-) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* (TELL AHMAR 2, 3; cited above, § 2). The form *tara/i-zi-ha* in BULGARMADEN, 2, may indicate that we have here a full phonetic spelling, for it seems to belong to a similar context, i.e. "the gods did something good for me, and I *tarzi*-ed".

| *1-ti-i*: probably best taken thus as the logogram "one" (so Meriggi) and distinguished from the logogram MORI discussed below.

§ 7. Restoration: this clause must introduce the singular subject of §§ 8-10, and appears to contain three nominative words ending in *-sa/sá*. The end of this clause and the beginning of the next seems to be marked by the [ . . . ]' [ . . . ]'. The nominatives suggest that something is predicated of something else, and thus that a form of the verb "to be" may be restored, which is supported by the spacing; for the restoration [*sa-tá*]-' [*wa/i-sa*]-', "... he was, and he . . .", compare the writing of this pair in e.g. CARCHEMISH A 11 b, 2 (§§ 2-3).

*hu-ha[-?]-sa*: perhaps the full phonetic writing of the word "grandfather", the awkward arrangement of the signs (typical of this inscription) being dictated by the necessity to fill the

space below the large logogram AVUS, now almost entirely lost. The comparable writing (AVUS)hu-ha-ti (§ 14) suggests however the restoration hu-ha[-ti]-sa, which introduces the great-grandfather, Hapatilas, named in the genealogy, and seems more appropriate to the context; for further discussion of this problem, see below, note on § 14. That the "great-grandfather" should be the subject of §§ 7-10 is quite probable, since § 11 continues with "my father" (acc.).

[(á-)mi-(i-)s]a-': an obvious restoration, which would fit the space and is demanded by the context, again by contrast with the subsequent "my father".

[REX-ti]-i-sá: besides the clear suitability of this restoration to the spacing, it should be noted that the context which follows, especially §§ 8-9, suggest that the subject was indeed royal.

§ 8. (\*274)upatiti: an association with the Cun. « upati- is apparent. The sense of the latter, as noted by Güterbock (*Oriens* 10 (1957), 360) is drawn from the Ulmi-Tešub Treaty (KBo IV 10 i 30), where it denotes a piece of a city's territory named for the purpose of frontier definition; from the Instructions to Temple Servants (KUB XIII 4 i 44), which lists a festival of the men of the upati-; from the Zukraši text (KBo VII 14 i 10), where the upati's of named persons are mentioned (cf. Starke, *StBot* 23, 169, no. 290). These references are supplemented by its occurrence in O. Ass. texts as a loan word, *upatinnum*, and an onomastic element (E. Bilgiç, *Die einheimischen Appellativa der kappadok. Texte* (Ankara, 1954), 47 ff.); and in Ugaritic as *ubdy* (Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Glossary, no. 17). The range of meaning is thus defined as a certain type of land-holding, and also the persons holding it.

The Hier. form *upatit-* is considered by Starke to be a consonant stem in -it- rather than an enlarged form in -(a)nt(i)- (personal communication). The Hier. attestations offer some scope for enlarging our understanding of the term. A god *upatitasi-Tarhunza-*, "Tarhunzas of the upatit-" is mentioned (MARŠ 4 statue, 1-2), apparently a local manifestation of the deity like Hier. *tuwarsas(is) Tarhunzas*, "T. of the vineyard", or Cun. <sup>dim/dX</sup> *gimras*, "T. of the field". Of the references in the present inscription, § 20 below shows that the *upatit-* was an attribute of an individual liable to attack by the malignant; in parallel contexts we find an individual's "person" (VAS-ni, TELL AHMAR 2, l. 7) so threatened, also his "son and grandson" (KARABURUN, 1-2); cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147 f.). The present context indicates that a man, probably a king, would be "master in/for his upatit-". The translation "demesne" is suggested, covering as it does land owned by a subject but also a sovereign's possessions. Cf. also below, ALRPP 2, note on § 20.

§ 10. Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, 207) comments on the peculiarity of the verbal ending -tá being written in the same "column" as the following connective particle group *mi-pa-wa/i-*. Such arrangements are not uncommon in Hier., though normally a word divider would be written. This may be taken as a typical example of the way in which this inscription is careless in spacing and arrangement of its signs.

á-na(REGIO)-: Meriggi (loc. cit.) considered REGIO to have the syllabic value *tu*, found in two KARATEPE alternations of this sign with *tu* (Ho. 283, 325). It is, however, very unlikely that this rare and unexplained usage would occur here. If we compare such writings as á-sú+ra/i(REGIO)-wa/i-ni-, "Assyrian", we may well conclude that REGIO here exercises its normal function of postposed determinative of country names. A comparable writing occurs on TELL AHMAR 2, 6, á-na-i-tá(REGIO)-wa/i-na- (collated, order of reading somewhat uncertain) in the following context:

wa/i-mu- (DEUS)AVIS-ta-ni-zi | á-na-i-tá(REGIO)-wa/i-na- | (SOLIUM)i-sa-n[ú]-wa/i-h[a]

"During my 'good' times' I settled the Anaitean . . ."

(DEUS)AVIS-ta-ni-zi: sense close to "days, times, years", in contexts describing prosperity, hence present translation (cf. *An. St.* 29 (1979), 157, n. 31); elsewhere the word is found in dat. plur., but for acc. of duration of time, cf. such phrases as ara/i-zi OMNIS-MI-zi, "for all generations"; CENTUM-ni usin, "for 100 year(s)" (*JRAS* 1975/2, 125 f., 129 f.; *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 153; and for Cun. Hittite, see Friedrich, *Elementarbuch*, § 202; Kammenhuber, *Hipp. Helh.*, 269 ff., 331 f.).

á-na-i-tá(REGIO)-wa/i-na-: apparently acc. plur. neuter of -wani- ethnic adj. of stem *anaita-*, though it is very hard to see what the sense could be with this as the direct object of the verb *isanu(wa)-*.



*ana*(REGIO)-, *anaita*(REGIO)-: the two writings might possibly refer to the same place. The toponym *Ana* could perhaps be associated with the land of Hana, attested at least as late as the mid-11th century B.C. (RLA IV, s.v. *Hana*); and the form *anaita* to the city *Hanat* (2nd millennium), or alternatively to the city *Anat* (1st millennium—RLA I, s.v. *Anat*). Hana(t) and Anat were geographically distinct, the one lying upstream and the other downstream from Mari (Kupper, *Nomades*, 44 ff.). (A loss of an initial *h*- in the Hier. rendering of Semitic place names is seen in *imat(u)*-, "Hamath" and *ilapa*-, "Halab"—HHL, [15] f.; CARCHEMISH A 24, cf. *Iraq* 36 (1974), 72 and n. 39). In the reign of Aššurnasirpal II, which TELL AHMAR I probably antedated by at least one generation, the people of Bit-Adini were actively interfering in the middle-Euphrates states of Laqe, Hindanu and Suhu (Grayson, *ARI* II, § 547, 578-9).

*arha* ("MORI")*wal(a)*:- for a detailed argument that this word means "to die" (whence the rendering of the logogram MORI), see Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), 109-119. This clause, with § 18 below, forms one of the three contexts crucial to this interpretation.

REL-i: if the rest of the sense of this clause has been correctly established, it would precisely fix the meaning of this conjunction as "when".

§ 11. The order of the reading of the signs in this clause is especially problematic, though in fact it is not as acute as might be supposed from the copies of Hrozný and Meriggi, as reference to my photograph, Plate ?, will confirm. The order suggested, in my opinion, offers the only possibility of retrieving the grammatical structure of the clause. What has happened is that in the careless arrangement of the signs in which this text abounds, the final signs, particularly the nominal and verbal endings, have been shifted to the right out of their proper "columns". Many examples of such displacements could be observed in Hier. texts (e.g. in the usually well-arranged CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 4: AEDIFICARE+MI-ha). The key word to recognize here is SUB-na-na (= *anan*, "under", HH, no. 57, 2), for which compare the writing of the same word in the next line directly below (§ 17).

[REL(?)]-za: the presence of the -za is signalled by Hrozný's text and seems from the photograph, *Til-Barsib*, Album, pl. V, to have been on a joined fragment now lost.

20-ta-ti-i-sa: surely to be read in this order and construed as subject. The word is attested elsewhere only on CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 2:

mi-zi-pa-wa/i-mu-ta- | 20-ta-ti-zi ARHA CRUS+RA/I  
[wa/i]-ma-ta | REGIO-ni-ia | \*314(-)sa-pa-za | REL-a-ti SUB-na-na ARHA PES<sub>2</sub>(-)tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-ta

"My 20-TATI's revolted from me,

but though they caused to ANAN ARHA TARZA from me the lands . . . ,  
(the gods loved me . . . )"

I would suggest that the *mi(n)zi* 20-tati(n)zi are the same persons as those referred to in CARCHEMISH A 11 b + c as "Ura-Tarhunzas' grandsons" (cf. *Iraq* 36 (1974), 72, with *An. St.* 25 (1975), 134 citation 23), and that both contexts describe the same dynastic struggle against rebels at the beginning of Katuwas' reign. Contextually the word 20-ta-ti-, applied both there and here apparently to rivals for power, seems most likely to be a term of kinship, perhaps compounded with *tati*-, "father", comparable with the kinship terms compounded with *anna/i*-, "mother" (Hitt. LU/SAL *anninniyami*-, "cousin"; *annameka*-, "sister (by same mother)"; cf. also Luw. *annawanni*-, *tatawanni*-, "step-mother/father"). If this suggestion is correct, "uncle" or "cousin" are perhaps the likeliest interpretations for 20-tati-.

*anan* LITUUS+*nata*: for the interpretation of the verb LITUUS+*na*-, "see", and the present phrase "look down on, despise", see *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 123-138.

§ 12. ("\*382")*sa-la-ha-za*: the exact interpretation of this term requires some consideration in the context of the present inscription, in particular whether it is concrete, "sceptre", or abstract "power, majesty", and whether it is a specific attribute of kings. The concrete interpretation is that of Meriggi (*Glossar*, 22; 173 f.) which would presumably be supported by Gelb's interpretation of the logogram as a determinative for objects made of wood (see below, ALEPPO 2, note on § 8). Laroche suggests an abstract sense by comparing Cun. Hitt. *šallatar*, yet the form would be unparalleled and unexplained. [But see below, Addendum 1].

The statement "the gods gave me my fathers' *salha(n)za*" is made at Carchemish by Suhis

and his son Katuwas, both of whom had regnant fathers; and at Til-Barsip by Hamiyatas (TELL AHMAR 2, 3-4) and Ariyahinas's son in the present inscription (§ 3). Thus at Til-Barsip, Ariyahinas lost his *salha(n)za* while a child to his 20-tatis, whose son Hamiyatas inherited *salha(n)za* from him. Subsequently Hamiyatas [...]ed Ariyahinas's son over his great-grandfather (see below § 14 for a discussion) by/with/from *salha(n)za*, and finally after Hamiyatas had been succeeded by his son, Ariyahinas's son was awarded his father's *salha(n)za* by the gods, apparently by recovering the kingdom from Hamiyatas's son with the support of Celestial Tarhunzas. The alternations of *salha(n)za* do suggest that whoever held it was currently king.

*sara tà-*, "take over": for this usage, cf. BOHÇA, 2 and 3, where Tarhunzas grants the ruler "to take over" (SUPER+RA/I CAPERE(-)luna) the territories—see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia* . . . Meriggi, forthcoming. There it is noted that the verb was (la)la-, "take", and comment is made on the difficulty in deciding in other writings of the verb whether to read the "taking hand" syllabically (thus tà-) or logographically (thus CAPERE, perhaps to be read la-); this observation applies to the present case too.

"\*314"(-)ha-CRUS-sá-tara/i-ti: besides its (logographic) use to write the word *ta(nunwa)-*, "(cause to) stand", the sign CRUS is apparently used with a syllabic value *ta<sub>x</sub>* in the writing of the Malatya king's name ICRUS+RA/I-sa (Taras?), and on three occasions (perhaps four—see below, note on § 26') in this inscription; the contextually clear *ta<sub>x</sub>-ni-mi-i-sa*, "all" (§ 17); the less certain \*382.CRUS(-)LEPUS+RA/I-, perhaps read as reduplicated \**tatapari(ya)-*, "govern, decree" (§ 9); and here, where we may probably read (-)ha-*ta<sub>x</sub>-sá-tara/i-ti*, and analyse as (-)hat+astri-, showing the abstract suffix -stri- noted in *An. St.* 28 (1978), 107. It is tempting to identify this word as Cun. Luw. *hattaš(ar)ri-*, written *ha-at-ta-aš-ta[r]-r[i . . .]* (KUB XXXV 71 ii 9), *ha<sup>2</sup>-at<sup>2</sup>-ta-aš-ta-ri-in* (KUB XXXV 43 ii 18 and duplicates), and translated by Cun. Hitt. *hatugatar*, "frightfulness" (KUB IX 4 ii 18-21 // KUB IX 34 iii 5-6; see Laroche, *RHA* XVI/63 (1958), 103). The translation provisionally yields to the temptation. [Addendum 2].

§ 13. *zila*: cf. HHL, [47].

PUGNUS-ri+i-: a troublesome verb still of uncertain reading [but cf. now below, Addendum 4]. It appears both as transitive and as intransitive (as here). A meaning "raise, rise", seems generally appropriate: cf. *An. St.* 29 (1979), 158 and footnote 36; also below, note on § 21. In the present context, it does seem to mark Hamiyatas' accession to authority.

§ 14. (AVUS)hu-ha-ti: must be dat. sing. of *huha(n)ti-*, as is indicated by the qualifying *mi*. In the genealogical sequence (MARAS 4, 4) *huha(n)ti-* (cf. Cun. Hitt. *huhant-*; Starke, however, prefers to interpret the form as -tti- suffixed, *huhati-*) does seem to mean specifically "great-grandfather". When used as an adjective, however, specially when linked to *tati(ya)-*, "fatherly, of the father", it may mean no more than "grandfatherly, of the grandfather". Presumably a precise degree of relationship is intended here, and it seems probable that it refers to the named great-grandfather of the genealogy Hapatilas, and that it is also the form which should be restored, referring to the same individual, in § 7.

\*382-la-ha-ti: presumably a form of (\*382)*salha-* (so Meriggi and Laroche). It could have seemed appropriate to take *mi huha(n)ti salhati* together as "to my (great-)grandfather's power" (cf. *ama tatiya huha(n)ti<ya>* REGIO-niya, "my father's and (great-)grandfathers' lands" (CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 3); *zaya PORTA-lana ama huha(n)tiya*, "these gates (of) my (great-)grandfather's" (ibid., 4)), but this would involve the difficulty of explaining the form *salhati* as dat. sing. of *salha-*. It seems preferable therefore to separate the two and construe *salhati* as a straightforward abl. (sing.).

Sense: following this analysis, we obtain: "He [...]ed me over my great-grandfather by/with/from power." Though this is somewhat obscured by the loss of the verb, the general significance seems fairly clear.

§ 15. "DOMUS"-[...] DOMINUS-na-i-na: for the phrase "lord of the house", see now a new KULULU stele, to be published by Professor Mustafa Kalaç, to whom I am much indebted for this information. Cf. also Cun. Hitt. EN 6.

§ 16. MAGNUS+RA/I-za-na: for the suffixed form *uraza-*, see HHL, [38-41]; and for syntactic means of expressing comparison in Cun. Hittite, Friedrich, *Elementarbuch*<sub>2</sub>, §§ 221-223.

§ 17. CRUS-*ni-mi-i-sa*: contextually clear usage of CRUS as syllabogram *ta<sub>x</sub>*, as noted by Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 209.

SUB-na-na "LITVUS+*pa*"-za-la-ni-: this passage, and especially this verb, is treated in detail in *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 138-140, in the context of the identification of the LITVUS as determining verbs of "seeing". It is argued there that this verb, of which the exact phonetic shape is somewhat uncertain, means "look at from below, look up to".

("FRONS")ha-ta-za: this form is identified probably as dat. plur. of noun (*plurale tantum*) hanta, "face", rather than the alternative nom./acc. sing. neuter.

"To look up to the face of . . ." is interpreted, by comparison with Akkadian *pānī dagālu*, as "be subservient to, obey".

§ 18. Restoration by parallelism with § 10 above, where see also note with reference to interpretation of *arha wal(a)*- as "die".

-*pa-wa/i*': partially visible on the now missing fragment (see note on § 11, [REL]-za).

§§ 19, 20. MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*wa/i-za*/'("MALUS<sub>2</sub>")ha-ha-ni-wa/i-za: for the logogram(s) MALUS, see Meriggi, *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, nos. 9.3 and 405a-b; Laroche, *HH*, no. 368; the two forms of the logogram should be kept distinct, following Meriggi (i.e. MALUS<sub>1</sub> = *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 9.3; MALUS<sub>2</sub> = *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 405a-b).

§ 19. MALUS<sub>1</sub>: sole attested phonetic spelling (MALUS<sub>1</sub>)*d-tu-wa/i-ri+i*- alternates with MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>*- (KARATEPE, *Hu./Ho.* 102). Elsewhere the logogram is found written with phonetic complements indicating abstract forms in the ablative (MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>/tā-ti*-add the reference from below, ALEPPO 2, § 24; MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>-sa-tara/i-ti*; cf. also MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*hi-ta-ri+i*), where, it will be noted, the final stem syllable is written with *ta<sub>4</sub>* (5 examples), *ta<sub>5</sub>* (2 examples), *tā* (1 example). It may be assumed that behind these writings lies the word *atuwat(a)*- (*An. St.* 20 (1970), 88 f.; for the difficulties of identifying the stem vowel, see now *JRAS* 1975/2, 131).

A nom./acc. sing. neuter is written MALUS<sub>1</sub>-za (SULTANHAN, base, d; KARABURUN, 2, twice). The reading MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*wa/i-za* (for *ka*-) in the present context, and in TELL AHMAR 2, 7, has been well established since Hrozný (*IHH* III, 475 and note 10; cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 209 and 215). The two TELL AHMAR contexts are almost identical with those of KARABURUN (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147 f., citations 56 a(ii), b), which suggests that MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*wa/i-za* is simply a more fully written form of MALUS<sub>1</sub>-za. It seems likely that this writing represents the nom./acc. sing. neuter of *atuwat(a)*-, but its interpretation is not without problems. Cun. Luwian shows an alternation between the consonant stem *adduwal*- and the -i-stem *adduwali*- (*DLL*, 35, s.v.), and we might therefore expect that MALUS<sub>1</sub>-(*wa/i*)-za represents the consonant stem, \**atuwat*+sa. Other Hier. -t- stems, however, do not behave like this: cf. nom./acc. sing. neuter -(a)hi+sa, *taru*+sa; oblique cases -(a)hit-, *tarut*- (*HHL* [31] ff.). Could *atuwat*- have retained the -t- in the nom./acc. sing. neuter for some special reason? [But see below, Addendum 3].

§ 20. ("MALUS<sub>2</sub>")ha-ha-ni-wa/i-za: the only other attestations of MALUS<sub>2</sub> determine the adj. (-)ha-ni-ia-ta-, "evil", so the two words are doubtless connected, the first being reduplicated and suffixed -*wa/i*-, the second perhaps not reduplicated (there is no way of deciding whether this is the full phonetic spelling) and suffixed -*a(n)t*-, perhaps a participle (Neumann, *Festschrift Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 248—but perhaps associate the root with Cun. « *hanhaniya*-, for which a bad sense is argued by van Brock, *RHA* XXII/75 (1964), 139 ff.).

(\*274)*upatiti*: cf. discussion above, note to § 8.

cu[m-ni]: the photograph in *LAAA* 2 (1909), Plate XL, 1, shows traces of the first, now missing sign, which, as Meriggi observes (*Manuale* II/2, 210) can be sufficiently clearly seen to identify as CUM, the preverb used with the verb *zarti*- in its other, closely parallel, attestations (TELL AHMAR 2, 7; KARABURUN, 2, twice). [Reading confirmed by squeeze in the B.M.].

vas[. . .]: an unpublished fragment in Aleppo Museum contains the noun (VAS)za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá. If this is the same root as the verb *zarti*-, vas could be used in both places simply as a determinative. This might be supported by a reading of the parallel passage TELL AHMAR 2, 7: in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147 citation 56a (ii) I read the verb as | CUM-ni | "x" za+ra/i-ti-ti-i. It is possible that x might be (VAS) or even ("vas"); see Poetto's photograph, *Or. Ant.* 17 (1978), Tavola XXIIb. Collation should confirm or invalidate this suggestion decisively.

§ 21. Restoration fairly assured in spite of damage. (MANUS)<sup>1</sup>i-s[a-tara/i-na]-<sup>2</sup>? looks more likely than i-s[a-tara/i-z]<sup>2</sup>?, though the latter is possible. For a parallel context in Cun. Hittite, cf. e.g. Goetze, *AM*, 20 ff., ll. 22-3, 27; also, closer in space and time, the Aramaic inscription of Zakur of Hamath (Donner and Röllig, *KAI*, no. 202, A, 11). For the Hier. phrase "raise the hand(s)", may we compare JISR EL HADID 2, 2: "MANUS"<sup>1</sup>tara/i-na PUGNUS-ri+i-ta (broken context)? For PUGNUS-ri+i-, "rise; raise" (?), see above, note on § 13. [Addendum 4].

§ 22. Translation suggests restoration: |á-[pa-ia] pá<sup>2</sup>+ra/i-[ta].

[lost §§] What followed is almost completely missing, but the framework of §§ 21-22—§ 25' clearly suggests that the entire passage was a long prayer to Tarhunzas, of which the concluding clause was § 24'.

§§ 23'-29'. Passage already treated in *KZ* 92 (1978), 113-116, in the context of the reading of the word "daughter", *tuwatri*-. Some amplifications are offered here.

§ 23'. *tuwatri*-, "daughter": Dr. F. Starke kindly draws my attention to Cun. *SALdu-ut-ta-ri-ia-ti-iš* (Laroche, *Noms*, no. 1388), interpreted by him as an appellative rather than a PN and to be understood as *duttriyattis*, "daughter", a Luwian form extended by the suffix *-tti*- as other kinship terms. As he observes, this establishes the phonetic interpretation of the Hier. writing as *tuwatri*- (personal communication; and see now *KZ* 94 (1980), forthcoming, note 14).

(FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)*ta-ni-ti*:- my guess of "hierodule" for this word never seemed likely to be so swiftly confirmed as it was by Starke, who has quoted me several examples of the Luwism in Cun. Hittite, *SALdaniti*-, including a passage strikingly similar to the present:

Bo 2469, ii 16, 26 f.:

*kuiš-ma-wa memai ANA DLUGAL-ma-war-aš SALdanitiš eš[-...]*

...  
*nu apedani-ya ANA DX SALdanitin tehhi*

"Who(ever) shall say: 'To Šarruma she is *daniti*-

...  
to that Storm-god also I shall put a *daniti*-'".

§ 26'. *pi-[?]-x*: further reflection on this verb suggests to me that, contrary to what I wrote in *KZ* 92 (1978), 115, we may have here simply "DARE. CRUS" as an unusual writing of *piyata*, "he gave". This would produce a further example of the usage of CRUS in this inscription as a syllabogram *ta*, for which cf. above, note on § 12.

## ALEPPO 2

Transliteration (Fig. 2, p. 145).

- (1) § 1. EGO-mi-i<sup>1</sup> Iara/i-pa-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-si | BONUS-mi-i-sa mi-ta<sub>4</sub>-i-sa  
§ 2. wa/i-mu-' (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS-sa ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS) (DEUS)
- (2) LUNA+MI-sa | x x || [...] x-x-ta  
§ 3. wa/i-mu-' mi-i-sa-' DOMINUS-na-ni-sa | FRATER-la-i-sa-ha | X+RA/I-ti  
REL<sup>2</sup>-ta  
§ 4. | za-à-zì-pa-wa/i-mu DEUS-ni-zì REX-<sup>1</sup>ta<sub>x</sub><sup>2</sup>-hi-tà CUM-ni | PES<sub>2</sub>.PES<sub>3</sub>(-)-tà-ti-i  
§ 5. <sup>1</sup>wa/i<sup>1</sup>-mu-' | x-x-ia | (BESTIA)REL<sub>2</sub>-sà+ra/i-sa  
§ 6. wa/i-ta | PRAE-na ARHA | (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)hu-hu+ra/i-pa-ti-i
- (3) § 7. mu-pa-wa/i-' | URBS-ni-zì- NEG<sub>2</sub>-' [...] ...  
§ 8. wa/i-mi-' (DEUS)SOL(-)ni<sup>2</sup>(-)-za ("\*382(?)")ta-ru-sa | i-zì-i-ha(-)si  
§ 9. à-wa/i mi-na-' | FRATER-la-na Iha-mi-i[a]-ta-NEG<sub>2</sub> NEG<sub>2</sub>-' | [...] -ha  
§ 10. à-wa/i pa-sa-' | à-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za (DEUS)TONITRUS CUM-ni | PONERE-wa/i-<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>  
§ 11. | VAS-tara/i-pa-wa/i-na NEG<sub>2</sub>-' | REL-i-ha à-tà CRUS+RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha

- (4) § 12. *mu-pa-wa/i* <sup>1</sup>*x-x*-*sa zi-i-x-x* || | BONUS-*sa*<sub>5</sub>+*ra/i-ti* | DARE-*tá*  
 § 13. | ARHA-*pa-wa/i-ta* | REL-*sa* | *tá-i*  
 § 14. *pa-pa-wa/i-*' (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS)-*ha*  
 (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa* | (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ia-tú*  
 § 15. *wa/i-tú-*' | CAELUM [...] | *ni-i* INFRA-*tá* | PES-*wa/i-ti-i*  
 § 16. | ("TERRA")*ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* | ("\*471")*mu-ru-wa/i-tà-za* | *ní-i*  
 SUPER+*RA/I-*' | PES-*wa/i-ti*  
 (5) § 17. *mi-i-pa-wa/i-*' | FRATER(-)*x* || [...] | REL-*d-za* | BONUS-*sa*<sub>5</sub>+*ra/i-ti-i* | *pi-pa-*  
*sa-wa/i-i*  
 § 18. | ARHA-*pa-wa/i-tú-wa/i-tà-ta* | REL-*sa* | *tà-i*  
 § 19. | *ma-wa/i-tú-wa/i-sa* | *tà-ti-sa*  
 § 20. | *ma-pa-wa/i-sa* | \*274 [...] |  
 § 21. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta-*' | *za-d-zi* DEUS-*ni-zi* | IRA-*lá/i-sa-tú*  
 § 22. *wa/i-tú-*' | *d-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za* | ARHA | "DOMUS+*RA/r*"-*tú*  
 (6) § 23. | *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-pa-w[a/i...]* [...] | *ia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti* | X-*zi d-pa-si-z[i]*  
 | AR[HA] | (FLAMMAE(?))*ki-n[ú]-sà-tú*  
 § 24. | *za-ti-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-i* | REL-*sa* | MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>-d-ti* | VERSUS-*ia-na* | PES-*wa/i-*  
*ti-i*  
 § 25. NEG<sub>2</sub>-*pa-wa/i* <sup>1</sup>*tara/i-pa-ia* | REL-*sa* | ("CORNU")*tara/i-pa* | CRUS-*i*  
 § 26. *pa-pa-wa/i-*' (DEUS)*ku+A[VIS ...]* (DEUS)[*i*]-*ia-*[...]

## Translation

- § 1. I (am) Arpas, Tarhunzas' honoured servant.  
 § 2. Celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean Moon-God [...] march]ed [before] me.  
 § 3. Where(?) my lord and brother shall ... (for) me,  
 § 4. these gods shall walk with me for kingship,  
 § 5. the wild beasts shall(?) ... (?) (for) me,  
 § 6. they shall PARAN ARHA HUHURPA- (them?).  
 § 7. And me the cities ... not [...]  
 § 8. I myself made an image of the Sun-God.  
 § 9. I did not [...] my brother Hamiyatas,  
 § 10. I established his name with Tarhunzas  
 § 11. but I did not set him up (as) any figure,  
 § 12. and he gave ... to me with goodness.  
 § 13. But whoever takes (it/them) away,  
 § 14. him may celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean Moon-God curse!  
 § 15. For him let not [...] come down from the sky,  
 § 16. and let not MURUWATA(N)ZA come up from the earth!  
 § 17. (That) which I shall present to my brother in goodness,  
 § 18. whoever shall take it away from him,  
 § 19. whether he (be) a father to him,  
 § 20. or whether he (be) 274 [...],  
 § 21. against him may these gods be angry,  
 § 22. may they *get rid* of his name!  
 § 23. For the Haranean [Moon-God ...] for [ma]lle (and) female let his/their ...-s  
*burn(?)* up [...]!  
 § 24. But who(ever) approaches this god with malice,  
 § 25. or who(ever) tramples(?) on Arpas,  
 § 26. him may Kupapa and Ea [...]



*Philological Notes*

§ 1. *larpa-*: for this as an onomastic element found elsewhere only in late, compound names, see Houwink ten Cate, *LP*, 147.

*mi-ta<sub>4</sub>-i-*: the peculiarity of this and other examples as compared with the usual *mi-ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>-* has been noted, *JRAS* 1975/2, 131 f.; compare also in this inscription *FRATER-la-i-* (§ 3) which, with other examples, regularly alternates with *FRATER-la-* (e.g. this inscription, § 9). Cun. Luwian seems to show the same alternation between *-a-* and *-ai-* stems: cf. the forms quoted in *DLL* for *wašha-*.

§ 2. Translation suggests the possible reading of the verb as *(-)REL<sub>2</sub>-ia-*, i.e. *(para) huiya-*, "run, march before".

§ 3. *REL(?) -ta*: conjunction not very well attested in this form, only in obscure contexts (*SIRZI*, 3; *MARAS* 1, 6; *TOPADA*, 6; *CARCHEMISH* A 30, a 2 and 4; A 27 k); but it may perhaps be identified with the better attested *REL-i-ta* (*BABYLON* stele 4; *CARCHEMISH* A 1 a, 1; A 1 b, 2 (reduplicated)) with a probable translation of "where(ver)"; and *REL-i-ta-na* (*KARATEPE* XX, 104; XXXIV, 178, translated by Phoen. (b)-'š, "where"); cf. also *REL-ta-ha* (*ASSUR* letter c, iii; letter g, "i" (properly iii)), which may also be translated "wherever".

§§ 4-6: passage treated by A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins, in *Studia . . . Meriggi*, Fig. 4 and commentary.

§ 4. *REX-<sup>7</sup>id/tà<sup>7</sup>-hi-tà*: form noted in *JRAS* 1975/2, 129, n. 18, apparently an example of the dative case in *-a*.

§ 5. Recognition of *(BESTIA)REL<sub>2</sub>-sà+ra/i-sa* as *\*hwisar+sa*, "wild beasts" (nom./acc. sing. neuter), and the consequent identification of beginning of § 6 with *wa/i-ta*, leaves § 5 a very short clause. Options for the illegible word which seems to end in *-ia* are: (i) plur. neuter noun or adjective, predicated of *\*hwisar-(sa)* (latter difficult—plur. neuter with sing. collective?); or preferably (ii) verb, 3rd sing. present in *-ia* (for which see now A. Morpurgo Davies, *Festschrift O. Szemerényi*, 577 ff.). A reading *REL<sub>2</sub>.REL<sub>2</sub>-ia*, "will run (to me)" would give some sense, but hardly agrees with the traces.

§ 6. Unclear are both subject ("it/they"—the gods, the wild beasts?) and object (*-ata*, "it/them"—the wild beasts?). For the verb *huhurpa-*, with derived form *huhurpali-*, see now M. Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), 124; contexts of the attestations seem hardly sufficient to determine range of meaning for root.

§ 8. *(-)ni<sup>2</sup>(-)za*: some doubt over presence of *ni*, though it is the most likely sign to read here; *-ni-za* does not however offer a recognizable phonetic complement to *(DEUS)SOL (tiwat-)*; reading *(DEUS)SOL-za* perhaps possible.

*ta-ru-sa*, "statue": elsewhere always determined by *CAPUT+VAS* (*HH*, no. 12); but while a restoration of this is not absolutely excluded here, it seems more likely that the logogram is *HH*, no. 382, a determinative plausibly suggested by Gelb to mark objects made of wood, as Cun. grš, the original pictogram of which it resembles (Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* III, 47 citation 8; cf. id., *A Study of Writing* (revised ed.; Chicago, 1963), Fig. 54, wood). A reading of *za* ("\*382") *ta-ru-sa*, "this statue", is perhaps possible.

*(-)si*: element unknown and difficult to explain, perhaps to be taken as suffixed to the ensuing copula *awa*; but it could be identified with the unexplained *-si* twice found following the verb *(PES<sub>2</sub>)REL<sub>2</sub>.REL<sub>2</sub>-sà-ta/tà(-si)* (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 136 f.), which would strengthen the case for taking it with the verb here.

§§ 9-11: passage treated in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 134 and Fig. 1, 140.

§ 12. *x-x-sa*: presumably represents the subject for which one might expect *á-pa-sa*, "the latter", i.e. my brother Hamiyatas, but such a restoration hardly agrees with the traces. Nevertheless the brother must surely be understood as the subject, and the clause to relate to the reciprocal favours bestowed by him on Arpas.

*zi-i-x-x*: presumably the object of donation.

§§ 13-14: quoted by A. Morpurgo Davies, in *Festschrift Szemerényi*, 588.

§§ 15-16: quoted in *RHA* XXIX (1971), 115 f. and Fig. 4, 128 (old transliteration), in context of discussion of *awi*, "come".

§ 17. FRATER(-)x[. . .]-x: the possibility that the first sign after the logogram is *á* suggests that what followed might have been the full phonetic writing of the word for "brother"; which, had it been preserved, would have established whether or not this was *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-la-* (*HH*, no. 45/III; contra *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 43, s.v. *á-ti-la-i*; cf. also *An. St.* 29 (1979), 159, n. 51).

§ 18. *-pa-wa/i-ti-wa/i-tà-ta*: Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, 244) has commented on the interesting accumulation of particles, *(-pa+wa)*, + *tu* ("for him") + *ata* ("it") + *ta* (= *Cun. Luw. -tta*, *Hitt. -kan*).

§ 19. Grammatical structure is sufficiently clear: *ma(n)*- ("whether") + *wa*, + *tu* ("to him") + *as* ("he") "(is) a father". The sense of this clause is perhaps to be sought in the literary topos of "becoming father to kings" (e.g. *KARATEPE*, XVIII).

§ 20. *HH*, no. 274: of the two words attested as determined by this logogram, the verb *hatali-*, "smite" is clearly irrelevant to the context; the other, (\*274)*upatit-* is discussed above, *TELL AHMAR* 1, note on § 8. Some derived form of the latter might be appropriate here, "*upatit-man*" or the like.

§ 22. "DOMUS+*RA/I*"-*tú*: all other Late Period attestations of this verb write it as a causative form in *-nu/nú* (see *HH*, no. 248; *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 95; and add *ADİYAMAN* 1, 4; *MEHARDE*, rev. 2). *EMIRGAZI*, however, besides a *DOMUS+RA/I-nú-wa/i-ha* (V, 3), has a form *DOMUS+RA/I-i/ia* (B, 3: see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 129 f.), apparently 3rd sing. present of the simple verb. It is probably a writing of this simple verb which is to be understood here, and it, too, like the *EMIRGAZI* attestation is transitive.

§ 23. *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-*: expected to be followed by (DEUS)LUNA, this form is presumably dative, since although it could be accusative, it is hard to envisage a clause in this context of which "the Haranean Moon-god" could be the object.

Order of reading of signs and divisions of words in the following group is somewhat uncertain. I have chosen the one which seems to offer best hope of understanding the structure of the clause. For suffixes, cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 143 citation 50.

[. . .]-*ia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti*: the restoration "to/for the Haranean Moon-god" suggests the further restoration [*tanimi-ha masani* VIR-*ti-jia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti*, "[and to/for every god ma]le (and) female".

X-*zi*: unidentified logogram resembling \*477 (FLAMMAE(?)) inside rectangle.

(FLAMMAE(?))*ki-n[ú]-sà-tú*: the verb *arha kinuwa-* is used elsewhere of offering animals to gods (CEKKE, obv. top, 1-2, read *ki-[nu]-wa/i-ti*; MARAŞ 3, 2; MARAŞ 5, read *ki-nu'-wa/i-ti*) perhaps by burning as is suggested partly by context and partly by the supposition that the logogram *HH*, no. 477 represents "flames" (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 138 for (\*477)*laslas-*, (\*477)*lazali-*).

In the present state of this clause it is impossible to determine the subject (X-*zi apasinzi* or something else?) and object (X-*zi apasinzi* or something else?).

§§ 24-25: already handled in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 146 and Fig. 4.

### *Analysis of historical content*

If the interpretations given above are correct, the following historical sequence may be reconstructed from a combination of the texts of the *TELL AHMAR* stelae.

Someone, apparently Ariyahinas's grandfather, Hapatilas, was king (T.A. 1, § 7), and exercised extensive power (T.A. 1, §§ 8-9, also § 14), but died in the land of Ana (T.A. 1, § 10). He was succeeded by Ariyahinas, of whose minority a kinsman(?) took advantage, to usurp power (*salha(n)za*—T.A. 1, §§ 11-12). The usurper (who may have been Masuwarazas)

was succeeded by his son Hamiyatas (T.A. 1, § 13; T.A. 2, § 1, and cf. above, footnotes 4 and 5) and the latter was able to claim to have inherited his father's power (*salha(n)za*—T.A. 2, § 4). As king, Hamiyatas inscribed and set up the Storm-God stele T.A. 2, from which such historical content as it once had has now been largely lost. During his reign Hamiyatas seems to have made some amends to the dispossessed line, since after promoting(?) Ariyahinas's son over his great-grandfather in relation to power (*salha(n)za*—T.A. 1, § 14), he made him lord of his house and greater than his own brothers, so that everyone obeyed him (T.A. 1, §§ 15–17). But after Hamiyatas's death (T.A. 1, § 18), his son reversed this conciliatory policy, decreeing evil for Ariyahinas's son and plotting against him (T.A. 1, §§ 19–20). The latter reacted with an appeal to the Storm-God of Heaven in a long prayer, mostly lost (T.A. 1, §§ 21–24'), which he concluded by vowing to dedicate his enemy's (i.e. Hamiyatas's son's) daughter as a hierodule to the god. Tarhunzas heard him, and handed over to him his enemy, on whom he wrought vengeance (T.A. 1, §§ 25'–27'), thereby presumably falling under the curse of Hamiyatas (T.A. 2, l. 7; cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147, citation 56 a (iii)). He seems to have carried out the threat to his enemy's daughter (T.A. 1, § 29'), at which point the text breaks off. Needless to say, Ariyahinas's son must have become king in order to have inscribed the whole story on stone.

If the Hamiyatas of TELL AHMAR 1 and 2 is indeed to be identified with his namesake on ALEPPO 2, he had during his reign a brother Arpas, who, while acknowledging his supremacy ("my lord and brother, Hamiyatas"), and performing on his behalf various dedicatory acts recorded in the inscription itself, seems to have expected to succeed his brother as king. Perhaps he expressed this ambition too openly which may have led to his demotion in favour of Ariyahinas's son. At all events, Arpas cannot have been pleased at Hamiyatas's action as recorded in T.A. 1, § 16.

#### *Date and stylistic considerations*

As far as the internal chronology of the period covered by these inscriptions goes, Ariyahinas's son, the author of the later stele, harks back to the reign of his great-grandfather, in succession to whom his father seems to have reigned but only briefly in his youth. Parallel to these four "legitimate" generations (great-grandfather, Hapatilas; father, Ariyahinas; son), three "usurping" generations are mentioned (father; son, Hamiyatas; grandson). The total period covered by the narrative can hardly have been less than a century.

The problem of fitting the TELL AHMAR stelae and their inscriptions in with the general history has been spelt out very clearly by Ussishkin.<sup>16</sup> Briefly summarized, it is that Til-Barsip is only attested textually in Assyrian sources of the period as the "royal city" or "fortified city"<sup>17</sup> of Ahuni of Bit-Adini (*Iahuni DUMU Iadini*)<sup>18</sup> an Aramean opponent of Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, who ruled from at least c. 870 B.C. until his deposition in 856 B.C. Thereafter Til-Barsip, renamed Kar-Shalmaneser, remained a permanent Assyrian stronghold on the Euphrates. It can hardly be seriously doubted that the stelae antedate the time of Ahuni. Yet it is also hard to understand how these Neo-Hittite stelae could belong to an Aramean tribal state like Bit-Adini. The loss of the Hieroglyphic name of the kingdom from both the stelae is particularly unfortunate for this problem.

Stylistically, as recognized by Ussishkin, the stelae belong closely with the Subis-Katuwas style at Carchemish, lying only some 12 miles up-stream, and the date of the

<sup>16</sup> Loc. cit., above, footnote 3.

<sup>17</sup> See Y. Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 76 f.

<sup>18</sup> The tribal designation *DUMU Iadini*, "of Bit-Adini", is typically Aramean, and the PN *Iahuni*, "our brother" generally Semitic. There is, of course, no possibility of identifying the name with any appearing in the Hieroglyphic stelae—see above note on TELL AHMAR 1, § 1.

latter assemblage, though generally accepted as prior to Aššurnasirpal II, cannot be pushed too far back into the tenth century B.C. on account of its links with other later groups.<sup>19</sup> All in all, a date of c. 900 B.C.  $\pm$  is probable both for the Carchemish sequence and the Til-Barsip pieces. However, the existence of Bit-Adini is first attested in 899 B.C.,<sup>20</sup> and strong Aramean presence on the Euphrates in the reign of Aššur-rabi II (c. 1012–972 B.C.).<sup>21</sup>

While the sculptural style as well as the script, language and pantheon of the TELL AHMAR stelae point unequivocally to a purely Neo-Hittite/Hier. Luwian character, some doubts have been raised in the past about the connections of the personal names found in the inscriptions. As regards these names, *Hapatila-*, *Ariyahina-*, *Hamiyata-*, *Masuwara-*, and also *Arpa-*, while few of their component elements can be unequivocally identified as Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian), the overall impression is of names of an Anatolian type, and such a characterization is indeed much more probable than Hurrian<sup>22</sup> or Semitic<sup>23</sup> identifications.

So can this art and these names and inscriptions be envisaged as belonging to members of Bit-Adini earlier than Ahuni, or should they be regarded as intrusive? I think in general we must agree with Ussishkin's advocacy of the latter view. One further point, however, should be considered, and that is that there is no evidence that the city Til-Barsip itself belonged to the Aramean state of Bit-Adini before the time of Ahuni. Indeed I think we may best take the "Hittite" character of these monuments as evidence that it did not, and suppose that the Til-Barsip monuments represent not an intrusive Hittite dynasty within Bit-Adini itself, but a surviving Hittite enclave in an area increasingly under Aramean control. Thus the city itself would have fallen to Bit-Adini at the latest in the reign of Ahuni, and the period of Aramean domination of the city was probably of short duration, which would explain why, unlike the Neo-Hittite and Assyrian period it is poorly represented in the surviving monuments.<sup>24</sup>

#### ADDENDA

I am very grateful to Dr. F. Starke for the following observations.

1. (Above, p. 148). Starke proposes to interpret the word as *salha(n)za*, and to associate it with *cun. Luw. šalhati*, and the Luwism in *Cun. Hittite šalhatti-*, "growth" (cf. Oettinger, *Stamm-bildung*, 550 § 482).
2. (Above, p. 149). *Cun. Luw.* readings confirmed by collation.
3. (Above, p. 150). Starke proposes to interpret *MALUS<sub>1</sub>-wa/i-za* as \**atuwa(n)za* and compares *Cun. Luw. adduwanza*. This would represent a simple root \**atu-*, and the other forms noted extensions in *-it(i)*, i.e. \**atuwit(i)-*.
4. (Above, p. 151). Starke compares *KBo VII 68(+)* 69, ii 19': *iššara aritt[a]*, "he raised the hands" (cf. Meriggi, *WZKM* 53 (1957), 210 n. 45). The implied identification of *Cun. Luw. ari-* with Hier. *PUGNUS-ri+i-* will be explored in a forthcoming paper.

<sup>19</sup> See Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätheth. Kunst*, 46 ff.; also recently H. Genge, *Nordsyrisch-sudanatolische Reliefs* (Copenhagen, 1979), 52 f.

<sup>20</sup> Grayson, *ARI* II, § 426.

<sup>21</sup> *III R* 8, col. ii 35 ff. = *ARAB* I, § 603.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. that of Landsberger, *Sam'al*, 34, n. 70 (*Hapatila-* = \**Hepa-atal*).

<sup>23</sup> E.g. that of Barnett, *Carchemish* III, 263 (*Hamiyata-* = *1/KURhamataya*, "the Hamathite").

<sup>24</sup> The excavators seem to have no special grounds for identifying the pre-Assyrian remains as Aramean other than the *a priori* assumption that the city was Aramean before the Assyrian conquest (*Til-Barsip*, ch. IV A, esp. pp. 94 f.).