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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
The Year's Work - - - - -	3
Four Latin Inscriptions from Satala, by D. H. French and J. R. Summerly -	17
Colonel Leake and the Classical Topography of Asia Minor, by J. M. Wagstaff	23
Sagalassus and Cremna 1986, by Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens -	37
The Inscriptions from the so-called "Library" at Cremna, by G. H. R. Horsley	49
Sites and Strongholds of Northern Lydia, by Clive Foss - - - - -	81
Hellenistic Epigraphic Texts from Gordion, by Lynn E. Roller - - - - -	103
The Kululu Lead Strips, Economic Documents in Hieroglyphic Luwian, by J. D. Hawkins - - - - -	135
Zur Entstehung der Phrygischen Felsdenkmäler, von Fahri İşik - - - - -	163
Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey - - - - -	179
Abbreviations - - - - -	224

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THE KULULU LEAD STRIPS ECONOMIC DOCUMENTS IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

By J. D. HAWKINS

1. *Lead strip 1* (T. Özgüç, *Kültepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age* (Ankara, 1971), Pl. L), see pp. 136–146.
 2. *Lead strip 2* (Özgüç, op. cit., Pl. LI), see pp. 146–151.
 3. *Lead fragment 1* (Özgüç, *Anadolu* 17 (1973/1975), 10–11 and Pls. XII–XIII), see pp. 151–154.
 4. *Lead fragment 3* (unpubl.), see pp. 154–155.
 5. *Lead strip 3* (Özgüç, *Kültepe* ... op. cit., Pl. LII), now joined to *lead fragment 2* (Özgüç, op. cit., Pls. XLVII–XLVIII), see pp. 155–157.
- Addenda*, p. 157.
Index: Personal names, pp. 157–161.
Town names, pp. 161–162.

The present study incorporates the results of work which I did on the KULULU lead strips in Ankara in the spring of 1978. There by the kind permission of Professor Tahsin Özgüç I was enabled to examine all the lead strips thoroughly. The texts presented here are based on tracings of collated photographs of the strips made at that time. I am most grateful to Professor Özgüç for his help and encouragement.

The manuscript of this article was submitted to *Belleten* for publication in 1979, but due to unforeseen circumstances has remained unpublished until the present. It has therefore been decided to publish it in the present form without further delay. Since the original submission of the manuscript to *Belleten*, however, two major contributions on the KULULU lead strips have appeared:

- (1) Sargon Erdem: "Le strisce di piombo di Kululu" (*Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata* (ed. O. Carruba; Pavia, 1979), 143–164);
- (2) Piero Meriggi and Massimo Poetto: "Note alle strisce di piombo di Kululu" (*Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae: GS für Heinz Kronasser* (ed. E. Neu; Wiesbaden, 1982), 97–115).

Erdem's contribution consists of copies of the texts together with photographs (unfortunately almost unusable), to which the editors of the volume have added transliterations and brief notes. The contribution of Meriggi and Poetto consists of a full transliteration of the texts and a commentary, thus effectively an edition of the texts, which became available too late to be included in Meriggi's *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico*.

My study naturally overlaps to a large extent with these two works but was written independently before either appeared. It thus seems worth presenting it in a form as close as possible to that in which it was originally written. Where I differ significantly from Erdem's texts, I have added notes in square brackets, as also for some advances in understanding since 1980. In particular I have not in my copies followed the practice of Erdem of attempting to render erased signs, since this virtually never yields even intelligible words. I have added a few remarks on the interpretations of Meriggi and Poetto in the form of addenda on p. 157.

1. KULULU lead strip 1
Translation
(Transliteration opposite)

obverse:

§ 1,	1.	Of the town [Tiw]arali:	
		400	*179 ...for Ar(a)kwitas (?)
<hr/>			
§ 2,	2.	100	*179 for Hapiyamis [x]rusa/is' (son), of the town Huwa/i
	3.	100	*179 for Uramuwas, of Uramuwas' town.
	4.	100	*179 for Kwisais (?), of Uramuwas' town.
	5.	100	*179 for Mur(a)kis.
	6.	30	*179 for Nus, of Uramuwas' town.
<hr/>			
§ 3,	7.	Of the town Upper Tuna:	
		140	*179 for Hapira/is.
	8.	120	*179 for Kulis.
	9.	100	*179 for Tas, the cup-bearer(?).
	10.	100	*179 for Tarhunazas, the freeman.
	11.	50	*179 for Huliyas Kukuwa/is' (son), of the town Tuna.
	12.	40	*179 for Piyai(ya)s.
	13.	22	*179 for Tuwa/is Musatalas' (?) (son).
	14.	10	*179 for Tarhunazas, the freeman.
<hr/>			
§ 4,	15.	Of the town Lower Tuna:	
		200	*179 for PUGNUS-rimis.
	16.	22	*179 for Nanas Huliyas' (son).
	17.	151	*179 for Kurtiyas and Kwazatalas (?) (two).
	18.	150	*179 for Las and Papanalis (two).
	19.	150	*179 for Nis and Kukuwa/is (two).
	20.	150	*179 for Hapira/is and Nus (two).
	21.	60	*179 for Las Hanis' (son).
	22.	50	*179 for Kurtis, the WARALAZA.
	23.	40	*179 for Tarhuntapiyas.
	24.	40	*179 for Kukuwa/is.
	25.	20	*179 for Nus, of PUGNUS-rimis' town(?).
	26.	42	*179 for Nus, the KUKISATI.
	27.	8	*179 for War(a)piyamis.
<hr/>			
§ 5,	28.	100	*179 for Wasumas, man of the town Zaka.
	29.	200	*179 for DOMINUS-nizarmas, of the town Parzumina(?)
	30.	50	*179 for Huliyas Iyara/isa/is' (son), of the town Parzumina(?)
	31.	112	*179 for Kukuwa/is Luluwis' (son), of the town Waratura/i
	32.	100	*179 for Kwarimuwas(?) Muwas' (son), of the town Waratura/i.
	33.	75	*179 for Kuwa/is, from the town Haru(wa/i).
	34.	75	*179 for Kwarinazis(?), man of(?) the town Aluwana(?).

Note. For the suggestion that the logogram *179 stands for "barley", see the addendum on p. 139.

1. KURINU lead strip 1
Transliteration

element 1: town-name	2: numeral	3: commodity	4: recipient(s)	5: postposition/verb	6: qualifications (a) patronym (b) status/occupation (c) town-name
[t]i-wa/i + ra/i-i-ia-sa-sa- (URBS)	400	**179"-za	2a + ra/i-i-REL-2 nd -ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	2a-pi-ia-mi-ia	[C]UM-ni	[X]-mi-sa-sa-na
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	2a-wa/i-sa-na (URBS)
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	REL-sa-i-ia	CUM-ni	MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-sa-na (URBS)
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	mu + ra/i-i-ka-ia	CUM-ni	MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-sa-na (URBS)
**179"-za	30	**179"-za	mu-ia	CUM-ni	MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-sa-na (URBS)
[SUPER + RA/i-i-sa] iia-na-sa (URBS)	140	**179"-za	2a-pi + ra/i-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	120	**179"-za	ka-i-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	TONTRUS-hu-na-za-ia	[C]UM-ni	
**179"-za	50	**179"-za	hu-i-ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	40	**179"-za	pi-ia-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	22	**179"-za	ia-wa/i-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	10	**179"-za	TONTRUS-hu-na-za-ia	CUM-ni	
2a-na-ta-ra/i-i-sa-sa- (URBS)	200	**179"-za	PUGNUS-ri + i-mi-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	22	**179"-za	2a-na-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	151	**179"-za	ka + ra/i-i-ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	150	**179"-za	REL-za-FRATER-ia-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	150	**179"-za	ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	150	**179"-za	2a-pa-na-i-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	150	**179"-za	hu-na	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	150	**179"-za	ka-ku-wa/i-ia-ha 2	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	60	**179"-za	2a-pi + ra/i-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	50	**179"-za	ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	40	**179"-za	hu + ra/i-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	40	**179"-za	TONTRUS-hu-na-za-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	40	**179"-za	ka-ku-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	20	**179"-za	hu-i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	42	**179"-za	mu-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	8	**179"-za	wa/i + ra/i-i-ia-mi-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	wa/i-sa-ma-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	200	**179"-za	DOMINUS-mi-za + ra/i-i-ma-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	50	**179"-za	hu-i-ia-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	112	**179"-za	ka-ku-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	100	**179"-za	REL + RA/i-mu-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	75	**179"-za	ka-wa/i-ia	CUM-ni	
**179"-za	75	**179"-za	REL + RA/i-mu-za-ia	CUM-ni	

1. KULULU lead strip 1
Translation (cont.)
Transliteration opposite

reverse:

§ 6,	35.	200	*179	to Hahas we give.
	36.	200	*179	to Tarhunazas we give.
	37.	10	*179	for Pulais, of the town Tuna.
§ 7,	38.	10	*179	for Muwas Kiyakis' brother, the hunter(?), of the town Lower Tuna.
	39.	10	*179	for Tuwanis, of Uramuwas' town.
	40.	10	*179	to Ruwatis we give, Apanis' (son), of the town Uhazira/i.
	41.	40	*179	for Nunus Huliyas' (son), of the town Tasaku.
	42.	50	*179	for Huliyas Nanimuta/is' (son), in the town Tapa.
	43.	200	*179	for Huliyas, the A[...JURI(?)
	44.	50	*179	for Huliyas Tarhunazas' brother.
§ 8,	45.	100	*179	for Tatas and Kus (two), men of (?) the town Zaka.
	46.	10	*179	for Huliyas Sunatiamis' son, of Uramuwas' town.
§ 9,	47.	40	*179	to Kuku[wa/is].
	48.	20	*179	[to] Si-[...].
	49.	40	*179	for Hapira/is, the URIYALI, of the town Tuna.
	50.	40	*179	to Wasumas.
	51.	50	*179	for Harhariyas.
	52.	20	*179	for Kulis.
	53.	20	*179	for Has, of the town Tuna.
	54.	20	*179	for Warpasis.
	55.	20	*179	for Masanis, of the town Tuna.
	56.	20	*179	for Hasus, of the town Tuna.
	57.	20	*179	for Nunus Kukuwa/is' (son), of the town Tuna.
	58.	10	*179	for Zarmas(?) Nis, PUGNUS-rimis' (son).
	59.	10	*179	for Las Hanis' (son).
	60.	80	*179	to the town Tuna's mother(?) we give.
	61.	30	*179	to Harhariyas we give.
	62.	20	*179	to Tarhunazas Tatas' (son).
	63.	200	*179	for the town Upper Tuna.

1. KULULU lead strip 1
Analysis and discussion

This, the longest of the KULULU lead documents, is divided up on each side into three registers by horizontal rulings running the entire length. The registers are subdivided by vertical rulings into small compartments, each of which contains a single entry, and these compartments are, on the obverse only, divided into five groups by the insertion at intervals of double vertical rulings with a central wavy line. This grouping appears to relate to the place-names, since three of the five obverse groups are introduced by town-names ([Ti]warali, Upper Tuna, Lower Tuna), and another lists people mostly from the town Uramuwa. On the reverse all three registers have some compartments erased, and in addition the second part of the middle register seems never to have been inscribed. In the third register of the reverse the usual *boustrophedon* order of line reading is abandoned, in that, like the register above, it is read from right to left.

In the transliteration each compartment (entry) is given a single line numbered consecutively. The rulings dividing the five groups of the obverse represent the double vertical rulings with central wavy line.

The entries in each compartment follow the same pattern throughout although some are more detailed than others. The elements occurring may be listed as follows (omissible elements are bracketed):—

- (1. Town-name)
2. Numeral
3. Logogram
4. PN₁ in dative
- (4a. PN₂ in dative + copula -ha)
- 5a. *either* postposition, CUM-ni
- 5b. *or* (less often) verb, DARE-mi-na
- (6a. PN in dative of -asi- genitival adjective (-asan))
- (6b. Common noun in dative)
- (6c. Town-name).

Element 1, the town-name at beginning of group.

It is clear that the first four groups of the obverse are arranged by towns: §§ 1, 3 and 4, which are introduced by the town names [Ti]warali, Upper Tuna and Lower Tuna, appear to assign the individuals listed to these towns. It may be noted that in these three groups only two out of twenty-two entries have *element 6(c)*, the further town name; thus entry 11, under the general heading "Upper Tuna" has the additional element "Tuna", while entry 25, under "Lower Tuna", has the additional element 'PUGNUS-ri + i-mi-sa-na (URBS)—for a consideration of these, see below under *element 6(c)*.

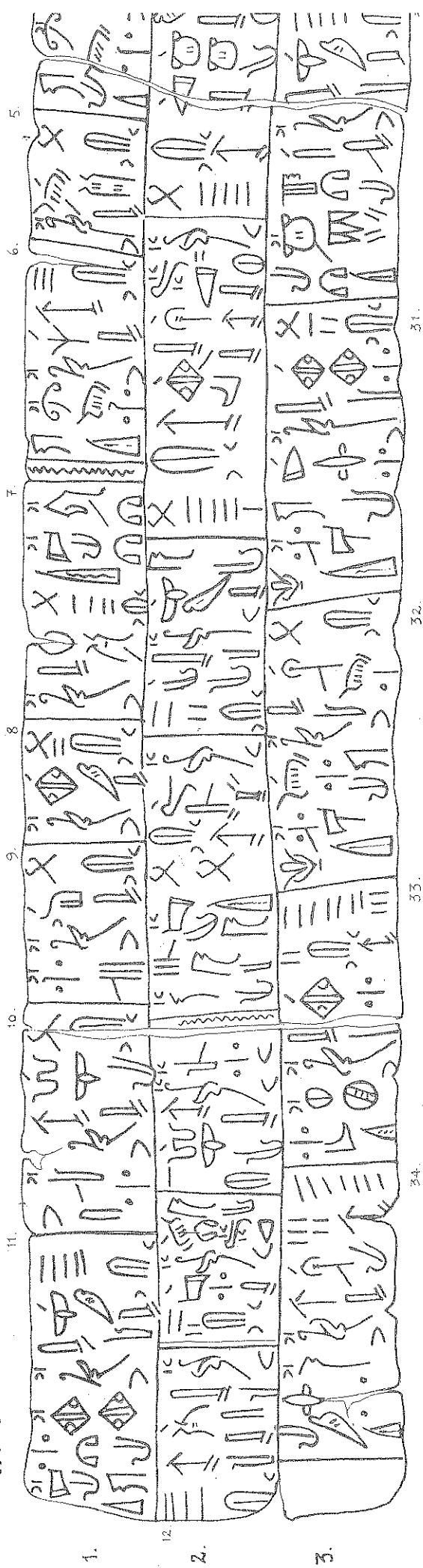
§ 2, which lacks *element 1*, has three of its five entries qualified by *element 6(c)*, "of Uramuwas' town", one unqualified, and only one qualified by "of the town Huwa/i"; this group too then seems to be based on local qualifications.

§ 5, also lacking *element 1*, has all seven entries qualified by *element 6(c)*, but these are miscellaneous town names (two pairs).

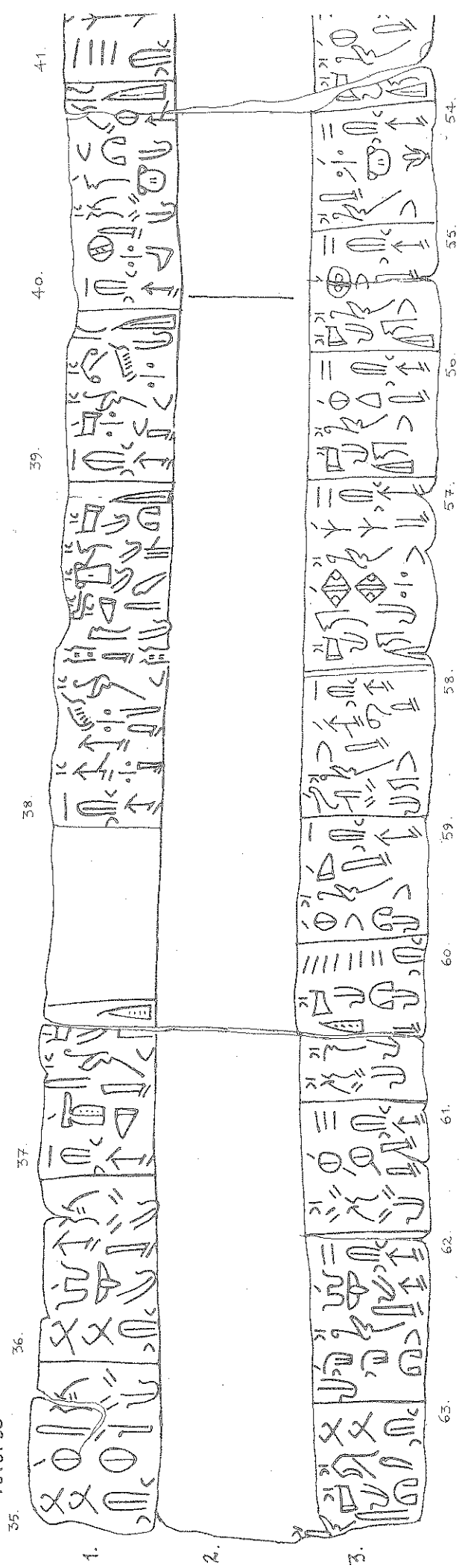
The reverse does not show any local groupings but merely miscellaneous town names under *element 6(c)*, with a preponderance of Tuna. It is thus clear that *elements 1* and *6(c)* are alternatives.

The three town names of *element 1*, and their two qualifications "Upper" and "Lower," all end in -as (or possibly -is) and may be taken as genitives by comparison with a series of forms found under *element 6(c)* (see below, for

obverse

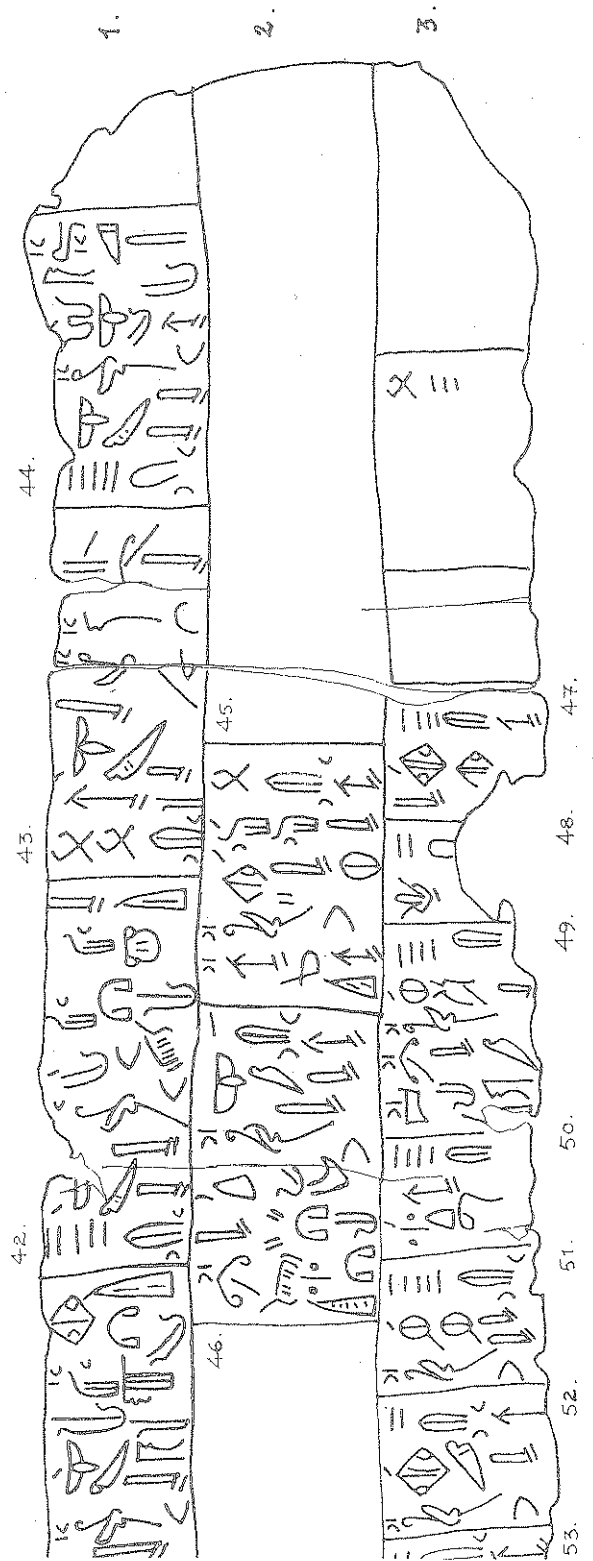
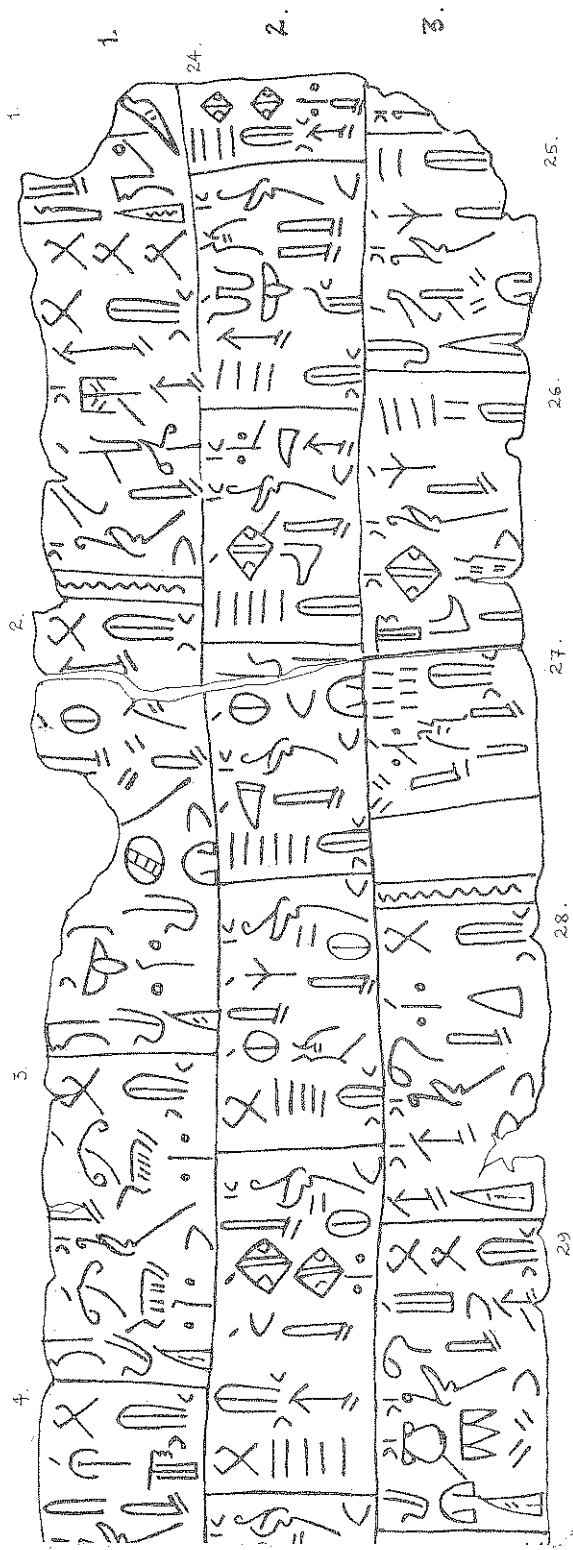


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discussion). §§ 1, 3 and 4 are thus introduced by "of [Ti]warali /Upper Tuna/Lower Tuna" respectively.

Element 2, the numerals.

These occur as *element 1* on KULULU lead strip 2 and frag. 1, and the present observations may be taken to apply to the usage in all three documents.

They are written as usual in "figures", i.e. units 1–9 in vertical strokes, tens 10–90 in horizontal strokes and hundreds by pincer-like crosses \times .

Writings of the following numbers are attested in these documents: 8, 10, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 40, 42, 50, 55, 60, 68, 69, 75, 80, 97, 100, 111, 112, 120, 131, 133, 140, 141, 150, 151, 200, 308, 400.

Element 3, the logogram Π .

This is written uniformly throughout, usually marked by the logogram marker, *HH* no. 410; and with or without the phonetic complement *-za(-')*, which presumably indicates that the noun represented is nom./acc. singular N.

The logogram itself, despite slight variations in form, is probably to be identified with Π found on KULULU lead fragment 3 (see below), and also occurring on SULTANHAN stele, 3, KARKAMIS A 11 a, 3, and now AKSARAY, (Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), 119, 121 f.) (cf. TOPADA, 4), i.e. *Glossar*, no. 259; and with Π , Π , occurring on ASSUR letter e, iii, i.e. *Glossar*, no. 152–153; *HH*, no. 179. It is found also in ISKENDERUN, 2 (*Glossar*, no. 260, *HH*, no. 454 (2)), and in the writing of the god's name on TELL AHMAR 1, 2; 2, 2 (*Glossar* no. 152a; *HH*, no. 454 (1)). It should not be confused with the sign SCRIBA, *Glossar*, no. 258, *HH*, no. 326.

The present context, and also the AKSARAY occurrence, are new evidence which should assist with the interpretation of this sign.

[In my treatment of the AKSARAY, SULTANHAN, and KARKAMIS A 11 a passages, I have argued that they represent statements of ideal price, and that the logogram Π representing the principal commodity in these statements should therefore stand for "barley". See *Ancient Anatolia. Essays in honor of M. J. Mellink* (ed. J. V. Canby *et al.*; Wisconsin, 1986), 93–102, especially 96 f. This fits well enough with the present context].

In two cases between *elements 3* and *4*, an additional word occurs, each ending in *-aza* (or *-iza*) namely SCRIBA + RA/I-*za* (entry 1) and *za* + ra/i-wa/i-*ia-za* (entry 38). It is not clear what these words are: the ending suggests *either* that they are adjectives in the nom./acc. sing. N., agreeing with the logogram, *or* that they might be designations of occupation, suffixed *-aza*, in the dative agreeing with the following PN instead of being placed after it as the other designations of status or occupation—see below, *element 6 (b)*; also the discussion, of *waralaza*—KULULU lead strip 1, *Philological Notes*. Against the second possibility may be argued that the recipient in entry 38 is in any case qualified, under *element 6 (b)* as *hurnali*, "hunter(?)". This factor thus inclines one towards the first possibility.

Element 4, the personal names.

In every case where the text is preserved the personal determinative.¹ is written. Every name ends in *-ia* regardless of the preceding vowel (*-Ca/i/u-*)—in the four damaged examples this can be restored (entries 25, 48, 49, 50). The ending can be confidently identified as that of the dat. sing. on morphological and syntactic grounds.

Some of the names in this element occur twice or more, either in batches (*Huliyas*, entries 42–44; *Nus*, entries 25–26) or scattered (*Huliyas* also entries 11, 30,

46; *Nus*, also entries 6, 20b; *Hapirālis*, entries 7, 20, 49; *Harhariyas*, entries 51, 61; *Kukuwālis*, entries 19b 24, 31, 47; *Kulis* entries 8, 52; *Las*, entries 18a, 21, 59; *Nunus*, entries 41, 57; *Tarhunazas*, entries 10, 14, 36, 62; *Wasumas*, entries 28, 50). To assist in distinguishing namesakes, qualifications could be added as *element* 6 (a-c), which may be identified as (a) patronyms, (b) designations of status or occupation, (c) town-names marking origin or residence. These normally show that the namesakes are different individuals: thus e.g. the six *Huliyas*'s all seem to be marked as different. *Las* son of *Hanis* however occurs twice, and two of the *Tarhunazas*'s are both designated *arawani*, "free-man" in § 3, so they may be the same. It may be therefore that some of the namesakes lacking qualification refer to one and the same individual.

In § 4 four pairs of individuals, all without further qualification, appear instead of the usual single individual, and a further pair is found in § 8. In all cases the second PN in the dative is linked by the copula *-ha*, and a pair of small horizontal strokes follows the couple, presumably to be read "2" though horizontals properly denote "20". The connection between the paired individuals can only be guessed.

In only two of the sixty-three entries is *element* 4 not a personal name or names, viz. entries 60 and 63. The former reads: "we give 80 *commodities* to the town Tuna's *ANA* (common noun)"; the latter: "200 *commodities* f[or] Upper Tuna(?)". For further discussion of these entries, see below, KULULU lead strip 1, Philological Notes.

Element 5, postposition CUM-*ni* / verb DARE-*mi-na*.

Throughout the obverse and most of the reverse the personal name(s) of *element* 4 are governed by the postposition CUM-*ni*. In a few entries (35, 36, 40, 60, 61) this is replaced by the verb DARE-*mi-na*, "we give" (taken as 1st. plur. *present*; see discussion below, lead strip 2, entry 3). In the latter cases the construction and sense of the entry is clear: "we give so many commodities to PN". The only question is whether this variant of the normal entry is intended to convey the same sense or a contrast.

A decision on this is bound up with the known but still unelucidated adverb CUM-*ni*, for which no phonetic reading and no definite correspondence with an adverb in another Anatolian language have been established; cf. *Glossar*, no. 50; *HH*, no. 58. The sense can be approximately gathered from the contexts in which it occurs, and Laroche rightly observes "Parait correspondre à certains emplois de hitt. *katta(n)*". With this in mind we chose the Latin CUM to represent the logogram. The general sense, especially in the phrase "to do good etc. for someone" (dat. + CUM-*ni izi-* / *a(ia)-*, see *JRAS* 1975/2, 128; *An. St.* 25 (1975), 146, citation 53 c (iv)), suggests the interpretation in this document of "for, to the credit of". The majority of the entries then would run: "So many commodities (are) for PN", for which the variant "we give to PN" would be without special significance. We should however bear in mind the possibility that CUM-*ni* here might have the reverse meaning, i.e. "against, to the debit of", which would assign to the CUM-*ni* entries the opposite sense to the DARE-*mi-na* entries, but this interpretation does not seem likely. We may therefore provisionally conclude that this entire document consists of issues of numbered commodities to named individuals. A comparison with KULULU lead strip 2, especially *element* 5, supports this. Since, however, we have no indication of the source of the very large numbers of the commodity distributed (a total of 4,757), beyond the very indefinite "we", an important half of the transaction eludes our comprehension.

Element 6, the qualifications of the recipients' names.

The personal names of this text which stand as *element 4* may be distinguished in any of three ways, or not at all.

6 (a). *Patronyms*: these occur as *element 6* in entries 2, 11, 13, 16, 21, 30, 31, 32, 40, 41, 46, 57, 59, 62. Their character is clear from the following observations:

(i) they all bear the personal determinative ¹ (the sole exception, entry 11, is marked with the word divider which is clearly a mistake).

(ii) the stem forms are in any case mostly clearly identifiable as personal names, and in many cases are the same as names occurring in *element 4*.

(iii) All these items have the ending *-sa/sá-na*. This is certainly the dative ending *-(a)san*, identified by Mittelberger, and now recognized as the regular dative of the genitival adjectives in *-asi-*; see *HHL*, n. 105; and most recently A. Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 30 (1980), *passim*, esp. citations 19–43.

Thus personal names in the dative are qualified by *-asi-* adjectives in the dative formed from other personal names. There can be no doubt that "PN₁ (he) of PN₂", rendered either by a genitival adjective or by a straight genitive, was the regular way of expressing a patronym in Hier. Luwian; the latter construction is exactly paralleled by Lycian (e.g. *Pulenjda Mullijeseh*, "Apollonides (son) of Mollisis", *T. L.* 6), as by (Athenian) Greek (e.g. *Dēmosthenēs Dēmosthenous* etc.). Since this recognition, other examples have been identified in Hier. Luwian texts: *Sipis Niyas(is)*, "Sipis Nis' son" (*An. St.* 25 (1975), 148); *DOMINUS-tiwaraya Ahalisan*, "to DOMINUS-tiwaras Ahalis' son" (*An. St.* 29 (1979), 162 n. 63); [...]*Jara/i-FRATER-la-ia Santatiwarasan*, "for [...]*Jaratalas* (?) Santatiwaras' son" (*TÜNP*, 1).

In two entries, 38 and 44, the recipient's name is qualified not with a patronymic but an "adelphonymic" (¹*kiyakisan*/¹*tarhunazasan* *FRATER-lai*, "K's/T's brother").

The fathers' names which are also found in *element 4* as recipients' names are: *Kukuwa/is* (entries 11, 57); *Huliyas* (entries 16, 41); *Muwas* (entry 32); *Tatas* (entry 62); *PUGNUS-rimis* (entries 25(?), 58). The two brothers' names *Kiyakis* and *Tarhunazas* are also found as recipients' names. Whether any of these fathers (and brothers) are the same individuals as any of their namesake recipients cannot be demonstrated in any case. There are no combinations which might suggest papponymy (e.g. if a *Huliyas Kiyakis* and a *Kiyakis Huliyas* were found in the same section).

6 (b). *Designations of status or occupation*: instead of a patronym, a common noun (marked with a word divider) in the dative case may be used to qualify the recipient's name (in one entry, 38, this is used in addition to the brother's name). The terms are *watara/i* (entry 9); *arawani* (entries 10, 14); *waralaza* (entry 22); *kukisati* (entry 26); *hurnali* (entry 38); ? (entry 43); *uriyali* (entry 49). Of these, the following interpretations may be offered: *arawani*, "free man"; *hurnali*, "hunter(?)"; *uriyali*, an officer; *watara/i*, "cup-bearer(?)".

These interpretations suffice to indicate that these terms and the others also belong to the general category of status or occupational designations. Compare the same and similar terms, mostly *nomina actoris* in *-ali-/ala-*, which appear in KULULU lead strip 2, *element 6*, also *element 4*; and for discussion of the terms see below, philological notes, under relevant entries.

6 (c). *Local designations*: thirdly, as the most frequent qualification added to the recipient's name, we find the names of towns, used either as sole qualification or in addition to patronyms or status and occupational designations. All these town

names are clearly marked as such by the addition of the normal post-determinative URBS.

We have seen that §§ 1, 3 and 4 introduce the whole group of names with a town name serving as *element 1* (§ 1, [Ti]warali; § 3, Upper Tuna; § 4, Lower Tuna) and that in these sections *element 6(c)* is found only twice: thus entry 11, coming under the general heading "Upper Tuna", as the further qualification under *element 6(c)* "of Tuna"; while entry 25 under the general heading "Lower Tuna", has the further qualification "of 'PUGNUS-rimis' town". In the first case *element 6(c)* seems superfluous and is perhaps a mistake. In the second, the extra local designation is added as a qualification to the first of two Nus' otherwise undistinguished, and could perhaps be explained by the supposition that while they were both now resident in Lower Tuna, the first originated in 'PUGNUS-rimis' town. Alternatively we might assume that the determinative URBS has been added by mistake to 'PUGNUS-rimisan, which should be taken as a simple patronym as it is in entry 58.

In the sections other than §§ 1, 3 and 4, which are not introduced by town-names as *element 1*, the majority of recipients' names are qualified by town-names as *element 6(c)*: thus in § 2, four out of five entries are so qualified; in § 5, seven out of seven; in § 6 one out of three; in § 7 five out of seven; in § 8, two out of two; and in § 9, five out of fifteen (with in addition two unusual entries incorporating the town-name *Tuna* as *element 4* see above). To put it the other way, comparatively few entries are qualified by no local designation: only entries 5, 35, 36, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 61, 62.

It has been noted above that § 2 groups individuals mostly qualified as "of Uramuwas' town", including the eponymous Uramuwas himself. The other sections, §§ 5-9, list individuals of miscellaneous localities.

The town-names found, in order of frequency, are: *Tuna* (entries 11, 37, 38 ("Lower"), 49, 53, 55, 56, 57); *Uramuwas' town* (entries 3, 4, 6, 39, 46); *Parzumina* (entries 29, 30); *Waratura/i* (entries 31, 32); *Zaka* (entries 28, 45); *Huwa/i* (entry 2); *Haru(wa/i)* (entry 33); *Aluwana* (entry 34); *Uhazira/i* (entry 40); *Tasaku* (entry 41); *Tapa* (entry 42); and perhaps 'PUGNUS-rimis' town (entry 25, see discussion above).

They occur in a number of different grammatical forms, identifiable by their endings:

- (i) in *-sa/sá-na* (*Huwa/i-*, *Uramuwa-*, 'PUGNUS-rimi-, *Tasaku-*; cf. *Tuna-*).
- (ii) in *-Ca/i-sa* (*Tuna-*, *Uramuwa-*, *Parzumina-*, *Uhazira/i-*).
- (iii) in *-Ca/i-si* (*Waratura/i-*).
- (iv) in *-Ca/i-ti* (*Haru(wa/i)-*).
- (v) in *-ia* (*Tapa-*).
- (vi) in *-Ca-li-* (*Aluwana-*).
- (vii) In *-Ca-za* (*Zaka-*).

It is clear that (i) *-sa/sá-na* must be the dative of the genitival adjective *-(a)si-*, qualifying the recipients' names, in exactly the same way as the patronyms. Endings (ii)-(v) are obvious case-endings: (ii) and (iii) are best taken as the *-as* and *-(a)si* genitive endings dependent on the recipients' names, syntactically parallel to the *-(a)si-* genitival adjective. We should note that *Tuna-* and *Uramuwa-*, the two most common town-names occur in both forms (i) and (ii). Thus (i)-(iii) all render the sense "(to PN) of GN". (iv) may easily be taken as *-(a)ti*, ablative (note the ablative forms of town-names introducing grouped persons in CEKKE—*Manuale* II/1, 110 f.) and (v) as *-ia*, dative; these would render "(to PN) from/in GN". In (vi) and (vii), endings *-aza-* and *-ali-* may probably be identified which may be taken to convey ethnic connotations; for discussion, see below, Philological Notes, entries 28, 34.

We may also note that on KULULU lead strip 2, town-names are found in

similar contexts in the gen., dat. and abl., as well as with the *-aza-* suffix.

One, perhaps two, of the towns are named after individuals. § 2 groups individuals, three out of five of whom are qualified as "of Uramuwas" town" including the eponymous Uramuwas (entry 3). Most of the occurrences of *Uramuwa* as a town-name write it preceded by the word-divider, but one example (entry 3) marks it with the personal determinative, possibly influenced by the proximity of Uramuwas himself. In these cases, only the determinative URBS distinguishes the local from a patronymic adjective: thus ¹*Uramuwas* ¹*Uramuwas(is)* (URBS) means "Uramuwas of Uramuwas' town", while "¹*Uramuwas* ¹*Uramuwas(is)*" would mean "Uramuwas Uramuwas' son". In the case of ¹*PUGNUS-rimisan* (URBS) (entry 25), only the URBS distinguishes it from the patronym, entry 58. It may be that ¹*PUGNUS-rimis*, like Uramuwas, gave his name to his town, yet we have seen reason to question whether one of a group of inhabitants apparently listed as "of Lower Tuna" would be further qualified as "of ¹*PUGNUS-rimis* town". This led to the suspicion that entry 25, *element* 6(c), might really be a patronymic, *element* 6(a), incorrectly determined by URBS.

1. KULULU lead strip 1 Philological Notes

1. [*tī*]-*wa/i + ra/i-li-ia-sá-* (URBS): restoration suggested by comparison with KULULU lead strip 2, entry 14, *tī-wa/i + ra/i-li-[ia]* (URBS). The identification of the latter as dat. sing. suggests the identification of the present form as gen. sing. of *tiwarali-*.

SCRIBA + *RA/i-za-*: the appearance of this anomalous element between *elements* 3 and 4, and another one like it (*za + ra/i-wa/i-ia-za*) in entry 38, has been noted above, discussion of *element* 3, where the view was taken that this was more likely to be an adjective in the nom./acc. sing. N agreeing with *element* 3, the commodity. It also seems more likely that SCRIBA has a logographic value rather than is (uncommon) syllabic usage (*tū*), but the grammatical form of the word remains unclear, so interpretation remains guesswork.

7. SUPER + *RA/i-sa tunas* (URBS): cf. below, entry 63, SUPER + *RA/i-li*, which shows the usual phonetic complement and points to the readings *sarli-* (Laroche, *Festschrift Friedrich* (Heidelberg, 1959), 292-295), thus "Upper Tuna". Compare below, entry 15, *element* 1, "Lower Tuna".

9. *watara/i*: identified, by comparison with other items in *element* 6(b), as term denoting status or occupation, dat. sing. MF. If the Hier. root *u(wa)-*, "drink" (<**eg*"); see Morpurgo Davies *apud* Hawkins, "Late Hittite Funerary Monuments", in B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen, 1980), 221), may be regarded as established, this word might speculatively be identified as the Hier. form of the Hitt. nomen actoris *ekuttara-* (for which see van Brock, *RHA XX/71* (1962) 125 f.; Kammenhuber, *Hb. Or.* I, II, 1/2, 2, p. 191). Such an identification would fit well with van Brock's observation that in Cun. Hitt. *ekuttara-* is to be set against a large number of nomina actoris in *-talla-*, for here *watara/i* contrasts with a number of nomina actoris in *-ali-* or *-ala-*, *hurnali-*, *uriyali-*, (lead strips 1 and 2), and *uzakali-*, *tarpali-*, *lahinala/i-*, *sarkunala-*, and perhaps *huhurpari-* (lead strip 2).

10. *arawani*: a striking coincidence with the Cun. Hitt. *arawanni-*, an older (Hittite Laws) variant of *arawa-*, "free"; see now Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HWb*², Lief. IV, s.v.

13. ¹*mu-sa-FRATER-la-*: *FRATER-la-* as an onomastic element is found here also in ¹*REL-za-FRATER-la-* (entry 17), and recurs several times in the CEKKE name-

list and elsewhere; cf. the use of Cun. šēš as an onomastic element (Laroche, *Noms*, 326), with its Hier. logographic equivalent of the Empire period (*HH*, no. 276), and the presumed reading *nani-* (Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 142 f.). Hier. of the Late Period seems to have replaced (*276) *nani-* with FRATER-*la-*, perhaps read *atala-* (see *An. St.* 29 (1979), 159 n. 51 for references).

[Erdem reads (6a) ¹*mu-ta-*...; -*sa-* more likely.]

15. *ā-na-tara/i-sā-'*: cf. entry 38, *element 6(c)*. The clear contrast of this word with SUPER + RA/i(-*li*)-(= *sarli-*, "upper"), both used as epithets of the city Tuna, permits us to identify it as the -*tara/i-* suffixed adj. formed from *annan* (Hier. SUB-*na-na*), "under", clearly the Hier. correspondence of Lyc. *ētri* (from *ēnē*, "under"; for the forms, see Laroche *BSL* 53 (1958), 180 ff.; cf. also Neumann, *Hb. Or.* I, II, 1/2, 2, p. 381, § 20.8). The phonetic spelling *ā-na-tara/i*, representing either *ana(n)-tara/i* or *ana-tara/i* but hardly *an-tara/i-*, as well as attesting the adjectival form, confirms Laroche's interpretation of SUB-*na-na*.

22. *wa/i+ra/i-la-za*: in KULULU lead strip 1, *element 6(b-c)*, two terms occur ending in -*Ca-za*, the present word, presumably a designation of status or occupation, and *zā-ka-za* (URBS) (entries 28 and 45), clearly qualifications by town-name. The latter is further paralleled in KULULU leap strip 2, with *sū-na-wa/i+ra/i-za* // *sū-na-wa/i-tā-za* (URBS) (entries 6, 13) and *ā-ha-ti-ku-ku+ra/i-za* (URBS) (entry 17). We appear to have here an -(a)za- suffix (dat. sing. -(a)za), which acts both as an ethnic-forming suffix (see further below, entry 28), and as another, as here. This latter, because of the category to which the suffixed word appears to belong, is best compared with the Lycian -*aza* suffix used to form occupational designations (Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 63 par. 10; Neumann, *Lykisch* (*Hb. Or.* I, II 1/2, 2) 380, § 19.2; Laroche, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI* (ed. H. Metzger, Paris, 1979), 98 f., § 21). The base of the word so formed may be the adj. *warali-*, "own, proper" (*JRAS* 1975/2, 129), but this is not of immediate assistance in determining the exact meaning of the term.

[25. Erdem (6c) has failed to see (URBS).]

26. *ku-ki-sā-ti-i*: assigned to *element 6(c)*, the qualification of status or occupation, this word is dat. sing. MF; cf. KULULU lead strip 2, entry 2, *ku-ki-sā-ta-za* (dat. plur.); lead frag. 1, side ii, entry 9, *ku-ki-s[ā]-t[i]*...]. Further information on this word may be gathered from KARKAMIS A 3, 2, where it is stated that Katuwas has dedicated to Karkamisean Tarhunzas some "lords of the *warpi-*" (*273) *warpasi* DOMINUS-*ya(n)zi*, who are itemized as *sapatari*'s, *mizinala*'s, *tunikala*'s and (*359. OVIS) *ku-ki-sā-ti-zi*, "who dwell in the village of Urhisarmas" (see *An. St.* 28 (1978), 109 (5)). The categorization of the occupation of these persons depends on the semantic range of *warpi-* cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 151; 29 (1979), 159 n. 49), and if, as suggested, this belongs to the professional rather than the cultic sphere, then these lords or masters of the *warpi-* will be craftsmen rather than priests. Katuwas' donation to Tarhunzas recalls that of Asmunikkal to the Stone-House (KUB XIII, 8), where LÚ.MES BĒL QĀTI are stated to have been given, along with LÚ.MES APIN.LAL, LÚ.MES SIPA.GUD, LÚ.MES SIPA.UDU. In fact one wonders whether Cun. LÚ.MES BĒL QĀTI may not designate a class similar to Hier. *warpasi* DOMINUS-*ya(n)zi*. As far as the term *kukisati-* goes, the compound logogram *359. OVIS of KARKAMIS A 3 seems to link it with sheep, as does also the context of KULULU lead strip 2, entry 2 (see below).

28. *za-k[a]-za* (URBS): restored by comparison with reverse, entry 45. We note that both in KULULU lead strip 1 and further in lead strip 2, *element 6(c)* (designation by city), the town-names, in addition to appearing in gen., dat., or abl. forms, also show forms ending in -*Ca-za*, namely *zā-ka-za* (URBS) (lead strip 1, entries 28, 45), *sū-na-wa/i+ra/i-za* // *sū-na-wa/i-tā-za* (URBS) (lead strip 2, entries

6, 13), and *á-ha-ti-ku-ku + ra/i-za* (lead strip 2, entry 17). *zakaza* follows one PN in the dative (entry 28) or two PN in dative linked by *-ha* (entry 45), *sunawar/taza* follows three PN in the dative linked by *-ha* (entry 6) or two PN in the dative (entry 13), and *ahatikukuraza* follows the phrase "3 *taruta(n)za*", dat. plur. (entry 17). The problem is whether, as seems likely, all these *-aza* endings are the same morpheme, and how to identify it.

The most obvious solution would be that *-aza-* like *-iza-* is an ethnic suffix appearing here in the dat. sing. (cf. *kar-ka-mi-si-za*, "to the Karkamisean", dat. sing.) When it follows the single PN in the dative then, it would be in agreement with it; and when in three other cases it follows groups of two or three PN in the dative, it would have to be taken to qualify the last name only. But when it follows 3 *taruta(n)za*, "to three statues", we would expect a dat. plur. ending *-a(n)za* to be visible, which leaves the stem and ethnic ending of *ahatikukura/i-* in doubt, and casts further doubt on the other *-Ca-za* forms. Should they all therefore be interpreted simply as datives of place-names, which have been formed with a *-aza-* suffix (thus "in *Zakaza*, *Sunawar/taza*, *Ahatikukuraza*")? In considering this question we should bear in mind the Lycian evidence which shows an occupational suffix in *-aza-* and an ethnic in *-a/ezi-*, which perhaps belong together (Neumann, *Hb. Or* I, II 1/2, 2, p. 380, § 19. 1-2 quoting Meriggi and Bossert).

[33. Erdem reads (4) *'ku-wa/i-ia-ia*; last sign broken, uncertain.]

34. *á-lu?-wa/i-na-li* (URBS): already identified as an ethnic adj., dat. sing., perhaps to be associated with the Luw. (Hitt.) adj. suffix *-(a)lli-* (van Brock, *RHA* XX/71 (1962) 105 ff., C I a). A Lycian usage of *-li* as an ethnic suffix appears in *irmmili*, "Lycian".

35. *DARE-mi-na*: for the identification of this form as (1st. plur.) present tense, see below, KULULU lead strip 2, entry 3, Philological Note.

[37. Erdem reads (4) *'pu-la-na'-ia*; perhaps correct, collation needed.]

38. *za + ra/i-wa/i-ia-za*: one of two anomalous entries between *elements* 3 and 4; cf. above, entry 1, *SCRIBA + RA/t-za*. Here, because the recipient is qualified, in *element* 6(b), as *hurnali*, "hunter (?)", it is apparently ruled out that this word is an occupational designation in *-aza*. The alternative, to take it as an adj., nom./acc. sing. N with ending *-a(n)za*, qualifying the commodity "**179*"-*za*, seems preferable.

39. *hu_x + ra/i-na-li*: for the identification of *HH*. no. 347 as *hu_x*, and the interpretation of the resulting word *hurnali-* by association with *Cun. Hitt. hurna-*, "hunt", see Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), 123 f.

á-na-tara/i | tu-na-sa (URBS): for "Lower Tuna", see above, entry 15 (*element* 1). *tu-na-sa* here identified as gen. sing. along with many other examples in this element, 6(c); *á-na-tara/i* must agree in case with it, so we must have here a purely orthographic omission of the gen. case-ending (cf. below, entry 63, *|SUPER + RA/t-li | tu-na-sa* (URBS), and note there).

[40. Erdem reads (6c) *mu-ha-zi-sà*; *u/mu* broken, uncertain, *zi* has *+ra/i-*.]

43. *á-「sa?」-「tara/i?」(-)MAGNUS + RA/t?-ia*: readings uncertain (for *MAGNUS + RA/I* read *tà* ?), perhaps to be divided into two words. It can however only be assigned to *element* 6(b) (designation of status or occupation). Compare such formations as *tuppa(la)nuri-* (for which see Laroche *RHA* XIV/58 (1956), 27 f.)?

[register 3, 3 blank spaces: Erdem reads erased signs here.]

49. *MAGNUS + RA/t-ia-li*: (cf. KULULU lead strip 2 entry 4), presumably to be read *urayali-* or *uriyali-* apparently a nomen actoris in *-ali-* like others in the same context, *element* 6(b) in lead strips 1 and 2. The writing with the logogram *MAGNUS* points to the derivation from *ura-*, "great", through an intermediate (nominal?) form *uriya-*; cf. *tapariyalli-*, "governor" (van Brock, *RHA* XX/71 (1962), 105 f.).

May we compare Cun. Hitt. ¹⁰uriyanni-/urayanni-, designation of a high officer? Cf. Kronasser, *Etymologie*, § 121,1.

[Erdem reads a final -sá at end of word, but this seems to be an erasure.]

58. ¹za+ra/i-ma-ia(-)ni-ia: perhaps a double name *Zarmas Nis*, although no division is marked. For the element *zarma-* (= *zalma-*/PAP, "protection"), see Neumann, KZ 90 (1976), 139 ff.

60. |tu-na-sa-na(URBS) |á-na-ia: this entry and 63 are the only ones not to have a personal name marked as such as *element 4*, the recipient. *tunasan* is clearly the dat. sing. of an -asi- adj. like others appearing in *element 6(c)*, thus "to that of Tuna", qualifying á-na-ia, a common noun in the dat. sing. marked with the word-divider. A plausible interpretation of the word *ana-* is to suppose that we have here the full phonetic spelling of the Hier. word "mother", normally written, FEMINA-nati-, i.e. the -ti- suffixed form. In Hier., the expected form would have been *ani-, an -i- stem, by comparison with Cun. Luw. *anni-*, Lyc. *ēni* as against Hitt. *anna-*. Certain forms however suggest the possibility that *anna-* too occurred in Luwian: Hier. FEMINA-nati- (**ana(ti)-*), Cun. Luw. (Hitt.) *annawanna/i-*, "step-mother", and the Hier. PN ¹Ana-, cf. Cun. Hitt./Luw. ¹Anna-/¹Anni-. "To Tuna's mother" seems plausible sense, whatever personage, human or divine, might be so designated.

63. Final entry somewhat anomalous, perhaps obscured by loss of the final sign(s). |SUPER + RA/t-li |tu-na-sa (URBS)- it is hard to suppose that anything other than a dat. sing. was intended, which would be *sarli(ya) tuna(ya)*. *tu-na-sa* must surely be erroneous.

2. KULULU lead strip 2

(Copy, transliteration and translation overleaf)

Analysis and discussion

This document is also well preserved and resembles KULULU lead strip 1, though it is shorter and simpler. A fragment missing from the obverse lower left corner (= reverse upper left corner) which restores a single sign on either side has been replaced since Özgüç's original publication. The strip is divided horizontally into two registers on either side, and the registers are divided by vertical rulings into twenty compartments each containing a single entry. The end of the obverse falls in the middle of an entry (compartment), which runs on to be completed at the beginning of the reverse. The entries are grouped into three sections divided off by double vertical rulings with a central wavy line (entries 1-11; 12-13; 14-20), as is seen also on KULULU lead strip 1. The reason for the division into these groupings is not immediately apparent, but may concern the statues belonging to different towns mentioned in each section (see below, discussion under *element 4*).

The entries in each compartment, while not so completely regular as those of KULULU lead strip 1, follow a set pattern with only two divergences (entries 2 and 19). The elements may be set out as follows (omissible elements bracketed):

1. Numeral.
2. Commodity: sheep
- (3. Donor)
4. Recipient
- (5. Verb (once postposition CUM-ni)
- (6. Qualification of recipient)
 - [(a) (patronym): absent]
 - (b) status or occupation
 - (c) town-name

Element 1, the numerals.

See above, KULULU lead strip 1, *element 2* (p. 139).

Element 2, the commodity: sheep.

The word *sheep* is written with the cursive form of the logogram *ovis* (HH, no. 111), accompanied in entry 1 with a full phonetic spelling *ha-wa/i-na*, i.e. *hawin*, acc. sing. MF, "sheep", following the syntax of the entry. In the other entries, it is written simply with the logogram with a phonetic complement *-na* (entries 2, 5, 7, 17), *-sa* (entries 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16) or *-sá* (entries 4, 8, 9, 11), or without complement (entries 3, 14, 18, 19, 20). Properly speaking *-sa/sá* should mark the nominative case and *-na* the accusative, so we might expect the latter to be used when a verb, *element 5*, is present, and the former when it is absent, but this is not the case (see entries 5, 6, 7, 17). That "sheep" is consistently marked as being in the singular after numerals other than 1 need not surprise—singular nouns after plural numbers are a regular feature of Hieroglyphic as of Cuneiform Hittite (Meriggi, *Manuale I*, p. 59 § 108. 2).

Element 3, the donors.

Personal names in the nominative, governing the verbs, *element 5*, occur only in entries 1 and 2.

Element 4, the recipients.

Here are found either personal names or common nouns in the dative. The personal names are all marked with the determinative¹, and the dative ending is always *-ia*, as was the case with KULULU lead strip 1, *element 4*. As there too, two personal names are found joined by the copula *-ha* (entry 13), but in this text only, also three names, *PN₁ PN₂-ha PN₃-ha* (entry 6). Among the names of this text *Kulis*, *Nis*, *Numus* and *REL-sais* (entries 1, 4, 6, 8, 13) are found also on KULULU lead strip 1; *Muwahis*, *Lalis*, *Par(a)satas(?)*, *Tumisis*, *Tutus*, *Mamis*, *Satanus*, *Paluzis(?)* and *Atiwaramis* occur only here.

The common nouns include *taru(t)-*, "statue" (entries 3, 12, 14, 17), *tarpali-*, "substitute" (entry 5), *lahinala/i-*, "?" (entries 10, 16), *huhurpari-*, "?" (entry 11), *hurnali-*, "hunter (?)" (entry 15), and apparently also *ta-REL + RA/t-tà-* (entry 18) (for discussion of the individual terms, see below, Philological Notes, under relevant entries). They are all except the last introduced by numerals and all show endings of the dat. plur., except for *tarut-* which in three of its four occurrences has that of the sing. (entries 3, 12, 14).

The offerings to the statues of various cities seem to comprise the core of this document, since they occur in each of the three sections (twice in the third). The statues receive 20 sheep each if the numbers recorded are divided equally between them, except in entry 17, where they get 47 each. The named individuals receive 20 sheep each (entries 7, 8, 9) or 10 (entries 6, 13), except the *uriyali*, who receives 40 (entry 4). The unnamed members of the occupational groups receive 10 each (entries 5, 10, 11, 15, 16). The implication seems to be that the individuals and workers are grouped with the statues, for which they would have had the responsibility of maintenance.

Element 5, the verb.

The verb, when it occurs is some person/number of *piya-*, "give", 3rd. sing. pres. (entries 1, 2), 3rd. plur. pres. (entry 18), 1st. plur. pres. (entries 3, 6—for the identification of the form see below, Philological Notes, entry 3). In the anomalous entry 19 it is replaced by the 3rd. plur. pres. of *usa-*, "bring", and in entry 20 by the



Fig. 2. KULU Lead Strip 2.

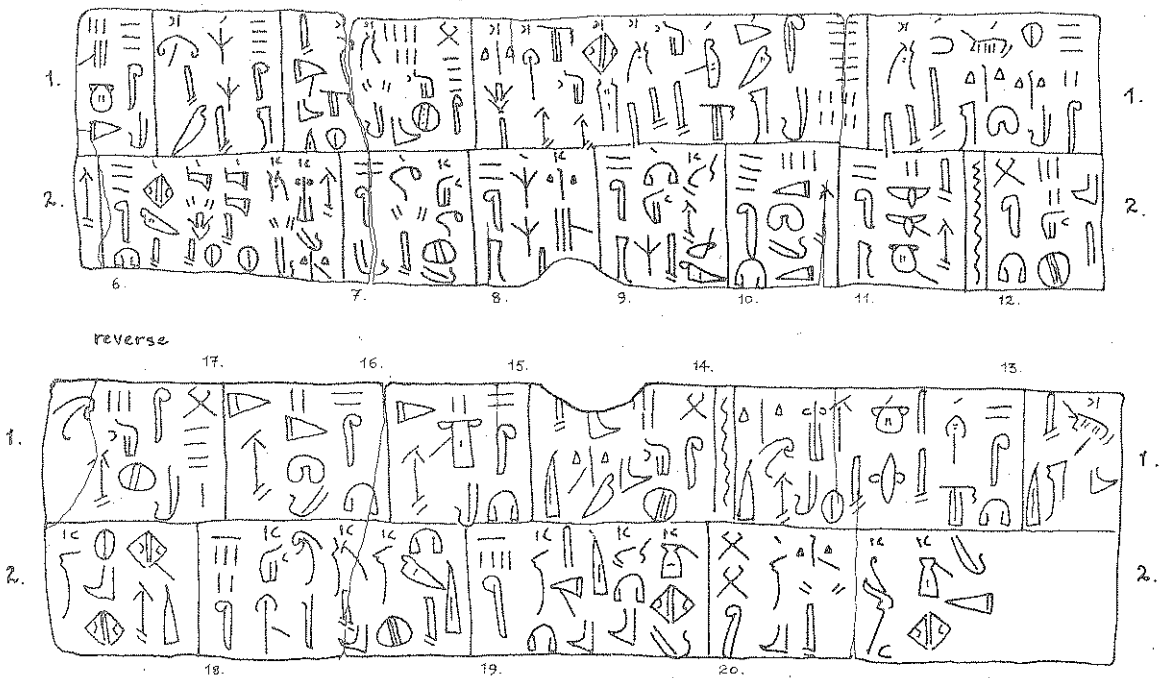


Fig. 2. KULULU Lead Strip 2.

Section and entry		element		2. KULULU lead strip 2. Transliteration	
1.	2.	1.	2.	1.	2.
numeral	commodity (sheep)	donor	recipient(s)	verb/postposition	qualifications (a) uncertain (b) status/occupation (c) to town name
§1. 1.	32	(OVIS) <i>ha-wa/i-na</i>	<i>ma-na/i-hi-sa</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>ka-ka-sa-ta-za</i> [REL-za] [wa/i-sa-i]
§1. 2.	68	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>ka-sa-ha-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 3.	140	<i>ovis</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 4.	40	<i>ovis-sa</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 5.	30	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 6.	30	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 7.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 8.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 9.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 10.	40	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 11.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§2. 12.	100	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§2. 13.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 14.	100	<i>ovis</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 15.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 16.	20	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 17.	141	<i>ovis-na</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 18.	15	<i>ovis</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 19.	14	<i>ovis</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§3. 20.	200	<i>ovis</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-ta-i</i>	<i>pa-na-sa-ta-za</i> + <i>ra/i-ti</i> (URS)
§1. 1.	32	sheep	Muwalis to Nis gives.		
§1. 2.	68	sheep	Lalis to Par(satus?) gives, so that because he will was for the KURSAI(?)		
§1. 3.	140	sheep	to 7 statues we give, from the town Asahayalari.		
§1. 4.	40	sheep	to Nurus, the URIVALL.		
§1. 5.	30	sheep	to 3 "substitutes".		
§1. 6.	30	sheep	to Kulis and Tunis and Turtu we give, (men of?) the town Sunawara.		
§1. 7.	20	sheep	to Mams, in order to(?) TAMAR-		
§1. 8.	20	sheep	to Nurus, the cup-bearer(?).		
§1. 9.	20	sheep	to Satus, the UZAKALI.		
§1. 10.	40	sheep	to 4 LAMNALLI's.		
§1. 11.	20	sheep	to 2 HURUPARI's.		
§2. 12.	100	sheep	to 5 statues, of the town Mur(a)ti.		
§2. 13.	20	sheep	to Kwisat(?) and Paluzis, (men of?) the town Sunawara.		
§3. 14.	100	sheep	to 5 statues, in the town Tiwarali.		
§3. 15.	20	sheep	to 2 hunters(?).		
§3. 16.	20	sheep	to 2 LAMNALLI's.		
§3. 17.	141	sheep	to 3 statues, (of?) the town Abantikurufi.		
§3. 18.	15	sheep	to(?) ... they give, in the town Arnsali.		
§3. 19.	14	sheep	from the town Asahayalari they bring, in order to(?) SARK-		
§3. 20.	200	sheep	for Alwarani's, the SAKINALLA.		

postposition *CUM-ni*. An alternation *DARE-mi-na* with *CUM-ni* reflects that found in KULULU lead strip 1, *element 5 (a-b)* (see above).

The other entries, 4, 5, 7-17 have no *element 5*, and the question recurs whether variations of entry here were intended to register essentially similar or actually different transactions. Casting one's eye over the entries, one gets the impression that all the transactions are similar, particularly e.g. in the case of the statues, where the verb "give" appears only once (entry 3) in four otherwise apparently identical transactions (entries 12, 14, 17). This leads one provisionally to conclude that the addition of *element 5*, whether the verb "give" or postposition *CUM-ni*, makes no difference to the nature of the transaction noted, which remains the issue of sheep to listed recipients. It incidentally strengthens the case for considering that KULULU lead strip 1, where the preponderant PN (dat.) + *CUM-ni* is occasionally replaced by PN (dat.) + *DARE-mi-na*, records the same type of transaction.

When the verb is in the 3rd. sing. pres., the subjects are specified as *element 1*, two personal names in the nominative, not otherwise qualified. The 1st. plur. pres., "we give" is less clear to us, and even more so the 3rd. plur. pres., "they give, they bring". This would hardly have been a problem to the compiler(s) of the document, but since it conceals from us the identity of the authority issuing large numbers of sheep (a total of 1,090), we cannot penetrate an important half of this transaction, any more than we can for KULULU lead strip 1.

Element 6, qualifications of recipient.

As in KULULU lead strip 1, the last element of each entry is frequently a qualification of the recipient's name, recognizable after what was said above under lead strip 1, *element 6 (b-c)*, as designations of status or occupation, or of locality (the present document has nothing corresponding to *element 6 (a)*, the patronyms). Among the status or occupational designations, which appear as common nouns in the dative preceded by the word-divider, the terms *uriyali* and *watara/i* recur (entries 4 and 8), and another term *uzakali* (entry 9) is clearly of the same type. In fact these terms are clearly parallel to those common nouns appearing in *element 4* as groups of recipients, *tarpali-*, *lahinali-*, *huhurpari-* and *hurnali-*; i.e. in this text individuals may be named and qualified with status or occupation, or alternatively unnamed groups of status or occupation are listed. It will be noticed that all end in the suffix *-ali-* except *watara/i* and *huhurpari-*, and even the latter may be a simple phonetic variant of *huhurpali-* (see below Philological Notes, entry 11).

Three other terms appearing in the same position may or may not be designations of status or occupation, namely *tamaruna* (entry 7), *sarkuna* (entry 19) and *sarkunala* (entry 20). While *sarkunala* may well be an occupational term in *-ala-* derived from the preceding word, both *tamaruna* and *sarkuna* look suspiciously like infinitives. Even if they are such however, they may still perform the same function of indicating the occupation of the recipient. For further discussion see below, Philological Notes, under relevant entries.

The town-names, marked with the word-divider and post-determinative *URBS*, include *Asahayalara/i-*// *Asailara/i-* (entries 3 and the anomalous 19), *Sunawara-*//*Sunawata-* (entries 6, 13), *Mur(a)ti-* (entry 12), *Tiwarali-* (entry 14), *Ahatikukura/i-* (entry 17,) and *Arusali-* (entry 18). As in KULULU lead strip 1, they may occur in the genitive (*-as*), the dative (*-ia*), or the ablative (*-ati*), i.e. "of/in/from GN". The forms ending in *-Ca/i-za* require special consideration—see above KULULU lead strip 1, Philological Notes, entry 28. These town-names are used to qualify the personally named recipients and also the "statues" (*tarut-*), which seem to be the most important item in each group.

Anomalous entries.

Two, perhaps three, entries do not conform to the regular pattern.

Entry 2, instead of qualifying the recipient with *element 6*, apparently has a relative clause, for a consideration of which see Philological Notes, relevant entry.

Entry 19, instead of *recipient* (dat.): *verb*, "give": *qualification* (dat.), has *asailarati*(URBS) *usa(n)ti sarkuna*, "from the town Asailara/i they bring . . .". See also Philological Notes, relevant entry.

Entry 18, in the place of *element 4*, the recipient, has neither a personal name nor a number followed by a common noun in the dat. plur., but the unintelligible *|ta-REL+RA/i-tà-'*. If this were a dative however the general pattern would be followed.

2. KULULU lead strip 2

Philological notes

2. *|ku-ki-sá-ta-za |REL-za |wa/i-si-i*: apparently relative clause introduced by REL-za. This could be nom./acc. sing. N, "which", but what antecedent could be understood? Hardly *hawin*, for which a MF sing. or plur. relative pronoun would be expected. Perhaps REL-za is used here as a conjunction, "because" or the like.

wa-si-i: perhaps verb, 3rd. sing. pres. in -i, but see A. Morpurgo Davies (*Festschrift O. Szemerényi* (Amsterdam, 1979), 587), who points out that this would be the only attested form of the type -Ci-i as against -Ca-i, and thereby raises doubt.

ku-ki-sá-ta-za: dat. plur. MF of *kukisati-*, for which see above, lead strip 1, Philological Notes, entry 26.

3. *ta-ru-ti*: cf. below entries 12, 14 (*ta-ru-ti(-i)*) and 17 (*ta-ru-tà-za*), respectively dat. sing./plur. N. of *taru(i)-*, "statue". The first three show the regular Hitt./Luw. usage of singular after numerals (Meriggi, *Manuale* I, p. 59 § 108 n. 2), the last a less expected plural.

DARE-*mi-na*: the occasional occurrence of this form on lead strip 1 has been noted above. The usage of this indefinite 1st. plur. seems characteristic of this type of economic text, and recurs in two or three other texts belonging to a genre which may be classed as "donations", and clearly similar to the economic lead strips, namely CEKKE, KARKAMIS A4a and perhaps TUNP (for the formulation, see *Festschrift G. Neumann* (1982), 91-105). -*mi-na* has long been identified as the 1st. plur. *preterite*, but since in the present text, *element 5* (the verb), all the other verbs are in the *present* (*piyai*, *piya(n)ti*, also *usa(n)ti*), there seems good reason to suppose that -*mi-na* is also present tense. For a recent study concluding that this is the case and identifying another possible ending as 1st. plur. pret., see A. Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), 93-97.

á-sà-ha-ia-la + ra/i-ti(URBS): cf. below, entry 19, *á-sa-i-la + ra/i-ti*(URBS), an interesting variant spelling of what must be the same town-name.

4. MAGNUS + RA/i-*ia-li*: cf. above, KULULU lead strip 1, entry 49, Philological Note.

5. *tara/i-pa-la-za*: dat. plur. MF, doubtless to be associated with Cun. (Hitt./Luw. « *tarpalli-*, for which see the original study of van Brock, *RHA* XVII/65 (1959), esp. 117-126; and most recently Kümmel, *StBoT* 3 (Wiesbaden, 1967), esp. 19 ff.; Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977), 52 ff. In what sense these "substitutes" or "representatives" function here is less clear; perhaps in the diluted sense postulated by van Brock, for Greek *θεράπων*, "esquire, attendant" (op. cit., 125 f.).

6. *sù-na-wa/i + ra/i-za*: Cf. entry 13, *sù-na-wa/i-tà-za*(URBS): further variant spellings for the same town-name. For a consideration of the form (either town-

name *Sunawata-* (> *Sunawara-*) + *-(a)za-* ethnic suffix, dat. sing. qualifying the last of two or three recipients; or town name *Sunawataza-* (> *Sunawaraza-*), dat. sing., "in the town S." see above, KULULU lead strip 1, entry 28, Philological Note on *zakaza*(URBS).

7. *tamaruna*: when this form is compared with *element 6* entries 19 and 20, (*sarkuna*, *sarkunala*), one observes that *sarkunala* appears to be an occupational designation formed from *sarkuna*, and that both *sarkuna* and *tamaruna* have the appearance of infinitives. An *-ala-* suffix on an infinitive form would however be unparalleled. Is the existence in Cun. Hitt. of the words *sarikuwa-* and *dammara-* designating lower functionaries a pure coincidence?

8. *watarai-*: see above, lead strip 1, Philological Notes, entry 9.

9. *uzakali-*: no identifications of the root of this apparent professional designation suggest themselves.

10. *lahinala(n)za*: dat. plur. MF of nomen actoris in *-ali-* or *-ala-*. No root *lahin(a)-* is attested in *CHD* (1980), s. v.; but cf. the PN *Lahinaziti*, *Noms*, no. 674, and the place name ^{URU}*Lahinaššiš* (ibid., p. 272). Is the resemblance to Akkadian (*a*)*lahhīnu* (*CAD* 1 Part I, p. 294) more than fortuitous?

11. *hu-hu+ra/i-pa+ra/i-ia-za*: this word may be associated with a verbal root *huhurpa-* written (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*huhurpa-* (ALEPPO 2,2) and a word written ("*382")*hu-hu_x+ra/i-pa-li* (KARKAMIS A 11 b, 4), as pointed out by Kalaç (*KZ* 92 (1978), 124; cf. now my edition of ALEPPO 2, *An. St.* 30. (1980), 153). Indeed one might be tempted to suggest that *huhurpari-* was simply a phonetic variant of *huhurpali-* showing the common *l/r* alternation of Hieroglyphic (for which see recently *KZ* 94 (1980), 113), especially since *huhurpari-* is associated contextually with a fair number of nomina actoris in *-ali-/ala-*. The KARKAMIS context does not however lend unqualified support to this, reading as it does: "The gods loved me for my justice, *wamata* ("*382")*huhurpali* (SOLIUM)*asa(n)ta*, and they ran before me". It is most natural to translate the middle clause "and for me they sat on the *huhurpali*" ("(SOLIUM)"*asa-*, probably simple verb "sit", causat. (SOLIUM) *isamu-*; cf. *An. St.* 28 (1978), 109 f., where replace **isa-* with *asa-*). *huhurpali* is best taken as dat. sing. (thus Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, 64), and appears to be an object rather than a person, a view strengthened by the logogram *HH*, no. 382.

19. *ta-REL+RA/I-tà-*: if this unintelligible word may be construed as dative, the entry would at least follow the pattern of all the others (except 19): "15 sheep to the *ta-REL+RA/I-tà* they give in the town Arusali".

3. KULULU lead fragment 1. Transliteration

side i

register 1, 1.	111	(OVIS) <i>ha-wa/i-na</i>	¹ DEUS- <i>ni-sa</i>	<i> pi-ia-i</i>
2.	131	(OVIS)- <i>na</i>	¹ <i>à-pá?+ra/i-MAGNUS+RA/I-sá</i>	[<i>pi-ia-i</i>
3.	133	(OVIS)- <i>na</i>	¹ REL + <i>RA/I-na-zi-sá</i>	[...]
register 2, 4.	27	(OVIS)	[...]	<i>[p]i-[ia]-i</i>
5.	97	(OVIS)	¹ <i>na-i-sá</i>	<i> pi-ia-i</i>
6.	69	(OVIS)- <i>na</i>	¹ <i>pi-ia-[...]</i>	...]
register 3,	(erased)			

side ii

register 1, 1.	21	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	¹ DEUS- <i>ni-sa</i>
2.	25	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	¹ <i>à-pá?+ra/i-MAGNUS+RA/I-sá</i>
3.	25	<i>pi-ia-za</i>	REL + <i>RA/I-na-zi-sa</i>

ANATOLIAN STUDIES

register 2, 4.			
5.	[x]	pi-ia]-za	¹ na-i-sá
6.	55	pi-ia-[za	¹ p[i-ia-SARMA-ma-sa
7.	20	pi-ia-za	¹ ha-mi-ia-sá-
8.	28	pi-ia-za	[...]
register 3, 8.	(erased)		¹ á-na-ti-sá
9.	308	pi-ia + ra/i-ia-za	[ku-ki-s[á]-i[i- ...]

side i 1.			Translation
2.	111	sheep	Masanis gives.
3.	131	sheep	Apara(?) -uras gives.
4.	133	sheep	Kwari(?) -nazis [gives].
5.	27	sheep	[...] gives.
6.	97	sheep	Nais gives.
	69	sheep	Piya[sarmas gives].
side ii 1.			
2.	21	"gift(s)"	(of?) Masanis.
3.	25	"gift(s)"	(of?) Apara(?) -uras.
4.	25	"gift(s)"	(of?) Kwari(?) -nazis.
5.	[x]	"gift(s)"	(of?) Nais.
6.	55	"gift(s)"	(of?) Piyasarmas.
7.	20	"gift(s)"	(of?) Hami(ya)s.
8.	28	"gift(s)"	[... ?]
9.			(of?) the mother(?).
	308	"donation(s)"	[(of?)] the KUKISATI.

3. KULULU lead fragment 1

Analysis and discussion

This piece is stated by Professor Özgüç, on the basis of the report of the villager who found the documents, to be the only surviving fragment from a very much larger strip. A consideration of the inscribed text itself however makes this rather surprising, and suggests that on the contrary the document as we have it is complete except for minor losses from either side.

Each side is divided into three registers by horizontal rulings, and the registers into compartments by vertical rulings. It is not possible to pronounce definitively which side is obverse and which reverse, since the entries on each side are a parallel series involving the same people, and one cannot be considered logically prior to the other. The pattern of the entries is very simple:

side i:	side ii
1. Numeral	Numeral
2. "sheep"	pi-ia-za
3. PN in nominative	PN in nominative (or genitive?)
4. Verb <i>piyai</i> , "(he) gives"	

Unlike KULULU lead strips 1 and 2, where personal names in the dative (the recipients) are the main feature, this document as preserved has none. With this exception, side i begins in a way identical to KULULU lead strip 2, *111 hawin* 'DEUS-nis *piyai*, "Masanis gives 111 sheep". The full phonetic writing of "sheep" ((ovis)ha-wa/i-na) in only this entry as in lead strip 2, (while the other entries write only ovis(-na)) would tend to suggest that this was indeed the first entry and that the right-hand margin was preserved; but conversely on the line below where the writing runs in the opposite direction, the last entry breaks off in the middle at this point, as does the corresponding entry on side 2, which must be taken as a counter-indication

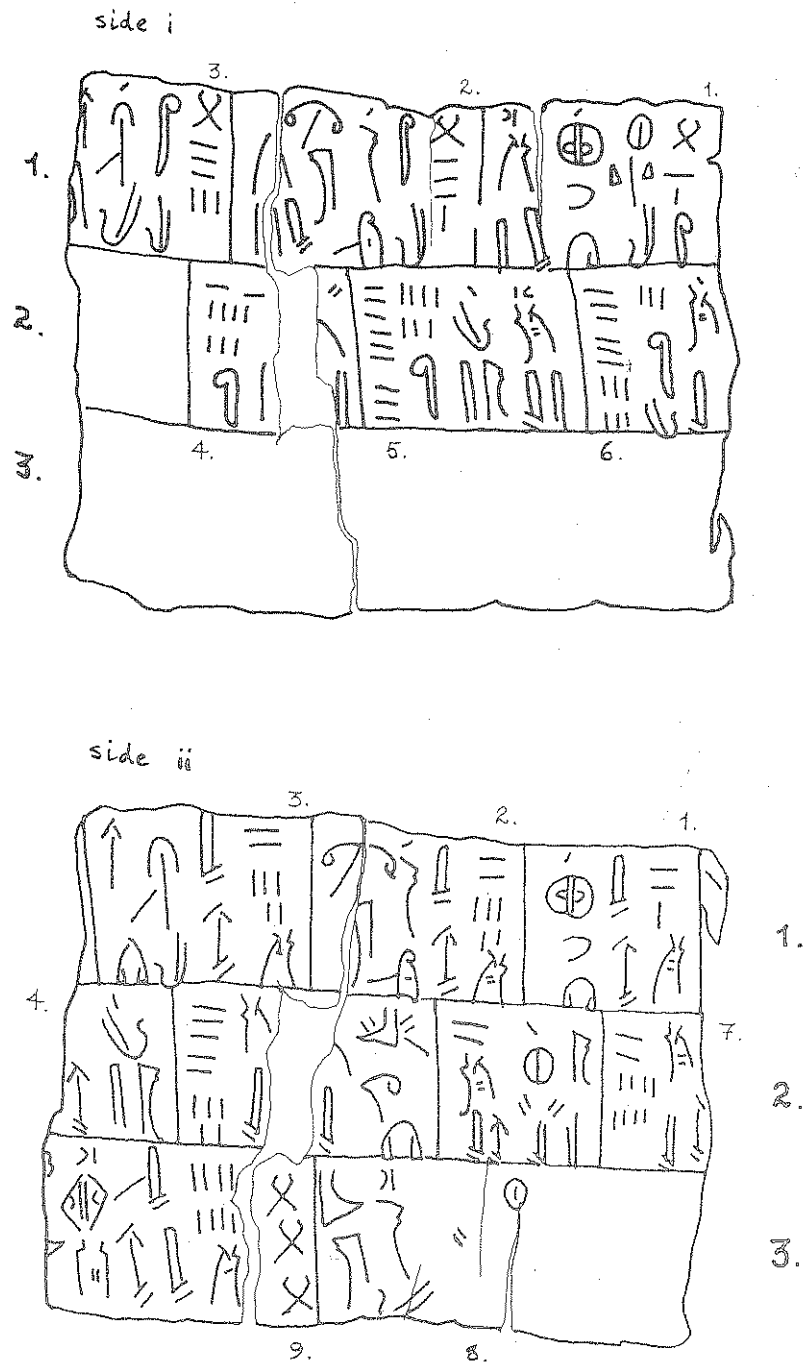


Fig. 3. KULULU Lead Fragment 1.

The three entries of register 1 on either side each contain the same three names, (1) *Masanis*, (2) *Apara(?) -uras*, (3) *REL-rinazis*. Of the four entries of register 2 on either side, side ii has (1) *Nais*, (2) *Piyasarmas*, (3) *Hami(ya)s*, (4) missing, and side i has (1) blank, (2) missing, restore [*Hami(ya)s*]?, (3) *Nais*, (4) *Piya[sarmas]*. Register 3 on side i has apparently been erased, as has some of register 3 side ii, where a single word and an (almost complete?) compartment with an irregular entry remains. If this text was indeed the middle portion of a much longer text, it would be a remarkable coincidence that the same names should appear on either side. Two of these names (*Masanis* and *REL-rinazis*) appear also on KULULU lead strip 1.

The entries of side i are syntactically clear: "So many sheep So-and-so gives". Practically of course we are not informed to whom he gives them, an omission contrasted with that of KULULU lead strip 1 and (partially) 2, where the recipients but not the donors are named.

Those of side ii are less evident. The numbered commodity instead of "sheep" is written *pi-ia-za*, followed directly by the PN apparently in the nominative, but perhaps the genitive, and there are no verbs. *pi-ia-za* could thus be understood as acc. sing. N, or perhaps nom. sing. (MF)N. Its association with the root *piya-*, "give" is obvious, but its morphology is not. Laroche considers it a deverbative form **piyat-*, and compares with a Lyc. attestation *piyatu* (acc. sing.) (*Fouilles de Xanthos* VI (Paris, 1979), 107, table), yet this gives rise to difficulties. If the word is neuter we would expect the form **pi-ia-ta-za* (= *piyata(n) + sa*, cf. *sa₅ + ra/i-la-ta-za*), or possibly **pi-ia-sa* (= *piya(t) + sa*, cf. *ta-ru-sa*); only if it were nom. sing. MF might we explain the present form as *piyat + s*, yet such a formation would be unusual in Luwian. The general sense of "gift" survives the morphological problems, but the practical implications of these entries are obscured by our inability to identify the cases of the elements.

The irregular entry on side ii, register 3, has a different word, *pi-ia + ra/i-ia-za*, an unclear form, apparently nom./acc. sing. N. This entry is the only one to follow with a common noun *ku-ki-s[ā]-t[i-...]* (also nom., or gen., sing.?) instead of a PN. For *kukisati-*, an occupational designation, see KULULU lead strip 1, Philological Notes, entry 26.

The word preceding this entry (*la-na-ti-sā*) stands on its own at the end of an erased passage, unless it is to be understood as continuing the entry at the end of register 2 which breaks off with *pi-ia-za*. Could we see in this word the full phonetic writing of FEMINA *-na-ti-*, "mother" (cf. KULULU lead strip 1, Philological Notes, entry 60)?

4. KULULU lead fragment 3 Transliteration

1. ...] CUM-ni[x?]na hi ia x?
2. 400(?) "179"-za REX-ti hi + ra/i-ni DARE-mi-na
3. [220](?) "179"-za ā-ta-sā-sa hi + ra/i-ni |DARE-mi-na
4. [100](?) [...] |DARE-mi-na
5. 170(?) "179" |tara/i-pa-la-za [... m]i[...]

This small fragment shows writing on only one of two registers on one side. The register was divided up into compartments (entries) by vertical rulings as in the previous texts. Parts of 5 entries are preserved. Such as can be seen of their character shows that they were comparable with the previous texts and made up of similar elements.

1. *Numerals*: partially preserved in entries 2-5, showing one or more hundreds.

2. *Commodity*: indicated by logogram (with logogram marker) apparently identical with that on KULULU lead strip 1, *element 3* (where see for discussion, i.e. *HH*, no. 179. It occurs in entries 2 and 3 (with phonetic complement *-za*), and 5.

3. *Recipients*: entry 2, REX-*ti*, "to the king"; entry 5, *tarpala(n)za*, "to the substitutes"; entry 3 doubtful, *à-ta-sà-sa*, PN (?) in dat. (?) (ending *-ia* not visible).

4. *hi + ra/i-ni*: unknown word, preserved in entries 2 and 3.

5. *Verb*: DARE-*mi-na*, "we give", preserved entries 2, 3, 4, and perhaps represented by [...*m*][...*i*] in 5.

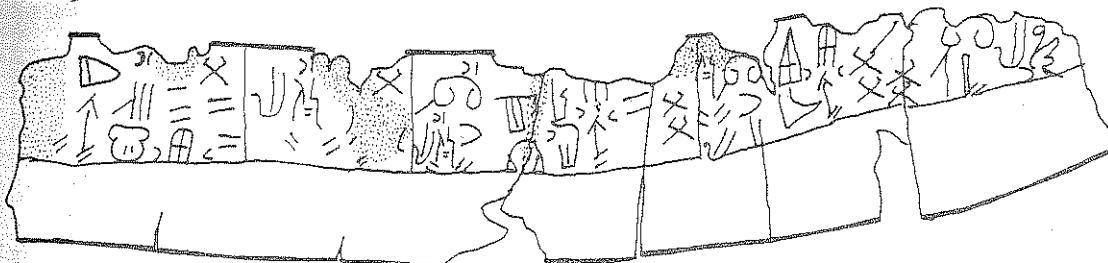


Fig. 4. KULULU Lead Fragment 3.

The pattern "So much x to someone . . . we give" is thus discernible for entries 2-5. Entry 1 does not seem to have followed the pattern but is not sufficiently preserved to show any recognizable elements except CUM-*ni*.

The most noteworthy features of the fragment are: (1) the form of the logogram representing the commodity, A ; (2) the occurrence of "the king", and recurrence of "the substitutes"; (3) the unknown word *hi + ra/i-ni*.

5. KULULU lead fragment 2 + strip 3

"Census" of households already transliterated and commented upon by Laroche, and Özgüç, *Kultepe and its Vicinity*, 114 f.

Transliteration

side i

register 1

[...] : [1] DOMUS-z[a] : 4 VIR-zi : 2 FEMINA : 1 BOS-sa

¹nu-nu-sa : 1 DOMUS-za : 1 VIR-ti-sa : 2 FEMINA : 3 BOS

¹ha-nu-wa/i-sà : 1 DOMUS-za : 5 VIR-sa : 2 FEMINA-zi :

¹ta-sà : 1 DOMUS-za : 3 VIR : 2 FEMINA :

¹la-hi-ia-sà : 1 DOMUS-za : 3 VIR-ti-zi : 2 FEMINA-ti-sa :

(blank space)

register 2 (erased)

side ii

register 1

(erased)

¹tara/i-pa-mi-sà : 1 DOMUS-za : 6? VIR-¹zi? : 9 FEMINA-sa

(erased)

register 2 (erased)

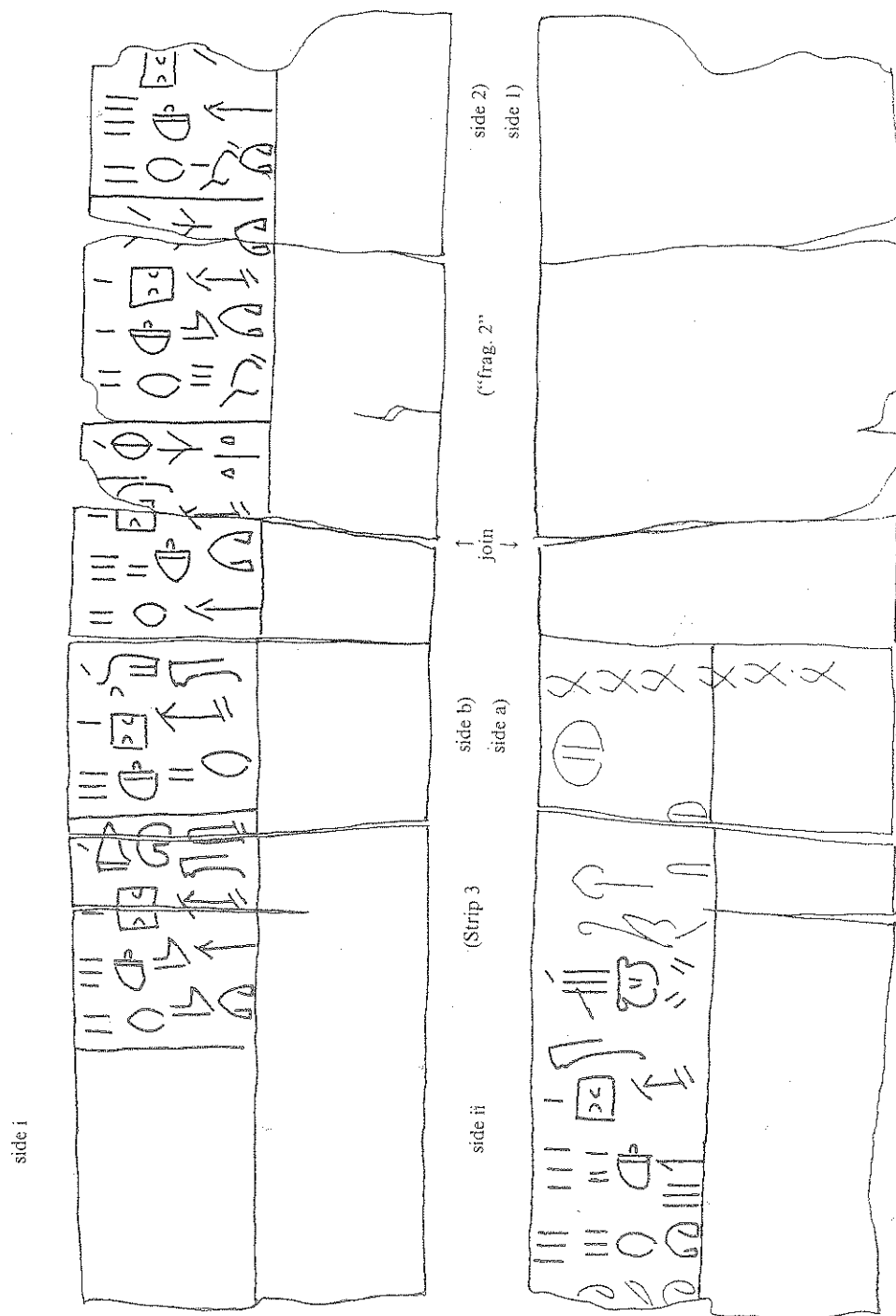


Fig. 5. KULUTU Lead Strip 3 + Lead Fragment 2.
Strip 3, right fragment (erased both sides) joins on left.

Translation

side i	...				
	[(Of?)...]	: 1 house	: 4 men	: 2 women	: 1 ox
	(Of?) Nunus	: 1 house	: 1 man	: 2 women	: 3 oxen
	(Of?) Hanu(wa)s	: 1 house	: 5 men	: 2 women	:
	(Of?) Tas	: 1 house	: 3 men	: 2 women	:
side ii	(Of?) Lahi(ya)s	: 1 house	: 3 men	: 2 women	:
	...				
	(Of?) Tarpamis	: 1 house	: 6? men	: 9 women	:
	...				
	...				

Addenda

The commentaries of Meriggi-Poetto (here M-P) and myself naturally show a large degree of agreement. The following observations on points of difference may be offered as addenda.

M-P, §2: "the conservation of an ante-consonantal nasal" seems unlikely. The two names are better interpreted as *Tarhunazas* (cf. M-P, addenda, p. 112) and *Sunatiyamis*.

M-P, §5: the system of transliteration adhered to by M-P obscures the clear contrast between the *-asi-* gen. adjective, acc. sing. (*-asin*), and dat. sing. (*-asan*), but even so it seems curious to speak of "an accusative used as a dative".

M-P, §7-8: in the reading "UR + *r-ja-li-s₂*" the final *sá*, as noted above is almost certainly an erased sign and should be removed. This permits the interpretation of *uriyali* as dat. sing. qualifying the preceding personal name as a mark of status or occupation. To take it as M-P do as gen. sing. and link it with the following *Tunas* hardly seems probable.

M-P §9.3: contrary to the view expressed by M-P, it seems to me that the Cun. Luw. and Hier. evidence on *waralli-/niwaralli-* combine very effectively to support the interpretation of *waralli-* as "own, proper", and *niwaralli-* as "not-own, alien, hostile" (for the semantic range of the latter, compare that of the Akkadian *nakru*, "foreign, alien, strange, hostile", arising from a basic sense of *nakāru*, "to change, to different"). In particular this fits well with the contexts of *niwaralli-* in the Myth of the god KAL ("as he is *hostile*, so he has made *hostile* the lands"), and *waralli-* in the Birth Ritual ("the child's *own* mother": see now also Starke, KZ 94 (1980), 79). I would also adhere to the interpretation of *waralaya* in KARATEPE which we offered in JRAS 1975/2, 129; cf. *An. St.* 31 (1981), 174f. None of this of course suffices to define the sense of the probable derivative, *waralaza*.

INDEX

(The first numbers refer to the main sections of this article.)

PERSONAL NAMES:

Apara-uras(?)

¹*á-pá?* + *ra/i*-MAGNUS + *RA/I-sá*: 3. i. 2; 3. ii. 2

Apanis

¹*á-pa-ni-sa-na* (f. of Ruwatis): 1.40

Ar(a)kwitas (?)

¹*á* + *ra/i*-REL₂-¹*tá* -*ia* (of the town Tiwarali): 1.1

Atiwaramis

¹*á-ti-wa/i* + *ra/i*-*mi-ia* (*Isarkunala*): 2.20

Has

¹*ha-ia* (*tunas* (URBS)): 1.53

Hahas

¹ha-ha-ia: 1.35

Hami(ya)s

¹ha-mi-ia-sá: 3.ii.6

Hanis

¹ha-ni-sa-na (f. of Las): 1.21; 1.59

Hanu(wa)s

¹ha-nu-wa/i-sá (householder): 5.i

Hapira/is

¹ha-pi + ra/i-ia (of Upper Tuna): 1.7

¹ha-pi + ra/i-ia (with Nus, of Lower Tuna): 1.20

¹ha-pi + ra/i-ia (|uriyali |tunas(URBS)): 1.49

Hapiyamis

¹ha-pi-ia-mi-ia ([¹x]rusasan |huwa/isan(URBS)): 1.2

Harhariyas

¹ha + ra/i-ha + ra/i-ia-ia: 1.51; 1.61

Hasus

¹ha-su-ia (|tunas (URBS)): 1.56

Huliyas

¹hu-li-ia-ia (|kukuwa/isan |tunas (URBS)) (of Upper Tuna): 1.11

¹hu-li-ia-ia (¹iyara/isan |parzuminas(?) (URBS)): 1.30

¹h[u]-li-ia-ia (¹nanimutasan |tapaya (URBS)): 1.42

¹hu-li-ia-ia (|á[. . .]-MAGNUS + RA/i-ia): 1.43

¹hu-li-ia-ia (¹tarhunazasan FRATER-lai): 1.44

¹hu-li-ia-ia (¹sunatiyamisan |uramuwas (URBS)): 1.46

¹hu-li-ia-sá-na (f. of Nanas): 1.16

¹hu-li-ia-sá-na (f. of Nunus): 1.41

Iyara/isa/is

¹i-ia + ra/i-sá-sa-na (f. of Huliyas): 1.30

Kiyakis

¹ki-ia-ki-sá-na (b. of Muwas): 1.38

Kus

¹ku-ia (with Tatas, |zakaza(URBS)): 1.45

Kukuwa/is

¹ku-ku-wa/i-ia (with Nis, of Lower Tuna): 1.19

¹ku-ku-wa/i-ia (of Lower Tuna): 1.24

¹ku-ku-wa/i-ia (¹laluwa/isan |waratura/isi(URBS)): 1.31

¹ku-ku-[wa/i]-ia: 1.47

|ku-ku-wa/i-sa-na (f. of Huliyas): 1.11

¹ku-ku-wa/i-sá-na (f. of Nunus): 1.57

Kulis

¹ku-li-ia (of Upper Tuna): 1.8

¹ku-li-ia: 1.52

¹ku-li-ia (with Turnis and Tutus, |sunawaraza): 2.6

Kurtis

¹ku + ra/i-ti-ia (|waralaza) (of Lower Tuna): 1.22

Kurtiyas

¹ku + ra/i-ti-ia-ia (with REL-za-FRATER-lais, of Lower Tuna): 1.17

Kuwa/is

¹ku-wa/i-ia (|haruwati (URBS)): 1.33

Las

¹*la-ia* (with Papanalis, of Lower Tuna): 1.18
¹*la-ia* (¹*hanisan*): 1.21 (of Lower Tuna); 1.59

Lahi(ya)s

¹*la-hi-ia-sá* (householder): 5.i

Lalis

¹*la-li-sá*: 2.2

Laluwis

¹*la-la/i/u-wa/i-sá-na* (f. of Kukuwa/is): 1.31

Mamis

¹*ma-mi-ia*: 2.7

Masanis

¹*DEUS-ni-ia* (¹*tunas*(URBS)): 1.55
¹*DEUS-ni-sa*: 3.i.1; 3.ii.1

Mur(a)kis

¹*mu + ra/i-ki-ia*: 1.5

Muwas

[?] ¹*mu-wa/i-ia* (¹*kiyakistan* FRATER-*lai* | *hurnali* | *ana(n)* *tara/is* | *tunas*(URBS)): 1.38
¹*mu-wa/i-sá-na* (f. of REL-rimuwas): 1.32

Mawahis

¹*mu-wa/i-hi-sá*: 2.1

Nais

¹*na-i-sá*: 3.i.5; 3.ii.4

Nanas

¹*na-na-ia* (¹*huliyasan*) (of Lower Tuna): 1.16

Nanimuta/is

¹*na-ni-mu-ta-sa-na* (f. of Huliyas): 1.42

Nis

¹*ni-ia* (with Kukuwa/is, of Lower Tuna): 1.19
 (-) *ni-ia* (see Zarmas)

Nus

¹*nu-ia* (¹*uramuwas* (URBS)): 1.6
¹*nu-ia* (with Hapira/is, of Lower Tuna): 1.20
¹*nu-ia* (¹*PUGNUS-rimisan*(URBS)) (of Lower Tuna): 1.25
¹*nu-ia* (¹*kukisati*) (of Lower Tuna): 1.26

Nunus

¹*nu-nu-ia* (¹*huliyasan* | *tasakusan*(URBS)): 1.41
¹*nu-nu-ia* (¹*kukuwa/isan* | *tunas*(URBS)): 1.57
¹*nu-nu-ia* (¹*uriyali*): 2.4
¹*nu-nu-i[a]* (¹*watara/i*): 2.8
¹*nu-nu-sa* (householder): 5.i

Paluzis

¹*pa-la/i/u-zi-ia* (with REL-sais, *sunawataza* (URBS)): 2.13

Papanalis

¹*pa-pa-na-li-ia* (with Las, of Lower Tuna): 1.18

Par(a)satas(?)

¹*pá? + ra/i-sá-ta-ia*: 2.2

Piyai(ya)s

¹*pi-ia-i-ia* (of Upper Tuna): 1.12

Piyasarmas

¹*pi-ia-SARMA-ma-sa*: 3.i. [6]; 3.ii.5

- Pulais
¹*pu-la-i-ia* (|*tunas*(URBS)): 1.37
- Ruwatis
¹*ru-wa/i-ti-ia* (¹*apanisan* |*uhazira/is*(URBS)): 1.40
- Satanus
¹*sa-ta-mu-ia* (|*uzakali*): 2.9
- Sunatiyamis
¹*su-na-ti-ia-mi-sa-na* (f. of Huliyas): 1.46
- Tas
¹*ta-ia* (|*watara/i*) (of Upper Tuna): 1.9
¹*ta-sá* (householder): 5.i
- Tarhunazas
¹TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-ia* (|*arawani*) (of Upper Tuna): 1.10, 14
¹TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-ia*: 1.36
¹TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-ia* (¹*tatasan*): 1.62
¹TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-sá-na* (b. of Huliyas): 1.44
- Tarhuntapiyas
¹TONITRUS-*hu-ta-pi-ia-ia* (of Lower Tuna): 1.23
- Tarpamis
¹*tara/i-pa-mi-sá* (householder): 5.ii
- Tatas
¹*ta-ta-ia* (with Kus, |*zakaza* (URBS)): 1.45
¹*ta-ta-sa-na* (f. of Tarhunazas): 1.62
- Tumisis
¹*tu-mi-si-ia* (with Kulis and Tutus, |*sunawaraza*): 2.6
- Tutus
¹*tu-tu-ia* (with Kulis and Tumisis, |*sunawaraza*): 2.6
- Tuwa/is
¹*tu-wa/i-ia* (¹*musatalasan*(?)) (of Upper Tuna): 1.13
- Tuwanis
¹*tu-wa/i-ni-ia* (|*uramuwasan*(URBS)): 1.39
- Uramuwas
¹MAGNUS + RA/I-*mu-wa/i-ia* (¹*uramuwasan*(URBS)): 1.3
 see also Town-names.
- Warpasis
¹*wa/i + ra/i-pa-si-ia*: 1.54
- War(a)piyamis
¹*wa/i + ra/i-pi-ia-mi-ia* (of Lower Tuna): 1.27
- Wasumas
¹*wa/i-su-ma-ia* (|*zakaza* (URBS)): 1.28
¹*wa/i-su-ma-[ia]*: 1.50
- Zarmas Nis (or Zarmayanis)
¹*za + ra/i-ma-ia(-)ni-ia* (¹PUGNUS-*rimisan*): 1.58
- DOMINUS-nizarmas
¹DOMINUS-*ni-za + ra/i-ma-ia* (|*parzuminas*(?)(URBS)): 1.29
- PUGNUS-rimis
¹PUGNUS-*ri + i-mi-ia* (of Lower Tuna): 1.15
¹PUGNUS-*ri + i-mi-sá-na* (f. of Zarmas Nis): 1.58
 see also Town-names
- REL-rimuwas (**Kwarimuwas*?)
¹REL + RA/I-*mu-wa/i-ia* (¹*muwasan* |*waratura/isi*(URBS)): 1.32

REL-rinazis (*Kwarinazis?)

¹REL + RA/i-na-zi-ia (|aluwanali(URBS)): 1.34

¹REL + RA/i-na-zi-sa/sá: 3.i.3; 3.ii.3

¹REL-sais (*Kwisais?)

¹REL-sá-i-ia (|uramuwasan(URBS)): 1.4

¹REL-sá-i-ia (with Paluzis, sunawataza (URBS)): 2.13

¹REL-za-FRATER-la(i)s (*Kwazatala(i)s(?))

¹REL-za-FRATER-la-ia (with Kurtiyas, of Lower Tuna): 1.17

[x]rusa/is

[x]-ru-sa-¹sá-na (f. of Hapiyamis): 1.2

TOWN NAMES

Ahatikukura/i

á-ha-ti-ku-ku + ra/i-za(URBS): 2.17

Aluwana

á-la/i/u-wa/i-na-li (URBS): 1.34

Arusali

á-ru-sa-li-ia(URBS): 2.18

Asa(ha)i(a)lara/i

á-sà-ha-ia-la + ra/i-ti(URBS): 2.3

á-sa-i-la + ra/i-ti(URBS): 2.19

Haru(wa/i)

ha-ru-wa/i-ti(URBS): 1.33

Huwa/i

hu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS): 1.2

Mur(a)ti(ya)

mu + ra/i-ti-ia-sá(URBS): 2.12

Parzumina(?)

pa + ra/i-zu?-mi-na-sa(URBS): 1.29, 30

Sunawata

sù-na-wa/i-tà-za(URBS): 2.13

sù-na-wa/i + ra/i-za: 2.6

Tapa

ta-pa-ia(URBS): 1.42

Tasaku

ta-sà-ku-sa-na(URBS): 1.41

Tiwarali

[ti]-wa/i + ra/i-li-ia-sá (URBS): 1.1

ti-wa/i + ra/i-li-[ia](URBS): 2.14

Tuna

|tu-na-sá(URBS): 1.11; 1.37; 1.49; 1.53; 1.55; 1.56; 1.57

|tu-na-sa-na (URBS) 1.60

|SUPER + RA/i(-li) (-sa) |tu-na-sa(URBS): 1.7; 1.63

|á-na-tara/i(-sá) |tu-na-sa/sá(URBS): 1.15; 1.38

Uhazira/i

u-ha-zi + ra/i-sá(URBS): 1.40

Uramuwa

¹MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS): 1.3

|MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS): 1.4; 1.39

|MAGNUS + RA/i-mu-wa/i-sá/sa(URBS): 1.6; 1.46

Waratura/i

|wa/i + ra/i-tu + ra/i-si(URBS): 1.31; 32

Zaka

|za-k[a]-za(URBS): 1.28*|za-ka-za*(URBS): 1.45

PUGNUS-rimi

¹*PUGNUS-ri + i-mi-sa-na* (URBS): 1.25