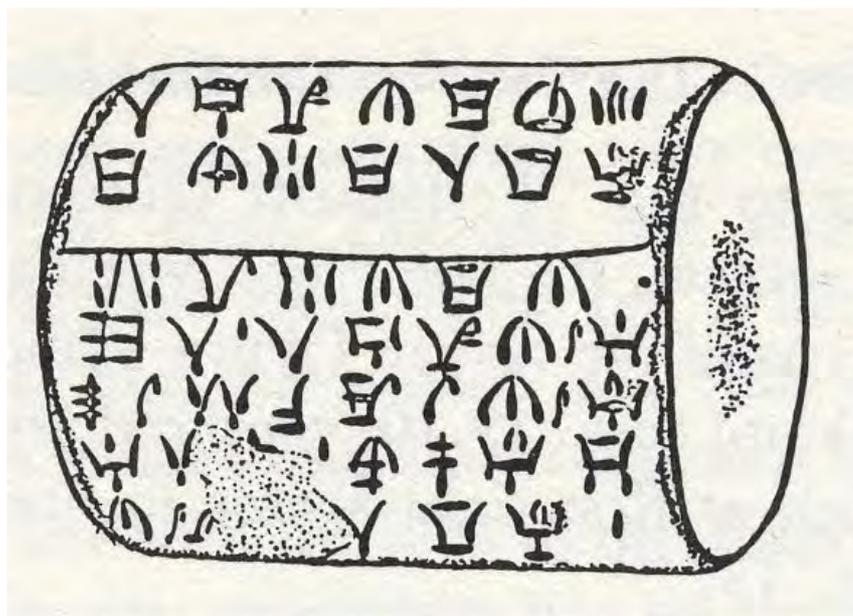


THE LANGUAGE OF LINEAR C AND LINEAR
D FROM CYPRUS



FRED C. WOULDHUIZEN

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FRED C. WOU DHUIZEN

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LINEAR D FROM CYPRUS

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Enkomi clay cylinder seal inv. nr. 1910
(from E. Masson 1971)

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PREFACE

Part I on Linear C consists of a reworked and updated version of my former efforts in the field, which appeared as Woudhuizen 1992: 81-153 and Woudhuizen 1994. As opposed to this, Part II on Linear D presents results achieved by me only recently, in 2014.

In regard to Cyprian culture during the Late Bronze Age, there are in general two schools of thought. One, which takes the island as being isolated, and the other, which maintains its integration into the wider eastern Mediterranean. Clearly, in my opinion the latter line of approach is in more touch with historical reality than the former.

My sincere feelings of thanks are due to the series editors Maarten D. de Weerd and Jan P. Stronk for their proofreading of the entire manuscript and kindly offering many suggestions as to its improvement. Remaining errors are mine, of course. Further I am grateful to the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society for facilitating the publication of this work.

Fred C. Woudhuizen

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

N	nominative	imp.	imperative
A	accusative	inf.	infinitive
D	dative	act.	active
G	genitive	mid.-pass.	middle-passive
Abl.	ablative	pass.	passive
Loc.	locative	pers.	person
sg.	singular	MN	man's name
pl.	plural	GN	god's name
m	masculine	TN	town's name
f	feminine	CM	Cypro-Minoan
n	neuter	CS	Cyprian Syllabic
pres./fut.	present/future	LH	Luwian hieroglyphic
subj.	subjunctive	CH	Cretan hieroglyphic

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PART I
THE LANGUAGE OF LINEAR C

1. EARLIEST TABLET FROM TABLET ENKOMI (INV. NR. 1885)

During the excavations at Enkomi, Cyprus, in the year 1955, the upper part of a tablet (inv. nr. 1885) was discovered on the floor of a room for copper smelting, belonging to layer IB of the “fortress” unearthed at this place and dated *c.* 1525-1425 BC.¹ As a consequence, this fragmentarily preserved tablet (# 001)² belongs to the select number of Linear C inscriptions which provide us with the earliest known evidence of Cypro-Minoan writing and certainly has to be considered the earliest tablet bearing witness of this class of writing.

For this reason, scientific debate concerning this tablet has mainly been focussed upon the question of the origin of the script, which in its present early form is considered by a number of scholars to be so closely related to Cretan Linear A that direct derivation seems to offer the most promising explanatory model for its emergence. In this light, it is of course interesting to note that, from an archaeological point of view, the *a priori* plausibility of this hypothesis has received substantial support from the fact that contacts between Cyprus and Crete during the period in question are assured thanks to the find of two Late Minoan IA sherds in the same layer of the “fortress” at Enkomi as from which the tablet stems. Vice versa, contacts between the islands at the time are further underlined by the presence of Cyprian *white slip* material characteristic of the layer in question at the palace of Knossos in Crete during the Late Minoan IA period.³

From an epigraphical point of view, however, fruitful debate on the possible Cretan origin of Cypro-Minoan literacy is seriously hampered by the absence of any consensus on the reading of the

¹ Dikaios 1971: 882 f.

² Numbering of the Cypro-Minoan texts according to the corpus by Ferrara of 2013.

³ Dikaios 1971: 882 f. The situation of a house for economic purposes, in this case the preparation of copper for exportation, from a general point of view seems comparable to that of the “House of Kadmos” at Thebes, which facilitated the export of Minoan products into the Theban hinterland during the 15th and early 14th century BC as shown by the finds of inscribed stirrup jars of similar type as the ones found in Thebes at Orkhomenos, Kreusis, and Gla, see Farnoux & Driessen 1991: 89.

individual signs inscribed on the tablet. Accordingly, the situation concerning the number of convincing parallels between the syllabary used on the oldest tablet from Enkomi and Cretan Linear A is variously judged. As a kind of preparatory labor, therefore, the exact reading of the tablet should be assured with the help of the various photographs published (it was not possible for me to study the object by autopsy) before passing judgment on the nature of the relationship of the script with other writing systems current in the region.⁴

Picking up the trail at the beginning, careful examination of the available photographs points out that the following adjustments of Emilia Masson's drawing of the text on the fragmentarily preserved tablet, first proposed by Louis Godart and Anna Sacconi, are correct:⁵

(1) The addition of a vertical bar in the center of the second sign from the left in line 3.

(2) The addition of a horizontal bar on top of the one already indicated by Masson with respect to the third sign from the left in line 3 (but note that, contrary to the opinion of Godart and Sacconi, this bar runs quite parallel to the one below it).

(3) The omission of part of the horizontal dividing line between lines 2 and 3, viz. over the first two signs from the right in line 3 which in fact are placed so high up the line that there is no space left for it.

(4) Godart and Sacconi also proposed to omit the "foot" on the left side of the first sign from the right in line 3, in which suggestion they are followed here, though it must be admitted that consultation of the photograph is less conclusive in this respect. Furthermore, they have rightly stressed the fact that the first two signs from the right in line 1 are repeated on the lateral side of the tablet. In doing so, however, the scholars in question paid little attention to the clearly visible dot in the upper right corner of the first sign of this pair on the lateral side, which recurs in form of a slanting stroke attached to the corresponding corner of its counterpart on the front side of the tablet and for this reason cannot be dismissed as an incidental scratch.

Likewise, Godart and Sacconi seem to have failed to observe that E. Masson's drawing is inexact in the following respects as well:

⁴ Dikaios 1971: Pl. 314a; Dikaios & Ventris 1956: 40 f.; Hunt 1982: 46 (color photograph, below at the right side of the page). See further next note.

⁵ E. Masson 1969: 64-77 (including yet another photograph); Godart & Sacconi 1979: 128-133. See now also Ferrara 2013: 127; Pls. I-II.

(5) The lower sides of the second sign from the left in line 3 are, according to plate 314a of Dikaios 1971, clearly *both* curving inwards (instead of only the left one as indicated by E. Masson) in such a manner that the sign originally appears to consist of an oval.

(6) The crossbars attached to the second sign from the right in line 3 are not placed symmetrically, as indicated by E. Masson, but asymmetrically in such a manner that the one on the right points upwards, the one on the left downwards, and the one at the top projects to the right. The direction of the additional stroke on the lower side cannot be determined with certainty, but is likely to be reconstructed as stretching out to the left on account of the similarity in form thus achieved with sign no. 76 from the repertory of the later Linear D tablets from Enkomi (see chapter 5 below).⁶

(7) In contrast to the second sign from the left in line 2, the third one consists of two bent lines at either side of the vertical bar, which are virtually unconnected at the top, instead of a single curved line as indicated by E. Masson.

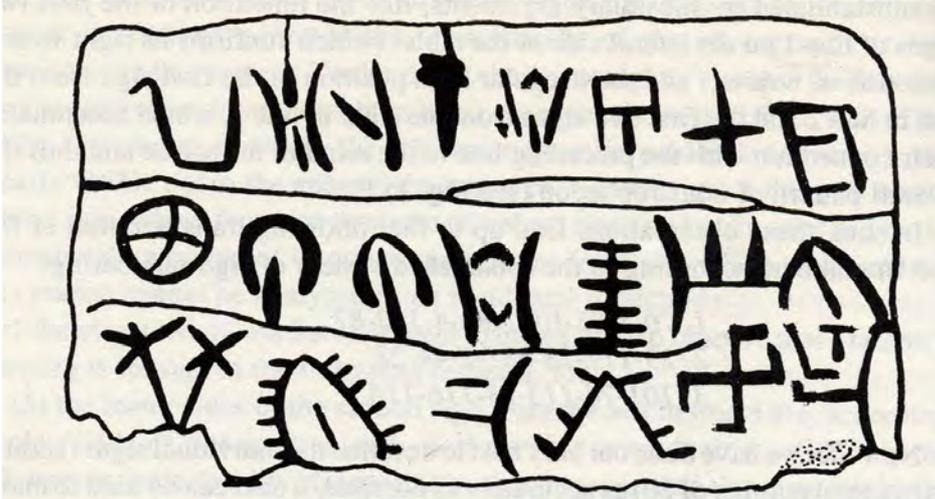
(8) The fourth sign from the right in line 1 is damaged at the top, but because of the ductus of the side strokes it recalls, in general outlines, the second sign from the left in the same line. Notwithstanding, actual identification between these two signs is ruled out for the pair of small vertical strokes added to the left of the former one.

The sign in the middle of line 2 is problematic and remains to be discussed below.

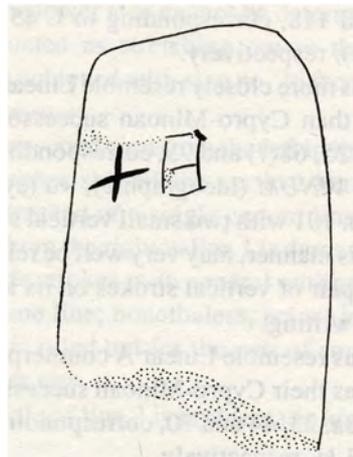
The preceding adjustments of the reading of the individual signs have no bearing on the problem posed by the determination of the direction of writing: this is correctly analyzed by E. Masson as being *boustrophedon* on the basis of telling arguments. Thus the position of the first sign from the left in line 1 indicates that the text starts in right-to-left direction of writing, the position of the second sign from the right in line 2 points out that it continues in left-to-right direction of writing, whereas the position of the third sign from the left in line 3 suggests that this line is in retrograde direction of writing, again. This analysis can even be substantiated by subsidiary arguments, like the repetition of the *first* two signs of line 1 on the lateral side of the tablet (which confirms its right-to-left direction of writing) and the irregular high position of the first sign from the left in line 2 and the first two

⁶ Numbering of the signs according to Hiller 1985: 62-65; cf. Ferrara 2013: 296 and Ferrara 2014: 255, Table 5.10.

signs from the right in line 3, which accentuates their connection with the preceding line in the mind of the scribe and thus the overall pattern of *boustrophedon* (see Fig. 1).



(a)



(b)

Fig. 1. Front and lateral side of tablet Enkomi inv. nr. 1885 (after E. Masson 1969 and Godart & Sacconi 1979).

In sum, these observations lead up to the following transliteration of the text in numbers according to the well-established system of sign-numbering (see Hiller 1985: 62-65):⁷

1. 70-5-95-101?-8a-4-102-87
2. 25-117-28-68?-7-44-23
3. 101-76-113-13?-116-118

Table I. Text in transliteration according to numbers.

Now that we have described the individual signs, adding up to a total number of 20, as accurately as possible, it next can be tried to make an estimation of how closely the syllabary is related to that of Linear A. In order to tackle this problem, the syllabary can be divided into six distinct groups of signs:

(1) Signs which are very closely, or even exactly, paralleled in Linear A, but so far cannot be shown to have taken root in the Cypro-Minoan script. To this group belong nos. 117 and 118, corresponding to L45 or AB70 *kū* and L60 or AB30 *FICUS* (ideographic), *ni* (syllabic), respectively.⁸

(2) Signs which in ductus more closely resemble Linear A counterparts from roughly the same period than Cypro-Minoan successors of later date. This group comprises nos. 4, 7, 25, 68(?), and 95, corresponding to Linear A L30 or AB01 *da*, L92 or AB04 *te*, L29 or AB77 *ka*, L25 or AB55 *nu*, and L75 or AB 54 *VINUM* (ideographic), *wa* (syllabic), respectively. Note that the variant of no. 101 with two small vertical strokes on its left side, if correctly identified in this manner, may very well be related to L100a or AB28b *i*, which is also characterized by a pair of vertical strokes on its left side when written in retrograde direction of writing.

(3) Signs which in ductus resemble Linear A counterparts from roughly the same period just as much as their Cypro-Minoan successors of later date. This qualification suits nos. 5, 8a, 23, 44, and

⁷ New numbers from no. 114 onwards.

⁸ Numbering of the Linear A signs according to Meijer 1982 (preceded by L) and GORILA 5: XXII-XXIII (preceded by AB). It is interesting to note here that the syllabic value of L60 or AB30 derives from the Cretan word for "fig", *nikuleon*, according to the acrophonic principle, see Duhoux 1989: 71.

70, corresponding to L22 or AB02 *lū*, L26 or AB06 *na*, L78 or AB37 *ti*, L77 or AB09 *se*, and L103 or AB67 *ki*, respectively.

(4) Signs which, though clearly related to Linear A equivalents, in ductus already show a typical Cypro-Minoan flavor. This applies to nos. 87 and 102, recalling L76 or AB73 *mi* and L52 or AB08 *a*, respectively. If rightly supplied with a second “foot” by E. Masson, the variant of no. 101 in line 3 may also be incorporated in the present group (cf. Fig. 6 below).

(5) Signs which are closely, or even exactly, paralleled in Cypro-Minoan inscriptions of later date, but so far cannot be shown to have any convincing antecedents in the Cretan Linear scripts. This group comprises nos. 28, 76, and 113. The first of these is conclusively shown by E. Masson to represent the value *ni* on the basis of internal evidence only. When looking for parallels, the sign may be connected with the Cretan hieroglyphic “arrow” (E13 or CHIC049) in case Piero Meriggi’s identification of the formula “trowel”-“arrow” from Cretan hieroglyphic seals as a direct forerunner of Cypro-Minoan *pi-ni* from tablet RS 20.25, discovered at Ras Shamra or Ugarit in North Syria (see chapter 4 below), holds good.⁹ Of the second sign it has already been observed that in more developed form it is known from the repertory of Linear D signs typical for Enkomi in the final stage of the Late Bronze Age (see chapter 5 below). Being paralleled by *le* of the Cyprian Syllabary from the Classical period, it may be assumed that the sign constitutes a typical Cyprian innovation, based upon the, in Cyprian Late Bronze Age writing, productive practice of adding strokes (initially four or three, later only one) to existing signs (in this case no. 5 *lu*, corresponding to Cretan Linear A L22 or AB02 *lū*) for the creation or extension of the *e*-series.¹⁰ On the other hand, a Cretan hieroglyphic forerunner may be provided by E54 or CHIC047, which also renders the value *le* (see Fig. 4). The third sign, finally, is, as rightly observed by E. Masson, so far matched only by a counterpart at the start of a Linear C inscription on a handle from Katydhata (# 127). Being otherwise unparalleled, though no doubt related in form to no. 38 *u* (see Fig. 7), this constitutes a weighty argument in favor of

⁹ E. Masson 1974: 39-42; Meriggi 1973: 132, note 15. Numbering of the Cretan hieroglyphic signs according to Evans 1909 when preceded by an E and according to the corpus by Olivier & Godart of 1996 when preceded by CHIC.

¹⁰ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100, Fig. 2; for the device of adding strokes to existing signs to create or extend the *e*-series, see Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 101.

the present classification of the earliest tablet from Enkomi with the Linear C documents.

(6) Sign(s) which for methodical considerations should be left out of the discussion, because: (a) their form cannot be determined with certainty, as in case of nos. 13(?),¹¹ 68(?),¹² and the given variants (?) of no. 101; and (b) because its form goes without parallel in both Cretan Linear and Cypro-Minoan, as in case of no. 116.¹³

At first sight, it seems that the given division of the syllabary into groups of signs, ranging from “certainly derived from Cretan Linear A” to “certainly not derived from Cretan Linear A”, enables both supporters and adversaries of the possible Cretan origin of the Cypro-Minoan script to underline their views by picking at random those groups of signs favorable to their hypothesis. In reality, however, the matter is more complicated and all the various groups of signs should be accounted for in an all-embracing theory. This theory most naturally seems to run as follows:

(1) In view of the substantial number of clearly related signs (adding up to as much as 13 of the total of 20 individual signs), it seems that the basic syllabary was initially derived from Cretan Linear A (groups 1-3).

(2) During the period from which the inscription stems (*c.* 1525-1425 BC), however, this basic syllabary had already been subject to its own insular development, which affected the ductus of the signs in such a way that they more closely resemble Cypro-Minoan forms of later date (group 4).

(3) This independent development is further emphasized by typical Cyprian innovations and, possibly, derivations from other scripts in the region (group 5).

Now, if we are right in our opinion as ventilated in the previous lines that the signs nos. 28 and 116 are likely to originate from Cretan hieroglyphic on account of their formal resemblance to “arrow” (E13

¹¹ If our identification of this sign applies, it may perhaps be traced back to Linear A L39 or AB05 *tī* and compared to Cyprian Syllabic *to* (cf. Fig. 6 below).

¹² In the preceding sub (2) we have, under the condition that our reading is correct, already already linked up this sign with Linear A L25 or AB55 *nu*.

¹³ In line with our identification sub (5) of no. 28 with the Cretan hieroglyphic “arrow”, E13 or CHIC049 *ni*, and no. 76 with Cretan hieroglyphic E54 or CHIC047 *le*, this sign may perhaps be traced back to Cretan hieroglyphic “eye”, E5 or CHIC005 *tī*, see Fig. 4 below.

or CHIC049) and “eye” (E5 or CHIC005)—to which examples the origin of no. 76 from Cretan hieroglyphic E54 or CHIC047 may perhaps be added—, the dependence of Cyprian writing on Cretan expertise in the field receives welcome confirmation (cf. Fig. 4).

What is more important, though, is that this observation enables us to determine the center of radiation of the script more in specific. It so happens to be that knowledge of Linear A is more widely diffused in Crete during the period of introduction of writing in Cyprus, which largely coincides with the era of the Minoan thalassocracy (*c.* 1550-1450 BC), than during the following phase of the Minoan-Mycenaean transitional period (*c.* 1450-1350 BC) in which the use of Linear A is mainly restricted to the palace of Phaistos and its harbor Hagia Triada in the Mesara plain. Among Cretan sites productive in evidence of Linear A writing, then, there is only one which singles itself out for the preservation of strong hieroglyphic survivals and that happens to be the palatial site of Malia. Here we can find Linear A inscriptions on clay bars, which for their thick and clumsy appearance, as compared to the more sophisticated shapes of the average Linear A and B tablets from Crete, offer excellent comparative material for the thickness of the earliest tablet from Enkomi.

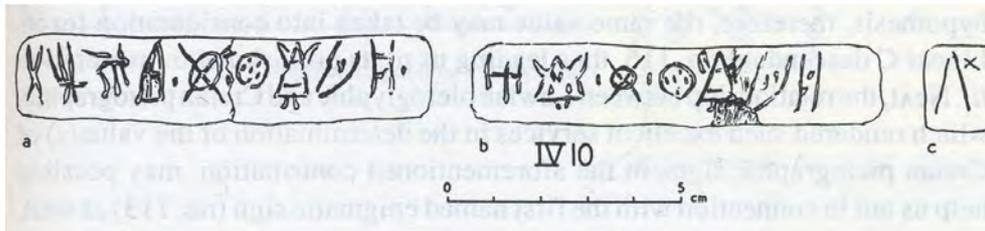


Fig. 2. Clay bar with Linear A inscription from the palace of Malia (after Brice 1961: pl. 28a [IV 10]).

One of the inscriptions from Malia starts with a cross and ends with the same symbol just like it is the case with hieroglyphic inscriptions on similar clay bars from an earlier period of the Malian palace administration (see Fig. 2). Yet another inscription from Malia, written on an altar-stone which, unfortunately, is found outside its proper archaeological context and therefore cannot be accurately dated, is characterized by an altogether mixed syllabary, half consisting of signs from Linear A and half made up of signs from

Cretan hieroglyphic.¹⁴ As in addition some of the Linear A variants from the inscription on the clay bar as reproduced in our Fig. 2 show the closest formal relationship to Cypro-Minoan descendants of all known variants from the entire repertory of signs (mark especially the ductus of the signs for the vowels *a* and *i*), it seems not far-fetched to identify the palace of Malia as the center of radiation of the Linear A variant introduced in Enkomi during the period *c.* 1525-1425 BC.

The present treatment of Enkomi inv. nr. 1885 focusses on epigraphical problems. Nevertheless, one of the most welcome verifications of the solutions presented in the foregoing epigraphic discussion of the origins and relationships of the signs attested for this early document should follow from an estimation of their linguistic plausibility. In other words: are the values of the signs, recovered from oblivion by their correspondence to Cretan counterparts, liable to meaningful linguistic interpretation?

In order to answer this question, it is first of all necessary to determine the value of remaining enigmatic signs, viz. nos. 113 and 116, of which, as we have seen, the first corresponds to the initial sign of an inscription from Katydhata (# 127) and appears to be formally related to no. 38 *u* (see Fig. 7), whereas the second recalls Cretan hieroglyphic “eye” (E5 or CHIC005).

To start with the sign of possible Cretan hieroglyphic background, a hypothetical value can easily be assigned along similar lines of approach as applied in connection with signs originating from Cretan Linear A, which means that we work from the principle *identity of form = identity of value*. Elsewhere I have argued that the Cretan hieroglyphic “eye” renders the value *ti*₆ on account of its relationship in form to the Luwian hieroglyphic symbol for the all-seeing sun-god, *199,¹⁵ which depicts three pairs of eyes in a row and which renders the logographic value *TIWATA* and syllabic value *ti*₆ as regularly derived from the logographic value according to the acrophonic principle.¹⁶ As a working hypothesis, therefore, the same syllabic value may be taken into consideration for its Linear C descendant no. 116, thus leading us to its provisional transliteration as *ti*₁ (see Figs. 3-4).

¹⁴ Woudhuizen 2016: 165-170.

¹⁵ Numbering of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs according to Laroche 1960.

¹⁶ Woudhuizen 2016: 31; 100, Fig. 25.

The relationship between Luwian hieroglyphic and Cretan hieroglyphic, which, as I have shown elsewhere, renders such excellent services in the determination of the values of Cretan hieroglyphic signs,¹⁷ may possibly help us in connection with sign no. 113 as well. This particular sign, namely, bears a remarkable formal resemblance to Luwian hieroglyphic *165 *WASU* (logographic), *wà* (syllabic) when due attention is paid to the reduction of signs to their essential outlines in the shift from hieroglyphic to linear.¹⁸ In line with this observation, the related Cypro-Minoan no. 113 likely renders the value *wa*₁, though it must be admitted that for the lack of a Cretan hieroglyphic counterpart it is impossible to say whether the sign has been incorporated via Cretan hieroglyphic or directly from Luwian hieroglyphic (see Fig. 3).

To inform the reader, examples of Cypro-Minoan signs ultimately originating from Luwian hieroglyphic are presented in Fig. 3, whereas those originating from the Cretan hieroglyphic which lack a forerunner in Luwian hieroglyphic are presented in Fig. 4.

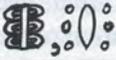
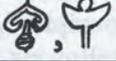
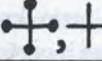
Luwian Hieroglyphic			Cretan Hieroglyphic			Tablet Enkomi 1955		
no.		val.	no.		val.	no.		val.
165		<i>wà</i>				113		<i>wa</i> ₁
191		<i>ti</i> *	5		<i>ti</i>	116		<i>ti</i> ₁
290		<i>ha+r</i>				25		<i>ka</i>
329/ 332		<i>hù</i>	?		<i>hù</i>	117		<i>ku</i>
186/ 445		<i>lu</i> *	112		<i>lu</i>	5		<i>lu</i>

Fig. 3. Signs of ultimate Luwian hieroglyphic origin.

¹⁷ Woudhuizen 2016: 42-44; 94-106, Fig. 25.

¹⁸ Note that LH *165 pictures a sheaf of corn and that its meaning *WASU* “good”, from which the syllabic value *wà* is deduced according to the acrophonic principle, originally stems from agricultural produce. The noted formal relationship of no. 113 *wa*₁ to no. 38 *u* coincides with *wa/u*-interchange in Luwian hieroglyphic.

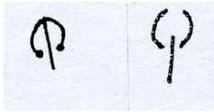
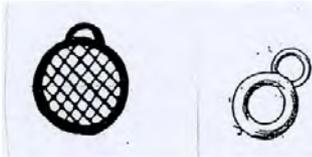
	CH		CM		value (CH)	
E13			28			<i>ni</i>
E18			51			<i>pi</i>
E54			76			<i>le</i>
E5			116			<i>ti₆</i>

Fig. 4. Signs originating from Cretan hieroglyphic.

Having suggested a working hypothesis for the problem posed by the enigmatic signs in this manner, we may eventually proceed to render the entire text in transliteration and venture at an interpretation.

<i>ki-lu</i>	“deficit”
1. <i>ki-lu VINUM-i-na ta-a-mi-</i>	“deficit: wine (from) the trader
2. <i>ka ku-ni-nu te se-ti-</i>	of <i>ku-ni-nu</i> ; delivery: to the
3. <i>i-le wa₁-tu-ti₁ FICUS</i>	municipal god Seth, figs”

Table II. Text in transliteration and translation.

Commentary

As the text lacks punctuation marks, the distinction between the individual words is seriously hampered. Notwithstanding so, the

reading of the first line is ensured in the first place by the observation that the first two signs for their repetition on the lateral side of the tablet are likely to form a separate entity. Furthermore, it deserves attention that the next three signs are effectively set apart by the device of being underlined and placed higher up the line than the preceding and following ones. This observation suggests that the remaining three signs at the end of the line also belong to a separate combination.

Unfortunately, the division of the signs in the next two lines is more complicated. Possibly, the higher position of the first sign in line 2 indicates its connection with the last three of line 1 in the mind of the scribe, as we have suggested when discussing the direction of writing. If so, the same reasoning equally applies to the first signs of line 3. Next, it seems deducible that the last sign in line 3 is used as an ideogram indicating a product involved in an economic transaction. In the first place, namely, it is, just like the middle entry of line 1, placed higher on the line and underlined, as is indicated by the incursion in the line where the tablet breaks off, which, for the rest, neatly follows the line of division between line 3 and the now missing next one. Secondly, the *logographic* use of both nos. 95 and 118 squares remarkably well with the application of secondary signs to express the *syllabic* values *wa* (no. 113) and *ni* (no. 28) in the present text. As it seems, the scribe has done his utmost to try to prevent mixing-up between logograms as indications of products and syllables derived from these indications of product according to the acrophonic principle.¹⁹

Thus far, then, we are able to secure the reading of the following items:

(1) *ki-lu*, technical transaction term known from the Linear A palace administration at Hagia Triada, where it performs the same function as the term *o-pe-ro* or its abbreviation *o* for Greek *ophelos* “deficit” in the Linear B tablets from Knossos. This transaction term is identified with Semitic *kalû(m)* of the same function.²⁰ In accordance with this analysis, its presence on the lateral side of the tablet clearly serves filing and inspection purposes.

¹⁹ Note, however, that a similar reasoning cannot be applied to the presence of a secondary sign for *ti*, no. 116, alongside the regular no. 23 for this value.

²⁰ Best 1973: 55; Woudhuizen 2016: 225, Table XV.

(2) *VINUM-i-na*, indication of product involved in the transaction. It is interesting to note that the corresponding sign of Cretan Linear L75 or AB54 *VINUM*, *wa* in its logographic use *VINUM* “wine” is followed here by a phonetic complement which, with the syllabic value substituted for the logographic one, results in the reading *wa-i-na* in sum—clearly a related form of Semitic **wainu* “wine”! Note that the closing vowel *-a* may be the result of secondary influence from Luwian hieroglyphic *WIANAWA(ā)nà-* “wine”.²¹

(3) *FICUS*, logogram for the indication of product involved in the transaction, *i.c.* “figs”.

These readings underline the plausibility of the values attributed to the signs involved. At any rate, the economic nature of the contents of the text seems self-evident by now. Still, it is tempting to interpret the entire text and to provide linguistic confirmation for values attributed to the remaining signs as well. In doing so, however, it must be admitted that the degree of speculation evidently increases.

(4) *ta-a-mi-ka*, occupational term, corresponding to Akkadian *tamkāru-* “trader” in like manner as Linear B *da-mo-ko-ro*.²² This same occupational term occurs in form of *ta-mi-ka* in the text of the Enkomi clay cylinder seal inv. nr. 19.10, lines 10, 14-15, 17, and 23 (see chapter 2 below) and *ta-me-ki* in the text of the Kalavassos clay cylinder seal K-AD 389, line 11 (see chapter 3 below).

(5) *ku-ni-nu*, possibly ethnic adjective or some other apposition qualifying the occupational term *ta-a-mi-ka* “trader”. Note that the rather generic occupational term “trader” is also specified by an ethnic adjective in the text of the Enkomi clay cylinder seal (lines 9-10: *li-ki-k(a) e-mu* “I, from Lycia”), whereas it is associated with a place-name in that of the Kalavassos clay cylinder seal (line 10: *pe-se-we₁* “(from) Ephesos”), see chapters 2 and 3 below.

(6) *te*, abbreviation of technical transaction term *te-lu* “delivery”. This transaction term is, likewise in abbreviation, attested for the text of the Enkomi clay cylinder seal (line 3), see chapter 2 below. It is a well-known feature of the Linear A palace administration at Hagia Triada, where it occurs in abbreviation as well as in

²¹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 308; 311. Cf. also the phonetic reading *wo-no* “wine” in Linear B (PY Vn 20), see Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 348.

²² AHW, s.v. *tamkāru(m)*; Woudhuizen 2005. For the omission of the final syllable *-ru* in the Cypro-Minoan variant, cf. Hittite *Alakšandu-* for the Greek MN *Aleksandros*.

full and performs the same function as the term *a-pu-do-si* for Greek *apodosis* “delivery” in the Linear B tablets from Knossos. The origin of the term can be traced back to Semitic *tēlû* of the same function.²³

(7) *se-ti-i-le*, composite divine name consisting of the elements *se-ti-* and *-i-le*, of which the first may be compared to the Egyptian GN *Seth* and the second is identifiable as the Semitic root *il* “god, deity”. In defence of this, admittedly rather speculative, interpretation it might be adduced that the onomastic element *i-li-*, corresponding to Semitic *il*, is attested, amongst others, for the personal name *Ilimalik* featuring in the text of tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (side B, line 14, see chapter 4 below).

(8) *wa₁-tu-ti₁*, dative singular in *-ti* of a root **wa(s)tu-* (cf. Linear B *wa-tu*) or **wetu(r)-* (cf. Eteo-Cyprian *we-to-ri* and Lycian *wedr-*) “town”.²⁴ This form qualifies the preceding *se-ti-i-le* and recalls *we-tu-ti* as attested for the text of the Kalavassos clay cylinder seal K-AD 389 (lines 13 and 7) if due allowance is made for the *a/e*-alternation characteristic of the latter text. In this latter text, the form *we-tu-ti* qualifies the ethnic adjective *sa-mi-ya* “Samian” and the titular expression *wa-sa-ka*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *washa-* “lord” (see chapter 3 below). In support of its qualifying as a deity name, attention might be drawn to the use of Lycian *wedr-* in expressions like *Maliya wedrēñni* “the municipal (goddess) Maliya” (TL 150, 6-7) and *muhāi huwedri* “the confederate gods” (TL 59, 3 and 93, 3).²⁵ Or of Greek *(w)astu* in the expression *Artemis Astyas* as recorded for an inscription from Iasos.²⁶

All in all, the interpretation of the text of the earliest tablet from Enkomi as of economic nature seems feasible. In any case, according to our interpretation each transaction:

(1) is introduced by a technical transaction term, *ki-lu* and *te* as an abbreviation of *te-lu*;

(2) contains an indication of the product involved, *VINUM-i-na* or *wa-i-na* and *FICUS*, which is effectively set apart by special means like underlining, etc., in order to be retraceable in a glance;

²³ Best 1973: 54; Woudhuizen 2016: 225, Table XV.

²⁴ Ventris & Chadwick 1973: glossary, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2013: 195.

²⁵ Laroche 1967: 54 ff.; Melchert 2004, s.v.; cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 94, 99.

²⁶ *Anatolian Studies* 24 (1974) 34. Cf. also Lydian Artemis *aštrko-* “protectress of the town”, see Gusmani 1964, s.v.

(3) contains a form of address of the counterpart involved, be it a trader, *ta-a-mi-ka*, or a municipal (*wa₁-tu-ti₁*) deity as either debtor or recipient.

Apart from this, it seems significant to observe that the parallels adduced are in the main provided by on the one hand Cretan Linear A documents from roughly the same chronological horizon and on the other hand Cypro-Minoan texts of later date. This observation, namely, is fully in accordance with the results from the epigraphical analysis of the syllabary. As such, therefore, the values attributed to the signs on the basis of epigraphical considerations may be assumed to have received substantial linguistic confirmation.

As far as grammar is concerned, the only feature of note is that of the dative singular in *-ti* which, as we have seen, marks the form *wa₁-tu-ti₁*. This ending can also be found in Linear C texts of later date, as in case of, for example, the sequence *te-lu sa-ne-me-ti* “delivery to Sanemas” from the text of the Enkomi clay cylinder seal inv. nr. 19.10, lines 25-26 (see chapter 2 below). From a comparative point of view, this ending is related to the dative singular in *-ti* as attested for the declension of the pronoun in Luwian hieroglyphic²⁷ and cuneiform Luwian.²⁸ However, in the peripheral Minoan Luwian dialect this ending happens to be extended to the declension of the noun as deducible from the sequence *te-lū da-ku-se-ne-ti* “delivery to Taku-šenni” from one of the Linear A tablets from Hagia Triada (HT 104, 1-2) and that of *a-re ne-si-di-tī* “for Nesidis (= the Hittite)” at the start of the Linear A legend of the gold ring from Mavro Spelio (KN Zf 13).²⁹

²⁷ Woudhuizen 2015a: 41; 248.

²⁸ Meriggi 1980: 323, § 148; cf. Woudhuizen *forthc.*

²⁹ Woudhuizen 2016: 274-279, esp. 275.

2. THE ENKOMI CLAY CYLINDER SEAL (INV. NR. 19.10)

One of the most important Linear C documents is the large clay cylinder discovered by Claude Schaeffer during the 1967 excavations at Enkomi. It contains the largest text written in this particular script which, apart from some small damaged spots, has been handed down to us completely. The document (# 097) was found in an area disturbed by illegal digging and provisionally dated to the 14th century BC, i.e. antedating the main body of Linear C inscriptions assigned to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 12th century BC. However, as only the immediately underlying Middle Cyprian III and Late Cyprian I layers are reported to be undisturbed, this degree of precision claimed by the excavator with respect to the date of the find is fallacious and the clay cylinder seal may just as well stem from roughly the same period as the great bulk of related script finds.¹

In view of its importance, it is an unfortunate situation that the text on this clay cylinder seal is not documented by a full set of photographs from all sides and could, up till now, only be studied by means of the drawings published by Emilia Masson.²

It has been a privilege, therefore, that in the summer of 1989 I have been able to study this seal in detail and verify the readings of E. Masson by autopsy thanks to the kind intervention by Dr. Willem van Haarlem, assistant keeper of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam. It had already been remarked by Jan Best that the drawings of E. Masson are deficient with respect to the distinction of nos. 8a *na* and 8b *tu*.³ Now it can be added that the sign which E. Masson interprets as no. 21 and which according to the structural analysis by Best features in the same position as no. 23 *ti* to mark the dative singular ending, in reality clearly concerns no. 22 *we* and presents us with an alternative means of expressing the dative singular as attested for the text of the Kalavassos seal in the form of *-we_I* (see chapter 3 below). Furthermore, it can be established that the second sign in line 12, which according to E. Masson reads no. 104 *i*, in reality represents no.

¹ Schaeffer e.a.1968: 267-269.

² Karageorghis 1982: 65, Fig. 46 (note that the photograph shows the object upside down); E. Masson 1971a: 457 ff., Fig. 1 f. For a full set of photographs, see now Ferrara 2013: 146-147; Plates IX-XIV.

³ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 56.

107 *ma*₁. To this might be added that the third sign in line 4 definitely renders no. 12 *pi* and that the remnants of no. 7 *te* are traceable for the 6th sign in line 22. On the negative side, it must be admitted that the distinction between the closely similar signs for the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* remains problematic (see Fig. 5).

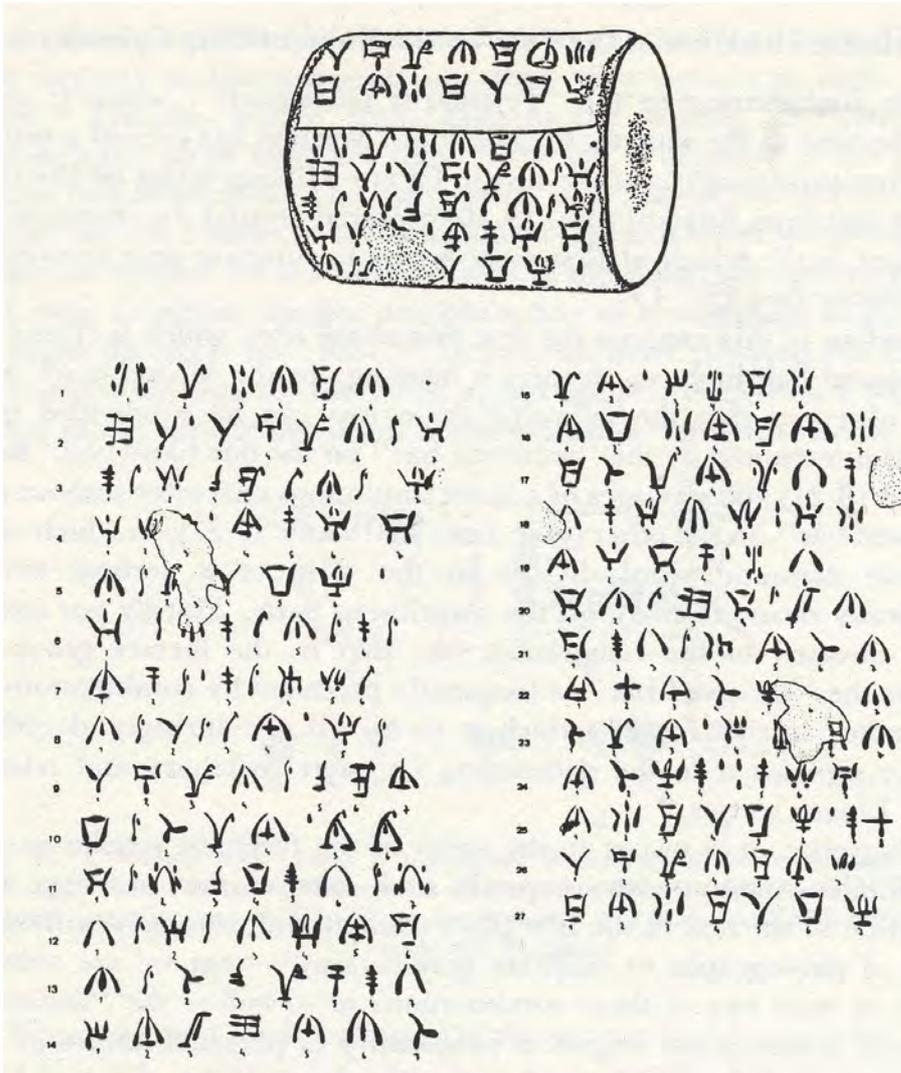


Fig. 5. The Enkomi clay cylinder seal inv. nr. 19.10 (from E. Masson 1971a).

The text of the Enkomi clay cylinder seal already has its history in so far as attempts towards its elucidation are concerned. As always in matters of Cypro-Minoan epigraphy, it was Emilia Masson who first showed us the way by her observation that certain combinations from the text on the cylinder seal, like 82-96-88-23 (line 2, etc.) and 27-6-110-97-23 (lines 4-5), recur on a cylinder seal from Kourion (# 202) with the ending no. 23 *ti* (viz. 27-6-110-97-23) and on clay balls from Enkomi *without* the ending no. 23 *ti* (see clay ball # 034: 82-96-88, and cf. clay ball # 022: 27-6-97, characterized by the loss of no. 110), so that these combinations are likely to be identified as personal names either in the dative case⁴ or in the endless nominative case. Similarly, she was the one who convincingly established the values of the signs nos. 6, 9, and 104 by their counterparts in the Cretan Linear scripts on the one hand and in the Cyprian Syllabary on the other hand, thus discovering the Ugaritic onomastic elements *i-li-* and *-pa-li*, used in combination on clay ball # 084 from Enkomi to form the Semitic MN *Ilb ʿl*.⁵

The latter approach, based upon external evidence provided by related scripts, was much elaborated by the decipherer of Linear A, Jan Best, in his first contribution dedicated to the subject. He identified a considerable number of Cypro-Minoan signs especially on the basis of their correspondence to Linear A ancestors. In addition to this he keenly observed the typical Cyprian device of adding strokes to already existing signs for the creation or extension of an *e*-series. In sum, this enabled Best to “shoot” rightly in connection with the sequence 7-5-82-96-88-23 in lines 25-26, read as *te-lu sa-ne-me-ti* and convincingly interpreted on the analogy offered by the sequence *te-lu da-ku-se-ne-ti* from a Linear A tablet from Hagia Triada (HT 104, 1-2) as “delivery to Sanemas”.⁶ Furthermore, his determination of the origin of the typical Cypro-Minoan sign no. 69 in the Akkadian cuneiform by means of an intermediate form (no. 114) on a bronze ingot from Enkomi of earlier date (# 175) resulted in the basically correct reading of the combination 38-87-103-23-69-23 in line 1, which is clearly distinguished as a heading by the dot placed half-high at the end of the line, as *u-mi-ye-ti-si-ti*. In line with its identification

⁴ E. Masson 1971b: 26; E. Masson 1973.

⁵ E. Masson 1974: 39-41; Hiller 1985: 92.

⁶ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 115.

as a heading, Best proceeded to interpret this form, against the backdrop of the epichoric Eteo-Cyprian *u-mi-e-sa-* from the bilingual inscription from Amathus dated to the Classical period, as a locative in *-ti* of the place-name Amathus.⁷ Only the reading of sign no. 103 was afterwards improved owing to its identification by the present author as a simplified variant of no. 102 *a*, this primary vowel otherwise being absent in our text on the Enkomi cylinder seal.⁸

A. *four times*

- 1) line 10: 4-87-25
 lines 14-15: 4-87-25
 line 17: 4-87-25
 line 23: 4-87-25

B. *three times*

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 2) line 2: 82-95-88- <i>ti</i> | 3) line 5: 82-75-99 | 4) lines 16-17: 25-103-69 |
| line 9: 82-95-88- <i>ti</i> | line 25: 82-75-99 | line 25: 25-103-69 |
| line 26: 82-95-88- <i>ti</i> | line 27: 82-75-99 | line 27: 25-103-69 |

C. *two times*

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 5) lines 16-17: 69-25-103-69 | 6) line 15: 44-37-97 | 7) line 22: 25-4-99-7- <i>ti</i> |
| line 27: 69-25-103-69 | line 23: 44-37-97- <i>ti</i> | line 24: 25-4-99-7 |

Table III. Repetition of sign-combinations.

To these results, the present author, after emphasizing the value of the repetition of combinations of signs within the text itself for the distinction of separate entities in those parts of the text where the scribe did not bother to make use of a word-divider (see Table III), added the identification of the central element in the sequence 69-25-103-69, viz. *-ka-a-*, figuring in these repetitions of sign-combinations. This element could subsequently be interpreted as a writing variant characterized by *a/o*-vowel shift of the well-known Eteo-Cyprian patronymic suffix *-ko-o-*. Interestingly, this suffix is likewise both preceded and followed by a sibilant in the MN *a-ri-si-to-no-se a-ra-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-o-se* (= Greek Aristona Aristonaktos) from the

⁷ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 116; 118, Fig. 12; cf. 102, Fig. 4.

⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 126; so also E. Masson 1983: 136.

afore-mentioned bilingual inscription from Amathus.⁹ In connection with the assumed vowel shift, it deserves our attention that Greek *Amathousiōn* corresponds to Eteo-Cyprian *u-mi-e-sa-i* “of the Amathusians (G pl. in *-ai*)”, evidencing an *a/u*-vowel shift, and that the typically Greek *o*-series of the Cyprian Syllabary of the Classical period originates from the Cretan Linear A *u*-series, thus bearing the testimony of an *u/o*-vowel shift.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the form *u-mi-a-ti-si-ti* consists of an adjectival formation in *-si-*, corresponding to Luwian *-ašši-*,¹⁰ which is marked by the locative singular in *-ti*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti* for the same function.¹¹

After these preliminary observations, a major step forward in the process of recovering the contents of the text was reached by Best’s elucidation of the system of punctuation used by the scribe. According to this analysis, there are three different marks, with the following appearances and functions:

(1) A large dot placed half-high on the line, as attested for line 1, which, as we have seen, separates the heading from the rest of the text.

(2) A small vertical stroke placed high up the line, which consistently distinguishes one administrative category, *i.c.* the deliverer, from the other, *i.c.* the recipients and the products involved, within one single transaction registered. This determination of the mark in question is best illustrated by its use in line 7, where it indicates the beginning of the second delivery by the same person, *sa-mu-ri*, to another recipient which involves some other products, without repetition of his name. Note that this punctuation mark needs to be distinguished from a comparable stroke for the indication of units, which occurs before the indication of the product only in case there is more than one standard unit of it involved, see lines 18 and 24.¹²

(3) A longer, curved stroke, which functions as a mere divider between single words or items within a single transaction and between

⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 127-128; on the bilingual inscription from Amathus, see Woudhuizen 2013.

¹⁰ Laroche 1960: 155-163.

¹¹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 247.

¹² Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 56.

different transactions. The observation that this particular punctuation mark is subordinate to the ones mentioned before receives remarkable confirmation from the fact that it is omitted from specific parts of the text, viz. lines 13-18 and 21-27. It is usually addressed in the literature as “incurved bar”, and is most closely paralleled for the text on tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (see chapter 4 below). From a comparative point of view, it may well originate from the “space filler” in the legend of Cretan hieroglyphic seals, see # 293, sides 1 and 2, # 295, side 3, and # 314, side 2.¹³

This analysis of the system of punctuation, then, presents us with a solid frame of reference, owing to which the different parts of the text can be classified into distinct categories of information, like heading versus main text on the highest level, deliverer versus recipient and products involved on the middle level, and the distinction of different words and indications of products, etc., on the lowest level.

Before going into the details of this classification, it is first of all necessary to pay some attention to the determination of the values of signs not discussed already in the preceding section on the earliest tablet from Enkomi. These values are based upon the correspondence in form to counterparts in the related scripts and can be subdivided into categories of probability. Category I consists of signs with a cognate in *both* classes of related scripts, Linear A and B on the one hand and the Cyprian Syllabary on the other hand, at the same time (see Fig. 6), whereas Category II comprises signs with a parallel in one of the two classes of related scripts, *either* Linear A and/or B *or* the Cyprian Syllabary (see Fig. 7).¹⁴ As the values of most signs from Category I have already been tested in the preceding section, it may suffice to say here that the value *ta* of the Cyprian Syllabic successor of no. 4 is preferred to that of its Cretan Linear forerunner, which expresses the value *da*, for the simple fact there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the existence of two distinct dental-series. With respect to Category II, which—apart from nos. 7, 9 and 38—is still in need of verification, it deserves our attention that the identifications of Best are followed here for the following signs:¹⁵

¹³ Woudhuizen 2016: 117, Fig. 29; 140; 146, Fig. 37. Numbering of the Cretan hieroglyphic inscriptions according to Olivier & Godart 1996 (= CHIC).

¹⁴ On the repertory of the Cyprian Syllabary, see O. Masson 1983: 58-59, Figs. 1-2; 62-63, Figs. 3-4; 66-67, Figs. 5-6.

¹⁵ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 124-126, Figs. 15-17.

(1) No. 26 *ke*, formerly not distinguished by me as a separate sign. Note that the most closely related writing variant of its ancestor in Linear A L24 or AB44 occurs in a document from the palace of Malia, see Brice 1961: Pl. 28a, IV 11c.

(2) No. 27 *pe*, formerly placed by me in Category I on account of its apparent relationship to Cretan Linear *si* and Cyprian Syllabic *si*, and given the corresponding value.¹⁶ As we have seen, however, the value *si* is already expressed by no. 69, owing to its forerunner no. 114 positively identifiable as an independent acquisition derived from the Akkadian cuneiform, and for this reason the former identification by me becomes less compelling. In addition, it is relevant to note that no. 27 is most closely paralleled in form by a variant of Linear A L1 or AB56 *pa*₃ on the altar-stone from Malia already referred to in the preceding section.¹⁷

(3) No. 98/99 *ri*, formerly taken by me as for an ancestor of Cyprian Syllabic *ki*,¹⁸ but note that this value is already expressed by no. 70, which ultimately develops into Cyprian Syllabic *ki*. It is interesting to observe that no. 98/99 for its absence in the Linear A syllabary must likely be attributed to Linear B (B53) influences on Cypro-Minoan writing at the time.

New identifications proposed by me in regard to Category II are the following:

(4) No. 12 *pi*, based on its likeness in form to Linear B AB11 *po* and Cyprian Syllabic *po* on the one hand, which only accounts for the consonant, and the correspondence of, for instance, the MN *e₁-ma-12-* in line 17 to the Lycian personal name *Ermapis* on the other hand, which indicates the vowel *i*.¹⁹

(5) No. 18 *ri*₁, of which the value is indicated by its likeness in form to Linear A L58 or AB 76 *rī* (> Linear B *ra*₂, equivalent to *ri-ja*). This identification can further be substantiated by linguistic

¹⁶ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 124, Fig. 15.

¹⁷ Woudhuizen 2016: 165-170; see chapter 1, note 14 above.

¹⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 124, Fig. 15.

¹⁹ Houwink ten Cate 1961: 176. Note especially the variant of no. 12 on the rim of a bronze bowl possibly from Enkomi (# 179), which is distinguishable from Linear B and Cyprian Syllabic *po* for the lack of its “handle” below and occurs here in combination with no. 6 *pa* to form the entry *pa-pi*—no doubt a reference to the place-name *Paphos* (note in this connection that Cypro-Minoan lacks a separate *o*-series).

considerations like, for example, the correspondence of the product RI_1 in line 5 to Linear B RI as used in ligature with *162 *TUNIC* to indicate linen cloth (cf. Linear B *ri-no* = Greek *linon* “linen”).²⁰ It is true that in this manner there happen to be two distinct signs for expression of the value *ri*, which doubling we considered unlikely sub (2) above. Yet, it must be emphasized that no. 18 in the current corpus of texts is a rare sign and, because of this, may be surmised to be losing ground in concurrence with no. 98/99 *ri*, representing, as we have duly noted, secondary Linear B influences.

(6) No. 73 *ya*, based on the observation that, as a result of the development of no. 69 from its most elaborate form no. 114 on the early bronze ingot from Enkomi (# 175) to its most simplified form on the present cylinder seal, the original sign for *ya* with four horizontal cross bars (no. 72) just like the intermediate form of no. 69 on the Kalavassos seal K-AD 389 (# 098), had to be adapted in order to be recognizable as a separate sign and therefore is graphically doubled. Note that a comparable form for *ya* occurs in a painted vase inscription from Knossos.²¹

The results drawn from these epigraphic relationships of the signs to counterparts in the Cretan Linear scripts and the Cyprian Syllabary are presented in a grid, depicted in our Fig. 8. In this grid nos. 35 and 36/37 are, contrary to the indications provided by their apparent relationship in form to Cyprian Syllabic *wi* and Cretan Linear *wi*, respectively, as rendered in Fig. 7, placed in the position of *wa* for reasons to be explained in the next section on the Kalavassos seal. Suffice it to say that this modification is not contradicted by the fact that no. 95 *wa* is omitted from the syllabary of the text on Enkomi cylinder seal. Perhaps this latter observation results from an effort by the scribe to prevent a mixing-up between no. 95 *wa* and no. 96 *ne*, the only difference between them being that the side bars of the latter are not drawn with a single stroke, but made up of four small vertical strokes attached to the basic outline of no. 8a *na* according to the typical Cyprian device for extension of the *e*-series as referred to in the above.

²⁰ Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 51, Fig. 10. Cf. Frisk 1970, s.v. for the non-Greek character of the word.

²¹ Sacconi 1974: 177; cf. 203, where it is indicated that the first sign of the inscription, reading *ya*-*89-*a*, does not belong to the Linear B syllabary!

		Linear A	Linear B	CM	CS
4	ta	𐀓	𐀓	𐀓	𐀓
5	lu	𐀕	𐀕	𐀕	𐀕
6	pa	𐀖	𐀖	𐀖	𐀖
8a	na	𐀗	𐀗	𐀗	𐀗
8b	tu	𐀘	𐀘	𐀘	𐀘
21/ 23	ti ₍₁₎	𐀙, 𐀚	𐀙	𐀙, 𐀚	𐀛
25	ka	𐀜	𐀜	𐀝	𐀞
44	se	𐀟	𐀟	𐀟	𐀟
53/ 107	ma ₍₁₎	𐀠	𐀠	𐀡, 𐀢	𐀣
57/ 82	sa	𐀤	𐀤	𐀤	𐀤, 𐀥
70	ki	𐀦	𐀦	𐀧	𐀨, 𐀩
87/ 91	mi	𐀫	𐀫	𐀫	𐀬, 𐀭
95	wa	𐀮	𐀮	𐀯	𐀰, 𐀱
102/ 103	a	𐀲	𐀲	𐀳	𐀴, 𐀵
101/ 104	i ₍₁₎	𐀶	𐀶	𐀷, 𐀸	𐀹, 𐁀
46/ 47	pu	𐁁	𐁂	𐁃	𐁄, 𐁅

Fig. 6. Category I: Signs with a cognate in both classes of related scripts.

		Linear A	Linear B	CM	CS
7	te				
18	ri ₁				
26	ke				
36/ 37	wi				
12	pi				
96	ne				
98/ 99	ri				
73	ya				
27	pe				
9	li				
35	wi				
38	u				
75	mu				
97	ru				
110	e ₍₁₎				

Fig. 7. Category II: Signs with a cognate in only one of the two classes of related scripts.

	a	e	i	u
)()(,)(ψ,ϖ	∩,∪
y	⊕			
k	⊕	⊕	⊕	
l		⊕	⊕	+
m	∪,∩	∪	∪	∪
n	(⊕)	⊕		
p	⊕	⊕	⊕	⊕
r			∪,∩	∪
s	∪	∪	⊕	
t	∪	⊕	∪,∩	⊕
w	∪,∩			
z				

punctuation • , ∫ , '

Fig. 8. Grid of the syllabary on the Enkomi seal.

Furthermore, it needs to be remarked that no. 24, which occurs only once in our present text and is not included in Fig. 7, is placed in the position of *le* for its identity in form with the sign for *le* in the Paphian variant of the Cyprian Syllabary, attested from as early as the second half of the 11th century BC (the so-called bronze obelos of Opheltas, # 170) onwards as visualized in Fig. 10 in the following chapter on the Kalavassos seal. Finally, no. 88 is put in the position of *me* because it distinguishes itself from no. 87/91 *mi* by the addition of a single short stroke, which reminds us of the by now familiar Cyprian practice of adding strokes to existing signs for the extension of the *e*-series. In the much more simplified syllabary of the Linear D texts from Enkomi (see chapter 5), as a rule one stroke suffices to bring about the same effect.

Now that the determination of the values of the individual signs has been clarified, we can return to the subject with which we are mainly concerned in the present chapter, viz. the linguistic elucidation of the various kinds of categories registered by the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal. To this purpose the text has been structurally analyzed on the basis of the system of punctuation, explained above, and unraveled into pieces of information belonging to one and the same category. Working on this analysis, I became aware of the fact that the categories specified by the Linear C scribe in his registration of economic transactions on the seal under discussion are closely comparable to the ones used by Luwian hieroglyphic scribes in documents of similar contents, viz. the Kululu lead strips. As these latter inscriptions date from the late 8th century BC, it is difficult to say whether this striking similarity in the notation of economic transactions is only incidental, determined by necessity, or the result of a uniform tradition in accountancy spread by the process of commercial contacts. Anyhow, our Table IV, in which the different categories of information are systematically arranged into columns, has been inspired by the admirably clear publication of the Kululu lead strips by J. David Hawkins, first in 1987 (esp. Tables between pp. 136-137 and 148-149) and later in his corpus of 2000 (esp. Tables on pp. 506-510). Now, we can distinguish the following categories of information (see Table IV):

- (1) heading, indicating the place of action;
- (2) name or indication of the deliverers, which in two instances is extended by

- (3) additional qualifications;
- (4) technical transaction term, determining the nature of the transaction;
- (5) numbers, always preceding the
- (6) indication of the products, mostly rendered in abbreviated form; this particular category normally follows upon, but, in case more than one product is involved, also precedes the
- (7) name or indication of the recipients, generally characterized by the dative singular ending in *-ti* or *-we* and only in the second part of the text further specified by
- (8) additional qualifications, like (a) titles, (b) patronymics, and (c) place of origin.

We will discuss these categories separately, starting with the second one concerning deliverers, because the heading has already been discussed in the foregoing.

Categories 2-3

From a superficial glance at the second column in Table IV it can be inferred that the indications of the delivering party are characterized by the vowel *a* or *i* as their final syllable, so that it may safely be assumed that, just like in Linear B and contrary to the procedures in the later Cyprian Syllabary, the nominative singular ending *-s* is omitted from the spelling in Linear C. Among the indications of deliverers in the nominative singular, then, we can identify at least one unambiguous MN, *pi-ka*, corresponding to the Luwian personal name *Pi-ḫa-ā* “Pikhas”.²² In connection with *ta-mi-ka*, however, we have already suggested in the preceding chapter that it more likely denotes an occupational term than a personal name on account of its correspondence to Akkadian *tamkāru*- “trader”. Therefore, similar circumscriptions may be expected among the remaining indications of deliverer. At any rate, even though a convincing parallel is lacking, *a-ka-i₁-ru-tu/na* is most likely to be explained as a personal name.

²² Güterbock 1942: 68; Laroche 1966: 139, no. 962. Cf. Laroche 1956: 141-142 for the composite MN *Pi-ḫa-ZITI*, corresponding to cuneiform *Pi-ḫa-LÚ*, as attested for RS 17.248 from Ugarit.

line(s)	1. heading	2. deliverer	3. qualification	4. trans- action term	5. num- ber
1-2	<i>U-mi-a-ti-si-ti</i>	<i>Ya-sa</i>			
3				<i>te</i>	
4-5		<i>I₁-ma-pi</i>			
5-7		<i>Sa-mu-ri</i>			
7-8					
8-9		<i>Pi-ka</i>			
9-12		<i>ta-mi-ka</i>	<i>Li-ki-k(a) e-mu</i>		
12-14					
14-17		<i>ta-mi-ka</i>			
17-18		<i>ta-mi-ka</i>			2
18-21		<i>A-ka-i₁-ru-tu/na</i>			
21-22					
23-24		<i>ta-mi-ka</i>			3
24-27		<i>Sa-mu-ri</i>	<i>Ma-ne<-si>-ka-a-si</i>	<i>te-lu</i>	
27		<i>Sa-mu-ri</i>			

Table IV. Structural analysis of the text on the Enkomi seal.

6. product	7. recipient(s)	8. qualifications		
		(a) title	(b) patronym	(c) place
<i>i</i>	<i>Sa-ne-me-ti</i>			
<i>E</i>	<i>Ma-li-ki-pi-ti</i>			
<i>RI₁</i>	<i>Pe-pa-e-ru-ti</i>			
<i>i, PA, ke-tu</i>	<i>Ti-pa-pi-ti</i>			
<i>PA, SA</i>	<i>E₁-ma-pi-ti</i>			
<i>E</i>	<i>Sa-ne-me-ti</i>			
<i>pu-pu-ru</i>	<i>U-we</i>			<i>U-li-mu-te-we</i>
<i>MA₁</i>	<i>Le-ma₁-pe-si-ti</i>			<i>Ta-li-me-tu-te-we</i> <i>Se-ke-ri₁-ya-ka-ti</i>
	<i>A-ka-mu</i>	<i>se-wa-ru</i>	<i>A-pe-si-ka-a-si</i>	
<i>i</i>	<i>Mi-we-tu/na-we Pa-ma₁-ti -ma</i>			
	<i>Wa₁-we-ru-ti</i>	<i>ya-ru</i>		<i>Ri₁-ti-si-te-ti</i>
	<i>E₁-ka-ta-ti</i>	<i>pe-lu</i>		<i>Ka-ta-ri-te-ti</i>
<i>PA</i>		<i>se-wa-ru-ti</i>		<i>Ka-ta-ri-te</i>
	<i>Sa-ne-me-ti</i>		<i>Si-ke-ri-si-ka-a-si</i>	

Table IV (continued).

On the other hand, the root of *sa-mu-ri* recurs on a clay ball from Enkomi (# 080) with signs or sign variants characteristic of the script on the Kalavassos seal (nos. 86 and 39, see grid in Fig. 11 below) as *se-mu₁*.²³ In addition, we will see in the next section that on the Kalavassos seal itself appears the undoubtedly related *sa-mi-ya*, an adjectival derivative in *-ya-* of the geographic name *Samos*.²⁴ This being the case, it becomes hard to resist the temptation to interpret *sa-mu-ri* in line with Lydian *śam[u]llis* (Lyd. no. 9, lines 3-4) as “the Samian”, a notion referring to the place of origin or chief station of activities of the person thus indicated.²⁵ The main objection to this interpretation is formed by the fact that, with different signs for *ri* and *li* as well as *ru* and *lu* (see Fig. 8), the liquids *r* and *l* are apparently expressed by a separate set of signs within the syllabary. A tendency towards this distinction is already traceable in Cretan Linear A by the distinction of signs for *lu* from those for *ru*,²⁶ but it is fully worked out only in Linear D (see chapter 5, esp. Fig. 20) and the later Cyprian Syllabary. Nevertheless, in the Linear C and D texts signs from the *r*-series continue to be used for the expression of *l* as in case of *ne-si-ri*, corresponding to Hittite *našili-* “Hittite” (see chapters 3 and 5).²⁷ If our identification of *sa-mu-ri* as an ethnic applies, the same line of approach may also hold good for the first indication of a deliverer, *ya-sa*, which bears a striking resemblance to the TN *Iasos*, located south of Miletos on the west coast of Asia Minor. Note, finally, that the name of the deliverer *i₁-ma-pi* also occurs in writing *e₁-ma-pi-* among the recipients and therefore may likewise be identified as the Lycian MN *Ermapiyas* (see above), possibly bearing reference to one and the same individual.

There are only two indications of a deliverer singled out by the fact that they are further specified by additional qualifications, namely: *ta-mi-ka* “trader” and *sa-mu-ri* “the Samian” (see Table IV, column 3). The first one is connected with the combination *li-ki-k(a)* *e-mu* directly preceding it. According to an attractive suggestion by

²³ For the identification of no. 86 on this clay ball, see the drawing of it by E. Masson 1971c: 498-499, Fig. 44.

²⁴ Cf. *á-su-wi-ya* “Assuwian” as attested for the peripheral Luwian dialect of Crete, *i.c.* in B11 of the text of the Phaistos disc, see Achterberg e.a. 2004: 91.

²⁵ Cf. Gusmani 1964: 253; cf. also s.v. *samli-*.

²⁶ Woudhuizen 2016: 236, Fig. 55; 265.

²⁷ Friedrich 1991, s.v.

Best, this combination consists of the ethnic adjective *li-ki-ke* or **li-ki-ka* of similar formation as Eteo-Cyprian *a-ma-ti-ke-e* “from Amathus”, Linear A *a-si-ya-ka* “Asian”, and Lydian *Šfardak* “from Sardis, Sardian”²⁸ and hence translatable as “from Lycia” in combination with the Luwian pronoun of the 1st person singular (-)mu “I” or its Lycian variant *ēmu* “I”.²⁹ If the Lycian option in regard to the pronoun should be preferred, as seems likely, *li-ki-ke-mu* originates from **li-ki-k(a) e-mu*. In any case, the entire combination *li-ki-k(a) e-mu ta-mi-ka* “I, trader from Lycia” likely specifies the personal name of the preceding transaction, Pikhas.

The second qualification of a deliverer, *ma-ne<-si>-ka-a-si*, precedes *sa-mu-ri* in like manner as *li-ki-k(a) e-mu* precedes *ta-mi-ka*. This form happens to be characterized by the patronymic suffix *-ka-a-* corresponding to Eteo-Cyprian *-ko-o-* for the same function (see above). Now, as *sa-mu-ri* “the Samian” turns out to be responsible for all transactions on behalf of the delivering party in the final lines of the text (note that he “signs” the “bill of lading”!), his further specification by a patronymic likely marks his preeminence in status over the rest. As it seems, the qualification is a pseudo-patronymic of ethnic or geographic background in like manner as this is the case with *a-pe-si-ka-a-si* and *si-ke-ri-si-ka-a-si*, which have a bearing on representatives of Ephesos and the Shekelesh, respectively (see discussion of categories 7-8 below). If so, association of the root *me-ne-* with *Maeonia* seems to suggest itself, in which case *sa-mu-ri* “the Samian” acts as a representative of the region of western Anatolia adjacent to the island of Samos. Whatever the extent of the latter suggestion, what primarily concerns us here is that by singling himself out by means of the pronoun *emu* “I” as the scribe, Pikhas clearly marks himself as the right-hand man of the main contractor, *sa-mu-ri* “the Samian”.

Categories 4-6

The technical transaction term *te-lu* “delivery” and its abbreviation *te* have already been discussed in the previous chapter on the earliest tablet from Enkomi. Furthermore, the numbers are, on the basis of the frame of reference provided by the Linear A palace administration,

²⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100; Woudhuizen 2016: 232.

²⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 57; cf. Woudhuizen 2015a: 47 and Melchert 2004: 20.

just as easily recognizable before the indications of products as the technical term *te(-lu)* in its position between deliverer and recipient. Accordingly, we may focus our effort here on category 6, the indications of products.

Within this category, we can distinguish two main groups, viz.: (a) products in abbreviation and (b) products written out in full. In our discussion of the values of the signs, we have already noted the correspondence of the abbreviation *RI* to the Linear B ideogram *162 *TUNIC+RI* “linen cloth”, in which *RI* refers to the non-Indo-European loan *linon* in Greek. Proceeding along this line of research, the abbreviation *PA* may be compared to Linear B *159 *VESTIS+PA*, indicating a special type of cloth as well.³⁰ If this is correct, the product written out in full as *pu-pu-ru* is most plausibly explained on the analogy of Linear B *159 *VESTIS+PU* as referring to purple cloth (cf. Linear B *po-pu-re-ja*, corresponding to Greek *porphureiai*).³¹

Similarly, the abbreviations *SA* and *E* can be elucidated. The first thanks to its correspondence to Linear B *31 *SA*, which is used in the Pylos archives as an equivalent of *ri-no* “flax, linen” and perhaps originates from Linear A *sa-ra-ra* (a reflex of Semitic *ṣarâru* “to spin”) for a similar commodity.³² And the second owing to its correspondence to Linear A L44 or AB38, which recalls the Linear B ideogram *134 *E* for *e-ra-wo* (= Greek *elaiwon*) “linseed(oil)” and almost immediately follows the word for “flax” in HT 12.³³ In line with these identifications, the second product written out in full, *ke-tu*, can be compared by following the trail set out by Best to Linear A *qi-tu* “flax” and *qi/qe-tu-ne* “linen” (another Minoan equivalent of Linear B *ri-no*), respectively.³⁴ Against the backdrop of Linear B *162+*QE*,

³⁰ Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 51, Fig. 10; cf. p. 49 for their elucidation of the abbreviation *PA* as *pa-wa-a* (= *pharweha*) “pieces of cloth”.

³¹ Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 51, Fig. 10; the abbreviation is explained here as *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* (fem. pl.) “double cloaks”, but in the light of KN L 474 (see their p. 321) it seems much better to take it as the abbreviation of Linear B *po-pu-re-ja* “purple colored”, in which the original vowel *u*, replaced by *o* in the Greek loanword, is preserved thanks to the more conservative handling of ideograms by the Mycenaean scribes.

³² Best 1975: 54.

³³ Best 1976: 99; cf. Best 1975: 53.

³⁴ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53 ff.; note that Linear C lacks a separate *q*-series. Cf. also the entry *ka-tu* on a clay ball from Enkomi (# 078). Note further Luwian hieroglyphic *katuna*- “mantle”, see Woudhuizen 2015a: 275.

this indication of product may on the other hand also be assumed to express a specific type of cloth. Anyhow, both options lead us to the classification of *ke-tu* with the previous ones, all having a bearing on the cloth industry. Finally, the abbreviation *MA₁* also finds explanation within the cloth industry, as it corresponds to the Linear A ideogram Lc 46 *MA+RU* (L95 or AB80 + L55 or AB26) and the corresponding Linear B *145 “wool”.³⁵

The only element which falls outside the scope of the cloth industry is *i*, which from a structural point of view occurs as much as three times in the same position as the products. However, this is not another abbreviation of a product, but the nominative-accusative of the neuter singular of the demonstrative pronoun *i-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *i-* or *ī-* “this”.³⁶

If we realize, then, that apart from this last mentioned element all products indicated either in abbreviation or in full are consistently rooted in the cloth industry and clearly related to Linear B equivalents from this very same industrial occupation, it may reasonably be argued that our identifications are cogent and as such present strong evidence in favor of the values attributed to the signs in question.

Categories 7-8

Among the recipients of products there are again names without further specification, concentrated at the beginning of the text, and names with additional qualifications, grouped together in the latter part of the text. To start with the most simple ones, there are at least two entries within this group which are easily identifiable as individual MN’s, namely *e₁-ma-pi-*, corresponding, as we have noted in the above, to Lycian *Ermapis*, and *ma-li-ki-pi-*, formed after the pattern of Semitic *Milkytn*, but showing a hybrid formation in which Semitic *-ytn* is replaced by its Luwian equivalent *-pi(ya)-*.³⁷ The remaining two simple names, *pe-pa-e-ru-* and *ti-pa-pi-* are unfortunately less transparent, though the last mentioned one may well be characterized by the Luwian onomastic element *-pi(-ya)-*, again.

In contrast with the situation with respect to the deliverers, complex names are not confined to recipients mentioned more than

³⁵ Best 1975: 49; Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 51, Fig. 10; 52.

³⁶ Woudhuizen 2015a: 37; 227.

³⁷ Segert 1984: glossary, s.v. *mlkytn*; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 175-177.

once in connection with different transactions. So a patronymic in *-ka-a-* is not reserved for the most prominent recipient *sa-ne-ma-*, who is leveled with the main deliverer *sa-mu-ri* in the final lines of the text and may therefore be considered as responsible on behalf of the receiving party, but also awarded to the MN *a-ka-mu* (see column 8b in Table IV). Neither are the appositions with respect to the recipients as simple as the ones in connection with the deliverers, because they are mostly formed by as much as two entries.

Thus the same *a-ka-mu* is, besides the patronymic directly following the name, specified by yet another qualification, immediately preceding it, namely *se-wa-ru*. In order to determine the nature of this particular qualification, it needs to be observed that it recurs in damaged, but regularly inflected form marked by the dative singular ending in *-ti* some lines afterwards in combination with the entry *ka-ta-ri-te*. In its turn, the latter entry has already occurred in damaged, but regularly inflected form marked by the dative singular ending in *-ti* in the immediately preceding transaction concerning the recipient *e₁-ka-ta-*. Now, this *e₁-ka-ta-*, just like *a-ka-mu*, is associated with a second qualification, *pe-lu*, inserted between the MN and the given apposition *ka-ta-ri-te*. As with the sequence *se-wa-ru-ti ka-ta-ri-te*, then, undoubtedly reference is made to the recipient *e₁-ka-ta-* from the immediately preceding transaction, but this time without repetition of his personal name for brevity's sake, it may safely be inferred that the root *se-wa-ru-* functions as a substitute of *pe-lu* and that therefore both these entries belong to the same class of qualification. Fortunately, the meaning of *pe-lu* can be recovered from oblivion by its correspondence in form to Semitic *bʿl*, which, apart from its use as divine name, denotes an honorific title "lord, owner",³⁸ so that, *mutatis mutandis*, its substitute *se-wa-ru-* also functions as an honorific title (see column 8a in Table IV).

A third class of appositions, finally, is formed by entries which, before the dative singular ending in *-ti* or *-we*, are characterized by the formans in *-te-*. Of the entries figuring in this class, the one already mentioned in the preceding, *ka-ta-ri-te(-)*, according to a supposition by Best refers to the Levantine town *Gadara*.³⁹ Similarly, the entry *ri₁-ti-si-te-* from the same class may well bear reference to the Cretan

³⁸ Segert 1984: glossary s.v. *bʿl*.

³⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 58.

place-name *Rhytiassos*. If so, the class of entries characterized by the formans *-te-* may well come into consideration as indications of the place of origin of the recipient in question. To this latter category also belongs the entry *se-ke-ri₁-ya-ka-*, which is not marked by the morpheme *-te-* but *-ka-* “from the place” which we are already come across in connection with the qualification **li-ki-ka* “from Lycia” of the deliverer *Pikhas* (see column 8c in Table IV).

Returning to the personal names of the recipients with which these appositions are associated, our attention is drawn first of all to the fact that the MN *a-ka-mu* constitutes the only exception to the rule that recipients are distinguished by the dative singular ending in *-ti* or *-we*. Although the system of registration at the end of the text for brevity’s sake is slightly altered as compared to the one at the beginning, it nonetheless can be proved on the basis of internal evidence that *a-ka-mu* is a recipient. For in the latter half of the text the scribe no longer treats each transaction separately, but groups together several transactions in which the same product is involved. So the transactions (1) *ta-mi-ka.se-waru a-ka-mu a-pe-si-ka-a-si* and (2) *ta-mi-ka.mi-we-tu/na-we pa-ma₁-ti -ma* are followed by the *total* of standard units of the same product as the one in the immediately following transactions referred to in anticipation by the demonstrative pronoun *i* “this”, viz. 2, which means that in *each* transaction separately only *one* standard unit of this product is involved. The same holds good for the following three transactions, (1) of *a-ka-i₁-ru-tu/na* to *wa₁-we-ru-*, etc., (2) of the same deliverer, not mentioned the second time for brevity’s sake,⁴⁰ to *e₁-ka-ta-*, “the lord of Gadara”, and (3) of *ta-mi-ka* to the same “lord (*vel simile*) of Gadara”, which add up to a total number of 3 standard units of *PA*, to be divided equally over all three transactions, *i.e.* one standard unit per transaction.

The combination *a-ka-mu* itself is frequently attested in other Cypro-Minoan documents, namely on a clay ball from Enkomi (# 031), in the text of tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (see chapter 4 below), and that of Linear D tablets from Enkomi (see chapter 5 below), again.⁴¹ As it bears a striking resemblance to the name of the Trojan leader *Akamas* handed down to us by Homeric tradition, it may safely

⁴⁰ Cf. the deliveries of *ya-sa* and *sa-mu-ri* to two different recipients without repetition of their “name” in the second instance.

⁴¹ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 108, 116, 128; esp. Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53-64.

be identified as a personal name and not a mere substitute of more general nature like a function or geographic notion. This inference is further substantiated by the fact that in the texts of the Linear D tablets this personal name is associated with the appositions *i-lu* and *e-le-ki*, interpreted by Best as “the Ilian” and “from the place Ilion”, respectively.⁴² In addition, a very similar specification turns up in connection with the inflected variant of the name in the first two lines of tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (# 215), reading as follows: 1. *a-ka-mi/pi-ni/ma-li* 2. *a-ti pi-ni/a-pe-sa pi*. What strikes us most of all concerning these two lines is the association of the MN Akamas, here occurring in the dative singular in *-i*, with the elements *pi-ni* and *a-pe-sa*, because, against the backdrop of the identification of *pi-ni* as Semitic *bn* “son” by Emilia Masson (see chapter 4), it reminds us so much of the patronymic *a-pe-si-ka-a-si* with which it is associated in the present text. In both instances, Akamas is identified as a son of *a-pe-sa-*. Now, with this latter entry no doubt reference is made to the Hittite place-name *Apaša* “Ephesos”.⁴³ This expression recalls the use of Semitic *bn* in Ugaritic *bn.alṭn* and *bn.lky*, denoting the official representatives of the Alasians and Lycians, respectively.⁴⁴ As it seems, therefore, we are not dealing with patronymics *sensu stricto*, but with pseudo-patronymics for functionaries of lower rank addressed by the kinship term “son” in the correspondence of kings and other functionaries from the Near East in like manner as equals are addressed here as “brother”.⁴⁵

As it seems, then, Akamas from Ilios happens to be the official representative of Ephesos, the capital of Arzawa, situated on the coast of western Anatolia along the route from Troy to Cyprus. Now, it lies at hand that the other patronymics in *-ka-a-* featuring in our text, *me-ne<-si>-ka-a-si* as associated with the main deliverer *sa-mu-ri* and *si-ke-ri-si-ka-a-si* specifying the main recipient *sa-ne-me-*, are likewise pseudo-patronymics denoting official representatives. In the case of the main deliverer *sa-mu-ri* “the Samian”, we have already mentioned the possibility in the above that he may have acted as the official re-

⁴² Inv. nr. 11.93, line 3 (# 207, lower part of side B) and inv. nr. 16.87 (# 208), line 15. For a drawing of the text first mentioned, which is lacking in the corpus by Ferrara 2013, see Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 104, Fig. 7.

⁴³ Del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v.

⁴⁴ Gordon 1955: glossary s.v. *bn* and *alṭn*; for *bn lky*, see Astour 1964: 194.

⁴⁵ Borain 1984: 230; Yakar 1976: 126.

presentative of Maeonia—as the region of Arzawa adjacent to Samos is called in later sources. In similar vein, the root *si-ke-ri-* of the pseudo-patronymic associated with the main recipient *sa-ne-ma-* strikingly recalls the ethnic *Šikala-* as attested for a letter from Ugarit (RS 34.129, lines 11 and 21) or *Shekelesh* as mentioned in Egyptian texts from the time of Merneptah (1213-1203 BC) and Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC) on the Sea Peoples (for the years 1208 BC and 1176 BC, respectively).⁴⁶ The origins of this particular ethnic group among the Sea Peoples are traceable to Italy in the central Mediterranean and the island of Sicily, their later habitat, happens to be named after them.⁴⁷ The fact that *sa-ne-me-* is recognized at the time of writing of the Enkomi cylinder seal as an official representative or regular business associate may be further underlined by the recurrence of this name on a clay ball from Enkomi (# 034) and in a votive inscription on an ivory object from a sanctuary at Kition (# 161).⁴⁸

It is interesting to observe next that the remaining four names of recipients further specified by qualifications other than our pseudo-patronymic plus the two paired by the enclitic conjunction *-ma* “and”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ma* “but; and”⁴⁹ and the more distantly related Lycian conjunction *me*,⁵⁰ which are otherwise unspecified so far go without parallel in other Cypro-Minoan documents. This observation, namely, tallies neatly with the identification of *a-ka-mu* and *sa-ne-me-* as more regular business associates in their capacity as official representatives. As opposed to this, in the case of the four recipients which are further specified by additional qualifications this happens to be in the form of formations in *-te-* likely denoting, as we have noted in connection with *ka-ta-ri-te(-)* “from Gadara” and *ri-ti-si-te-* “from Rhytiassos”, the place of origin of the person in question. From a linguistic point of view this analysis can be underlined by correspondence of the morpheme *-te-* to Lycian *-de-* in the sequence *Ajaka Hl̥m̥mide* “Ajax from Salamis”

⁴⁶ Dietrich & Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979; cf. Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 223-235.

⁴⁷ Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 289-294, esp. 291-293. For an update, see Woudhuizen 2015b.

⁴⁸ Karageorghis 1976: 244-245; Masson 1985: 153 and Figs. 7 and 9a-b. Cf. Ferrara 2013: 27, 81.

⁴⁹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 47.

⁵⁰ Melchert 2004: 37-38.

from TL 29, line 9.⁵¹ Accordingly, then, the entry *u-li-mu-te-*, which specifies the MN *U-* of likely Anatolian origin for its correspondence to the Cappadocian personal name *Uwa-*,⁵² no doubt rather denotes the Luwian hieroglyphic place-name *Uramuwa-^{UMINA}* as frequently mentioned in the text of the Kululu lead strip no. 1 than the personal name *Uramuwa-* after which this place is named.⁵³ Unfortunately, the location of “Uramuwas’ town” remains elusive, but, if we realize that the transaction involves purple dyed cloth, it may reasonably be argued that reference is made to *Ura* (= Classical Olbia), the chief port in the Cilician gulf which according to cuneiform sources was specialized in the trade of purple colored wool during the Late Bronze Age.⁵⁴

Similarly, the entry *ta-li-me-tu-te-* which specifies the recipient *le-ma₁-pe-si-* likely refers to a place-name characterized by the Khurritic equivalent of Luwian *ura-* “great”, the onomastic element *talmi-*. As this place-name is further specified by *se-ke-ri₁-ya-ka-* also of toponymic nature on account of the morpheme *-ka-* “from the place”, it may reasonably be argued that with *ta-li-mi-tu-te-* reference is made to Karkamis, which lies near the confluence of the Euphrates with the river *Sagūru*.⁵⁵ At any rate, reflexes of this latter river name feature in the personal names of the Karkamisian royal house, like *Saḫurnuwas* of a Late Bronze Age king⁵⁶ and *Sangaras* (cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *Sakara-*) of an Early Iron Age successor.⁵⁷ Along this line of reasoning, then, the qualification *se-ke-ri₁-ya-ka-* which follows *ta-li-me-tu-te-* bears reference to the land (morpheme *-ka-*) along the banks (adjective in *-ya-*) of the river *Saḫur-*. If this is correct, *ta-li-me-tu-te-* itself likely renders the meaning “Talmitesup’s town”, according to which the town Karkamis is named after its king Talmitesup (c. 1220-1190 BC).⁵⁸ As a kind of byproduct of this identification, we receive a criterion for the dating of the text on the

⁵¹ Friedrich 1932: 59.

⁵² Laroche 1966: 200, no. 1461.

⁵³ Woudhuizen 2015a: 160-165; 304.

⁵⁴ Helck 1979: 129, note 187.

⁵⁵ Laroche 1960: 116, L 212.

⁵⁶ Freu 2003: 192, 216.

⁵⁷ Laroche 1960: 93, L 174.

⁵⁸ Freu 2003: 192, 216.

Enkomi cylinder seal, namely to the last decades of the 13th or first decade of the 12th century BC.

The previous discussion leads up to the following transliteration and interpretation of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal (Table V).

1. <i>U-mi-a-ti-si-ti°</i>	“At Amathus.”
2. <i>Ya-sa.Sa-ne-me-ti/i</i>	“(On behalf of) Iasos: to Sanemas, this,
3. <i>te/Ma-li-ki-pi-ti/E</i>	delivery to Malkipi(ya)s, linseed(oil)”
4. <i>I₁-ma-pi.Pe-pa-e-ru-</i>	“Ermapi(ya)s: to <i>Pe-pa-e-ru</i> ,
5. <i>ti/RI₁[/]<i>Sa-mu-ri.</i></i>	linen” “On behalf of the Samian:
6. <i>i/Ti-pa-pi-ti/PA/</i>	this to <i>Ti-pa-pi</i> (ya)s, cloth
7. <i>ke-tu/.PA/E₁-ma-pi-</i>	(and) cotton,; cloth to Ermapi(ya)s,
8. <i>ti/SA/Pi-ka.E/</i>	spun flax” “Pikhas: (linseed)oil
9. <i>Sa-ne-me-ti/Li-ki-k(a) e-</i>	to Sanemas” “I, trader from
10. <i>mu/ta-mi-ka.pu-pu-</i>	Lycia: purple (colored) cloth
11. <i>ru/U-li-mu-te-we/U-</i>	to U(wa)s from Urimu(wa)s’
12. <i>we/MA₁/Le-ma₁-pe-si-</i>	town, wool to <i>Le-ma₁-pe-si</i>
13. <i>ti/Ta-li-me-tu-te-we</i>	from Talmitesup’s town
14. <i>Se-ke-ri₁-ya-ka-ti ta-</i>	in Sangaria” “Trader (from
15. <i>mi-ka.se-wa-ru A-</i>	Lycia): (to) lord Akamas,
16. <i>ka-mu A-pe-si-ka-a-</i>	representative of Ephesos,
17. <i>si ta-mi-ka.Mi-we-tu(or na)-</i>	trader (from Lycia): to <i>Mi-we-</i>
18. <i>we Pa-ma₁-ti -ma 2 i A-</i>	<i>tu/na</i> and Ba’am 2 (units of) this”
19. <i>ka-i₁-ru-tu(or na).Wa₁-we-</i>	“(On behalf of) <i>A-ka-i-ru-tu/na</i> : to
20. <i>ru-ti/ya-ru/RI₁-ti-</i>	<i>Wa₁-we-ru</i> , master (?) from the
21. <i>si-te-we/E₁-ka-ta-ti</i>	town of Rhytiassos (and) to <i>E₁-ka-</i>
22. <i>pe-lu Ka-ta-ri-te-ti</i>	<i>ta</i> , lord from the town of Gadara;
23. <i>ta-mi-ka.se-wa-ru-ti</i>	trader (from Lycia): to the lord
24. <i>Ka-ta-ri-te 3 PA Ma-ne<-si>-</i>	from Gadara, 3 (units of) cloth”
25. <i>ka-a-si Sa-mu-ri.te-lu</i>	“On behalf of the Samian,
	representative of the Maeonians
26. <i>Sa-ne-me-ti Si-ke-ri-</i>	(?), delivery to Sanemas,
27. <i>si-ka-a-si Sa-mu-ri</i>	representative of the Shekelesh”
	“On behalf of the Samian”

Table V. Text of the Enkomi seal in transliteration and translation.

Now that we have discussed at length the different categories discernable in the text on the cylinder seal and clarified the linguistic features on the basis of comparative evidence from the related languages, mainly Luwian hieroglyphic and Lycian, some room must yet be reserved for a few historical deductions in order to underline the *a priori* probability of the readings and interpretations proposed.

This task is especially pressing in connection with the heading, according to which, as we have seen, the document is recorded to have been drawn up at Amathus, whereas it actually has been found in an entirely different place, namely Enkomi. A possible explanation for this seeming inconsistency between the archaeological and epigraphical evidence is offered by the assumption that the transactions registered on the cylinder seal have a bearing on a shipment from Amathus to Enkomi and that on delivery at Enkomi the captain of the ship handed over the bill of lading to the central administration according to the current regulations. Consequently, the cargo must be assumed to have been re-loaded at Enkomi for shipment to the next station along the route to the ultimate destinations recorded, which is very likely to be identified as Ugarit, located on the opposite shore of the continent.

This theoretical reconstruction of course cannot be proved straightforwardly, but nevertheless some of the blank spots in our knowledge can be filled in by corroborating evidence, thus emphasizing its validity as a working hypothesis. In the first place, it is noteworthy that in the coastal region of Classical Amathus, situated a little more inland, a Late Bronze Age settlement has been excavated, called Kalavassos. In this settlement a central ashlar building has been discovered, in which clay cylinder seals with Cypro-Minoan writing, comparable to the present seal from Enkomi, have been found. According to the excavators, this building was abandoned at the end of Late Cyprian IIC (c. 1225 BC).⁵⁹ In the opinion of Vassos Karageorghis, however, the end of Late Cyprian IIC at Kalavassos dates to c. 1190 BC⁶⁰ —a view which seems to be corroborated by our chronological assignment of the text of the Enkomi cylinder seal to the reign of Talmitesup of Karkamis (c. 1220-1190 BC). In this latter scenario, the ashlar building is contemporaneous with the ashlar

⁵⁹ South 1984: 24 f.

⁶⁰ Karageorghis 1992: 80.

buildings at Enkomi assigned to the Late Cyprian IIIA1 period (c. 1225-1190 BC), with which the Linear D type of writing is associated.⁶¹ At any rate, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the technique of ashlar building was introduced at Kalavassos as a result of cultural influence radiating from the capital Enkomi. If this is correct, it logically follows from this argument that the site of Kalavassos was also dependent on the system of administration at Enkomi, because at both sites documents with Linear writing are associated with the aforesaid ashlar buildings. As in addition the site of Kalavassos can positively be identified with the Late Bronze Age ancestor of the Classical Amathus on account of the fact that one of the cylinder seals from this place is characterized by the same heading (though in variant writing) as the one on the Enkomi cylinder seal, it seems that we have been able to underline at least one of the premises of our historical reconstruction, namely the dependence of Amathus (= Kalavassos) on Enkomi as the administrative center in the island.

But there is more. As we have noted in the preceding, the personal name of the most prominent recipient, *sa-ne-me-*, is also attested for a clay ball from Enkomi (# 034) and a votive inscription on an ivory from the sanctuary at Kition (# 161, cf. comments by Ferrara 2013: 27, 81), the latter place situated along the route from Amathus to Enkomi. In the light of this epigraphic evidence, it seems not far-fetched to identify *sa-ne-me-* as the man who is responsible for the shipment of the cargo from Amathus to Enkomi, though, of course, it cannot be claimed that the inscription on the clay ball from Enkomi and the dedication at the sanctuary at Kition are connected with precisely the voyage of which the Enkomi cylinder seal bears witness. That would be stretching the evidence, certainly in view of the fact that we have already seen reason to believe that *sa-ne-me-* is singled out as a regular business associate by means of his qualification *si-ke-ri-si-ka-a-si* “(official) representative of the Shekelesh”.

A similar argument can be put forward in connection with the recipient *a-ka-mu*. This name we have seen to be present on a clay ball from Enkomi (# 031) and in the text on tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (# 215). As a consequence of these testimonies of his name, Akamas may well be considered responsible for the shipment of at

⁶¹ Borain 1984: 342.

least part of the cargo after its re-loading from Enkomi to Ugarit, again with the proviso that both the clay ball and RS 20.25 do not have to be directly related with transactions on the Enkomi cylinder seal for the fact that Akamas is also regarded as a regular business associate by means of his qualification *a-pe-si-ka-a-si* “(official) representative of Ephesos”. These commercial activities of Akamas, however, are to be strictly distinguished from his later hostile activities as recorded for the Linear D tablet inv. nr. 1687 from Enkomi (# 208), where he is staged in line 15 as *a-ka-mu[/]e-le-ki/nu-ka-ru-ra/* “Akamas from Ilion, the great enemy”, who according to the immediately following *tu-pa-ta -mu* is reported to have defeated the writer of the document (see further chapter 5 below). The latter information is only relevant for the history of shipping in the Mediterranean more in general, showing that the shift from nautical commerce and trade to piracy and robbery was just a marginal change in profession as early as the Late Bronze Age.⁶² In this career-switch, Akamas was no doubt followed by his colleague from the Shekelesh, who, as we have noted, feature ominously among the Sea Peoples in the Egyptian texts for the years 1208 BC and 1176 BC.

To continue with the verification of our working hypothesis, it next seems relevant to observe that the general direction of shipping concerning the cargo registered on the Enkomi cylinder seal, indicated so far as being from west to east, is further confirmed by our interpretation of the name of the most prominent deliverer *sa-mu-ri* as “the Samian”. With a view to the geographic position of Samos in the Aegean near the coast of western Asia Minor, the products are likely to have been shipped by, what in view of his apposition *ma-ne<-si>-ka-a-si*, appears to be an official representative of the Maeonians, from the shores of western Anatolia to Amathus in Cyprus in order to be handed over at this site to the next intermediary, *sa-ne-me-*, active on the route further to the east. Along the same line of thought, it is neither surprising nor inconsistent with the picture reconstructed thus far to experience that a trader from Lycia, who was probably stationed at Amathus, appears to be responsible for the administration of the transition of the cargo in question from the hands of “the Samian” to *sa-ne-me-*. For the coastal regions along the route between Samos and Amathus are inhabited by Lycians, who under the ethnonym *Lukka*

⁶² Ormerod 1924.

are recorded in the Late Bronze Age sources from the Near East as notorious pirates and as particularly active in *Alašiya* (= Cyprus) as early as the Amarna period during the reign of Akhenaten (1352-1336 BC).⁶³ What better insurance policy can be conducted against losing one's cargo to Lycian pirates than to enable them to organize trade in this particular region and to earn themselves a decent living thanks to a share in the profits? Although *Lukka* or Lycia served as a hub of trade between the Near East and the Akhaians or Mycenaeans in the west up till the end of the Late Bronze Age as evidenced by recently discovered texts from Ugarit,⁶⁴ the policy of integrating Lycians in maritime commerce worked only to a certain extent as they feature among the for the Late Bronze Age civilizations ominous Sea Peoples already in the reign of Merneptah (1213-1203 BC) as evidenced by the Karnak text from the 5th year of his rule (= 1208 BC).⁶⁵

Finally, it can be added to these arguments in favor of a west-to-east direction of shipping that, if we are right in our analysis of the entries characterized by the morpheme *-te-*, the ultimate destination of part of the cargo is located in various regions of the Near East. To be more specific: (1) the Cilician harbor Ura, which is known from the Ugaritic sources to facilitate supplies for the central Anatolian plateau, (2) the North Syrian town Karkamis, preeminently situated for trade with Mesopotamia, and (3) the Levantine town Gadara, functioning no doubt as a trade center for the region of Canaan. Note, however, that an exception is formed by *ri₁-ti-se-te-* "from Rhytiassos", which, if rightly interpreted, refers to Crete in the west.

With the determination of the general direction of shipping concerning the cargo registered on the Enkomi cylinder seal as being from west to east and the identification of the intermediaries responsible for the shipment in various sections distinguished along the whole traject, two other crucial premises of our historical reconstruction appear to have been substantiated by supporting evidence. As it seems, therefore, it may reasonably be concluded that there are no serious objections to the proposed readings and interpretations of the text on the cylinder seal, that is to say: as far as their *a priori* probability is concerned.

⁶³ Helck 1987: esp. 223 with reference to *Apollō Alasiōtas* in a votive inscription from Tamassos, dated 373 BC.

⁶⁴ Singer 2006.

⁶⁵ Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 223; 237-238.

3. THE KALAVASSOS CLAY CYLINDER SEAL (K-AD 389)

Ever since its discovery, the Enkomi cylinder seal has been regarded as a unique inscribed object due to the lack of comparable evidence. A dramatic change in this situation took place as a result of the recent excavations at the site of Kalavassos (= Ayios Dhimitrios) by Alison and Ian Todd. During these excavations, as we have already noted in the preceding chapter, a central ashlar building came to light, which is reported to have been abandoned at the end of the Late Cyprian IIC period. The end of the latter period is assigned by the excavators to *c.* 1225 BC,¹ but according to Vassos Karageorghis it dates to *c.* 1190 BC.² As we have noted in the preceding chapter, the latter dating suits the chronological clues from the text of the Enkomi cylinder seal better, suggesting its assignment to the period of the reign of Talmitesup of Karkamis (*c.* 1220-1190 BC).

At any rate, in connection with the remnants of the aforesaid ashlar building a number of fragmentarily preserved clay cylinder seals as well as one completely preserved example were found. As these objects are the only ones discovered so far with Cypro-Minoan writing, the impression is evidently created that clay cylinder seals were commonly used as writing material for administrative purposes at the site of Kalavassos, in this manner replacing the more familiar tablet for the same function.

The only completely preserved cylinder seal, K-AD 389 (# 098), is extensively treated by Emilia Masson in her contribution of 1983, which therefore may serve as a convenient starting point for the present discussion of the text on this seal. As rightly remarked by E. Masson, the reading of this text, which covers 18 lines in sum, is more difficult than that of its counterpart on the Enkomi cylinder seal, because:

(1) The quality of the clay used in the fabrication of the seal, which like all other objects of the same class has been intentionally fired, is inferior to that used in connection with the seal from Enkomi.

(2) The dimensions of the object are much smaller than those of its counterpart from Enkomi, and as a consequence the signs have

¹ South 1984: 18 ff.

² Karageorghis 1992: 80.

been written in a much smaller type of lettering and in a more compact way.

(3) The state of preservation of the text is far inferior to that on the Enkomi cylinder seal, resulting in more damaged spots.³

In addition, it may be observed that the writing appears to be rather careless and is characterized by typical features, like the use of a substantial number of new signs or sign-variants, which clearly distinguishes it from the writing as used on the Enkomi cylinder seal.

At first sight, then, an attack on this Linear C inscription, which is second in length as well as importance to the one on the Enkomi cylinder seal discussed in the preceding chapter, seems quite a hopeless undertaking. Some hope, however, might be gained from the clues provided by E. Masson for the reconstruction of the damaged spots in the text. In the first place, namely, she pointed out that the first two lines immediately below the horizontal line which seems to mark the beginning of the inscription are exactly paralleled immediately below a similar dividing-line on the fragmentarily preserved cylinder seal K-AD 405 (# 100). As a result of this observation the second sign in line 2, which has been completely lost in the better preserved variant of the text on K-AD 389, can definitely be identified as no. 23, still clearly visible in the only fragmentarily preserved version on K-AD 405 (see Fig. 9).⁴ Secondly, E. Masson has drawn our attention to the fact that the two damaged spots, the one immediately preceding and the other immediately following the sequence -72-91-99-, in line 8 are most plausibly to be filled up by nos. 104 and 23, respectively, on account of the undamaged occurrence of what for the presence of the same central element seems to be the same combination in line 1.

The second approach, based upon the repetition of sign-combinations in the text itself (a device we have already successfully applied in connection with the analysis of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal), appears to be particularly productive for the reconstruction of the text on the Kalavassos seal.

³ E. Masson 1983: 132.

⁴ E. Masson 1983: 133. Note, however, that the final part of K-AD 405, directly preceding the horizontal line of division, differs substantially from that of K-AD 389.

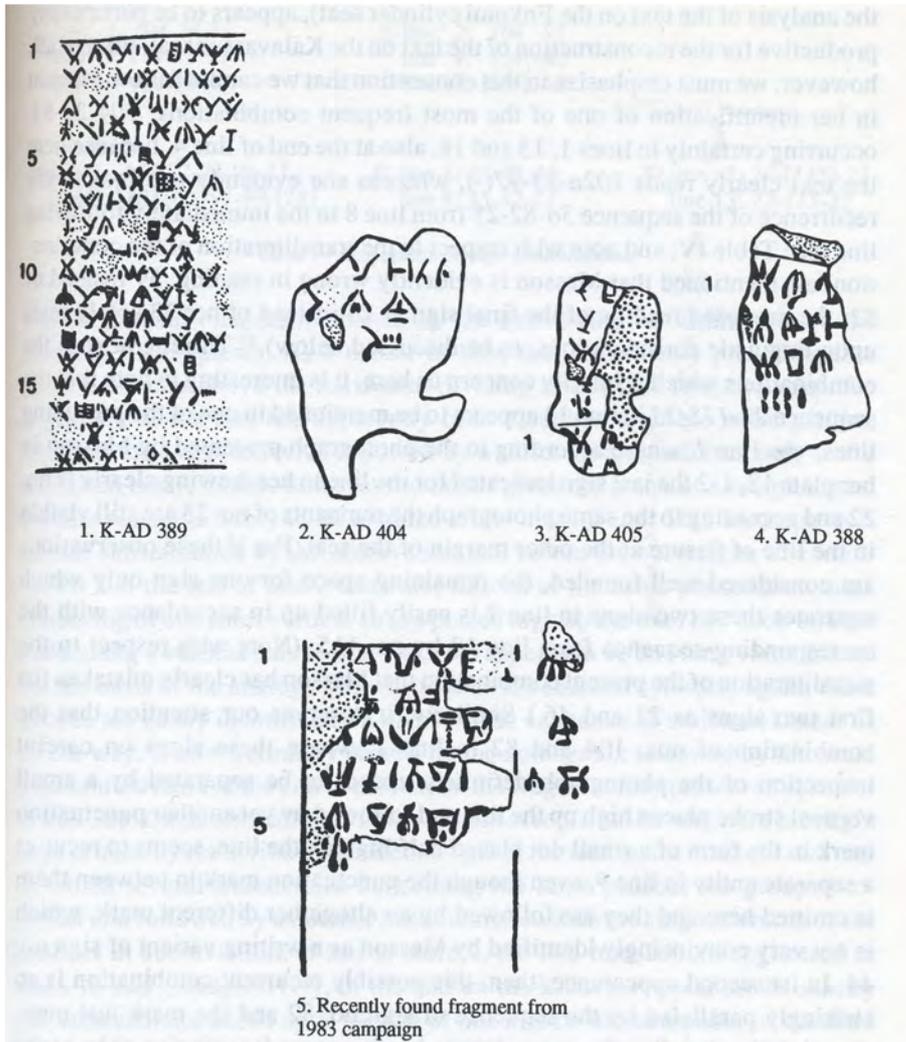


Fig. 9. Cylinder seal inscriptions from Kalavassos (after E. Masson 1986: 183, Fig. 2).

First of all, however, we must emphasize in this connection that we cannot follow E. Masson in her identification of one of the most frequent combinations, *104-24-91*, occurring in lines 1, 13, and 18, also at the end of line 4, because here the text clearly reads *102a-23-97(-)*, whereas she evidently overlooked the recurrence of the sequence *36-82-25* from line 8 in the immediately following line (see

Table VI, and note with respect to the transliteration of the combination last mentioned that E. Masson is evidently wrong in reading no. 59 instead of no. 82; the proposed reading of the final sign as no. 25 instead of her no. 23 solely rests upon linguistic considerations, to be discussed below).⁵

Turning next to the combinations which primarily concern us here, it is interesting to note that the sequence 22-115-23 in line 13 appears to be mentioned in one of the preceding lines, viz. line 7, where according to the photograph presented by E. Masson in her plate 18, 1-2 the last sign indicated in her drawing is clearly no. 22 and according to the same photograph the remnants of no. 23 are still visible in the line of fissure at the outer margin of the seal. If these observations are considered well-founded, the remaining space for one sign only, which separates these two signs in line 7, is easily filled up in accordance with the corresponding sequence from line 13 by no. 115. (Note with respect to the transliteration of the present combination that E. Masson has clearly mistaken the first two signs as nos. 21 and 46.)

Similarly, it deserves our attention that the combination of nos. 104 and 82 in line 2, where these signs on careful inspection of the photograph definitely appear to be separated by a small vertical stroke high up the line and followed by yet another punctuation mark in the form of a dot placed half-high on the line, seems to recur as a separate entity in line 9. However, the punctuation mark in between them is omitted here and they are followed by an altogether different mark, which is not very convincingly identified by E. Masson as a writing variant of no. 44. In its second appearance, then, this possibly recurrent combination is so strikingly paralleled by the sequence of no. 82 and the mark just mentioned, following directly upon a lacuna leaving room for one sign only, at the end of line 15, that the lacuna in question is most likely to be restored accordingly by means of no. 104 (see Table VI).

Yet another emendation seems to be deducible from the internal structure of the text. After the discussion of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal in the preceding chapter, it is no longer difficult to identify the two combinations recorded in the first line, which are both repeated further on in the text, as personal names (*vel simile*), the first

⁵ E. Masson 1983: 133. For the identification of the "cross" sign as a variant of no. 102, see below.

one belonging to the category of deliverers and the second one, distinguished by the dative singular ending in *-ti*, to the category of recipients.

A. *three times*

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1) line 1: 104-24-91 | 2) line 2: 104 / 82 |
| line 13: 104-24-91 | line 9: 104(-)82 |
| line 18: 104-24-91 | line 15: [104](-)82 |

B. *two times*

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 3) line 1: 104-72-91-99-23 | 4) line 8: 36-82-25 | 5) line 7: 22-[115]-23 |
| line 8: [104]-72-91-99-[23] | line 9: 36-82-25 | line 13: 22-115-23 |

Table VI. Repetition of sign-combinations.

As a matter of fact, the immediately preceding line written directly above the horizontal dividing-line, which seems to mark the beginning of the text, has apparently been modeled after the same pattern, showing the same deliverer followed by a different and unfortunately badly mutilated entry, which, however, no doubt gives the name of the recipient and for this reason is likely to be restored with *-ti* at its end. This assumption is further substantiated by the observation that before the occurrence of combination 2 at the end of line 2 there are, instead of the usual punctuation mark consisting of one short vertical stroke placed high up the line, *two* such strokes lined along a vertical axis so that it almost appears to be one long vertical line. On the basis of the analogy with the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, again, these strokes are easily identified as a *number* (the existence of which in Linear C, by the way, is now definitely proved by the number six followed by the usual punctuation mark at the end of the text on the fragmentarily preserved cylinder seal K-AD 388 [# 101]). In any case, we are reminded to the system of registration which for brevity's sake is used by the scribe in the second half of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, in which several transactions concerning the same product are grouped together and followed by a number in combination with the single mention of the product in abbreviation. If this is correct, the two transactions registered in lines 18 and 1, respectively, of the text on the Kalavassos cylinder seal are in exactly the same manner added up at the end of line 2 as far as the number of standard units of the

product involved in these transactions (viz.: 2) is concerned. As a consequence of this analysis, however, the horizontal dividing-line between the two lines in question, contrary to the situation on the Enkomi cylinder seal, does not mark the beginning of the text, but is apparently placed at random in a continuous part of it!

In the preceding discussion of the emendations of damaged spots in the text proposed here (note that two remaining ones will be treated below in connection with the linguistic analysis) it already appeared that the transliteration in numbers as given by E. Masson is not always in accordance with the evidence provided by the drawing and photographs. For this reason it will be necessary to occupy ourselves with a detailed treatment of her transliteration in numbers in order to arrive at a more accurate one (at least in my opinion).⁶ Apart from the improvements indicated previously, then, the following corrections are proposed:

(1) The fourth sign in line 2 is, just like its counterpart at the beginning of line 14, identified by E. Masson as no. 107. Close scrutiny of the ductus of the fifth sign in line 6, however, which is the only certain instance of no. 107, indicates that we are rather dealing with a different sign, identifiable as a variant of no. 104 on account of its resemblance in form to the variant of this particular sign attested for the first line of the earliest tablet from Enkomi, discussed in the first chapter above, which is characterized by an angle rather than a vertical stroke in the middle of its top side.

(2) The fifth sign in line 2 in the form of a “cross”, which recurs as the fourth sign in line 7 with an additional horizontal stroke in the middle, is interpreted by E. Masson as a stylized variant of no. 97. As the basic structure of the sign, however, rather recalls the sign-forms for the primary vowels *a* and *i*, and as in addition we have already experienced in connection with the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal that these signs in particular are liable to the process of simplification and variation, probably as a result of their high frequency, it seems more likely that we are dealing here with a stylized variant of no. 102. Note that this particular variant is also present in line 4, where it occurs as the fifth sign.

(3) The forms of nos. 82 and 87 are sometimes hard to distinguish, because the scribe tends to write them in almost exactly

⁶ E. Masson 1983: 138.

the same way. Nonetheless, the scribe did his very best to distinguish the seventh sign in line 12 from the preceding variant of no. 82, which we therefore propose to identify as no. 87, even though the small side-stroke, usually added at the right, seems to be missing. Conversely, in connection with the discussion of the recurrent combination 2 above, we have already been able to correct the reading of the last sign of line 2 as no. 91 (a mere variant of no. 87 with additional stroke on the left, cf. Fig. 6) into no. 82. In view of this problematic distinction between the signs in question, it may perhaps even be conjectured that the combination 33-91 at the beginning of line 3 is repeated at the beginning of line 7 and that as a result of this distinction, sign no. 86 (which is closely related in form to no. 82 and only distinguishable as a separate sign on the basis of the three strokes added in the top-side corner), following the partly damaged instance of no. 33 in the latter case, must be read as no. 87.

(4) E. Masson is evidently mistaken in her transliteration of the second sign in line 16 as no. 77, because it definitely reads no. 73, cf. the ductus of the occurrences of the same sign in lines 3 and 13.

(5) Similarly, she wrongly interpreted the only remaining sign in line 17 as no. 110 (note that this sign is replaced in the present text by a variant of the “cross” no. 102a, characterized by three additional strokes in the lower-side corner), because the ductus of the sign definitely points out that we are dealing here with the unsimplified variant of no. 102 as attested for line 3 (third sign).

1. 104-24-91/104-72-91-99-23	10. 109a-27-[86?]/50-87-86/112
2. 87-[23]-82/104a-102a//104/82;	11. 4?-88-70/27-86-1-6
3. 33-91/102-36/39-82-86	12. 38a-87-23-72-23-82-87
4. 36-34/109a-1/102a-23-1	13. 73-22-115-23.104-24-91
5. 39-82/36-72-99-21	14. 104a-86-91/102-34-72
6. 109a-15-82-34-107/73-82-23	15. 99-82-33-70/[104]-82.
7. 33-87/4-102a-82/22-[115]-23	16. 104-73/50-23?{
8. 36-82-25/[104]-72-91-99-[23]	17. []/102{
9. 104-82.36-82-25	18. 104-24-91/[24?]-15-34-[23]

Table VII. Text in transliteration according to numbers.

Now that we have arrived in this way at a more accurate transliteration in numbers of the text (see Table VII and note that a few remaining modifications will be treated below), it seems that our feet are gaining more solid ground to walk on and confidence is eventually growing that the inscription on the poorly preserved seal may turn out to be workable after all. Before we can be really sure about this, however, we have to overcome yet another serious problem posed by the writing on the seal, namely the distinctive features of its syllabary which it does not share with the syllabary on the Enkomi seal. A glance at the total number of individual signs used in the text on the Kalavassos seal, adding up to *c.* 31 (note that the exact number cannot be determined before all insecurities concerning the reading have been sufficiently dealt with), reveals that only half of it belongs to the group of signs we are already acquainted with and whose values, based on epigraphic evidence, have found confirmation from linguistics in the two preceding chapters. This particular part of the syllabary comprises 12 signs from Category I as depicted in our Fig. 6, namely: the nos. 4 *ta*, 6 *pa*, 21/23 *ti*₍₁₎, 25 *ka*, 70 *ki*, 82 *sa*, 87/91 *mi*, 102 *a*, 104 *i*, and 107 *ma*, and 3 signs from Category II as rendered in Fig. 7, namely: nos. 27 *pe*, 73 *ya*, and 99 *ri*. To this group can be added nos. 72 and 88, which in connection with the discussion of the syllabary on the Enkomi cylinder seal have been elucidated as a more archaic writing variant of no. 69 *si* (necessitating the graphic doubling of the sign for *ya* in order to ensure that it remains recognizable as a separate sign) and an adaptation of no. 87 *mi*, characterized by an additional stroke at the right in order to transform the syllabic value into *me*, respectively. Furthermore, on account of its striking relationship in form to no. 113, attested for the earliest tablet from Enkomi (see chapter 1), no. 36 may very well be considered a more developed writing variant of this particular sign, thus leading us to the assumption that it equally expresses the value *wa*. Other signs related in form to no. 113 are the nos. 37 and 35, which clearly testify to the continuing process of stylization and simplification, and were transliterated as *wa* and *wa*₁ in the preceding discussion of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal. Yet another sign which cannot be excluded from the present set of related signs is no. 38 *u*—an interesting observation against the backdrop of the already noted *wa/u*-interchange in Luwian hieroglyphic.

For the determination of the values of the remaining *c.* 13 signs, then, there are two specific lines of approach at our disposal, namely: (a) the correspondence in form to ancestors in the related Cretan Linear scripts or to successors in the surviving Cyprian Syllabary from the Classical period, and (b) typical Cyprian devices or developments according to which new signs are derived from already existing ones, like for instance the addition of strokes to signs from especially the *a-* and *i-*series for the extension of the *e-*series.

According to the latter device the nos. 86 and 109a, distinguished by, this time three instead of four additional strokes (as in case of nos. 76 *le* and 96 *ne*) from nos. 82 *sa* and 102 *a*, respectively, are easily identified as *e*-variants of the latter signs representing the values *se* and *e*, respectively.⁷ On the other hand, the dots attributed by E. Masson to the final sign in line 10, which is transliterated as no. 112, are less pronounced in the “Abklatsch” as depicted in her Plate 18, 2 and consequently the sign in question probably presents just another occurrence of no. 104 *i*. This latter supposition seems to receive confirmation from the observation that the sign functions as a separate entity in the text, recalling the use of no. 104 at the end of line 2.

Along the second line of approach more in general, the first sign in line 12 is probably to be considered a writing variant belonging to the set of signs for *wa* and *u*, just referred to. Starting from a similar perception, E. Masson conceives it as a variant of no. 35 *wa*₁, but, in view of the fact that the latter value is already expressed in the present text by no. 36, it seems more likely that we are dealing with a rare variant of no. 38 for the primary vowel *u*, otherwise absent. Furthermore, no. 15 appears to be nothing but a lozenge-shaped variant of no. 75 *mu* on account of its on one side semicircular variant attested for an inscription on the rim of a *pithos* from Enkomi (# 109), which shows an intermediate stage in the development to the circular variant of Cyprian Syllabic *mo*.

Turning next to the line of approach first mentioned, it appears that the values of the remaining 8 signs can be recovered from oblivion by their correspondence to counterparts in predominantly the Cyprian Syllabary. It is interesting to note about the signs of this particular group that:

⁷ Note that no. 109a is identified by E. Masson 1983: 133 as a vowel for its frequent occurrence in first position and that this identification confirms our analysis of the related “cross” sign as a variant of no 102 *a*.

(1) No. 24 has already been compared to the sign for *le*, appearing in the Paphian variant of the Cyprian Syllabary from the second half of the 11th century onwards (the bronze obelos of Opheltas, # 170), in connection with its occurrence in the text of the Enkomi cylinder seal, but still needs linguistic confirmation.

(2) An earlier form of no. 22 *we* is attested for a Linear C inscription on a clay lable from Enkomi, dated to the Late Cyprian IA period (# 095). Note that it occurs here with an earlier variant of no. 109a *e*, written upside down as viewed against its occurrence in the present text.

(3) The identification of no. 34 *ne* is further substantiated by the observation that no. 96 *ne* is absent in the present text.

(4) The connection of no. 50 *pi* with its successor in the Cyprian Syllabary is substantially enhanced by the intermediate form of the sign as present in the, also in other respects, more developed Linear D script from Enkomi (no. 49). In variant writing no. 51, this sign occurs in the text of tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (# 215) in combination with no. 28 *ni* for the expression of the word *pi-ni*, corresponding to Semitic *bn* “son; representative”, see chapter 4 below. Note also that the latter combination originates from “trowel”-arrow” (E18 or CHIC044-E13 or CHIC049) or the “child”-formula in Cretan hieroglyphic (cf. Fig. 4) and constitutes the most certainly identified word, first suggested by Masson.⁸

The only exception to this consistent pattern of additional correspondences to the Cyprian Syllabary is no. 115, which is paralleled by the sign for *du* in Linear A (see Fig. 10).

In sum, however, it may safely be concluded that both groups of signs without counterparts in the syllabary of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal contribute to the more cursory and/or typical west Cyprian flavor of the writing on the Kalavassos seal—an observation which is fully in accordance with previous remarks on the quality of the clay and the aberrant, more truly linear style of writing noted by E. Masson.⁹

⁸ E. Masson 1974: 39.

⁹ E. Masson 1983: 132.

		CM	CS
1	we ₁	I	I
22	we	↷	↶
33	re	∧	∧
34	ne	· ↘	↵
39	mu ₁	↗ ↖	✕
50	pi	∨	∨
24	le	∧ 	∧

(a)

		Linear A	CM
115	tu	↗ ↘	↗ 𐀓

(b)

Fig. 10. Category II: Signs with a cognate in only one of the two classes of related scripts (extension).

A final notion, which is fundamental for our understanding of the text on the Kalavassos cylinder seal, concerns the system of punctuation. In the preceding discussion of corrections and emendations with respect to the transliteration in numbers of the text, I mentioned the common word divider in form of a small vertical stroke placed high up the line and a small dot placed half-high on the line, both recalling similar devices as applied in the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal. Not known from the latter document, however, is the strange mark which in connection with our analysis of combination 2 from Table VI we have already seen to be interchangeable with the small dot. In accordance with this observation, the mark in question is rather to be identified as a third form of punctuation than as a separate sign, inconvincingly related by E. Masson to no. 44 *se* (note that this particular value is already expressed by no. 86 in the present text). Thanks to this observation the entire inscription can now be divided into four separate parts, namely: (1) lines 3-9, (2) lines 9-13, (3) lines 13-15, and (4), with the proviso that we are right about the horizontal line of division as being placed at random and not at the beginning of the text, lines 16-2.

If this is correct, the subsequent filling in of the values for the signs achieved in this manner in a grid (see Fig. 11) evidently leads us to the conclusion that yet another part of the text can be distinguished thanks to the identification of the combination *u-mi-ti-si-ti* in line 12 as the heading of the text on the analogy of the almost identical *u-mi-a-ti-si-ti* "at Amathus" in the heading of the Enkomi cylinder seal. In this particular case, however, the heading seems to run on to line 13. Working from this vital notion, then, that the text is divided into five separate parts, it is no longer difficult to determine that, apart from the heading in lines 12-13, at least a number of these parts are concerned with the registration of commercial transactions of exactly the same type as the ones observed for the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, comprising the categories of deliverer, recipient, and products in abbreviation. Compare: *i-le-mi/i-si-mi-ri-ti* (...) 2 *i/SA*; in what now appears to be the third part of the text (lines 16-2) and *e-mu sa-ne-ma/ya-sa-ti* (...) *wa-sa-ka/[i]-si-mi-ri[-ti]* *i SA*. in what now appears to be the fourth part of the text (lines 3-9).

	a	e	i	u
	𐀀, 𐀁	𐀂	𐀃, 𐀄	𐀅, 𐀆
y	𐀇			
k	𐀈		𐀉	
l		𐀊		
m	𐀋	𐀌	𐀍, 𐀎	𐀏, 𐀐, 𐀑
n		𐀒		
p	𐀓	𐀔	𐀕	
r		𐀖	𐀗	
s	𐀘, 𐀙	𐀚, 𐀛	𐀜	
t	𐀝		𐀞, 𐀟	𐀠, 𐀡
w	𐀢	𐀣, 𐀤		
z				
punctuation	𐀥, 𐀦, 𐀧			

Fig. 11. Grid of the syllabary on the Kalavassos seal.

Just like it is the case with Pikhas, the trader from Lycia, singling himself out as the scribe by the Lycian pronoun of the 1st person singular *emu* “I”, *sa-ne-ma* is doing the same here in our second example. In contrast, however, the situation here appears to be exactly reversed in comparison to the first transaction registered on the Enkomi cylinder seal, as *sa-ne-ma* is now delivering one standard unit of *SA* to *ya-sa-* instead of vice versa *ya-sa* linseed(oil) to *sa-ne-me-*. Now, it seems inconceivable, at least in my view, that the three major correspondences between the texts of the Kalavassos seal and its counterpart from Enkomi given here, namely: (1) heading, (2) indication of the scribe, and (3) transaction between the same persons in the reversed order, are merely coincidental. This suggests that we are on the right track with our present analysis.

Proceeding along this line of research, then, the second part distinguished in the text, which directly follows the heading, is probably to be explained after the same pattern as presented by the transactions just mentioned. In any case, it starts with the same combination as the one for the person who acts as a deliverer in the third part of the text and ends with the indication of the product involved in abbreviation. Similarly, the fifth part of the text starts with the same indication of a deliverer as the one from the immediately preceding transaction at the end of the fourth part, whereas it perhaps may be surmised to end with a product in abbreviation, *PA* (known from the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal), even though it must be admitted that this is not properly distinguished as a separate entity here for the lack of the usual word divider. On the other hand, *PA* is set apart by the fact that it is written in a smaller type of lettering, and, what is more, the entry before it is marked as a recipient by the dative singular in *-we₁* (already known from the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, but see further below).

However, a substantial part of the fourth section, covering lines 3-5, at first sight falls outside the scope of the run-of-the-mill economic transactions and therefore must be set apart for the moment as being of a different nature.

In contrast to the situation in the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, the heading in the one on the Kalavassos cylinder seal runs on after the form *u-mi-ti-si-ti* “at Amathus” up till the punctuation mark in line 13. On account of the occurrence of one element, *we-tu-ti*, in variant writing *wa₁-tu-ti₁* in the text of the earliest tablet from Enkomi

(see chapter 1), it evidently follows that the reference to the place of action is followed by two elements, the one in the middle being *sa-mi-ya*. Now, *we-tu-ti* is likely to be explained in like manner as its graphic variant from the text of the earliest tablet from Enkomi as a dative singular in *-ti* of the root **wetu(r)-*, corresponding to Eteo-Cyprian *we-to-ri* and Lycian *wedr-* “town”.¹⁰ In line with this identification, *sa-mi-ya* receives meaningful interpretation as an ethnic adjective in *-ya-* of the geographic name “Samos”, also attested in form of *se-mu₁* for a clay ball from Enkomi (# 080) and likewise in adjectival derivative for the MN *sa-mu-ri* “the Samian” featuring as the main deliverer in the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal (see chapter 2 above). In sum, this leads us to the interpretation of the sequence *sa-mi-ya we-tu-ti* as “for the Samian town”. Next to the place of action, Amathus, the heading therefore also contains the name of the place of destination, viz. the capital of the island Samos. If this analysis is correct, the adjective *sa-mi-ya* renders the dative singular in *-a*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-a* and Lycian *-a* for the same function.¹¹

Subsequently, it becomes possible to analyze the entry *se-mi*, which in the first transaction after the heading follows on the name of the deliverer *i-le-mi*, as a dative singular in *-i*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-i* and Lycian *-i* for the same function,¹² of a writing variant of the geographic name “Samos”, characterized by *a/e*-alternation. Accordingly, the combinations in between *se-mi* at the beginning of line 14 and the indication of product in abbreviation at the end of line 15 are likely to be considered as further qualifications of the recipient in question, whereas the vowel *i* which precedes *se-mi* necessarily forms a separate linguistic element.

In similar vein, the first word in line 11, which according to a detailed study of Masson’s photograph and “Abklatsch” in her Plate 18, 2 appears to read *ta-me-ki*, may now be recognized as the dative singular in *-i* of a variant writing of *ta-mi-ka* “trader” as attested for the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, characterized by *i/e*-alternation with respect to the second vowel. If so, it represents the recipient in

¹⁰ Woudhuizen 2013: 195.

¹¹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 53; Meriggi 1980: 275, 277. For Lycian, see esp. *Arñna* “for Arinna” and *tlayñta* “as a salary” in the Xanthos trilingual, lines 4-5 and 19-20, respectively, see Laroche 1979.

¹² Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247; Melchert 2004: x.

the transaction with deliverer *wa-sa-ka* concerning one standard unit of the product *PA*. The form *pe-se-we₁*, which, as we have noted in the preceding, renders the dative singular in *-we₁*, which follows *ta-me-ki* and precedes the indication of the product in abbreviation *PA*, along this line of reasoning likely functions as a further qualification of the recipient *ta-me-ki*.

This leaves us with the section in lines 3-5 at the beginning of the fourth section of the text. In this section we are now able to identify the entry *a-ti-mi-we₁* as a dative singular in *-we₁*. Evidently, therefore, this form functions as an indication of the recipient. Against this backdrop, it lies stands to reason that the first word of line 3, *re-mi*, which recurs in line 7 with a number of qualifications, denotes the deliverer of the transaction. Furthermore, *wa-ne* at the start of line 4, which recalls the entry *wa-i-na* from the text of the earliest tablet from Enkomi (see chapter 1 above) no doubt likewise renders the product involved, viz. “wine”. Remaining entries have to be regarded as either appositions or as indications from an altogether different category of words, like, for example, technical transaction terms, etc.

As it seems, therefore, in the rude outlines as sketched above, the text of the Kalavassos clay cylinder seal can be subdivided into basically the same categories of information as the ones we have already met in connection with the discussion of the text on the Enkomi clay cylinder seal, namely:

(1) heading, though with the noted adjustment that, apart from the place of action, also the place of destination of the shipment is indicated;

(2) indications of the delivering party, which in exactly two instances again, are extended by

(3) additional qualifications;

(4) technical transaction terms, though, as we will see, ultimately stemming from the Luwian instead of a Semitic language;

(5) number, preceding

(6) indications of products, again mostly rendered in abbreviation and—apart from one instance which is written out in full—as a rule following upon

(7) indications of the receiving party, characterized by the dative singular ending in *-ti* or in *-i* or in *-we₁*, which in the majority of the cases are further specified by

(8) additional qualifications, amongst which (a) titles and (b) place of origin are distinguishable, whereas pseudo-patronymics, indicating official representatives, are absent in the present text;

(9) demonstrative pronouns in the nominative-accusative of the neuter singular and plural, situated in between the indications of deliverer and recipient or of recipient and product(s) in abbreviation (see Table VIII).

In the following, then, we shall, for brevity's sake, confine ourselves to briefly commenting upon the linguistic features of the given elements from the structural analysis of the text as rendered in Table VIII which so far go without explanation. In this commentary remaining words or linguistic elements, which fall outside the scope of the categories of information presented by this structural analysis, will also be included.

Commentary

As rendered in Table VIII, the text is divided into four sections, which, apart from one instance, correspond exactly to the sections based upon the analysis of the system of punctuation. Leaving aside the heading, which has already been discussed in the preceding, it appears that the text in fact consists of two main parts. One of these parts is formed by the transactions in which *i-le-mi* acts on behalf of the delivering party. Although the entry *i-le-mi* is interpreted by E. Masson as a combination of Semitic *il* "god" with emphatic particle *-m*,¹³ I am rather inclined to the view that we are dealing here with a personal name on account of its recurrence in variant writing *i-le-me* in the first line of the text on side A of tablet RS 17.06 from Ugarit (# 212).¹⁴ The second part comprises the transactions in which *sa-ne-ma* and another person, both being further specified by additional qualifications, act on behalf of the delivering party.

¹³ E. Masson 1986: 185.

¹⁴ E. Masson 1985: 152, Fig. 7, 9d; Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 116, Fig. 11a. Note that the name in question is followed here by the combination *se-we-ri-ti*, no doubt the dative singular in *-ti* of the titular expression *se-we-ri-* which in variant writing *se-wa-ru* we have come across in the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal.

A) delivering party				
paragraphs	line(s)	1. TN	2. MN	3. qualification
I heading	12-13	<i>U-mi-ti-si-ti</i>		
II introd. main trans.	13-15	<i>I-le-mi</i>		
III main transaction	18-1	<i>I-le-mi</i>		
	1-2	<i>I-le-mi</i>		
IV subsid. transactions	3-5	<i>Re-mi</i>		
	6	<i>Sa-ne-ma</i>	<i>e-mu</i>	
	7-9	<i>Re-mi</i>	<i>ta-a-sa we[-tu]-ti</i>	
	9-11		<i>wa-sa-ka (c)</i> <i>wa-sa-ka e-pe[-se] (c)</i>	

Table VIII. Structural analysis of the text on the Kalavassos seal.

B) receiving party			C) remaining categories			
1. TN	2. MN	3. qualification	1. trans.	2. dem.	3. num.	4. product term
<i>Sa-mi-ya we-tu-ti</i>						
<i>Se-mi</i>	<i>Ne-si-ri</i>	<i>Sa-re-ki</i> (c)		<i>i</i>		SA
	<i>[Le]-mu-ne[-ti]</i>					
	<i>I-si-mi-ri-ti</i>	<i>mi[-ti]-sa</i> (a)		<i>i-a</i>	2	SA
	<i>A-ti-mi-we₁</i>	<i>mu₁-sa</i> (a)	<i>a-wa</i>			<i>mu₁-sa-se</i> <i>wa-ne</i>
	<i>Ya-sa-ti</i>					
	<i>[I]-si-mi-ri[-ti]</i>					
	<i>ta-me-ki</i>	<i>Pe-se-we₁</i> (c)	<i>pi-mi-se</i>	<i>i</i>		PA

Table VIII (continued).

Now, the part first mentioned can be subdivided into two sections, labeled “introduction to the main transaction” and “main transaction”, which are closely connected not only because the same deliverer happens to be involved, but also because both probably have a bearing on one and the same transaction. The latter supposition rests upon the identification of the separate entities *i* and *i-a* in lines 14 and 2, respectively, as forms of the Luwian hieroglyphic demonstrative pronoun *i-* “this” for their correspondence to the nominative-accusative of the neuter singular *i* or *ī* and plural *i-a* or *ī-ā*, respectively.¹⁵ This observation can be further underlined by the fact that in writing variant *i-ya* of the nominative-accusative of the neuter plural, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *i-ya* for the same function,¹⁶ this pronoun appears as the first word in line 16. It can only be assumed, namely, that this form performs the function of linking the product in abbreviation immediately preceding it to the same product in abbreviation as repeated at the end of line 2, where, for clarity’s sake, it is again preceded by the nominative-accusative of the neuter plural of the demonstrative pronoun *i-a* in order to exclude any possible misunderstanding.

The second half of the text, on the other hand, which is labeled “subsidiary transactions” here, can positively be identified as one entity notwithstanding the use of the punctuation mark between its constituent sections four and five. According to the same device as attested for the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, namely, with the repetition of one of the additional qualifications of the deliverer *re-mi*, viz. *wa-sa-ka*, at the beginning of the fifth section, reference is made to this same deliverer without repetition of his personal name for brevity’s sake.

Returning to the first half of the text, the immediate inference from our determination of lines 13 to 2 as recording just a single transaction is that there must also be only one ultimate recipient of the two standard units of *SA* in question. Who is this and what to do with the other recipients recorded? A clue to this problem may be provided by the apposition *mi[-ti]-sa* further specifying the recipient *i-si-mi-ri-*. This word, namely, bears such a striking resemblance to Luwian hieroglyphic *mi-ti-sa* “servant”, that it is difficult to resist the tempta-

¹⁵ Woudhuizen 2015a: 37-38; 227; 232-233.

¹⁶ Woudhuizen *forthc.*

tion to interpret it accordingly.¹⁷ As a title of subordinate rank, it seems to indicate that *i-si-mi-ri-* is in the service of another person and therefore likely acts as a representative or intermediary for a patron.

On account of the identity of the structure of line 1, in which this particular servant is mentioned, with the preceding line 18, I am inclined to think that the recipient recorded for the latter line is of the same status as *i-si-mi-ri-*, and that as a consequence the titular expression *mi-ti-sa* also refers to this unfortunately damaged name [*le*]-*mu-ne[-ti]*. At least this would bring us in a position to explain the horizontal line placed in between the two lines in question as a device to stress the fact that they must be taken as a single unit, which is further elaborated by line 2!

Whatever the merits of the latter suggestion, the subordinate status of *i-si-mi-ri-* and [*le*]-*mu-ne-*, both of which are interpretable as indications derived from a geographic notion for their relationship to the TN *Smyrna* (= present-day İzmir) and the name of the island *Lemnos*, respectively, seems to be confirmed by the fact that in the preceding section a certain *ne-si-ri sa-re-ki* is mentioned as recipient. Now, the first word of this combination can be elucidated by its comparison to Hittite *našili-* “of Nesha (= Hittite)”, with which from a historical point of view only a representative of the chief power in the region at the time can be designated.¹⁸ The location where this representative of the Hittite empire is stationed seems to be indicated by the second word, because this is not only likewise characterized by the dative singular in *-i*, but also bears the testimony of the suffix *-ka-* “from the place” which we already came across in *se-ke-ri₁-ya-ka-* and **li-ki-ka* in the discussion of the text on the Enkomi clay cylinder seal. If due attention is paid to the *a/e*-alternation and the instability of the element *-wa-* in the western Luwian dialects, the root *sa-re-* strikingly recalls the TN *Sarawa-*, a Hittite foundation in the western province of Mira.¹⁹ In my opinion, there are compelling reasons to locate this town in Maeonia, as the derivative toponymic element

¹⁷ Woudhuizen 2015a: 280. This particular function is also attested for Linear A on HT 31, where it appears as the first word of the heading, see Woudhuizen 2016: 222-223. Note that it is marked here by the nominative of the common gender singular in *-sa*, usually omitted in the Linear C documents.

¹⁸ Friedrich 1991, s.v.

¹⁹ Del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v.

sarna- features in Mysian (= part of Maeonia) place-names like *Halisarne* and *Sarnaca*.²⁰

The separate element *a*, finally, which precedes this combination now translatable as “to the Hittite from the place Sarawa” and falls outside the scope of the categories as rendered in Table VIII, can now easily be identified as an introductory particle corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *â-* for the same function.²¹

In sum, then, the impression is created that lower functionaries from Smyrna and Lemnos act as intermediaries, responsible for the shipment of the cargo, actually handed over to them at Amathus, from Amathus to Samos—a cargo, which is ultimately destined for their superior, a representative of the Hittite empire stationed at Sarawa in the western Anatolian province of Mira.

Having solved the problem posed by the first half of the text in this manner, the task remains to go into the details of its second half. As indicated above, this part of the text is labeled “subsidiary transactions”, for which the reasons can now be more fully grasped. In contrast to the situation in the first half of the text, the transactions in the second half:

(1) are concerned with one standard unit of the products in question only;

(2) lack the addition of an elaborate introduction and are therefore more simple;

(3) are concerned with one of the subordinate intermediaries, viz. “the servant from Smyrna”, from the preceding main transaction and a man likewise indicated by a geographic notion as coming from *Iasos*, situated “en route” from Amathus to Samos, thus illustrating their *de facto* subsidiary nature most eloquently.

This does not mean, however, that these transactions are not important for our purposes. As we have noted earlier, in this second half of the text the individual deliverers turn up, which are further specified by additional qualifications, namely the scribe *sa-ne-ma* and a certain *re-mi*. The first name we have already encountered in the discussion of the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, where it indicates the most prominent recipient, probably responsible for the shipment of the cargo from Amathus to Enkomi. Moreover, in this latter text the

²⁰ Zgusta 1984, s.v.

²¹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 251.

person in question is further specified by the entry *si-ka-ri-si-ka-a-si* as an official representative of the Shekelesh, one of the Sea Peoples originating from the central Mediterranean.

The second name, *re-mi*, on the other hand, occurs here for the first time. According to our analysis, this particular man is staged three times as deliverer in transactions, which in view of our analysis of the first half of the text as having a bearing on one transaction only, in fact means that he is most prominent among the delivering party. This view is substantially enhanced by the fact that he is further specified by the most elaborate additional qualifications, in which the entry *we[-tu]-ti*, the dative singular in *-ti* of **wetu(r)*- “town” features. Yet another qualification associated with *re-mi* is *wa-sa-ka*, which is most crucial for its recurrence in the immediately following transaction without repetition of the personal name. This can be identified as a titular expression on account of its correspondence to Luwian hieroglyphic *washa-* “lord”.²² The third form associated with this particular deliverer, *ta-a-sa*, is, against the backdrop of the relationship of the language to Luwian hieroglyphic, most likely to be interpreted as the genitive singular in *-sa*²³ of the demonstrative pronoun *ta-* “this”.²⁴ If this is correct, *re-mi* is literally “of this for the town lord”. Accordingly, his function as an official for the town Amathus is restricted to the execution of the transaction only, which means he is not the mayor or so.

Similarly, from the observation that in the last transaction *re-mi* in his capacity as lord acts alone, whereas in the immediately preceding lines one of his transactions is for brevity’s sake grouped together with the transaction of his right hand man, the scribe *sa-ne-ma*, it may be inferred that the partly damaged word associated with *wa-sa-ka* in lines 9-10 should be emended as *e-pe[-se]*, the genitive singular in *-sa* of the demonstrative pronoun *e-pe-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *apa-* “he, it; that (person or thing)”²⁵ and Lycian *ebe-* “(s)he, it”.²⁶ In other words, the product in question, *PA*, is “of him” personally.

²² Woudhuizen 2015a: 310.

²³ Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248.

²⁴ Woudhuizen 2015a: 49; cf. also Lycian *θθ-* “this” as attested for the Xanthos trilingue in line 7, see Laroche 1979.

²⁵ Woudhuizen 2015a: 253.

²⁶ Melchert 2004: 11.

The final transaction is also very interesting for the extra word it contains between the indications of deliverer and recipient, *pi-mi-se*. Apparently, we have here a technical transaction term. As such, it can be compared to the ones from the Luwian hieroglyphic texts on the Kululu lead strips based on the Luwian verbal root *piya-* “to give”.²⁷ In abbreviation *PI*, we will come across this technical transaction term in the text on tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (see next chapter). The present form confronts us with a nominative of the communal gender singular in *-se* of the participle of the middle-passive in *-mi-*.²⁸ Note that the nominative of the communal gender singular in writing variant in *-sa*, even though this is as a rule omitted from the writing in Linear C (as it is in Cretan Linear and Luwian hieroglyphic in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition), is also found in the titular expression *mi-ti-sa* “servant”, discussed in the above. Furthermore, it deserves our attention that the recipient *ta-me-ki*, the dative singular in *-i* of *ta-mi-ka* “trader”, is associated with the qualification *pe-se-we₁*, likely indicating the place of origin of the trader in question also rendering the dative singular, but this time in *-we₁*. Now, if the latter suggestion applies, it lies at hand that we are dealing here with a variant form of the TN *A-pe-sa-* “Ephesos”, characterized by aphaeresis—a phenomenon also found in Luwian hieroglyphic.²⁹

With respect to the most difficult passage in the second part of the text, viz. lines 3-5, we have already noticed that it contains the categories:

(1) deliverer, represented by the MN *re-mi*, for the occasion of this transaction lord on behalf of his town Amathus;

(2) recipient, represented by the indication *a-ti-mi-we₁*, characterized by the dative singular in *-we₁*;

(3) product involved, written out in full as *wa-ne* and identifiable on account of its correspondence to *wa-i-na* in the text of the earliest tablet from Enkomi as “wine”.

The remaining words or elements, however, thus far elude us. Trying to elucidate these latter words and elements, it first of all is worth mentioning that the recipient *a-ti-mi-we₁* likely is of divine nature, as the root bears a striking resemblance to the Linear B forms

²⁷ Hawkins 2000: 508-511 (note that *dare-mi-na* actually reads *PIA-mi-na*).

²⁸ Woudhuizen 2015a: 249.

²⁹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 26 (Köylütölu § 7: *tî-ta+r-ma^{UMINA}* = Attarima); 370.

a-te-mi-to “of Artemis” or *a-ti-mi-te* “for Artemis”.³⁰ In the Classical period, *Artemis* (genetivus *Artimodos*) happens to be the foremost goddess of Ephesos and accordingly she appears as *artimúš ibšimsis* “Ephesian Artemis” in the epichoric Lydian text no. 1, lines 6-7.³¹ At this point it seems expedient to point out that comparative evidence for the dative singular ending in *-we₁* is likewise traceable in one of the epichoric scripts of western Anatolia, namely Sidetic. At any rate, in this particular script the MN *Tratašo*, thus mentioned in the nominative of rubric in text 4, recurs in the dative singular form as *Tra[taš]eva* in text no. 3.³²

Now, the identification of *a-ti-mi-* in line 4 as the GN Artemis receives emphasis from the fact that it is immediately followed in line 4 by the entry *mu₁-sa*, which likely renders the dative singular in *-a* of the noun *musa-* “god”, corresponding to Lycian *muha-* of the same meaning.³³ Note that the Lycian word in question is subject to *a/u*-interchange and also appears as *maha(na)-*, which originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *masana-* “god”.³⁴ Following the Luwian trail, it subsequently becomes possible to identify *a-wa*, which we have classed with the technical transaction terms, as a verbal form corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *a(a)wa-* “to go; to come”.³⁵ As it seems, the form *a-wa* renders the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active in *-a*.³⁶ With a view to the context, the meaning of the verb appears to be “to bring” rather than “to go” or “to come”. In any case, the following *wa-si-ri-ti₁* bears a striking resemblance to Luwian hieroglyphic ^{WASU}*wasar(i)tia* “out of gratitude” (ablative singular in *-tia*),³⁷ and therefore may be assumed to specify the nature of the transaction in question in like manner as Latin *gratia* and the Greek adverbial adjective *kharin* as a dedication.³⁸

³⁰ Ventris & Chadwick 1973: glossary, s.v.

³¹ Gusmani 1964: 250.

³² Woudhuizen 1984-5: 124.

³³ Melchert 2004: 36.

³⁴ Woudhuizen 2015a: 351.

³⁵ Woudhuizen 2015a: 260.

³⁶ Woudhuizen 2015a: 248.

³⁷ Woudhuizen 2015a: 310.

³⁸ Cf. Greek *Deimis tad' anetheke kharin Velenai Menelavo* on a bronze *aryballos* from Sparta, dated c. 675-650 BC, see Catling & Cavanagh 1976: 147-152, and Italic *T. Vetio duno dedit Herclo Iovio brat data*, see Pulgram 1978: 150.

Thus, we are left with the residual elements *mu₁-sa-se* in line 3 and *e-we₁* in line 4. Of these two elements, the first one likely comes into consideration as an adjective of the following *wa-ne* “wine” based on the root *mu₁-sa-* “god”. Accordingly, the final syllable *-se* expresses either the genitive singular in *-sa* or the adjectival suffix *-asa-*, both of which options lead us to the translation of this adjective as “divine”. For the lack of comparative data, *e-we₁* preceding *a-ti-mi-we₁* remains unclear, though one might suggest its use in like manner as Greek *hōs* “to” in combination with personal names only.³⁹ If all this is correct, the aberrant nature of the passage in lines 3-5 is duly explained by the more elaborate way of expression used in this part of the text, almost tending to a literary style of writing.

A final observation deserves attention in the context of our attempt at elucidation of the contents of the text on the Kalavassos cylinder seal. A glance at Table VIII may suffice to realize that all deliverers are characterized by the final ending in *-i* except one, the scribe *sa-na-ma*. It seems likely, therefore, that the names of the deliverers are also conducted in the dative singular, the one in *-i*, and that only the name of the scribe is in the endingless nominative singular. If this observation holds water, the scribe manifests himself as the central person of the text and transactions are registered as being executed by him *on behalf of* the other deliverers. In the discussion of the text on tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit in the next chapter we will see that the same device is used by the scribe of this latter text.

In sum, the results and propositions discussed in the previous pages lead to the transliteration and interpretation of the text on the Kalavassos clay cylinder seal K-AD 389 as rendered in Table IX.

12. <i>U-mi-ti-si-ti Sa-mi-</i>	“At Amathus, for the Samian
13. <i>ya we-tu-ti.I-le-mi</i>	town.” “On behalf of Ilm (he brings)
14. <i>i Se-mi/a Ne-si-</i>	this for Samos, i.e. for the Hittite
15. <i>ri Sa-re-ki/[i] SA.</i>	from Sarawa: this spun flax.”
16. <i>i-ya/pi-ti(?)</i> [“These (products) he gives (...)
17. []/a[(...), i.e. (...:)”
18. <i>I-le-mi/[Le(?)]-mu-ne[-ti]</i>	“On behalf of Ilm to (the servant

³⁹ LSJ, s.v. *hōs* “to”.

1. <i>I-le-mi/I-si-mi-ri-ti</i>	from) Lemnos, On behalf of Ilm to the servant from Smyrna:
2. <i>mi[-ti]-sa/i-a 2 i/SA;</i>	these 2 (units of) this spun flax;”
3. <i>Re-mi/a-wa/mu₁-sa-se</i>	“On behalf of Remus he should
4. <i>wa-ne/e-we₁/A-ti-mi-we₁</i>	bring divine wine out of gratitude
5. <i>mu₁-sa/wa-si-ri-ti₁</i>	to the goddess Artemis”
6. <i>e-mu Sa-ne-ma/Ya-sa-ti</i>	“I, Sanemas, to Iasos,
7. <i>Re-mi/ta-a-sa/we[-tu]-ti</i>	on behalf of Remus, of this for the
8. <i>wa-sa-ka/I-si-mi-ri[-ti]</i>	town lord, to Smyrna:
9. <i>1 SA.wa-sa-ka</i>	this spun flax.” “(On behalf of)
10. <i>e-pe[-se]/pi-mi-se/i₂</i>	the lord of him being given this to
11. <i>ta-me-ki/Pe-se-we₁ PA</i>	the trader (from) Ephesos: cloth”

Table IX. Text of the Kalavassos seal in transliteration and translation.

In combining the evidence provided by the texts on the Enkomi clay cylinder seal and its equivalent from Kalavassos for historical purposes, there are two features which appear to be particularly informative in this respect. In the first place, it is remarkable that according to the system of registration on both seals only the most important deliverer and his right-hand man, the scribe, are singled out by additional qualifications as far as the delivering party is concerned. According to these qualifications, then, the scribe in both instances is explicitly indicated to be a foreigner, the one on the Enkomi seal Pikhas, trader from Lycia, and the one on the Kalavassos seal Sanemas, representative of the Shekelesh on account of the apposition associated with this MN in the text on the Enkomi seal.

As the matrix-language in both texts is a form of Luwian most closely related to Lycian, the identification of a Lycian scribe should not surprise us. But in the case of the representative of the Shekelesh, Sanemas, it is remarkable that a trader originating from the central Mediterranean happens to be so well versed in the Cypro-Minoan script and its peripheral Luwian language. On the other hand, this observation goes a long way in explaining the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples at the end of the Late Bronze Age, as by means of their trading activities in the years before the latter crisis the invaders from the central Mediterranean, or at least some among them, happened to be extremely well-informed about the situation in the

eastern Mediterranean and the Near East—geographic, economic, political, and language-wise.

The second historically relevant observation is that with its evidence for an east-to-west direction of shipping, namely from Amathus via Samos to Sarawa in the west-Anatolian province of Mira, the text of the Kalavassos seal shows exactly the reverse situation to the one in the text on the Enkomi seal, which bears the testimony of a west-to-east direction, viz. from Amathus to Enkomi and then further on to various location in the Near East. Moreover, it seems likely that the trade route can be divided into distinct sections, in each of which one specific individual is responsible. It lies at hand namely that Sanemas, who ranks secondly among the deliverers in the text on the Kalavassos seal but features as the most prominent recipient in the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal, was active only on the route between Amathus and Enkomi. Similarly, there is clearly a general agreement between the servants from Smyrna and Lemnos acting as intermediaries on behalf of the Hittite in Sarawa in Mira for the shipment of the cargo from Amathus to Samos in the text on the Kalavassos seal on the one hand and the Samian, representative of the Maeonians, being staged as the leader of the delivering party in the text on the Enkomi seal on the other hand. Obviously, traders from the north-Aegean region were responsible for the shipment of cargoes in between Amathus and Samos. Finally, from the fact that Akamas from Ilion figures among the recipients in the text on the Enkomi seal, but happens to be the main deliverer in the text on tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit (both times in his capacity as representative of Ephesos), it may reasonably be deduced that this particular trader was responsible for the shipment of cargoes between Enkomi and Ugarit.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the *a priori* probability of commercial contacts between Cyprus and western Anatolia receives emphasis from the fact that in one of the rock reliefs at Karabel the titular expression *tupa(la)*- “scribe” is written by the Cypro-Minoan signs for *tu* and *pa*.⁴⁰ Clearly, the local magistrate in question wanted to display his mastery of the Cypro-Minoan script—if only to discourage the possibly fraudulent aspirations of his subordinate intermediaries involved in the trade with Cyprus and the Levant!

⁴⁰ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 111-112.

NOUN

N(m/f) sg.	—, -sa/-se
D sg.	-i, , -a, -ti, -we
G sg.	-sa/-se
Abl. sg.	-ti
Loc. sg.	-ti

PRONOUN

N-A(n) sg.	<i>i</i> “this”
N-A(n) pl.	<i>ia</i> “these”
G sg.	<i>taasa</i> “of this”, <i>epese</i> “of him”

VERB

3rd pers. sg. subjunctive	-a
participle middle-passive	-mi-

WORD FORMATION

patronymic suffix	-ka-a-
adjectival suffix	-si-
adjectival suffix	-ya-
ethnic suffix	-ka-
ethnic suffix	-te-

VOCABULARY

<i>aw(a)</i> - “to go; to bring”	<i>musa</i> - “god”
<i>emu</i> “I”	<i>pi</i> - “to give”
<i>epe</i> - “he”	<i>ta</i> - “this”
<i>i</i> - “this”	<i>wasaka</i> - “lord”
- <i>ma</i> “and”	<i>wasiriti</i> “out of gratitude”
<i>miti</i> - “servant”	<i>wetu(r)</i> - “town”

Table X. Overview of the (peripheral) Luwian linguistic elements in the texts on the Enkomi and Kalvassos clay cylinder seals.

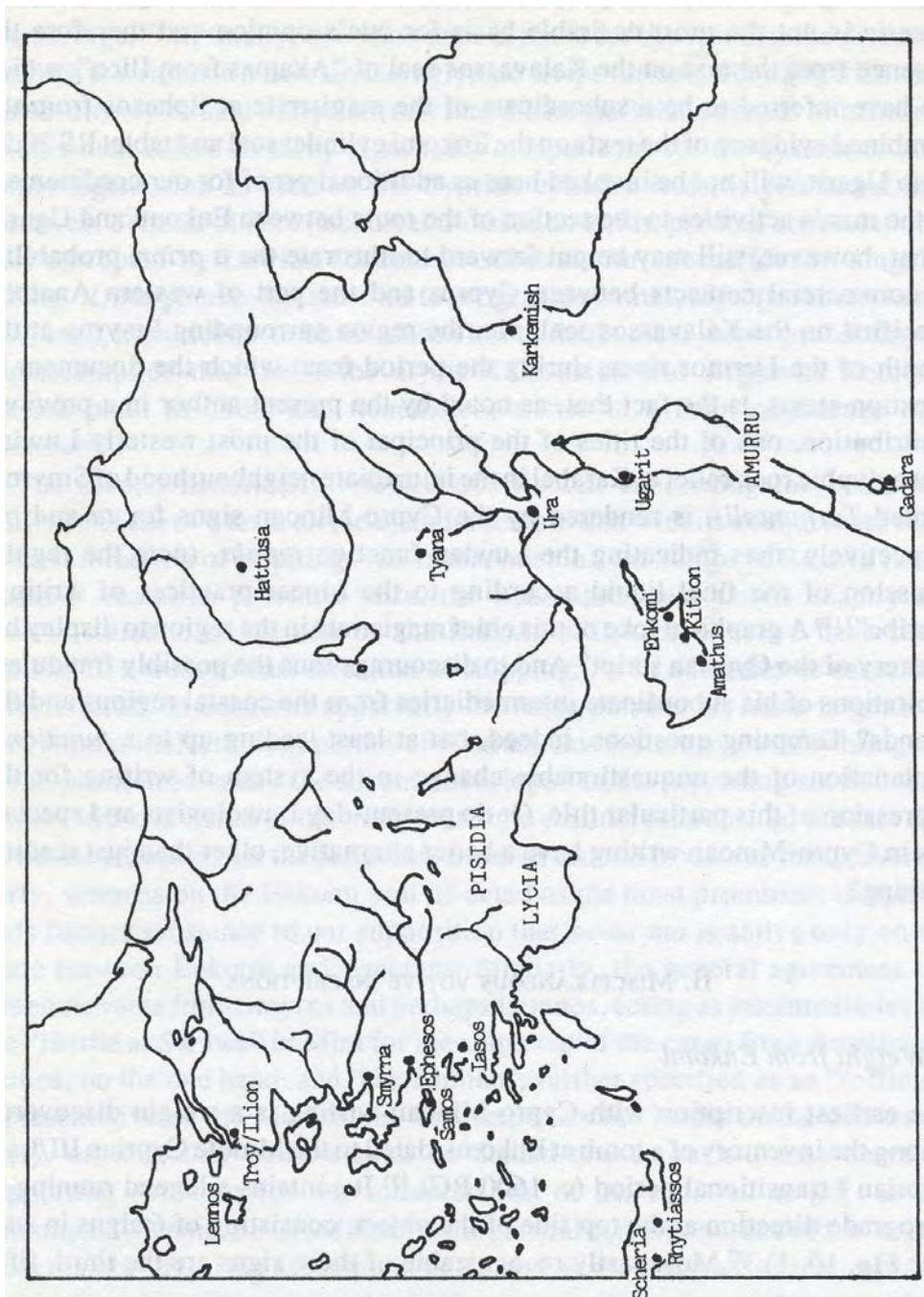


Fig. 12. Place-names mentioned in chapters 2 and 3.

4. TABLET RS 20.25 FROM UGARIT

1. INTRODUCTION

In Ras Shamra-Ugarit, a small number of texts in the Cypro-Minoan script has been found. The most important piece within this group is tablet RS 20.25 (# 215) (dimensions: 68 x 58 x 17 mm). This tablet, now in the collection of the museum of Damascus (inv. nr. O 5288), is the only one which has come down to us in a fairly good state of preservation. It was discovered in the course of the 1956 campaign in a rich villa of the residential quarter east of the palace, where it was found in direct association with numerous cuneiform texts—probably the remains of an archive of an important palace official known by the name of Rapanu.¹

For the dating of tablet RS 20.25 two limits, an upper and lower one, must be taken into account. The *terminus ante quem* for its dating is set by the final destruction of the town of Ugarit, presumably in the year 1192 BC.² The *terminus post quem* for its dating is less clearly fixed since the cuneiform letters from Rapanu's archive cover a period of about fifty years before the final destruction of the town.³ In the following sections I will present some arguments for assigning the tablet to the period of about a decade or a decade and a half before the final destruction of Ugarit, say *c.* 1205-1192 BC (see section 4 on the archaeological & historical setting below).

The first treatment of tablet RS 20.25 is by the French specialist in the Cyprian Syllabary from the Classical period, Olivier Masson. However, the drawings of the text by R. Kuss, on which this study is based, are not reliable, so they are of little use here.⁴ More important for our present purposes is the next treatment of the tablet by Emilia Masson. This scholar illustrated her work not only with a full set of photographs but also produced excellent drawings which are reproduced here as our Fig. 13.⁵

¹ E. Masson 1971b: 24, 29; Ferrara 2013: 111-112.

² Dietrich & Loretz 2002; cf. Yon 1992: 120 (between the years 1195 and 1185 BC).

³ Von Reden 1992: 248; Lehmann 1983: 87.

⁴ O. Masson 1969: 382, Fig. 1; 387, Fig. 2.

⁵ E. Masson 1971b: 57, Pl. II; 31, Fig. 16; 33, Fig. 17.

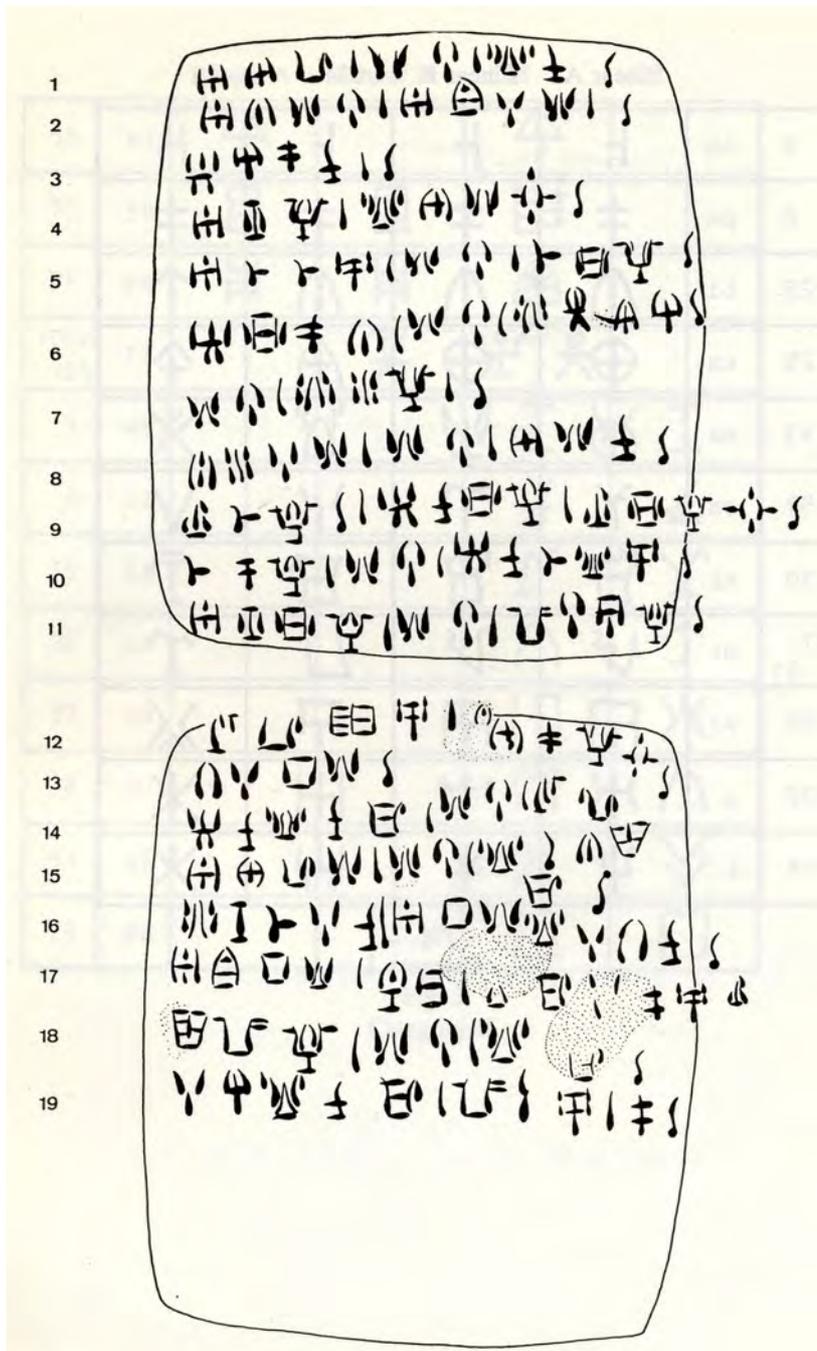


Fig. 13. Drawing of tablet RS 20.25 (from E. Masson 1971b).

In her discussion of the text, E. Masson rightly emphasized the local Ugaritic flavor of the signary. Apart from the cuneiform-like ductus and some special writing variants (nos. 70, 100, [2]), this local flavor is indicated by the use of signs unparalleled for texts from the island of Cyprus itself (nos. 40, 94, 105).⁶ She further succeeded to bring about the first crack in the code by the combined use of internal and external evidence. Thus the three-partite division of most of the lines recalls cuneiform lists of personal names of the type “A, son of B”. From this observation it follows that the repetitive central element, rendered by the combination of nos. 51-28, expresses the word “son”. The latter element, then, is convincingly suggested by E. Masson to be identified as *pi-ni*, the syllabic reflex of Semitic *bn* “son”.⁷ Next, a number of signs is clearly related in form to counterparts in the Cretan Linear scripts of mainly the Late Bronze Age on the one hand and the Cyprian Syllabary of mainly the Classical period on the other hand. It is very well possible, therefore, that these signs render the same value as their equivalents from the latter scripts. On the basis of this hypothesis, E. Masson plugged in the values *pa*, *li*, and *i* for nos. 6, 9, and 104, respectively, and (within the frame of her structural analysis) plausibly identified the resulting sequences *i-li-* and *-pa-li* as onomastic elements derived from the Semitic words *il* “god” and *bʿl* “lord”, respectively.⁸

Encouraged by these promising results, other scholars set out working along the same lines of approach and soon discovered more Semitic onomastic elements or even entire names. Plugging in the values *ma* and *ki* for nos. 43 and 70 on account of their formal resemblance to Cretan Linear L95 or AB80 and L103 or AB67, respectively, Saporetti, Faucounau, and Nahm plausibly identified the sequence *-ma-li-ki* as an onomastic element derived from Semitic *mlk*

⁶ E. Masson 1971b: 34-36. For a possible parallel of no. 40 in a text from Cyprus, see our discussion on p. 101, esp. note 48 below.

⁷ E. Masson 1971b: 39; Masson 1974: 39-42; cf. Hiller 1985: 82. Note that the determination of no. 51 as *pi* is substantially reinforced by its correspondence to Cyprian Syllabic *pi*, see our Fig. 15. For the origin of the combination of nos. 51-28 from Cretan hieroglyphic “trowel-“arrow” (CHIC044-049), see Meriggi 1973: 132, n. 15.

⁸ E. Masson 1971b: 39-41; cf. Hiller 1985: 83. Note that both onomastic elements occur together in the composite personal name *i-li-pa-li* as attested for clay ball # 084 from Enkomi.

“to rule; king”.⁹ In combination with the element *il*, this resulted in their disclosure of the combination *i-li-ma-li-ki* at the start of line 14 as the composite Ugaritic personal name *Ilmlk*.¹⁰ As we will see later (section 4), this happens to be the name of one of the foremost functionaries of the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi II (c. 1210-1192 BC)! Next, Jean Faucounau (even though he failed to notice the correspondence of sign no. 58 to Cretan Linear L57 or AB41 *si*) convincingly correlated the combination *i-58-pa-li* in line 3 to the Ugaritic personal name *Išb ʿ*.¹¹ Finally, under due consideration of the formal identity of sign no. 57 to Cretan Linear L31 or AB31 *sa*, Werner Nahm suggested the correspondence of the combination *sa-si-ma-li-ki* at the start of line 19 to the Semitic personal name *Šmšmlk*.¹² In this manner, then, we arrive at a total of three composite Semitic personal names which are either directly attested or closely paralleled in Ugaritic cuneiform sources.

The nature of the contents of tablet RS 20.25 is further specified by the specialist in Cretan Linear A, Jan Best. He convincingly showed that the text is not just a list of persons, but a record of their economic transactions. A first clue for the economic nature of the contents can be obtained from close scrutiny of the system of punctuation. This system consists of three devices: (1) a vertical stroke for the division of individual words, (2) a curved bar marking the end of the line, and (3) a combination of both these marks for the distinction of larger units within the text. With the help of the last mentioned characteristic, then, one category of personal names is distinguished from the other, which might (but need not) be explained in terms of a distinction between deliverer and recipient, between individual transactions, or the like.¹³ A second, much more conclusive

⁹ Faucounau 1977: 232; 237, Fig. 1; Nahm 1981: 53, Abb. 1; 56, Abb. 3; 59. Cf. Hiller 1985: 84-85 (on Faucounau 1977), 85-86 (on Saporetti 1976); 86 (on Nahm 1981).

¹⁰ Hiller 1985: 86; cf. Gröndahl 1967: 94, s.v. ʿl; 157, s.v. *mlk*.

¹¹ Faucounau 1977: 233; Hiller 1985: 85; cf. Gröndahl 1967: 102, s.v. ʾš “man”; 114, s.v. *b ʿ*.

¹² Nahm 1981: 56, Abb. 3; 62; Hiller 1985: 86; cf. Gröndahl 1967: 195, s.v. *špš* “sun”; 157, s.v. *mlk*. Note that the omission of syllable-final *m* is in agreement with the rule in Linear B according to which syllable-final liquids, nasals, and sibilants are omitted from the spelling, see Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 45.

¹³ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 59-60.

indication for the economic nature of the tablet is provided by the section at the very end of the text. As rightly observed by Best, this section consists of a number and three indications of a product in abbreviation.¹⁴

In addition to this analytical work, Best elaborated the paleographic evidence and proposed some further readings of personal names. Most important in this connection is his discovery of non-Semitic names alongside Semitic ones. Thus he compared the sequence *a-ta-ta-* (with signs nos. 4 *ta* and 102 *a* for their correspondence to, respectively, Cretan Linear A L30 or AB01 and L52 or AB08 of similar value)¹⁵ to the Semitic onomastic element *hdd* or *ʾdd* “(H)addu”.¹⁶ As opposed to this, he explained the combination *a-ka-mi* (with signs nos. 25 *ka* and 87 *mi* for their correspondence to, respectively, Cretan Linear L29 or AB77 and L76 or AB73 of the same value)¹⁷ and *a-pe-sa* (with no. 74 *pe* for its correspondence to Cretan Linear L01 or AB56 of similar value)¹⁸ as reflexes of the Trojan heroic name *Akamas* and the western Anatolian place-name *Ephesos*.¹⁹ If these readings are integrated into the frame of the punctuation, it appears that the two non-Semitic names are found together in the first section of the text, covering lines 1-2, whereas the next two sections, covering lines 3 and 4-7, respectively, are characterized by Semitic names. From this observation, Best drew the

¹⁴ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 63; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 131.

¹⁵ So also Masson, Saporetti, Faucounau, and Nahm, see Hiller 1985: 62-65, Abb. 1; 75-76, Abb. 13.

¹⁶ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 62; the entire combination, reading *a-ta-ta-ne* (with no. 96 *ne*, see below), may well be compared to the hypercoristic *Adadānu*, see Gröndahl 1967: 133, s.v. *hdd*.

¹⁷ With respect to no. 25: so also Saporetti, Faucounau, and Nahm, see Hiller 1985: 75, Abb. 13; the identification of no. 87 is first proposed by Best in Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100, Fig. 2, but compare Nahm 1981: 54, Abb. 2 on the nearly identical no. 91.

¹⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 99, Fig. 1.

¹⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 62; note, however, that the related Phrygian place-name *Akamantion* should warn us against the classification of *Akamas* as a Greek personal name. For the mention of Ephesos in Hittite cuneiform texts, see del Monte & Tischler 1978: 26-27, s.v. *Apaša*.

conclusion that the first section likely records a foreign deliverer and that the next sections present Ugaritic recipients.²⁰

In my own work on Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, tablet 20.25 has thus far only been mentioned in passing. Two notions expressed in this earlier work deserve attention here. The first concerns the meaning of the kinship term *pi-ni* = Semitic *bn* “son”. In the first section of the text this term—be it while prefixed by *a-ti-* (with no. 23 *ti* for its correspondence to Cretan Linear L78 or AB37 of the same value)²¹ which may reasonably be explained as a reflex of Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) **éti* “and”²²—is associated with the toponym *a-pe-sa* “Ephesos” instead of a personal name. This association recalls the use of the kinship term *bn* in alphabetic cuneiform texts from Ugarit, where it frequently turns up in combination with ethnic adjectives in expressions like *bn altn*, *bn lky*, *bn msry*, *bn srym*, etc., indicating an official representative of, respectively, the Alasians, the Lycians, the Egyptians, and the Tyrians.²³ In the light of this parallelism, I think that *pi-ni* may very well denote a functionary in our text, too.²⁴ The second remark worth recalling here has a bearing on the element *-pi* attached to the place-name *a-pe-sa* in line 2. That this element forms a separate entity is clearly indicated by its suffixation to the MN *a-ka-mi* when this recurs in line 15.²⁵ From a structural point of view, it seems to be positioned in between the names of deliverer and recipients. For this reason it may plausibly be explained as a transaction term. If this inference is correct, comparison to the transaction term *PI* in Cretan Linear A texts recommends itself.²⁶ In

²⁰ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 62; note, however, that the reconstruction of the royal dynasty of Ugarit leaves no room for the identification of *Išiba ‘al* as a local ruler, see Freu 2006: 259-260.

²¹ So also E. Masson, Faucounau, and Nahm, see Hiller 1985: 62, Abb. 1; 75, Abb. 13.

²² Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 287, note 938; cf. Pokorny 1959: 344.

²³ Gordon 1955: glossary, s.v. *bn* (= no. 333), and the ethnics *altn* (= no. 145), *msry* (= no. 115), and *srym* (= no. 1649); for *bn lky*, see Astour 1964: 194. Note that Gordon 1955: glossary, s.v. *bn* rightly remarks its interchange with the occupational term *māru* “guild master”; cf. Rainey’s (1963: 319) reference to the *mārū Ura* “sons (also = citizens) of Ura”.

²⁴ Woudhuizen 1992: 111.

²⁵ Cf. Best’s analysis of this element in Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 62; but note that he wrongly identifies it with the Greek locative in *-phi*.

²⁶ Woudhuizen 2016: 232; cf. Meijer 1980: 68 (HT 27a; 89).

any case, there can be little doubt that we are dealing here with an abbreviation of the Luwian hieroglyphic transaction terms in the form of forms of the verb *piya-* “to give” as attested for the texts on the Kululu lead strips.²⁷

2. WRITING & GRID

The text of tablet RS 20.25 consists of 19 lines in sum, 11 of which are written on the front side and 8 on the back (see Fig. 13). All these lines clearly run in left-to-right direction of writing because the indent on the left is regular and the one on the right irregular.²⁸ The only exception to this rule is formed by the final part of line 14, which, for the apparent lack of space, turns downwards in boustrophedon-like manner.²⁹

The signs are drawn with confidence (the hallmark of an experienced scribal hand) and, apart from some uncertainties caused by damaged spots, their reading is therefore reasonably secure. The number of sign occurrences distributed over both sides of the tablet adds up to a total of 160.³⁰ Among this total number of sign occurrences there can be distinguished 35 individual signs.³¹ In the order of their numbering according to the system as developed by E. Masson, and with their frequency indicated in square brackets, these signs are: nos. 1 [1x], 2 [2x], 4 [7x], 6 [6x], 9 [10x], 19 [2x], 22 [2x], 23 [4x], 25 [6x], 27 [1x], 28 [12x], 35 [2x], 37 [3x], 38 [3x], 40 [3x], 43 [10x], 51 [18x], 57 [6x], 58 [3x], 69 [1x], 70 [5x], 71 [5x], 73 [3x], 74 [2x], 75 [3x], 87 [3x], 91 [1x], 92 [3x], 95 [1x], 96 [5x], 100 [11x],

²⁷ Hawkins 2000: 508-511.

²⁸ E. Masson 1974: 30; Hiller 1985: 79; cf. our remark above on the incurved bar being at the end of the line.

²⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 63; note that this solution causes the lowering of the final part of line 15.

³⁰ E. Masson 1974: 35, Fig. 18 records a total number of 155 sign occurrences, but she purposely omits a few signs of problematic reading, like the one added later as a correction to the first combination of line 12 (= no. 23) and the partly damaged fourth and seventh sign of line 17 (= no. 43 [2x]); she further overlooks one instance each of nos. 43, 51, and 74, and wrongly adds an instance of no. 102.

³¹ E. Masson 1974: 35, Fig. 18 presents a total number of 36 individual signs, the difference being caused by the fact that she takes the second sign of line 10 for no. 8 instead of no. 6.

102 [9x], 103 [1x], 104 [5x], 105 [1x] (see Table XI).³² In some cases, however, the forms are so closely related to each other that we are dealing with mere writing variants of one and the same sign. This applies to the pairs nos. 1/2, 35/37, 69/71, 87/91, and 102/103.³³ As a consequence, the signary may actually consist of no more than 30 individual signs.

Side A

1. 102-25-87/51-28/43-9
2. 102-23-51-28/102-74-57-51.
3. 104-58-6-9.
4. 102-2-100/43-25-51-40
5. 102-4-4-96/51-28/4-71-100
6. 104-71-6-23/51-28/38-105-**25**-58
7. 51-28/38-35-100.
8. 103-35-57-51/51-28/25-51-9
9. 37-4-100.104-9-71-100/37-71-100-40
10. 4-**6**-100/51-28/104-9-4-43-96
11. 102-2-71-100/51-28/92-28-95-100

Side B

12. 19-87-73-96-**23**/25-6-100-40
13. 22-57-75-51
14. 104-9-43-9-70/51-28/19-91-73-23
15. 102-25-87-51/51-28/43-70
16. 38-1-4-57-9/102-75-51-43-57-22-9
17. 102-74-75-**43**/27-69/**43**-70///6-96-37
18. 73-92-100/51-28/43-70
19. 57-58-43-9-70/92//96/6

Table XI. Text in transliteration according to numbers (main points of divergence with E. Masson's reading indicated in bold type).

³² Note that the only remaining discrepancy with E. Masson's count concerns the identification of the ninth sign in line 6 as no. 25 instead of no. 23.

³³ The pairs nos. 1/2 and 69/71 are both distinguished by the same device, viz. two symmetrically added vertical strokes. Since these pairs, in contrast to the three other ones, are not attested for texts from Cyprus, the device in question may well be considered a peculiarity of the scribe.

In the introduction we have seen how in earlier studies the values of 15 signs have been reasonably fixed on the basis of the combined use of internal and external evidence. If we are right in our analysis of the writing variants, this means that we are already halfway in clarifying the entire signary. These 15 signs fall into three categories. The first category consists of signs with a parallel in both Cretan Linear A and the Cyprian Syllabary. This concerns nos. 4 *ta*, 6 *pa*, 23 *ti*, 25 *ka*, 43 *ma*, 57 *sa*, 70 *ki*, 87/91 *mi*, 102/103 *a*, and 104 *i* (see Fig. 14). The second is formed by signs with a parallel either in Cretan Linear or the Cyprian Syllabary. This affects nos. 9 *li*, 51 *pi*, 58 *si*, and 74 *pe* (see Fig. 15). The third category, finally, consists of signs without a counterpart in any of the related linear scripts. This has a bearing on one sign only, no. 28 *ni*.³⁴

In previous studies, some valuable suggestions have also been put forward concerning the determination of the values of the remaining part of the signary (= 15 signs if our analysis of the writing variants is correct). Thus E. Masson supplemented an extra instance to our first category by convincingly comparing no. 95 to, on the one hand, Cretan Linear L75 or AB54 *wa* and, on the other hand, Cyprian Syllabic *wa*.³⁵ Accordingly, this category now adds up to a total number of 11 (see Fig. 14).

The same author also added an extra instance to our second category by recognizing no. 38 as a forerunner of Cyprian Syllabic *u*.³⁶ Other scholars soon followed and likewise added some extra examples to our second category. First, Claudio Saporetti plausibly correlated nos. 105 and 1[2] to, respectively, Cretan Linear B *53 *ri* and Cyprian Syllabic *we*.³⁷

³⁴ Meriggi 1973: 132, note 15 plausibly relates no. 28 to the Cretan hieroglyphic “arrow” (E13 or CHIC049), the second element of the “child”-formula. For other signs of Cretan hieroglyphic origin, see chapter 1, p. 23, esp. Fig. 4 above and notes 48 and 49 below.

³⁵ E. Masson 1974: 44, 46; Hiller 1985: 83. So also Saporetti, Faucounau, and Nahm (who leaves out the Cyprian Syllabic counterpart, though, see Hiller 1985: 76, Abb. 13).

³⁶ E. Masson 1971: 39; cf. Hiller 1985: 76, Abb. 13.

³⁷ See Hiller 1985: 75-76, Abb. 13. For the last mentioned identification, so also Nahm 1981: 54, Abb. 2.

		Linear A	Linear B	CM	CS
4	ta				
6	pa				
23	ti				
25	ka				
43	ma				
57	sa				
70	ki				
87/ 91	mi				
95	wa				
102	a				
104	i				

Fig. 14. Category I: Signs with a cognate in both classes of related scripts.

		Linear A	Linear B	CM	CS
58	si ₁				
73	ya				
74	pe				
100/ 105	ri				
1	we ₁				
9	li				
19	la				
22	we				
37	wa ₁				
38	u				
51	pi				
75	mu				

Fig. 15. Category II: Signs with a cognate in only one of the two classes of related scripts.

Then, Best proposed the correspondence of nos. 22, 35/37, and 75 to Cyprian Syllabic equivalents representing, respectively, the values *we*, *wi*, and *mu*.³⁸ He further suggested (implicitly) to consider no. 100 as a stylized variant of the otherwise extremely rare no. 105 *ri*, and to correlate it likewise with Linear B *53.³⁹ Finally, I myself adduced the identification of nos. 19 and 73 as variants of, respectively, nos. 89/90 and 72. The two signs last mentioned had already received a plausible explanation in the light of their similarity to, respectively, Cyprian Syllabic *la*⁴⁰ and Cretan Linear L32 or AB57 *ya*.⁴¹ Of these identifications, the first one is, at least in my opinion, self-evident and needs no further comment. As regards to the second one, I pointed out that, because of the development of no. 69 (see discussion below), no. 72 had to be adapted in order to remain recognizable as a separate sign and therefore had been graphically doubled.⁴² All in all, our second category now adds up to a total of 13 (see Fig. 15).

Also with respect to our third category some further instances have been put forward. Thus Best managed to trace back convincingly the origin of no. 69[/71] to an Akkadian ancestor representing the value *iš*, which, under consideration of Cypro-Minoan writing principles, enabled him to assign to it the value *si*.⁴³ He also rightly analyzed nos. 92 and 96 as variants of, respectively, nos. 87/91 and 8 characterized by the typical Cyprian device of adding extra strokes to existing signs for the extension of the *e*-series, which (considering the correspondence of no. 8 to Cretan Linear L26 or AB06 *na*)⁴⁴ determines their value as, respectively, *me* and *ne*.⁴⁵ Accordingly, the

³⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 118; 101-103, Figs. 5-6; 110, Fig. 2. For our preference of the value *mu* instead of *mo*, see Best's remarks (Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 98) on the priority of the Cretan Linear A *u*-series over the Greek *o*-series.

³⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 59.

⁴⁰ So Best in Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100, Fig. 2.

⁴¹ So Saporetti and Nahm, see Hiller 1985: 76, Abb. 13.

⁴² See chapter 2, pp. 36 and 38, Fig. 7 above.

⁴³ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 118, Fig. 12. Note that in comparison to its original form (no. 114) as attested for an inscription on a miniature bronze ingot from Enkomi (# 175), no. 69 has been subject to a process of simplification during which, as hinted at in the above, it tended to merge with no. 72.

⁴⁴ So Saporetti, Faucounau, and Nahm, see Hiller 1985: 75, Abb. 13.

⁴⁵ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 101; 131; see also chapter 2, pp. 31-32 above.

category of signs without a parallel in the related linear scripts now adds up to a total of 4.

This leaves us with 2 residual signs of which the value needs to be recovered from oblivion, namely nos. 27 and 40. Of these signs, the first is often assumed to be related to Cyprian Syllabic *si* and the second usually explained in terms of a suffix expressing the Semitic ethnic morpheme *-y*.⁴⁶ Although attractive at first sight, both solutions turn out to be untenable in the long run. As has been shown earlier, there are already two signs expressing the value *si*, which renders the identification of no. 27 as such highly suspect. Furthermore, a closer look at the use of no. 40 reveals that this sign never turns up in environments where, in the light of the relevant Ugaritic cuneiform parallels, we would expect it, namely: *in combinations following the word pi-ni*. Consequently, we have to take alternative options into consideration.

With three occurrences in our text, no. 40 obviously offers the best prospects for internal clues as to its interpretation. In all these three cases the sign takes combination-final position, for which reason its original analysis as a suffix or ending still applies. As to the question which suffix or ending it indicates, one combination, *wa₁-si-ri-40* in line 9, may be of special interest. This bears a striking resemblance to the Luwian hieroglyphic adverb ^{WASU}*wasar(i)tia* “out of gratitude”, also attested in variant writing *wasiriti₁* for line 5 of the text on the Kalavassos seal.⁴⁷ If this equation holds water, we may plausibly infer that no. 40 expresses the ablative singular ending *-ti* and may be transliterated, in contradistinction of no. 23 *ti*, as *ti₁*.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the material with respect to no. 27 is far too scanty to allow for any reliable internal clues as to its interpretation. The sign occurs only once in our text, namely in the combination 27-69 of line 17.

⁴⁶ E. Masson 1974: 45; cf. Hiller 1985: 83.

⁴⁷ See chapter 3, p. 83 above (with no. 21 for *ti₁*).

⁴⁸ From a paleographic point of view, no. 40 may well be related to the Cretan hieroglyphic “eye” sign (E5 or CHIC 005), which likewise renders the value *ti* and which we have already come across in our discussion of the earliest tablet from Enkomi in chapter 1, see esp. Fig. 3 (also assigned the value *ti₁*).

	a	e	i	u
	𐎠		𐎡	𐎢
y	𐎣			
k	𐎤		𐎥	
l	𐎦		𐎧	
m	𐎨	𐎩	𐎪	𐎫
n		𐎬	𐎭	
p	𐎮	𐎯	𐎰	
r			𐎱 𐎲	
s	𐎴		𐎵 𐎶	
t	𐎸		𐎹 𐎺	
w	𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿	𐏀 𐏁		
z			𐏃	

punctuation 𐎠, 𐎡, 𐎢 (or vice versa)

Fig. 16. Grid of the syllabary on tablet RS 20.25.

Therefore, we have to be content with the observation that, for its position in the structure of the text (see below), this combination may well be of similar nature as the by now familiar occupational term *pi-ni*.⁴⁹

The foregoing remarks on the signary are summarized in a grid (see Fig. 16).

3. STRUCTURE & LANGUAGE

In the introduction we have seen that tablet RS 20.25 is of economic nature and that its first section records transactions between a foreign deliverer and local Ugaritic recipients. Working from these findings, we will now try to further unravel the contents of the text and clarify remaining linguistic features. To this aim, I have structurally analyzed the text and divided it into categories of information. In doing so, I have focused my attention on the transaction term *PI*, which appears twice in the text on the front side and three times in that on the back. With this device, namely, it is possible to distinguish the delivering party from that of the recipients. On the basis of this analysis, then, it appears that some of the information falls outside the scope of the transactions proper and must be considered as subsidiary in nature. This applies most obviously to the combinations in the first line of the text on the back side, which for their position may well function as a separate heading. All in all, we arrive at the following categories of information (see Table XII).

- (1) heading, indicating the places of action;
- (2) name or indication of deliverers, which is sometimes further specified by
- (3) additional qualifications;
- (4) transaction term;

⁴⁹ From a paleographic point of view, no. 27 may well be compared to the Cretan hieroglyphic “dagger” sign (E15 or CHIC051), which renders the values *ZITI* (logographic), *zí* (syllabic), see Woudhuizen 2016: 102, Fig. 25. At any rate, this comparison fits the structural alignment of the combination 27-69 with the occupational term *pi-ni* as accordingly this combination denotes a derivative of the Luwian titular expression *ziti-* “man (in the sense of an official)”—a near equivalent of Semitic *binu*, *māru*, etc.

lines	1. location	2. deliverer	3. qualification
Side A			
1-7	<i>awe,ri makapiti₁</i>	<i>Akami</i>	<i>pini Mali ati pini Apesa</i>
8-11		<i>Wa,sa</i>	<i>pini kapili wa,tari</i>
Side B			
12	<i>Lamiyaneti kapariti₁</i>		
13-14		<i>Wesa</i>	<i>-mu</i>
15-16		<i>Akami</i>	
16-17		<i>amu</i>	
18			
19			

Table XII. Structural analysis of the text on tablet RS 20.25.

4. transact. term	5. recipient	6. qualification	7. number	8. product
<i>PI</i>	<i>Isi₁pali</i>			
	<i>Atatane</i>	<i>pini tasiri</i>		
	<i>Isipati</i>	<i>pini uri₁kasi₁</i>		
		<i>pini uwa₁ri</i>		
<i>PI</i>	<i>ilisiri wa₁siriti₁</i>			
	<i>Tapari</i>	<i>pini ilitamane</i>		
	<i>Awesiri</i>	<i>pini meniwari</i>		
<i>PI</i>	<i>Ilimaliki</i>	<i>pini Lamiyati</i>		
<i>PI</i>	<i>Uwe₁tasali</i>	<i>pini maki</i>		
<i>PI</i>	<i>Masaweli Apemu -ma</i>	<i>zitisi maki</i>	3	<i>PA, NE, WA₁</i>
	<i>Yameri</i>	<i>pini maki</i>		
	<i>Sasi₁maliki</i>		2	<i>ME, NE, PA</i>

Table XII (continued).

(5) name or indication of the recipients, which in most instances is further specified by

(6) additional qualifications;

(7) numbers, associated with

(8) indication of products in abbreviation.

In the discussion of these categories which follows below, we will for brevity's sake focus our attention on those elements which so far have not received sufficient treatment.

Category 1

The first entry which comes into consideration as a heading consists of the sequence *lamiyaneti kapariti*₁ in line 12. If we are right in our determination of the value of sign no. 40, both words may well be characterized by graphic variants of the same ending *-ti*. The root of the first word reoccurs later on in the text, be it without the penultimate syllable *-ne-*. From this observation, we may infer that the basic root is indeed *lamiya-*. The latter inference enables us to bring about a connection with the Anatolian place-name *Lamiya*, situated, just like Ura, in the coastal borderzone between the Hittite provinces of Kizzuwatna and Tarkhunta.⁵⁰ Accordingly, the ending *-ti* may find meaningful explanation as an indication of the locative singular, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti* for the same function,⁵¹ and the element *-ne-* as an adjectival morpheme, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na-* for the same function.⁵² Anyhow, in this manner we arrive at a type of formation similar to the one attested for the heading of the clay cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos in Cyprus, which consists of the locative of an adjectival derivative of the place-name Amathus.⁵³ The root of the second word, *kapari-*, strikingly recalls, on the one hand, Semitic *ḥāpiru*, a much discussed term

⁵⁰ Del Monte & Tischler 1978: 242; the exact location of *Lamiya* is uncertain, but, for the apparent relationship in name, often thought to be situated along the banks of the river *Lamos*, cf. Smit 1990-1: 114.

⁵¹ Woudhuizen 2015a: 41; 247.

⁵² As in *Masàkana-* “Muskian” and *Ḫiāwana-* “Akhaian”, see Woudhuizen 2015a: 47 and 267, respectively.

⁵³ Enkomi inv. nr. 19.10 (# 097), line 1: *Umiatisiti*; Kalavassos K-AD 389 (# 098), line 12: *Umitisiti*. See chapters 2 and 3 above.

indicative of some kind of social class,⁵⁴ and, on the other hand, Hittite *ḥappiri*- “trading post, market town” and related forms with a bearing on trade activities.⁵⁵ The closest comparable evidence, however, is provided by Luwian hieroglyphic *kapar*- “merchant” as attested for one of the letters on lead strips from Assur dating to the 8th century BC.⁵⁶ On account of these identifications, then, *kapari*- may plausibly be suggested to specify a certain part of Lamiya like its market or commercial district.⁵⁷

The second entity which comes into consideration as a heading is the sequence *awe₁ri makapiti₁* in line 4. Of these two words, the first may be related to Hittite *awari*- or *auri*- “watchtower, frontier outpost”.⁵⁸ As opposed to this, the second word rather appears to be a Semitic formation, which, on the analogy of *bīt maḥṭri* “market, stall”, may perhaps be explained as a compound of *maḥāru* “to accept values, staples, etc.” with *bīt* “house”.⁵⁹ If this suggestion holds good, the dental of its final syllable forms part of the stem, and therefore both words are likely to be in the same case, no doubt the dative singular in *-i* (which in Hittite also functions for the expression of the locative singular).⁶⁰ In principle, it is possible that with this heading reference is made to the commercial district of the town of Ugarit. But such a scenario seems to collide with its positioning *after* the first transaction. The scribe has omitted a *main* heading and the two indications of locality which we have just distinguished are in fact *subheadings*. For this reason the location of the first transaction is implied, which means that it can only have taken place in the town of

⁵⁴ AHW, s.v. *ḥapiru(m)*; cf. CAD, s.v. *ḥāpiru* (connects this form with Hittite and Luwian *ḥappiri*-).

⁵⁵ Tischler 1983, s.v. *ḥappira/i*-; Puhvel 1991: 125-128 (considers the root *ḥappar*- of Indo-European origin and, indirectly, connects Greek *kapelos*); cf. Klengel 1979: 70, esp. note 9.

⁵⁶ Woudhuizen 2015a: 126-127; 273.

⁵⁷ With *ḥāpirū*-towns mentioned in both Hittite and Ugaritic texts (cf. Rainey 1963: 317, note 42) reference is probably made not to individual towns, but to commercial districts of existing towns; cf. Rainey 1963: 319 (commercial district of Ugarit) and Klengel 1979: 72 (commercial districts of Khattusa).

⁵⁸ Friedrich 1991, s.v.; cf. Klengel 1979: 72 for the use of the adjective *auriya*- in trade context.

⁵⁹ AHW, s.v. *maḥāru(m)*; *bītu(m)*; cf. CAD, s.v. *maḥāru*; *bītu*. For the omission of syllable-final *r*, cf. our remark in note 12 above.

⁶⁰ Friedrich 1960: 43.

Ugarit itself. *Mutatis mutandis*, all transactions following the subheadings must have taken place elsewhere. Now, the expression “entrepôt of the frontier outpost” is of a rather generic type and therefore it cannot be pinpointed with certainty to a specific locality. In the light of the context, however, a location along the route from Ugarit to Lamiya seems to be required, in which case the site of Ras Bassit, a coastal outpost on the northern border of the kingdom of Ugarit, recommends itself (see Fig. 18).

Categories 2-3

In the introduction above, we have already mentioned the name of the first deliverer, Akamas, its association with the western Anatolian place-name Ephesos, and its recurrence later on in the text. The personal name Akamas is frequently attested in Cypro-Minoan texts.⁶¹ In one instance, on the clay cylinder seal from Enkomi, it likewise occurs in direct association with the place-name Ephesos.⁶² The commercial activities of the Trojan leader in the waters around Cyprus and along the coast of North Syria even seem to have their reflection in the archaeological record, as some Trojan grey ware has been found in late 13th and early 12th century BC layers at Enkomi and Ugarit.⁶³ If so, this will provide us with an important clue as to the dating of these activities. At any rate, in lines 1-2 Akamas is not only staged as the representative of Ephesos, but also, and in the first place, of Malos, a locality in the Troad.⁶⁴

The indication of the second deliverer, *Wa₁sa*, is likely to be identified as a personal name as well. Like Akamas, this name recurs in the text on the back side, be it in graphic variant *Wesa*. The vowel *a* which precedes this personal name when it occurs for the first time in line 8 can positively be identified as a sentence introductory particle, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *à-* for the same function.⁶⁵ In its second occurrence this person singles himself out as the scribe by the nominative of the enclitic pronoun of the 1st person singular *-mu* “I”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mu* for the same function.

⁶¹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53-64.

⁶² Enkomi inv. nr. 19.10 (# 097), lines 15-17: *Akamu Apesikaasi* “Akamas, representative of Ephesos”. See chapter 2 above.

⁶³ Buchholz 1973: 182-184; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53; 64.

⁶⁴ Cramer 1971: 88; cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 287, note 938.

⁶⁵ Woudhuizen 2015a: 251.

It logically follows from this observation that the stressed variant of the same pronoun, *amu*, which is used as an indication of a deliverer in the final transactions, refers back to the scribe *Wa₁sa* or *Wesa*.⁶⁶ As we have seen in the discussion of the texts on the clay cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos, the same device is used here by the scribes to reveal their identity.⁶⁷ In these latter texts, moreover, only two members of the delivering party are further specified by additional qualifications, namely the main deliverer⁶⁸ and his right-hand man, the scribe. Against this backdrop, our analysis of *Wa₁sa* and *Wesa* as mere graphic variants of the same personal name receives substantial emphasis from the observation that, alongside Akamas, only the person of the scribe is further specified by an extensive formula. It may safely be concluded, then, that the delivering party consists of no more than two persons, the main deliverer Akamas and his right-hand man, the scribe Wasas (or Wasas).

The name Wasas is further specified by a formula consisting of the pseudo-kinship term *pini* in combination with two other words, *kapili* and *wa₁tari*. Of these, the second likely constitutes a cognate of Eteo-Cyprian *watori* and Lycian *wedr-* “town”.⁶⁹ In contrast to this, the first seems rather to be linked up with Semitic *kāpilu*, an occupational term designating a craftsman in the cloth industry.⁷⁰ In sum, this leads us to the interpretation that the scribe Wasas acts as a representative of the municipal cloth industry. Note that within the frame of our analysis of the indications of locality in the previous section, the word *wa₁tari* can only bear reference to the town of Ugarit.

⁶⁶ Woudhuizen 2015a: 247.

⁶⁷ Enkomi inv. nr. 19.10 (# 097), lines 9-10: *tamika Likik(a) emu* “I, trader from Lycia”, referring back to the deliverer Pikhas in the preceding transaction; Kalavassos K-AD 389 (# 098), line 6: *emu Sanema* “I, Sanemas”. See chapters 2 and 3.

⁶⁸ Enkomi inv. nr. 19.10 (# 097), lines 24-25: *Mane<si>kasi Samuri* “on behalf of the Samian, representative of the Maionians”; Kalavassos K-AD 389, lines 7-8: *Remi taasa wetuti wasaka* “on behalf of Remus, of this for the town lord”. See chapters 2 and 3.

⁶⁹ Woudhuizen 2013: 195.

⁷⁰ AHW, s.v. *kāpilu* (eine Lederschnur?); CAD, s.v. *kāpilu* (a craftsman concerning the manufacture of cloth).

A final question which needs to be addressed here is whether the names of the two deliverers, which each end in a different vowel, are both in the same case. Under consideration of the fact that, just like in Cretan Linear and Luwian hieroglyphic in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition, the nominative singular ending of the communal gender *-s* is omitted from the spelling, the form *Wa₁sa* or *Wesa* likely confronts us with a nominative singular of the communal gender of the *a*-stems. A similar analysis, however, does not apply to *Akami*, because, in the light of the parallels, *Akamu* is the expected form of the nominative.⁷¹ As a consequence, it lies at hand that *Akami* renders the dative singular in *-i* and that the scribe acts as an intermediary *on behalf of* this main deliverer. As we have noted in the previous chapter, this same distinction is used by the scribe of the text on the Kalavassos cylinder seal.

Category 4

In the introduction above we have already identified the element *PI* as a transaction term and noted its correspondence to a counterpart in Linear A. It is interesting to add here that a similar category of words is also attested for the Cypro-Minoan texts on the clay cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos. Of these text, the first one bears testimony of the transaction term *te-lu* and its abbreviation *te*, which likewise correspond to counterparts in Linear A. The second, on the other hand, is characterized in this respect by *pimise*, the nominative singular of the communal gender in *-se* of the participle of the middle-passive in *-mi-* of the verbal root *pi-*. As we have seen in the previous chapters, *te-lu* can be traced back to Semitic *tēlû* “delivery”, whereas *pi-* originates from the Luwian hieroglyphic verb *pi(ya)-* “to give”, forms of which function as transaction term in the texts on the Kululu lead strips.⁷²

Categories 5-6

With respect to the category of recipients and their qualifications we have already distinguished four Semitic personal names, namely: Isibaal, Adadanu, Ilimalik, and Samsimalik. Apart from this, we also came across one Luwian adverb, *wa₁siriti₁* “out of gratitude”.

⁷¹ Enkomi inv. nr. 1687 (# 208), line 15: *Akamu Eleki nukar-ura tupata -mu* “Akamas from Ilion, the great enemy, defeated me”. See chapter 5.

⁷² Hawkins 2000: 508-511.

Among the remaining indications, it is possible to trace yet some more Semitic personal names. Thus *Isipati* likely bears the testimony of the Semitic onomastic element *šipaṭ* “to judge”.⁷³ If so, we are probably dealing here with a hypercoristic of *Šipaṭba ʿal*. This is the name of one of the foremost functionaries of the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi II (c. 1210-1192 BC), under whom he served as ^{GAL}*kâri* “chef du quai” (sic!).⁷⁴ In this capacity, he is a near colleague of the aforesaid Ilimalik or Ilimilku (= /Ilmlk/), whose prominent position we have already duly stressed in the introduction above.⁷⁵ Needless to say that the combined mention of these two functionaries serves as a valuable dating criterion of our text (see next section). Yet another Semitic personal name may be provided by *Yameri*, which recalls Amorite *Yamur* and Hebrew *Yemar*.⁷⁶

Alongside these Semitic ones, however, there can also be found personal names of definite Anatolian background, like *Tapari*, *Masaweli*, and *Apemu*, which are characterized by, respectively, the Luwian onomastic elements *tapar-* “to rule”,⁷⁷ *masa(na)-* “god”,⁷⁸ and *mu(wa)-* “strength”.⁷⁹ The two names last mentioned occur, closely associated by the conjunction *-ma* “and” corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ma* for the same function,⁸⁰ in the context of the transactions situated at Lamiya. In view of this context, it is interesting to note that their corresponding Luwian hieroglyphic forms, *Masa(na)walas*⁸¹ and *Apamu(wa)s*, are exclusively attested for a seal impression and seal from Tarsos—no doubt the capital of the region to which Lamiya belongs (see Fig. 17). Therefore, it seems likely that we are actually confronted here with bigraphic evidence of the Hittite imperial officials in question!

⁷³ Gröndahl 1967: 199-200, s.v. *tpṭ*.

⁷⁴ Freu 2006: 146; 152-253; 191 (offers the form *Siptiba ʿal*).

⁷⁵ Freu 2006: 152; cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 329, note ad p. 226.

⁷⁶ Gröndahl 1967: 59, 160, s.v. *mrr*.

⁷⁷ Laroche 1966: see 105, sub no. 685 *Labarna* for the related Hittite *Tabarna*.

⁷⁸ Laroche 1966: 115-116, nos. 770-777.

⁷⁹ Laroche 1966: 122-124, nos. 832-840; see esp. 35, no. 99 (*Á-pa-MUWA*).

⁸⁰ Woudhuizen 2015a: 29 (Südburg § 17), 47; cf. Enkomi inv. nr. 19.10 (# 097), lines 17-18: *Miwena/tuwe Pamaṭti -ma* “to Miwena/tus and Ba ʿam”.

⁸¹ Note that LH *207 is a ligature of *360 *MASA(NA)* “god” with “mountain”, *WANTI* (logographic), *wa*₄ (syllabic), cf. Laroche 1960: 112-114.

There are three more indications of recipients which thus far have not received proper treatment. Of these, *Awesiri* and *Uwe₁tasali* appear to be personal names as well, even though such identification cannot be supported by comparative data. It is questionable, however, whether the same identification applies to *ilisiri*, which precedes the Luwian adverb *wa₁siriti₁* “out of gratitude”. In the text on the clay cylinder seal from Kalavassos (K-AD 389) this adverb occurs in the context of a delivery of wine to the goddess Artemis, which, as a kind of advertising gift to keep up the good relations with the local authorities, obviously falls outside the scope of the commercial transactions *sensu stricto* (see chapter 3 above, discussion of lines 3-5). On the basis of this analogy, then, *ilisiri* is no doubt likewise to be interpreted as a divine name. If so, in view of the context of the transaction in question in a frontier outpost along the northern border of the kingdom of Ugarit, a compound of Semitic *il* “god” with a reference to the geographic name “Syria” (cf. the Linear B ethnic *su-ri-jo* “Syrian” in KN X 5962),⁸² in short: “the Syrian god”, lies at hand.

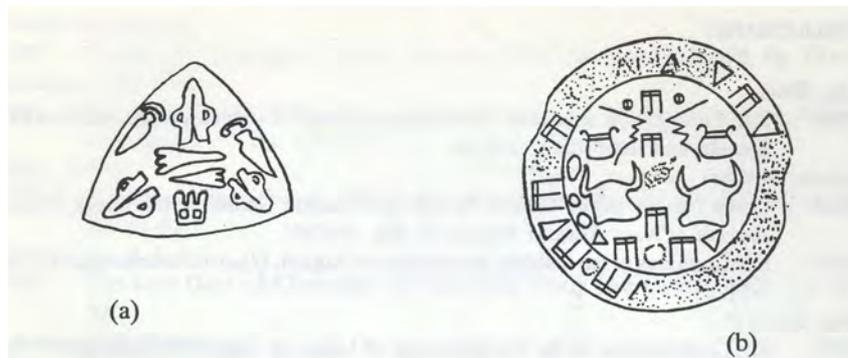


Fig. 17. Seal impression and seal of Hittite imperial functionaries found at Tarsos: (a) scribe and year-lord *Masa(na)walas*, (b) scribe *Apamu(wa)s* (Gelb 1956: nos. 39 and 48).

As far as endings are concerned, it deserves our attention that 10 out of the total of 12 indications of recipients are characterized by the final vowel *i*. Accordingly, these forms may safely be assumed to

⁸² Ventris & Chadwick 1973: glossary, s.v.

render the dative singular, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-i* and Lycian *-i* for the same function.⁸³

Most recipients are further specified by the pseudo-kinship term *pini* and some other words following it. With respect to these specifications we have already noted in the preceding that the form *ZITisi* likely designates an occupational term as well. Furthermore, we have duly remarked that *Lamiyati* is a locative singular in *-ti* of the place-name Lamiya. To these identifications it might be added that *maki* probably corresponds to Semitic *mākisu* “customs collector”.⁸⁴ Furthermore, *uwa₁ri* may well come into consideration as a writing variant of *awe₁ri* “frontier outpost”.

All in all, this leaves us with four residual entries, *tasiri*, *uri₁kasi*, *ilitamane*, and *meniwari*, which in spite of some familiar looking elements like *ili-*, *siri-*, and *uri-*, remain unclear for the apparent lack of comparative data.⁸⁵

Categories 7-8

In the introduction we have already pointed out that the final section of the text consists of a number and three indications of a product in abbreviation. We may add here that yet another section, composed of a number and, again, three indications of a product in abbreviation, is traceable at the end of line 17. Of the numbers it is interesting to note that these correlate with the number of transactions preceding them. Thus the number 3 in line 17 is preceded by *three* of the total of five transactions situated at Lamiya, and the number 2 in line 19 likewise so by the remaining *two* of these transactions. In other words: it looks as if, for brevity’s sake, the scribe has grouped together transactions dealing with the same products and added up the amounts of standard units involved. The question remains why the categories of numbers and products in abbreviation are only present in the text at the back

⁸³ Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247; Melchert 2004: x.

⁸⁴ AHW, s.v. *mākisu(m)*; cf. CAD, s.v. *mākisu*; see also Rainey 1963: 316. For the omission of the final syllable *su*, cf. the correspondence of *tamika* from the text on the Enkomi clay cylinder seal to Akkadian *tamkāru* “trader”.

⁸⁵ Within the frame of our analysis of the indications of locality, it is possible that with the second element of the compound *uri₁kasi* reference is made to Mount Kasios (= Akkadian ^{HUR.SAG}*Ḫazi*), situated north of Ras Bassit, see Bordreuil 1989: 269 ff. In any case, the first element *uri₁-* likely reflects Luwian hieroglyphic *ura/i-* “great”, see Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 304.

side of the tablet and do not appear in the one on the front. Within the frame of our analysis of the indications of locality, a significant clue as to the understanding of this phenomenon may perhaps be provided by the fact that the text on the front side is concerned with *domestic* trade, whereas the one on the back side has a bearing on *international* trade. The last mentioned form of trade, namely, has to cope with various extra tariffs levied by the authorities on the transition of goods from one country to another. Consequently, the confinement of numbers and products in abbreviation to the section on international trade may well signify their explanation in terms of *customs duties* (see Fig. 18). The same device can also be observed for the texts on the clay cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos, for which no doubt the same explanation applies (see chapters 2 and 3 above).

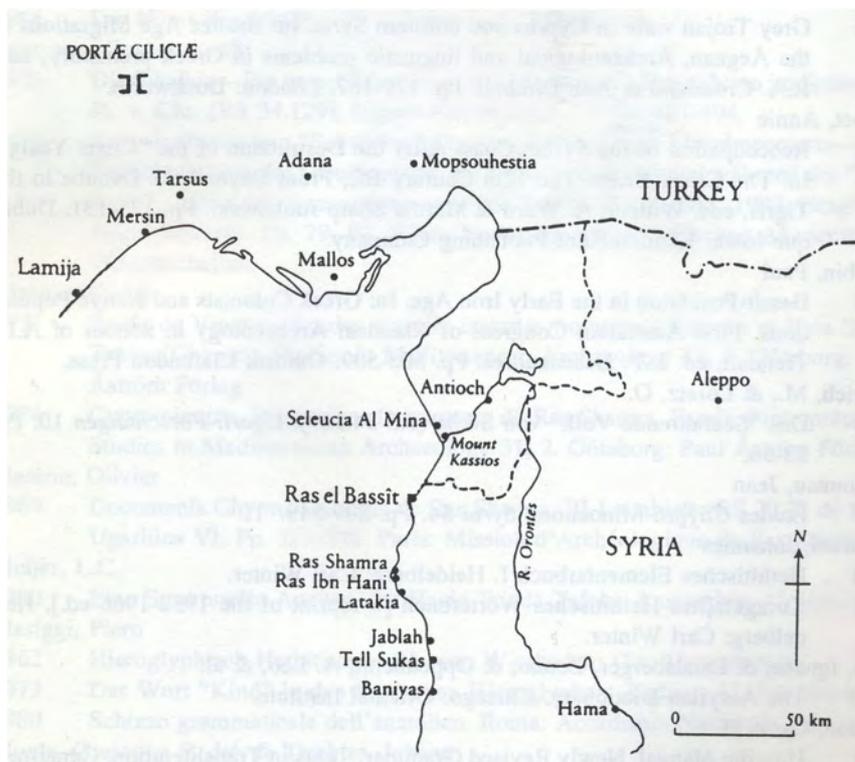


Fig. 18. Map showing key sites mentioned in chapter 4 (after Courbin 1990: 504).

Unfortunately, the nature of the products is not always clear. In the light of the relevant parallels, *wa*₁ may reasonably be considered an abbreviation of Semitic **wainu* “wine” or its Luwian hieroglyphic cognate *WIYANAWA(ā)nà-* (see chapter 1 above). Furthermore, as we have seen in the discussion of the text on the Enkomi clay cylinder seal, *PA* may well receive meaningful explanation in line with Linear B *159 *VESTIS+PA* as a reference to a special type of cloth (cf. Greek *pharweha*). However, the abbreviations *ME* and *NE* remain elusive for the apparent lack of comparative data.

LINEAR C	IE ANATOLIAN	SEMITIC
<i>a</i>	à- introd. part.	
<i>amu</i>	<i>amu</i> “I”	
<i>Apemu</i>	<i>Apamu(wa)-</i> MN	
<i>Apesa</i>	<i>Apaša-</i> TN	
<i>Atatane</i>		<i>Adadānu</i> MN
<i>awe₁ri</i>	<i>au(wa)ri-</i> “frontier outpost”	
<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i> D sg.	
<i>Ilimaliki</i>		<i>Ilimilku</i> MN
<i>Isi₁pali</i>		<i>Išiba ‘al</i> MN
<i>Isipati</i>		<i>Šipat(ba ‘al)</i> MN
<i>kapari-</i>	<i>kapar-</i> “merchant”	
<i>kapili</i>		<i>kāpilu</i> craftsman in the cloth industry
<i>makapiti₁</i>		<i>maḥāru</i> “to buy” + <i>bītu</i> “house”
<i>maki</i>		<i>mākisu</i> “customs collector”
<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i> “and”	
<i>Masaweli</i>	<i>Masa(na)wala-</i> MN	
<i>-mu</i>	<i>-mu</i> “I”	
<i>Lamiya</i>	<i>Lamiya</i> TN	
<i>PI</i>	<i>piya-</i> “to give”	
<i>pini</i>		<i>binu</i> “representative”
<i>Sasi₁maliki</i>		<i>Šamšimalik</i> MN
<i>Tapari</i>	<i>tapar-</i> “to rule”	
<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ti</i> Loc. sg.	
<i>WA₁</i>		* <i>wainu</i> “wine”

<i>wa₁siriti₁</i>	^{WASU} <i>wasar(i)tia</i> “out of gratitude”
<i>wa₁tari</i>	<i>wedri-</i> “town”
<i>ZITisi</i>	<i>ziti-</i> “man; official”

Table XIII. List of linguistic correspondences.

To facilitate the reader, I have summarized the linguistic results from the previous discussion of the various categories in Table XIII. From this summary it appears that correspondences with Luwian include grammatical features, whereas those with Semitic do not. It may safely be concluded, therefore, that Luwian functions as the matrix-language.

In sum, these results lead us to the interpretation of the text on tablet RS 20.25 as rendered in Table XIV.

Side A

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1. <i>A-ka-mi/pi-ni/Ma-li</i> | “On behalf of Akamas, representative of Malos and representative of Ephesos, he (= Wasas) gives to Isiba‘al; (at) the entrepôt of the frontier outpost: to Adadanu, representative of <i>tasiri</i> ; to Sipat, representative of <i>urikasi</i> ; to the representative of the frontier outpost.” | |
| 2. <i>a-ti pi-ni/A-pe-sa PI.</i> | | |
| 3. <i>I-si₁-pa-li.</i> | | |
| 4. <i>a-we₁-ri/ma-ka-pi-ti₁</i> | | |
| 5. <i>A-ta-ta-ne/pi-ni/ta-si-ri</i> | | |
| 6. <i>I-si-pa-ti/pi-ni/u-ri₂-ka-si₁</i> | | |
| 7. <i>pi-ni/u-wa₁-ri.</i> | | |
| 8. <i>a Wa₁-sa PI/pi-ni/ka-pi-li</i> | | “Wasas, representative of the municipal |
| 9. <i>wa₁-ta-ri.i-li-si-ri/wa₁-si-ri-ti₁</i> | | cloth industry, gives in veneration to the Syrian god (?); |
| 10. <i>Ta-pa-ri/pi-ni/i-li-ta-ma-ne</i> | | to Tabaris, representative of <i>ilitamane</i> ; |
| 11. <i>A-we-si-ri/pi-ni/me-ni-wa-ri</i> | | to Awesiri, representative of <i>meniwari</i> .” |

Side B

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 12. <i>La-mi-ya-ne-ti/ka-pa-ri-ti₁</i> | “At the Lamiyan trade centre: |
|---|-------------------------------|

- | | |
|---|--|
| 13. <i>We-sa -mu PI</i> | I, Wesas, give |
| 14. <i>I-li-ma-li-ki/pi-ni/La-mi-ya-ti</i> | to Ilimalik, representative of Lamiya; |
| 15. <i>A-ka-mi PI/pi-ni/ma-ki</i> | on behalf of Akamas I give to Uwatasalis, representative of the customs collector; |
| 16. <i>U-we₁-ta-sa-li/
a-mu PI Ma-sa-we-li</i> | I give to Masawalis |
| 17. <i>A-pe-mu -ma/ZITI-si/ma-ki</i> | and Apamuwas, officials of the customs collector: |
| 3 PA NE WA ₁ | 3 (units of) cloth, NE (and) wine; |
| 18. <i>Ya-me-ri/pi-ni/ma-ki</i> | to Yameri, representative of the customs collector; |
| 19. <i>Sa-si₁-ma-li-ki/ME 2 NE/PA</i> | to Sasimalik: 2 (units of) ME, NE (and) cloth.” |

Table XIV. Text of tablet RS 20.25 in transliteration and translation.

4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SETTING

The system of economic registration applied in the text of tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit shows remarkable close affinity to the one attested for the Cypro-Minoan texts on the clay cylinder seals from Enkomi (inv. nr. 19.10) and Kalavassos (K-AD 389). In fact, the relationship between the three texts is so close that even some of the persons mentioned in them are identical. Thus Akamas, Trojan dignitary and representative of Ephesos, who acts as a deliverer in our text from Ugarit, is staged as a recipient in the text of the Enkomi cylinder seal. Similarly, Sanemas, representative of the Shekelesh, who is the scribe of the text on the Kalavassos seal, features as a recipient in the text on the Enkomi seal. For contextual reasons, therefore, these three texts clearly appear to belong to the same chronological horizon.

From an archaeological viewpoint, this chronological horizon is likely to be dated to the latter half of the 13th century BC or the beginning of the 12th century BC. As we have noticed in the introduction, tablet RS 20.25 stems from the Rapanu archive which covers a period of about five decades before the final destruction of Ugarit in the year 1192 BC. Next, the clay cylinder seal from Kalavassos, which, just like some fragments of other seals, is associated with a central ashlar building, belongs to the end of the

Late Cyprian IIC period (c. 1190 BC) when the building in question was abandoned and subsequently destroyed. The Enkomi cylinder seal, which has been found in an area disturbed by illegal digging, lay on top of still in tact Late Cyprian I layers and therefore can only be vaguely assigned to a more advanced stage of the Late Cyprian period. Furthermore, it deserves mention here that an ivory object from a treasury at Kition (# 161), which, just like the cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos, also bears testimony of the name Sanemas, is dated to the first decades of the 12th century BC.⁸⁶ Last but not least, as we have mentioned in passing on p. 108 above, the commercial activities of Akamas in the seas around Cyprus may well be reflected in the diffusion of Trojan grey ware to Enkomi and Ugarit during the late 13th and early 12th century BC.

It is even possible to finetune the dating of the period from which our Cypro-Minoan texts date with the help of historical evidence. According to cuneiform sources, Cyprus was firmly drawn into the orbit of the Hittite empire at the time of the great kings Tudkhaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC) and Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190? BC). Although Hittite claims on the island have occasionally been formulated by previous great kings, like Arnuwandas I (1400-1370 BC) in the so-called Madduwattas text, it was Tudkhaliyas IV who *de facto* conquered Alasiya and made it a tributary. However, he did not find the time to set up a monument in celebration of this victory, so the event is likely to be assigned to the final years of his reign. Next, Suppiluliumas II was confronted with a revolt in Alasiya, which he subdued after battles at sea and on land. Having established Hittite control over the island, Suppiluliumas II set up the memorial which his father did not find the time to make, in the form of the Luwian hieroglyphic Nişantaş inscription at Boğazköy.⁸⁷ The devotion shown by Suppiluliumas II towards the achievements of his father, which is no longer traceable in the later hieroglyphic inscription of the Südburg monument,⁸⁸ indicates a date for the reconquest of Cyprus early in his reign. Consequently, Suppiluliumas II's arrangements in regard to Cyprus may safely be assumed to have been of a more permanent nature than the ones of his father, Tudkhaliyas IV. For this reason, I

⁸⁶ Karageorghis 1976: 229 ff.; Karageorghis 1992: 80.

⁸⁷ Woudhuizen 2015a: 26-27.

⁸⁸ Woudhuizen 2015a: 27-29.

am inclined to think that the Cypro-Minoan texts on maritime trade in the region are to be assigned to the reign of Suppiluliumas II in the final years of the Bronze Age.

This dating coincides with information from the texts themselves. In the first place, we have seen that in the text on the Enkomi clay cylinder seal reference is made to Karkamis as “Talmitesup’s town”, and Talmitesup happens to be a contemporary of the Hittite great king Suppiluliumas II who ruled over Karkamis from *c.* 1220 to 1190 BC. Furthermore, as we have noted in the above in the text of tablet RS 20.25 we come across the names of Ilimilku and Sipatba‘al, two prominent functionaries active during the reign of the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi II (*c.* 1210-1192 BC). Finally, the commercial activities of the Trojan dignitary Akamas in the seas around Cyprus antedated his going over to raiding and piracy as evidenced in the text of the Linear D tablet inv. nr. 1687 (# 208), discussed in the next chapter, which dates from the time of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples, *c.* 1190 BC.

PART II
THE LANGUAGE OF LINEAR D

5. TABLET INV. NR. 1687 FROM ENKOMI

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will treat a part of a text inscribed on a fragmentarily preserved tablet from Enkomi in Cyprus in the script called Cypro-Minoan 2 or, alternatively, Linear D. The part of the text in question is written on the front side of the tablet referred to in the literature by its inventory number 1687 (# 208), and entails the first 20 lines which are separated from the rest of the text by the punctuation mark in the form of a dot placed half-high on the line. This section of the text is well preserved, only some punctuation marks in the form of a vertical line and one sign needs to be reconstructed in the line of fissure along the right edge and four signs in the damaged spot at the left side affecting the beginning of the lines 6 to 10. To this comes that in the middle of the text there is a small damaged spot affecting lines 14 and 15, which calls for the emendation of one sign in line 15 (see Fig. 19).

The Cypro-Minoan 2 script or Linear D, documents of which have been exclusively found in the capital of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, Enkomi, distinguishes itself from regular Cypro-Minoan or Linear C, found also elsewhere on the island and notably in Ras Shamra-Ugarit on the opposite shore of the Levant, by the cuneiform-like execution of the signs. Although the find-contexts of these documents are often disturbed, it lies at hand to date them to the final stage of the Bronze Age, i.e. the end of Late Cyprian IIC (c. 1190 BC). In the first 20 lines of the Enkomi tablet inv. nr. 1687 under discussion, there can be distinguished as many as 49 individual signs and a total of 282 sign-occurrences in sum. Of the punctuation marks, the vertical bar occurs as much as 74 times in sum (if we include the 3 emended instances), whereas the dot placed half-high on the line features only once.

As it comes to the determination of the values of the signs, there are two approaches at hand: (1) external evidence as provided by related scripts, which entails (a) the so-called Linear A from Crete, which was in use from the end of Middle Minoan IIB (c. 1700 BC) to Late Minoan IIIA1/2 (c. 1350 BC) and hence antedates its comparanda, and (b) the Cyprian Syllabary, attested from the 11th century BC onwards but in the main used during the Classical period

and hence postdates its comparanda; and (2) internal evidence in the form of devices used by the scribes to create new signs after the pattern of already existing ones.



Fig. 19. Drawing of tablet Enkomi inv. nr. 1687 (after Emilia Masson in Dikaios 1971: Pl. 318, 3, improved by Wim M.J. van Binsbergen).

The earliest treatment of Enkomi tablet inv. nr. 1687 we owe to Emilia Masson.¹ In a later contribution, she distinguished between documents conducted in Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C and Cypro-

¹ E. Masson 1970.

Minoan 2 or Linear D.² It is at this point that she also cogently established the value of the signs no. 49 and no. 28 as *pi* and *nu*, respectively, on the basis of a combination of internal and external evidence, the latter provided by the Semitic word for “son”, *bn* or *binu(m)*.³ In a correction communicated to Stefan Hiller, E. Masson at second instance decided that sign no. 28 more likely actually rendered the value *ni* (as we will see below, the value *nu* is expressed by sign no. 68 and therefore also from this line of approach sign no. 28 more likely expresses the value *ni*).⁴ A quantum-leap in research in the field, however, was reached by Jan Best in his treatment of two letters from Enkomi in Linear D of 1988, in which he lavishly made use of external evidence, but also observed some clues from internal evidence which allowed him to establish, in my opinion correctly or almost correctly, the value of as much as 45 individual signs.⁵

As far as external evidence is concerned, Best succeeded to retrieve the value of 23 Linear D signs from oblivion by the comparison to a counterpart in Linear A (no. 0 *za*, no. 4 *ta*, no. 5 *lu*, no. 6 *pa*, no. 8 *na*, no. 17 *ra*, no. 23 *ti*, no. 25 *ka*, no. 27 *zu*, no. 29 *ke*, no. 30 *tu*, no. 44 *se*, no. 47 *pu*, no. 57 *sa*, no. 68 *nu*, no. 70 *ki*, no. 72 *ya*, no. 74 *pe*, no. 78 *me*, no. 95 *wa*, no. 102 *a*, no. 104 *i*, and no. 107 *ma*), one of which, i.c. no. 0 *za*, falls out of the scope of our present under-taking because of its absence in our selection of text.⁶ Furthermore, he did the same in connection with 11 signs on the basis of a counterpart in the Cyprian Syllabary (no. 9 *li*, no. 33 *re*, no. 38 *u*, no. 49 *pi*, no. 60 *su*, no. 61 *te*, no. 75 *mu*, no. 76 *le*, no. 87 *mi*, no. 89 *la*, and no. 97 *ru*).⁷ With the inclusion of no. 28 *ni* as established, as we have seen, by E. Masson, this led him to draw up a provisional grid of 35 signs, 34 of which are of relevance to our present under-taking.⁸

If we turn to internal evidence, Best cogently argued on the basis of a combinatory line of argument for the identification of no. 69 as

² E. Masson 1974.

³ E. Masson 1974: 39 “mot-clef”. Numbering of the Cypro-Minoan 2 or Linear D signs according to E. Masson 1974: 13-15, Figs. 2-4.

⁴ Hiller 1985: 84.

⁵ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 98-110.

⁶ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 99, Fig. 1.

⁷ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100, Fig. 2.

⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 101: Fig. 3.

representing the value *si*.⁹ Another tool at hand within the present category of evidence is the device used by the scribes to distinguish signs of the *e*-series by adding one or more strokes to already existing signs. In this manner, no. 110, formed after the pattern of no. 102 *a* by means of one additional stroke, can be positively argued to render the vowel *e*.¹⁰ Moreover, no. 96, formed after the pattern of no. 8 *na* by means of four additional strokes, can be established to render the value *ne*.¹¹ Owing to the observation that no. 54 alternates with no. 95 *wa* in an otherwise recurrent combination from lines 12 and 14, it is keenly deduced that this particular sign, which is distinguished from no. 35 (which in its turn is related in form to no. 38 *u*) by an extra stroke at its right upper side, renders the value *we*—an inference which can be further underlined by external evidence in the form of its formal relationship to Cyprian Syllabic *we* as attested for an Eteo-Cyprian inscription from Amathus.¹² As a kind of by-product of this argument, no. 35 can positively be assigned to the *w*-series—which verdict is also emphasized by its relationship in form, this time observed by me, to Cyprian Syllabic *wi*.¹³ Even though it is not explicitly mentioned in the argument, from its placement by Best in the extended grid in the position of *wi* the third sign which recalls the pattern of no. 38 *u*, no. 37, may also be safely grouped with the *w*-series.¹⁴ I will, in contradistinction from no. 54 *we*, transliterate no. 37 as *wē*. A final example relevant to our context of a sign adapted to the *e*-series by the addition of a stroke is formed by no. 10 *le*, formed after the pattern of no. 9 *li*.¹⁵ As this occurs alongside no. 76 *le*, it should for its proper distinction be transliterated here as *le*₁.

Best's argument of identifying no. 21 as *yu* and the suggested formal relationship of no. 79 and no. 24 to this sign, which should result to their placement with the *y*-series, is in my opinion without proper foundation and I will argue below that these signs render entirely different values, as is also the case with no. 59 randomly

⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100-101, Fig. 4; cf. 118, Fig. 12 for its Akkadian cuneiform origin.

¹⁰ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100-101.

¹¹ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 101.

¹² Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 101-102, Fig. 5.

¹³ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 125: Fig. 16.

¹⁴ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 103, Fig. 6.

¹⁵ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 102.

placed with the *y*-series.¹⁶ Furthermore resting on shaky foundations, but in my view “lucky shots”, are the identification of the in form related signs no. 56 as *ze* and no. 62 as *zi* (“the only candidates for the two open places in the *z*-series”), of no. 65 as *ri* (no argument given), and of no. 51 as *ku* (comparison to Linear A *ku*, which depicts a flying bird in outline, somewhat farfetched). In the case of no. 65 *ri* it might be put forward in its defence that it confronts us with a simplified version of Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C no. 105 *ri*, the value of which is assured, as argued by me, owing to its correspondence in form to Mycenaean Linear B *ri*.¹⁷

The preceding overview leaves us with a residual of 4 signs which in my opinion are wrongly analyzed by Best. The gravity of this omission is so serious that it actually hampers a full comprehension of the contents of the text. It, however, cannot be denied that Best, on the basis of 45 correctly analyzed signs, was already able to properly read some bits and pieces of the text. So he rightly transliterates the final phrase in line 20 as *i-ze-lu/mi-ya/se-mu-re*. and translates it on the basis of comparisons from Luwian vocabulary (viz. the demonstrative pronoun *i*- “this” and the possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *mi(a)*- “my”) as “This my magistrate Semure”.¹⁸ Furthermore, he draws attention to the combination in line 15 of *a-ka-mu/e-le-ki*, which he interprets as “Akamas of Ilion”. In a later contribution, focusing on the recurrence of the Trojan MN *Akamas* in other Cypro-Minoan texts, Best presents the phrase in which this combination features in its entirety as *a-ka-mu[/]e-le-ki/nu-ka-ru-ra/tu-pa-ta-mu* and translates it on the basis of comparisons from Luwian vocabulary (the verb *tupa*- “to hit, smite” and the enclitic pronoun *-mu* “me”) and grammar (the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ta*) as follows: “Akamas from Ilion (...) smashed me”, noting implicitly that the form *nu-ka-ru-ra* may contain Luwian *ura*- “great” in enclitic variant.¹⁹ In my dissertation on the Sea Peoples, I have taken up this phrase as a piece of documentary evidence relevant to the period in

¹⁶ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 101-102.

¹⁷ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 126, Fig. 17.

¹⁸ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 108; note that the title is most closely paralleled by Cretan hieroglyphic *zelu* “nauarkh” as attested for seal # 298, 2, see Woudhuizen 2016: 118, Fig. 29 (below).

¹⁹ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53-64; esp. p. 64, note 39 in which he somewhat flatteringly attributes the translation to me.

question and refined its translation by interpreting the root *nukar-* as a reflex of Akkadian *nakaru(m)* “enemy”,²⁰ which leads to the identification of Akamas from Ilion as “the great enemy”.²¹ Finally, he interprets the sequence *sa-ru/ka-li-pi-ni-wa/ki-nu-ki* in line 3 as a reference to a “king” (Akkadian *šarru(m)*) “Khalibiniwa (?) of Canaan” (cf. the name of the Levantine province *Kināḥhi* or *Kināḥna*) and that of *pu-ra-ru-ra/ka-zu-si-li-si* in line 13 (with the enclitic variant of Luwian *ura-* “great”, again, here in combination with a reflex of a southwest Anatolian title, i.c. Kaunian, *poruθ*, related to Greek πρῦτανις) as a reference to “great king Khattusilis”.²²

2. THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

There are some more bits and pieces which in my opinion Best correctly prospected, like the sequence *a-mu-we/ta-ka-pe-we* in line 12, which, on the basis of comparisons from Luwian vocabulary (the pronoun 1st pers. sg. *amu* “I”, the verbal root *ta-* “to take”, and the enclitic particles *-pa-wa* for rendering a slightly adversative meaning) and grammar (the 1st pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ḥa*), he interprets as “but I took”, the Luwian vocabulary word *masa-* “god” (line 20), relative pronoun *ku-* “what” (line 5), and the place-names “Samos” (line 14) and “Mykalessos” (line 12),²³ but that is as far as he could get and, as remarked in the above, he could not reach the level of a comprehensive interpretation of the text in its entirety.

The problem which bugs Best’s attempt is partly an epigraphical one, namely, as we have noted in the above, his wrong analysis of 4 signs of the total of 49 individual signs making up the entire repertory of the syllabary used. But, against the backdrop of his readings, there is also a problem of historical viability: Akamas of Ilion (as a raider and a pirate) is to be situated in the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples during the final stage of the Bronze Age, say *c.* 1190 BC, whereas great king Khattusilis, most likely to be taken for the third Hittite great king of this name, ruled from 1265 BC to 1239 BC. In

²⁰ AHw, s.v.; a fine discovery by my friend and colleague Ton Bruijns.

²¹ Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 226.

²² Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 108-109.

²³ Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 109-110.

other words: there is an historical gap between these two readings of at least half a century! That is what bugs me the most.

And this chronological problem aggravates if we have a closer look at the royal name *ka-li-pi-ni-wa* as mentioned in lines 3 and 10 and specified in the first instance as a king of the province of Canaan in the Levant. The final *-wa* in this name may well be the enclitic variant of the Luwian sentence introductory particle *wa-*, *-wa*. If so, the royal name actually reads *ka-li-pi-ni*. Now, in my opinion we are confronted here with a Semiticized variant of the Hittite royal name *Ḫalpazitis*, in which the onomastic element *ziti-* “man, lower official” is replaced by a reflex of its Semitic equivalent *binu(m)* “son, representative”.²⁴ In order to analyze the name in this manner we have to assume haplology, according to which the double presence of the syllable *pi*, **Ḫalpipini-*, has merged into a single one for brevity’s sake. The validity of this analysis is underlined by the fact that on the seal of king *Ḫalpazitis* of Aleppo his name is written in Luwian hieroglyphic by the shorthand sequence LH *215-175-66-376 *ḫa-la-pi-zi/i*, in which the first element, which is nothing but a reflex of the place-name *Ḫalpa* “Aleppo”, occurs in variant form *Ḫalpi*.²⁵ Now, to round up our argument, king *Ḫalpazitis* of Aleppo—an important town in the northern Levant, second in rank only to Karkamis, the seat of the Hittite *Sekundogenitur*—is a contemporary of the Hittite great king *Ḫattusilis III*!²⁶

Let us first have a look at the 4 remaining signs to which a proper value still needs to be assigned. The value of 3 of them can in my opinion be determined on the basis of external evidence. In the first place, no. 21 is identical with Cypro-Minoan 1 no. 22, which, on account of its formal relationship to *wo* in the Cyprian Syllabary and interchange with no. 1 in the position of the dative singular in *-we*, we have seen to render the value *we*.²⁷ As this sign appears in our text alongside no. 54 *we*, it should for its proper distinction be transliterated here as *we₁*. A similar verdict also applies to no. 24, which in Cypro-Minoan 1 can positively be shown to render the value *le* owing

²⁴ AHW, s.v.; cf. chapter 4 above, p. 94 with note 23.

²⁵ Mora 1987: IX 5.4. Numbering of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs is in accordance to Laroche 1960.

²⁶ Freu 2003: 188-192; cf. Bryce 2010: 313, note 90.

²⁷ See chapter 3, Fig. 10.

to its exact correspondence to Cyprian Syllabic *le*.²⁸ Note, however, that this is the third sign for this value in our text, and hence to be transliterated as *le*₂. Finally, no. 51 no doubt confronts us with a variant writing of the sign which in Cypro-Minoan 1 is catalogued as no. 18 and which can be shown to render the value *ri*₁ on the basis of its relationship in form with Linear B *ri-ja*.²⁹

The value of only remaining sign, no. 79, can only be deduced on the basis of a clue from internal evidence, which in one sweep also helps us out in connection with our chronological problem. In line 3, namely, we first meet this sign at the start of the phrase in line 3, running as follows: 79-*wē sa-ru/ka-li-pi-ni -wa/ki-nu-ki*. Now, with a view to the context according to which the author of the text as mentioned at the start of line 1, *i-su-re* “Isures”, specifies himself in line 2 as *a-mu -we/a-ke-ra-ra/mi-la-se/* “I (am) the great headman (of) Milyas”,³⁰ from a Luwian point of view there remains only one option for the combination at the start of line 3, namely: a reflex of *ru* or *rúwana* “formerly”. In this manner, then, reference is made to a *precedent in the past* according to which the territory in question *formerly* fell under the authority of king Khalpazitis of Canaan. It subsequently comes as no surprise to experience that the same sign no. 79 also features in line 13 just preceding the reference to *pu-ra-ru-ra/ka-zu-si-li-si* “great king Khattusilis”: also in this case the author of the text legitimizes his move to Kameiros on the island of Rhodos by *the historical precedent* that 79 *ze* “formerly this” fell under the authority of the Hittite great king Khattusilis III (1265-1239 BC). Therefore, it may safely be concluded that sign no. 79 renders the value *ru* and, in view of the fact that it occurs alongside no. 97 *ru*, should be transliterated for proper contrast here as *ru*₁ (see Fig. 20). It may even be observed in this connection, finally, that the sign presently under discussion also features in the first combination of line 12, *ru*₁-*zi-ra* “at Rhodos”, which excellently suites the context already hinted at in the above according to which in the following line 13 a camp is established at Kameiros, a well-known town on the island of Rhodos.

²⁸ See chapter 3, Fig. 10.

²⁹ See chapter 2, Fig. 7.

³⁰ Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *a*^{*194}*kar-* “headman” < PIE **akri-/akro-* “high, top” (see Woudhuizen 2015a: 81, 261), which occurs here with the enclitic variant of the adjective *ura-* “great” we are already familiar with.

	a	e	i	u	v
	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
y	⊥				
k	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
l	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
m	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
n	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
p	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
z	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
s	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
t	⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	
w	⊥	⊥	⊥		⊥
z		⊥	⊥	⊥	

Fig. 20. Grid of the syllabary on tablet Enkomi inv. nr. 1687.

Having established the values of all 49 individual signs in sum and having solved the chronological problem by demonstrating that the Hittite great king Khattusilis III and his vassal, king Khalpazitis of Aleppo, are used in references to historical precedents, we at last are able to tackle the contents of the text in its entirety. The exact transliteration and translation, the latter of which receives its foundation in the remarks following in a concise linguistic commentary, follow in the section below. Here I will briefly summarize the general contents of the text.

In fact, it consists of a transcript of a letter made at Enkomi, sent by Isures, the great headman of Milyas, by means of a messenger from his field camp in Limyra. This is a coastal site in eastern Lycia, a province also known under the name of Milyas. Formerly, as the sender explains, this territory fell under the authority of king Khalpazitis of Canaan. He further tells us that he has established himself properly at the site of Limyra with the sacrifice of an ox to the Paphian goddess, no doubt to be identified as Aphrodite in Greek terms. The sender proudly expresses the fact that he takes from the country means no doubt in the form of taxes on international trade, and that he has placed the military camp under the authority of one of his nauarkhs. He further claims that the means he takes from the country in form of, as I just suggested, taxes on international trade are for the good of the Hittite great king. Now, because of this, the latter has to come to his support, and in person—not just by sending one of his nauarkhs. The more so, because one of the predecessors of the Hittite great king did so in support of his forerunner, Khalpazitis. The next move by the sender of the letter is that, together with the nauarkh of Mykalessos, the promontory close to the island of Samos in western Anatolia, he takes Rhodos and pitches camp at Kameiros, one of the towns on the latter island. In order to legitimize this action, he explains that this camp at Kameiros formerly fell under the authority of the Hittite great king Khattusilis III (1265-1239 BC). After this move, the sender of the letter continues his advance to the island of Samos, which he subsequently handed over to the legal, but under the pressure of enemy forces disloyal, local *prytanis*. At this advanced location, then, he reports to have been defeated by the great enemy, Akamas of Ilion. As a result of this, the sender of the letter has to retreat to his original military basis, Limyra, where the by now fearful great merchants of Asia also take refuge. He settles the latter in the

lower section of his military camp. In the closing alinea, the sender of the letter portrays himself as an optimist: the good news is that he made Limyra into a fortified safe haven in which law and order are maintained and the collection of taxes continues. The letter closes with a greeting to the recipient, who is no doubt situated in Enkomi, and the dry remark that it has been delivered by his nauarkh Semures.

The given sequence of events seems highly plausible for the unruly period at the end of the Late Bronze Age, *c.* 1190 BC. To this it can be added that from a geographical point of view this sequence is entirely feasible as well. Moreover, the closing alinea on the defence policy of digging oneself in and thus be prepared for the enemy in these safe havens echoes the information from correspondence in Ugaritic letters between the king and great intendant of Alasiya (= Cyprus) on the one hand and the latter's vassal-king at Ugarit on the other hand.³¹ From this correspondence, finally, it can be deduced that the last Hittite great king, Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190 BC), in the end indeed did send the entire fleet of Ugarit (and that of his own?) to the waters of coastal Lycia (RS 20.238: ll. 22-23).³²

3. TEXT IN TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY

(a) *Text in transliteration and translation*

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>I-su-re/le₂-ki/pi-tu -we₁/ze[/]</i> | “Isures: from the field camp one shall give this.” |
| 2. <i>a-mu -we/a-ke-ra-ra/Mi-la-se/</i> | “I (am) the great headman (of) Milyas.” |
| 3. <i>ru₁-wē sa-ru/Ka-li-pi-ni -wa/
Ki-nu-ki/</i> | “Formerly (this territory fell under the authority of) king Khalpazitis of Canaan.” |
| 4. <i>a-mu/Pa-pi-re wV-we/tu-we₁
Lu-mu-ri[/]</i> | “I establish[ed myself] with an ox for the Paphian (goddess) at Limyra.” |
| 5. <i>a-ni -we/u-re ku/u-re/ta-ka</i> | “For the Mother I took what (is) great among the great (things).” |

³¹ Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 227-229.

³² Van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 228.

6. *pe -mi/i-ti/ru₁ pi-ri -mu/we₁-wV/
tu-we₁-ne* *ku-na/[e-]* “With respect to what (it was) that for me here formerly to be given by me (in order) to establish with an ox.”
7. *[zi]-li zu-si/a-ta -mu/zi-le₁-ku-na/
u-mu-ne* “Subsequently the army camp under me to fall under the authority of a nauarkh (and he) to be actually present (here).”
8. *[ze-lu] pi-tu zi-na/u-re ku/ta-ka/
zi Ne-si-* “The nauarkh shall give this: (namely) the great (things) which I took.”
9. *[ri] i-ru/
ru₁ ze pi-we/
we₁ Ne-si-ri/ti-wV-zu* “Formerly this I use[d] to give.”
“(So) the Hittite has to come.”
10. *a-mu/Ka-li-pi-ni -wa/e-su/
ni-we₁ -ra/zi-lu su-we* “For me, (just like) for Khalpazitis, he has to be (here), and not (let) a nauarkh fulfill it.”
11. *ya -we/u-re ku/e-me-na/a-mu -ta/
pu-ne* “These (things) what (is) great he may sell, (while) to write about it to me.”
12. *Ru₁-zi-ra/Mi-ku-li-sa/ze-li/a-mu
-we/ta-ka -pe-we* *zu-si* “The army camp at Rhodos I took (together) with the nauarkh (of) Mykalessos.”
13. *mi ze/Ka-mi-ri₁-la/ru₁ ze/
pu-ra-ru-ra/Ka-zu-si-li-si* “For me this (camp) of Kameiros (is like) formerly this for great king Khattusilis.”
14. *ta-ka -pe-wa/Sa-mi/e-pe-we₁/
a-mu -ta/pu-re-we* “And I took (a site) at Samos from that (person and) I (handed it over) to the prytanis, (the one) of the breaking of the oath.”
15. *tu-pi-lu/
A-ka-mu[/]E-le-ki/nu-ka-ru-ra/
tu-pa-ta -mu* “(But) Akamas of Ilion, the great enemy, defeated me.”
16. *nu zi-li/zi-ri/u-[ri]/ka-pa-ri/
A-zi-sa* “Now subsequently here the great merchants of Asia are being anxious.”
17. *we-le-re/
u-le₂-ru₁/a-wV-ne/zu-si-ra/* “One should be anxious (and expected) to come to the great army camp.”

- ki-zu-lu te-wa* “I assign (to them its) lower section.”
18. *ze wa-se/a-mu/e-wV* “This good: I come to Limyra
Lu-<mu->ra/ma-mu -mu/ (and) build for me a safe haven.”
a-sa-wē-lu
19. *ma tu-wa/ma-ra-mu-na/u-re* “So one shall establish to
ku-na/ta-ne/ enforce law (and) to take what
 (is) great.”
- zu-ku* “For you (from the side) of the
 god great (things).”
20. *ma-sa-sa/ka-la/* “This (brings) my nauarkh
i ze-lu/mi-ya/Se-mu-re. Semures.”

(b) *Commentary*

Line 1

Isure: endingless N(m/f) sg. of MN *Isure-*. This MN bears a striking resemblance to that of the great intendant of Alasiya-Cyprus *Ešuwara* in the Ugaritic letter RS 20.18, l. 1 (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 299). As far as the declension of the noun is concerned, the ending of the N(m/f) sg. is omitted like in Luwian hieroglyphic texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

le₂ki: D(-Loc.) sg. in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), of the root *lek-* “field camp”. This form corresponds to Hittite *lahhi* “ins Feld” from the noun *lahha-* “campaign” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.).

pitu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-tu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-tu* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248) and Lycian *-tu* (Melchert 2004: xii) for the same function, of the verbal root *pi-* “to give”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pia-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 287).

-we₁: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

ze: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ze-* or *zi-*, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *za-* or *zi-* of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145).

Line 2

amu: N of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* “I” of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 252-253).

-we: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

akerara: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the titular expression *akerara*- “great headman”, which is to be analyzed as a compound of Luwian hieroglyphic *a*^{*194}*kar-* “headman” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 81, 261) with an enclitic reflex of the Luwian hieroglyphic adjective *ura-* “great” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51, 304-305). As far as the declension of the noun is concerned, the ending of the N(m/f) sg. is omitted like in Luwian hieroglyphic texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

Milase: endingless form of the geographic name *Milas(e)*- “Milyas”. This is the name of the eastern province of Lycia.

Line 3

ru₁wē: adverb *ru₁* or *ru₁wē* “formerly”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ru* or *rúwana* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 288).

saru: endingless N sg. of the honorific title *sar(u)*- “king”, corresponding to Akkadian *šarru(m)* of the same function and meaning (AHw, s.v.; cf. Friedrich 1991, Akkadische Wörter und Formen, s.v.).

Kalipini: D sg. in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), of the MN *Kalipinu-*. If we realize that the Luwian hieroglyphic onomastic element *ziti-* “man, lower official” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 312, cf. 52) is replaced by its Semitic equivalent *binu(m)* (AHw, s.v.) or *bn* “son, representative” (see chapter 4 above), this MN may reasonably be argued to correspond to Luwian *Ḫalpazitis* as attested for the king of Aleppo during the reign of the Hittite great king Khattusilis III (1265-1239 BC). On the seal of this king, his name appears in Luwian hieroglyphic in shorthand variant *Ḫalpizi/i* (Mora 1987: IX 5.4).

-wa: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

Kinuki: endingless form or D sg. in *-i* of the geographic name which variously occurs in cuneiform sources as *Kinahḫi* or *Kinahna* “Canaan”. This name bears reference to the Levant, in the Old Testament mainly to its southern part by and large corresponding to present-day Israel and Palestine, but in texts from the 2nd millennium BC like the Amarna texts to the southwest of Syria (Amurru and Kadesh), up to and including Ugarit and Cilicia in southeast Anatolia (RIA, s.v.).

Line 4

amu: N of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* “I” of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 252-253).

Papire: D sg. in *-e* of the ethnic *Papir(e)-* or *Papil(e)-* “Paphian”. *Paphos* is a place on the island of Cyprus which during the Classical period was particularly famous for its cult of Aphrodite.

wVwe: D sg. in *-e* of the noun *wVw(e)-* “ox”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wawa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 311, cf. 52) and Lycian *wawa-* (Melchert 2004: 78) of the same meaning.

tuwe₁: 1st pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-we₁*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-wa* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248), of the verbal root *tu-* “to establish”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tu-* or *tuwa-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51, 302-303). Note that this form is probably used as a *praesens historicum*.

Lumuri: D(-Loc.) in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and D-Loc. sg. in *-i* in Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), of the place-name *Lumura-* “Limyra”. This place is located in the coastal region of eastern Lycia or Milyas.

Line 5

ani: D sg. in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), of the noun *an(i)-* “Mother”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ana-* “mother” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 253). In the Luwian dialects this kinship term is especially used in the religious expression

anniš maššanaššiš (cuneiform Luwian) or *ēni mahanahi* (Lycian) “mother of the gods” (Laroche 1967: 53-54) bearing reference to a goddess identifiable as Leto in Greek terms.

-we: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

ure: this form of the adjective *ura-* “great”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51, 304-305), occurs twice in the present phrase, once presumably representing the N and the second time presumably representing the A. But the precise nature of the ending(s) unfortunately remains unclear to me.

ku: endingless form of the relative pronoun *ku-* “who, what”, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic relative pronoun *ḥwa-* “who, what” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 45, 269). This form may reasonably be argued to represent the N-A(n), which, as far as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, is endingless in Luwian hieroglyphic texts in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41). The closest comparative evidence for this particular form of the relative pronoun is provided by the longest inscription in the Luwianizing Cretan hieroglyphic script, that on the famous discus of Phaistos, where it also appears as *ku* (Achterberg e.a. 2004: 100).

taka: 1st pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ka*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ḥa* or *-ka* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248, cf. 41) and Lycian *-χα* or *-ga* (Melchert 2004: xii) for the same function, of the verbal root *ta-* “to take”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 49, 293).

Lines 5-6

kuna: A(m/f) sg. in *-na*, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic pronominal ending *-na* of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the relative pronoun *ku-* “who, what”, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic relative pronoun *ḥwa-* “who, what” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 45, 269). In line with what we have just noted, the closest comparative evidence for the relative pronoun is provided by the longest inscription in the Luwianizing Cretan hieroglyphic script, that on the famous discus of Phaistos, where it also appears as *ku-* (Achterberg e.a. 2004: 100).

epe: endingless N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *epe*- “that”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *apa*- “he; that (person or thing)” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 253) and, more remotely with respect to meaning, Lycian *ebe*- “this” (Melchert 2004: 10-11). As we have noted in connection with *ku* above, as far as the realm of pronoun is concerned, the N-A(n) sg. is endingless in Luwian hieroglyphic texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

-mi: D of the enclitic pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *-mi* “for me”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mi* of same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 279). Note that this particular variant of regular *-mu* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 280) appears to be most closely related to the possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *(a)mi*- “my” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 47, 252, 279).

iti: Abl. sg. in *-ti*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the demonstrative pronoun *i*- “this”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *i*- of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 46, 271). As in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 38, 230), this form expresses the locative meaning “here”.

ru₁: adverb *ru₁* or *ru₁wē* “formerly”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ru* or *rúwana* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 288).

piri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verbal root *pi*- “to give”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pia*- of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 287; for Luwian hieroglyphic passive forms marked by the morpheme *-r*-, see Woudhuizen 2015a: 248).

-mu: D of the enclitic pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mu* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 247, 280). Note that from its combination with the inf. of the pass. *piri* it is deducible that *-mu* expresses the meaning “by me” here.

wewV: D sg. in *-V* of the noun *wew(e)*- “ox”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wawa*- (Woudhuizen 2015a: 311, cf. 52) and Lycian *wawa*- (Melchert 2004: 78) of the same meaning. Note that the exact vocalic nature of the ending eludes us because of the uncertainty about the vowel expressed by sign. no. 35.

tuwe₁ne: inf. of the act. in *-ne*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* or *-ne* (Meriggi 1980:

360-361, § 261) for the same function, of the verbal root *tuwe₁-* “to establish”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51, 302-303).

Line 7

zili: adverb “subsequently”. This adverb is related to the first element *zila-* of Luwian hieroglyphic *zilatuwa* “in future” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 311).

zusi: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *zusi-* “army camp”, related to Hittite *tuzzi-* “army” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.). Note in this connection that the dental [t] is also expressed by the sibilant [z] in *tiwVzu* < **tiwatu* “he has to come” in line 9 below and the MN *Kazusilis-* “Khattusilis” in line 13 below, whereas the sibilant [s] appears to be interchangeable with the sonorous [z] in the geographic name *Azi-* “Asia” as referred to in line 16 below. Note further that as far as the declension of the noun is concerned the omission of the A(m/f) sg. ending—which I assume here because I analyze the phrase as bearing testimony of an *accusativus cum infinitivo*-construction—is in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

ata: preposition *ata* “under”, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic pre- or postposition *ata* “in, among, (emphatic)” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 259).

-mu: D of the enclitic the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mu* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 247, 280). Note that the case in this particular instance of the enclitic pronoun is assured by the fact that the postposition *ata* “in” in general rules the D case (Payne 2004: 36).

zile₁kuna: inf. of the act. in *-na*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* (Meriggi 1980: 360-361, § 261) for the same function, of the verb *zile₁ku-* “to fall under the authority of a nauarkh”. Note in this connection that the titular expression *zile-* from which the verbal form is derived is of maritime nature as deducible from the Cretan hieroglyphic seal # 298 (Woudhuizen 2016: 118, Fig. 29 [lower side]).

umune: inf. of the act., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* or *-ne* (Meriggi 1980: 360-361, § 261) for the same function, of the verbal root *umu-* “to be actually present”, presumably related to Hittite *wemiya-* “to find, meet

with” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.) if we realize that the initial vowel [u] may represent the syllable [we] owing to *u/w*-interchange and that the root-final [u] may be subject to *a/u*-interchange. The given linguistic connection should, in view of the phonetic proviso’s, be taken as highly conjectural, though the meaning of the verb nicely suits the context.

Line 8

zelu: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the titular expression *zelu*- “nauarkh”. As far as the declension of the noun is concerned the omission of the N(m/f) sg. ending is in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41), whereas we have already noted in the above that the titular expression corresponds to Cretan hieroglyphic *zelu*- (seal # 298, 2).

pitu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-tu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-tu* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248) and Lycian *-tu* (Melchert 2004: xii) for the same function, of the verbal root *pi*- “to give”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pia*- of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 287).

zina: A(m/f) sg. in *-na*, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic pronominal ending *-na* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the demonstrative pronoun *zi*- “this”, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *zi*- of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145).

The sequence *ure ku taka* largely repeats the sequence *ure ku ure taka* in line 5 above, so the reader is kindly requested to consult the commentary to this particular line.

Lines 8-9

zi: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *zi*- “this”, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *zi*- of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145). The *genus commune* nature of this form is suggested by the fact that it refers back to the A(m/f) sg. *zina* in the preceding phrase. Although, as far as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, the N(m/f) sg. *-sa* should actually be written according to the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41), this ending is also omitted in the form *miya* in the final phrase in line 20, see discussion below.

Nesiri: when this form, which is partly reconstructed here, recurs in line 9 it definitely renders the endingless N(m/f) sg., see below. Here, its case depends from the adverb *iru* “favorably”, which corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *ila* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 46, 272). In any case it is clear that *Nesiri*- is related to the Hittite adverb *našili* “in the Hittite language” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.), and refers to “the Hittite”—in the instance of its recurrence in line 9 this can not mean anything else than the Hittite great king himself, to be identified as Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190 BC). Note that, notwithstanding the fact that there are separate *l*- and *r*-series in the syllabary, the [r] in *Nesiri*- represents [l]. Note also that the same form *Nesiri* is used for the expression of the D sg. in a Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C text, namely the one on the cylinder seal from Kalavassos, where it occurs in lines 14-15 (see chapter 3 above). *iru*: adverb “favorably, in favor of”, corresponding, as we have just noted, the Luwian hieroglyphic *ila* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 46, 272). Note that here also [r] represents [l] and that we are confronted here with a clear case of *a/u*-vowel change.

Line 9

ru₁: adverb *ru₁* or *ru₁wē* “formerly”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ru* or *rúwana* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 288).

ze: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ze-* or *zi-*, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *za-* or *zi-* of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145).

piwe: 1st pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-we*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-wa* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248), of the verbal root *pi-* “to give”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pia-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 287). Note that this form is probably used as a *praesens historicum*.

Line 9'

we₁: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic *wa-* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307). *Nesiri*: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the ethnic name *Nesiri-* “the Hittite”, which, as we have just noted, here refers to the Hittite great king, no doubt to be identified with the last one, Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190 BC). Note that the omission of the N(m/f) sg. ending is, as far as the

declension of the noun is concerned, in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

tiwVzu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-zu*, corresponding by means of [t] > [z] to Luwian hieroglyphic *-tu* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248) and Lycian *-tu* (Melchert 2004: xii) of the same function, of the verbal root *tiwV-* “to come”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tiwa-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 50-51, 300).

Line 10

amu: D sg. of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 253).

Kalipini: D sg. in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and Lycian (Melchert 2004: x) for the same function, of the royal name we already came across in line 3 above and have seen to be identifiable with Khalpazitis of Aleppo, a contemporary of the Hittite great king Khattusilis III (1265-1239 BC).

-wa: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

esu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-u* of the verb *es-* “to be”, corresponding to Lycian *esu* of the same function and meaning (Melchert 2004: 17).

niwe_l: negative adverb “not”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *nawa* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 283). The vowel [i] may be the result of influence from the cuneiform Luwian prohibitive *nīš* (Melchert 1993, s.v.).

-ra: N-A(n) of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. *-ra* “it”, corresponding to the rhotacized variant of Luwian hieroglyphic *-ta*, *+ra*, for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 247, 288).

zilu: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the titular expression *zilu-* “nauarkh” which we have already come across in line 8 above in writing variant *zelu-*, characterized by *e/i*-interchange. Note that as far as the declension of the noun is concerned the omission of the N(m/f) sg. ending is in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41), whereas we have already noted in the comments to line 8 above that the titular expression (which is

reconstructed for this line) corresponds to Cretan hieroglyphic *zelu-* (seal # 298, 2).

suwe: verbal root *suwe-* “to fulfill”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *suwa-* for the slightly deviating meaning “to fill” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 292), written here without the expected ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ti*. Note that the semantic change of the meaning of the verbal root from “fill” to “fulfill” is a trivial one.

Line 11

ya: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* “this”, written here in shorthand variant with the glide [y]. The demonstrative pronoun corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *i-* “this”, of which the N-A(n) pl. form is *ia* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 38, 232-233).

-we: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

ure: form of the adjective *ura-* “great”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 304, cf. 51-52), which here presumably represents the N. However, the precise nature of the ending unfortunately remains unclear to me.

ku: endless N-A(n) of the relative pronoun “who, what” which we already came across in line 5 above.

emena: 3rd pers. sg. of the subj. of the act. in *-a*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-a* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the verbal root *emena-* “to sell”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amanà-* for the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 252).

amu: D of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 253).

-ta: Abl. sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., corresponding to Luwian *-ta* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 247, 292).

pune: inf. of the act., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* or *-ne* (Meriggi 1980: 360-361, § 261) for the same function, of the verbal root *pu-* “to write”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pu-* for the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 287).

Lines 11-12

zusi: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *zusi*- “army camp”, related to Hittite *tuzzi*- “army” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.). Note in this connection that the dental [t] is also expressed by the sibilant [z] in *tiwVzu* < Luwian hieroglyphic *tiwatu* “he has to come” in line 9 above and the MN *Kazusilis*- “Khattusilis” in line 13 below, whereas the sibilant [s] appears to be interchangeable with the sonorous [z] in the geographic name *Azi*- “Asia” as referred to in line 16 below. Note further that as far as the declension of the noun is concerned the omission of the A(m/f) sg. ending is in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

Ru₁zira: Abl. sg. in *-ra*, corresponding to the rhotacized variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic Abl. sg. in *-ti* or *-ta*, *+ra* or *+ri* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247), of the geographic name *Ru₁zi*- “Rhodos”. Note in this connection that the Linear D syllabary lacks a separate *d*-series and that the dental in question is represented here by the sonorous sibilant [z] in like manner as it is the case with *zusi*- < *tuzzi*- and the other examples presented under the preceding lemma.

Mikulisa: endingless form of the geographic name “Mykalessos”, a promontory near the island of Samos in western Anatolia.

zeli: D sg. in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and in Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), of the honorific title *zelu*- or *zilu*- “nauarkh” which we already came across in ll. 8 and 10 above.

amu: N of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* “I” of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 252-253).

-we: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to the enclitic variant *-wa* of the Luwian hieroglyphic sentence introductory particle *wa*- (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 307).

taka: 1st pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ka*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ha* or *-ka* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248, cf. 41) and Lycian *-xa* or *-ga* (Melchert 2004: xii) for the same function, of the verbal root *ta*- “to take”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta*- of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 49, 293).

-pewe: sentence introductory particles, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-pawa*, which may render a slightly adversative meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 286-287).

Line 13

mi: D of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *mi* “for me”, which we already came across in enclitic variant *-mi* in lines 5-6 above and of which we have noted in the commentary that this latter variant corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mi* of same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 247, 279, cf. 47). Note that the present form is a variant of regular *mu* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 247, 280) which appears to be most closely related to the possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *(a)mi-* “my” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 47, 252, 279).

ze: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ze-* or *zi-*, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *za-* or *zi-* of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145).

Kamiri₁la: G sg. in *-la* of the TN *Kamiri₁-* “Kameiros”, a place situated on the island of Rhodos. Note that the element *-la*, which appears to function as the G ending here, actually confronts us with a reflex of the Luwian hieroglyphic adjectival suffix *-ali-*, which in Lydian, a Luwian dialect of the Classical period, indeed developed into the G sg. ending *-l* (Woudhuizen 2010-1: 112; Woudhuizen 2015a: 355).

ru₁: adverb *ru₁* or *ru₁wē* “formerly”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ru* or *rúwana* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 288).

ze: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ze-* or *zi-*, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *za-* or *zi-* of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145).

purarura: D sg. in *-a*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-a* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247), of the honorific title *purarura-* which is likely to be analyzed as a compound of *pura-*, a reflex of western Anatolian (Kaunian) *poruθ* which in turn is related to Greek *πρῶτανις*, with the enclitic variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic adjective *ura-* “great” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51-52, 304-305) which we already came across in connection with the honorific title *akerara* in line 2 above, in sum expressing the meaning “great king” (Best in Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 109).

Kazusilisi: D sg. in *-i* of the MN *Kazusilis-* “Khattusilis”, with which reference is made to the Hittite great king Khattusilis III (1265-1239 BC). Note that the dental [t] is expressed here by the sonorous sibilant [z], as in case of *tiwVzu* < Luwian hieroglyphic *tiwatu* “he has to come” and *zusi-* “army camp” < Hittite *tuzzi-* “army”.

Lines 14-15

taka: 1st pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ka*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ḫa* or *-ka* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248, cf. 41) and Lycian *-χα* or *-ga* (Melchert 2004: xii) for the same function, of the verbal root *ta-* “to take”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 49, 293).

-pewa: sentence introductory particles, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-pawa*, which may render a slightly adversative meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 48, 286-287).

Sami: D(-Loc.) sg. in *-i*, corresponding to the D sg. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247) and D-Loc. sg. in *-i* in Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), of the geographic name *Sam(u)*- “Samos”. This form is, in variant writing *Semi*, also attested for a Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C text, the one on the cylinder seal from Kalavassos, i.c. in line 14, and in this same text further features in an adjectival derivative in *-ya-*, *Samiya-* “Samian”, namely in lines 12-13 (see chapter 3 above). Furthermore, it can, under consideration of the fact that [r] represents [l], be traced in an alternative adjectival derivative in *-li-*, *Samuri-* “Samian”, for the text on the cylinder seal from Enkomi, lines 5, 25, and 27 (see chapter 2 above; cf. also Lydian *śam[u]lli-* “Samian”, see Gusmani 1964, s.v. and cf. s.v. *samli-*).

epewe_l: D sg. in *-we_l*, paralleled for Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C texts on cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos (see chapters 2 and 3 above), of the demonstrative pronoun *epe-* “that” which in N-A(n) variant *epe* we already came across in line 6 above and have seen here to correspond to Luwian hieroglyphic *apa-* “he; that (person or thing)” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 253) and, more remotely with respect to meaning, Lycian *ebe-* “this” (Melchert 2004: 10-11). The D sg. ending in *-we*, which also occurs in the declension of the noun (see below), is a typically Cyprian dialectal feature.

amu: N of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* “I” of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 252-253).

-ta: N-A(n) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. *-ta* “it”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ta* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 49, 247, 292). Note that in rhotacized variant *-ra* we have already come across this form in line 10 above.

purewe: D sg. in *-we*, paralleled for Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C texts on cylinder seals from Enkomi and Kalavassos (see chapters 2 and 3

above), of the honorific title *pure-*, which we already came across in graphic variant *pura-* in the composite titular expression *purarura-* “great king” in line 13 above and have seen here to correspond to Kaunian *poruθ* (Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 109) or Greek πρύτανις. *tupilu-*: endingless form, presumably in the light of parallels like *asawēlu* “safe haven” in line 18 and *kizulu* “lower section” in line 17 below, representing the endingless A(m/f) sg., of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the verbal root *tupi-* “to break”, which corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *tupi-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 302). In accordance with this analysis, the local *prytanis* of Samos had, previous to the arrival of the sender of the letter, broken the oath and sided with the enemy, referred to by the demonstrative pronoun *epe-* “that (person)” and specified by name and place of origin in the next phrase.

Line 15

Akamu-: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *Akamu-* “Akamas”, known from Greek literary tradition as one of the Trojan dignitaries at the time of the war with the Mycenaean Greeks (Best in Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53-54, 62). Of course, this identification does not imply that the same individual is referred to as the name no doubt had a wider use in the region. Note the *a/u*-change with respect to the root-final vowel and the fact that, as observed earlier, as far as the declension of the noun is concerned, the omission of the N(m/f) sg. ending *-sa* is in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition.

Eleki-: endingless form of the ethnic adjective in *-ki-*, corresponding to Lydian *-k* as in *šfardak* “from Sardis” for the same function (see discussion of *Likik(a)* “from Lycia” in chapter 2 above), of the TN *Ele-* which in another Linear D tablet from Enkomi (Inv. 1193, line 3) also occurs in variant form *Ilu-* and therefore can positively be identified as “Ilios” (Best in Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 53-54).

nukarura-: endingless N(m/f) sg. of a composite form of address consisting of a reflex of Akkadian *nakaru(m)* “enemy” (AHw, s.v.; note the *a/u*-change with respect to the vowel in the first syllable) in combination with the enclitic variant of the adjective *ura-* “great”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura-* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51-52, 304-305). It deserves attention in this connection that the enclitic variant of the adjective *ura-* “great”

is also present in the the honorific titles *purarura* “great king” (line 13) and *akerara* “great headman” (line 2) treated in the above.

tupata: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ta*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ta* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the verb *tupa-* “to strike, hit, smite”, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *dūp(a)i-* of the same meaning (Melchert 1993, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2015a: 302).

-mu: A of the enclitic pronoun of the 1 pers. sg. *-mu* “me”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mu* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 247, 280).

Lines 16-17

nu: introductory particle *nu* “now; and”, corresponding to Hittite *nu* of the same function and meaning (Friedrich 1991, s.v.).

zili: adverb “subsequently”. This adverb is related to the first element *zila-* of Luwian hieroglyphic *zilatuwa* “in future” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 311). In reconstructed form, this adverb is also present in line 7 above.

uri: N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, corresponding to the N(m/f) pl. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247), Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), and Lydian (Woudhuizen 2010-1: 112), of the adjective *ura-* “great”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura-* of the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51-52, 304-305). Note, however, that the ending is reconstructed here on the basis of its grammatical alignment to the following *kapari* “merchants”.

kapari: N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, corresponding to the N(m/f) pl. in *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247), Lycian (Melchert 2004: x), and Lydian (Woudhuizen 2010-1: 112), of the noun *kapar-* “merchant”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *kapár-* of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 273).

Azisa: G sg. in *-sa*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247), of the geographic name *Azi-* “Asia”, the root of which is, if we realize that as we have noted in the preceding in the discussion of *zusi-* “army camp” < Hittite *tuzzi-* “army” the sonorous sibilant [z] interchanges with [s], most closely paralleled in Linear A by the ethnic derivative *asijaka* “Asian” (in the heading of tablet HT 28a, cf. Woudhuizen 2016: 232) and in Greek by the “Asian field” (Homer, *Iliad* II, 461: Ἀσίῳ ἐν λευμῶνι), situated near the capital of Assuwa (> Asia), Ephesos.

welere: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the pass. in *-re* of the verb *wele-* “to fear”, which is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *wala-* “to raise, lift, elevate” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 52, 308), here with a bearing on the emotion of anxiety. The verbal ending in question thus far goes unrepresented in the Luwian hieroglyphic repertory, but may be compared to that of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the pass., which does appear in the form of *-r(i)* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248).

Line 17

ule₂ru₁: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the pass. in *-ru₁*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ru* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the verb *ule₂-* “to fear”, a graphic variant of *wele-* as attested in the preceding phrase characterized by *u/we*-interchange also observed in connection with the verb *umu-* “to be actually present” in line 7 above.

awVne: inf. of the act. in *-ne*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* or *-ne* (Meriggi 1980: 360-361, § 261) for the same function, of the verbal root *awV-* “to come”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *awa-* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 260) or cuneiform Luwian *awī-* (Melchert 1993, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2015a: 349) of the same meaning.

zusira: endingless form or D sg. in *-a* of a compound of *zusi-* “army camp” as attested for lines 7 and 11 above with the enclitic variant of the adjective *ura-* “great” as attested for lines 2, 13, and 15 above. If indeed this form is to be analyzed as a D sg. in *-a*, the ending in question is paralleled for *purarura* “to the great king” in line 13 above. If not, the direction “to” may be implied by the verb, and we are dealing with an endingless A(m/f).

Line 17'

kizulu: endingless A(m/f) sg. of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the root *kizu-* “lower” which is also present in the geographic name *Kizzuwatna* “Lower Land”, a reference to the land below the Marassantiya (= present-day Kızılırmak) from a Hittite point of view.

tewa: 1st pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-wa*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-wa* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248), of the verbal root *te-* “to give”, corresponding to Lycian *dā-* (Woudhuizen 2012: 422-423) and Lydian *dā-* or *dē-* (Gusmani 1964, s.v.) of the same meaning.

Line 18

ze: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ze-* or *zi-*, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *za-* or *zi-* of the same function (Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145).

wase: adverb *wase* “good”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wasā* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 310).

amu: N of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amu*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *amu* “I” of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 43, 247, 252-253).

ewV: 1st pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-wV*, most likely corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-wa* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248), of the verbal root *e-* “to come”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *a-* for the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 251).

Lu<mu>ra: endingless form of the TN *Lumura-* “Limyra”, which in D(-Loc.) sg. variant *Lumuri* we already came across in line 4 above. Note that the scribe sloppily forgot to write the central syllable *mu*, which, however, is quite understandable since sign no. 75 with 17 occurrences in sum is by far the most frequent sign and he had two write this sign in the present phrase already as much as 3 times!

mamu: 1st pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-u*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2015a: 248) and Lycian (Melchert 2004: xii) *-u* for the same function, of the verbal root *mam-* “to build”, corresponding to Lycian *ṁma(i)-* of the same meaning (Melchert 2004: 42).

-mu: D of the enclitic pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-mu* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 247, 280).

asawēlu: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *asawēlu-* “safe haven”. This noun lacks a convincing parallel within the Luwian dialects, but it may reasonably be suggested to be related to Greek ἄσυλος “asylum”.

Line 19

ma: sentence introductory particle, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ma* “but; and” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47). This particle probably originates from Hittite *-ma* “but” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.).

tuwa: 3rd pers. sg. of the subj. of the act. in *-a*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-a* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a:

41, 248), of the verbal root *tuw(a)*- “to establish”, which we already came across in line 4 above and have seen to correspond to Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa*- of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 302-303, cf. 51).

maramuna: inf. of the act. in *-na*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* (Meriggi 1980: 360-361, § 261) for the same function, of a composite verbal root in which the noun *mara*- “law”, corresponding to Lycian *mara*- of the same meaning (Melchert 2004: 37, 39), is combined with the verbal root *mu*- “to enforce, strengthen”, related to Luwian hieroglyphic *muwa*- “to make strong” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 281).

ure: this form of the adjective *ura*- “great”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura*- for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 51-52, 304-305), presumably represents the A(m/f), as it is likely lined with the following form of the relative pronoun, *kuna*, and it seems we are dealing here with an *accusativus cum infinitivus*-construction. The precise nature of the ending unfortunately remains unclear to me, though.

kuna: A(m/f) sg. in *-na*, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic pronominal ending *-na* of the same function (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 248), of the relative pronoun *ku*- “who, what”, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic relative pronoun *ḫwa*- “who, what” (Woudhuizen 2015a: 45, 269). In line with what we have just noted, the closest comparative evidence for the relative pronoun is provided by the longest inscription in the Luwianizing Cretan hieroglyphic script, that on the famous discus of Phaistos, where it also appears as *ku*- (Achterberg e.a. 2004: 100).

tane: inf. of the act. in *-na*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-na* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 249) and Lycian *-na* or *-ne* (Meriggi 1980: 360-361, § 261) for the same function, of the verbal root *ta*- “to take”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta*- of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 49, 293).

Lines 19-20

zuku: D of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. sg., corresponding to Hittite *tuk* “to you” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.). Note that we are confronted here once more with interchange between dental [t] and the sonorous sibilant [z] (cf. *zusi* < *tuzzi*- in lines 7 and 11, *tiwVzu* < *tiwatu* in line 9 and *Kazusilisi* < *Ḫattušiliš* in line 13 above).

masasa: G sg. in *-sa*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41, 247), of the noun *masa*- “god”, which is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *masana*- (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 278-279) but most closely paralleled by Cretan hieroglyphic *masa*- (Woudhuizen 2016: 50, 290) and Lycian *maha*- (Melchert 2004: 36) of the same meaning if we realize that in the latter case [h] originates from [s].

kala: phonetic reflex of the Sumerogram GAL “great” (Friedrich 1991, Ideogramme, s.v.). For a parallel for the phonetic rendering of the Sumerogram GAL in Hittite, compare the remark by Haas 2008: 30 “Bemerkenswert ist die Haplographie des Personennamens *Gallu-ul-lu* eines GAL LÚ^{MES} IGI.MUŠEN, wobei das Zeichen GAL „groß“ sowohl für „Oberster / Großer“, als auch für die erste Silbe des Namens Gallullu steht.”

Line 20

i: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *i*- “this”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *i* or *ī* for the same function and meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 46, 271).

zelu: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the honorific title *zelu*- “nauarkh” which we have already come across in line 8 above and, in writing variant *zilu*-, characterized by *e/i*-interchange, in line 10 above. Note that, as far as the declension of the noun is concerned, the omission of the N(m/f) sg. ending is in accordance with the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41), whereas we have already noted in the comments to line 8 above that the titular expression (which is reconstructed for this particular line) corresponds to Cretan hieroglyphic *zelu*- (seal # 298, 2).

miya: N(m/f) sg. of the possessive pronoun *miya*- “my”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *mia*- of the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2015a: 47, 279). Note that, as far as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, the N(m/f) sg. *-sa* should actually be written according to the Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41), but, as we have noted in the above, the same defect also affects the demonstrative *zi* in line 8.

Semure: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *Semure*- “Semures”. Note that, as far as the declension of the noun is concerned, the ending of the N(m/f) sg. is omitted like in Luwian hieroglyphic texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (Woudhuizen 2015a: 41).

(c) *Conclusion on the nature of the language*

My treatment some 20 years ago of Cypro-Minoan 1 or Linear C texts (Woudhuizen 1992: 81-153; Woudhuizen 1994) has not aroused much interest, presumably because the texts in question are of an economic nature and do not contain much evidence of vocabulary and grammar. In the case of the letter in Linear D on tablet Inv. 1687 from Enkomi, however, we are dealing with a document of high literary quality, which abounds in specific vocabulary and grammar.

In the linguistic commentary above, I think to have convincingly demonstrated that the letter is conducted in a language most closely related to that of Luwian hieroglyphic. But it also seems clear that the language shows a local Cyprian flavor, to which—apart from the use of an *e*-series in the script—relations in vocabulary and grammar to the west-Luwian dialects, predominantly Lycian, but also Lydian, and the language of Cretan hieroglyphic, bear testimony.

In some cases, though, the writer of the letter prefers the use of cuneiform Luwian words or elements, even alongside their Luwian hieroglyphic equivalents (as in case of the demonstrative pronoun), or inserts a Hittitism.

Against the backdrop of Anatolian cuneiform writing in Hittite and Luwian, which abounds in Sumerograms and Akkadisms, the incidental reflex of a Sumerogram or use of a few Akkadisms is, however, merely to be expected.

4. GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW

(a) *Examples of nominal declension*

(1) **N(m/f) sg.:** *Akamu* “Akamas” (l. 15), *akerara* “great headman” (l. 2), *Isure* “Isures” (l. 1), *Nesiri* “the Hittite” (l. 9), *nukarura* “great enemy” (l. 15), *saru* “king” (l. 3), *semure* “Semures” (l. 20), *zelu, zilu* “nauarkh” (ll. 8, 10, 20).

(2) **A(m/f) sg.:** *asawēlu* “safe haven” (l. 18), *kizulu* “lower section” (l. 17), *zusi* “army camp” (ll. 7, 11).

(3) **D sg.:** *ani* “to the Lady” (l. 5), *Kalipini* “for Khalpazitis” (l. 10), *Kazusilisi* “for Khattusilis” (l. 13), *le₂ki* “from the field (camp)” (l. 1), *Lumuri* “at Limyra” (l. 4), *Papire* “to the Paphian (goddess)” (l. 4),

purarura “for the great king” (l. 13), *purewe* “to the prytanis” (l. 14), *Sami* “at Samos” (l. 14), *we₁wV*, *wVwe* “with an ox” (ll. 4, 6), *zeli* “(together) with the nauarkh” (l. 12).

(4) **G sg.:** *Azisa* “of Asia” (l. 16), *Kamiri₁la* “of Kameiros” (l. 13), *masasa* “of the god” (l. 20).

(5) **Abl. sg.:** *Ru₁zira* “at Rhodos” (l. 12).

(6) **N(m/f) pl.:** *kapari* “merchants” (l. 16), *uri* “great” (l. 16).

(b) EXAMPLES OF PRONOMINAL DECLENSION

(1) **N(m/f) sg.:** *amu* “I” (ll. 2, 4, 12, 14, 18), *miya* “my” (l. 20), *zi* “this” (l. 8).

(2) **A(m/f) sg.:** *kuna* “what” (ll. 5, 19), *-mu* “me” (l. 15), *zina* “this” (l. 8).

(3) **N-A(n) sg.:** *epe* “that” (l. 6), *i* “this” (l. 20), *ku* “what” (ll. 5, 8, 11), *-ra* “it” (l. 10), *-ta* “it” (l. 14), *ze* “this” (ll. 1, 9, 13 [2x], 18).

(4) **D sg.:** *amu* “for, to me” (ll. 10, 11), *epewe₁* “from that (person)” (l. 14), *mi* “for me” (ll. 6, 13), *-mu* “for me, under me (c. *ata*), by me (c. inf. pass.)” (ll. 6, 7, 18), *zuku* “for you” (l. 19).

(5) **Abl. sg.:** *iti* “here” (l. 6), *-ta* “about it” (l. 11), *ziri* “here” (l. 16).

(6) **N-A(n) pl.:** *ya* “these” (l. 11).

(c) EXAMPLES OF VERBAL CONJUGATION

(1) **1st pers. sg. of the pres./fut. act.:** *ewV* “I come” (l. 18), *mamu* “I build” (l. 18), *piwe* “I use to give” (l. 9), *tewa* “I assign” (l. 17), *tuwe₁* “I establish” (l. 4).

(2) **1st pers. sg. of the past tense act.:** *taka* “I took” (ll. 5, 8, 12, 14).

(3) **3rd pers. sg. of the past tense act.:** *tupata* “he defeated” (l. 15).

(4) **3rd pers. sg. of the subj. act.:** *emena* “he may sell” (l. 11), *tuwa* “one shall establish” (l. 19).

(5) **3rd pers. sg. of the imp. act.:** *esu* “he has to be” (l. 10), *pitu* “he, one shall give” (ll. 1, 8), *tiwVzu* “he has to come” (l. 9).

(6) **3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. pass.:** *welere* “they are being anxious” (l. 17).

(7) **3rd pers. sg. of the imp. pass.:** *ule₂ru₁* “one should be anxious” (l. 17).

(8) **inf. act.:** *awVne* “to come” (l. 17), *maramuna* “to enforce law” (l. 19), *pune* “to write” (l. 11), *tane* “to take” (l. 19), *tuwe₁ne* “to

establish” (l. 6), *umune* “to be actually present” (l. 7), *zile₁kuna* “to fall under the authority of a nauarkh” (l. 7).
(9) **inf. pass.:** *piri* “to be given” (l. 6).

NOUN			
		sg.	pl.
N(m/f)		—	-i
A(m/f)		—	
D		-a, -i, -e, -we	
G		-sa, -la	
Abl.		-ra	
PRONOUN			
		sg.	pl.
N(m/f)		<i>amu, miya, zi</i>	
A(m/f)		<i>kuna, -mu, zina</i>	
N-A(n)		<i>epe, i, ku, -ra, -ta, ze</i>	ya
D		<i>amu, epewe₁, -mu, zuku</i>	
Abl.		<i>iti, -ta, ziri</i>	
VERB			
		active	subj. mid.-pass.
pres./fut.	1st pers. sg.	-wa, -we, -u	
	3rd pers. sg.		-a
	3rd pers. pl.		-re
past tense	1st pers. sg.	-ka	
	3rd pers. sg.	-ta	
imp.	3rd pers. sg.	-tu, -zu, -u	-ru
inf.		-na, -ne	-ri

Table XV. Overview of the system of (pro)nominal inflection & verbal conjugation.

5. SIGN FREQUENCY

no. 102 <i>a</i> : 15x	no. 78 <i>me</i> : 1x	no. 79 <i>ru</i> ₁ : 6x
no. 110 <i>e</i> : 6x	no. 87 <i>mi</i> : 7x	no. 57 <i>sa</i> : 7x
no. 104 <i>i</i> : 4x	no. 75 <i>mu</i> : 17x	no. 44 <i>se</i> : 3x
no. 38 <i>u</i> : 8x	no. 8 <i>na</i> : 6x	no. 69 <i>si</i> : 7x
no. 72 <i>ya</i> : 2x	no. 96 <i>ne</i> : 7x	no. 60 <i>su</i> : 3x
no. 25 <i>ka</i> : 12x	no. 28 <i>ni</i> : 4x	no. 4 <i>ta</i> : 9x
no. 29 <i>ke</i> : 1x	no. 68 <i>nu</i> : 3x	no. 61 <i>te</i> : 1x
no. 70 <i>ki</i> : 5x	no. 6 <i>pa</i> : 3x	no. 23 <i>ti</i> : 2x
no. 51 <i>ku</i> : 8x	no. 74 <i>pe</i> : 4x	no. 30 <i>tu</i> : 7x
no. 89 <i>la</i> : 3x	no. 49 <i>pi</i> : 7x	no. 95 <i>wa</i> : 6x
no. 76 <i>le</i> : 2x	no. 47 <i>pu</i> : 3x	no. 37 <i>wē</i> : 2x
no. 10 <i>le</i> ₁ : 1x	no. 17 <i>ra</i> : 11x	no. 54 <i>we</i> : 10x
no. 24 <i>le</i> ₂ : 2x	no. 33 <i>re</i> : 13x	no. 21 <i>we</i> ₁ : 7x
no. 9 <i>li</i> : 6x	no. 105 <i>ri</i> : 6x	no. 35 <i>wV</i> : 5x
no. 5 <i>lu</i> : 8x	no. 18: <i>ri</i> ₁ : 1x	no. 56 <i>ze</i> : 6x
no. 107 <i>ma</i> : 4x	no. 97 <i>ru</i> : 4x	no. 62 <i>zi</i> : 10x
		no. 27 <i>zu</i> : 7x

grand total: 282 sign occurrences (6x [], 1x < >)

6. INDEX

- Akamu*- “Akamas [MN]” l. 15.
akerara- “great headman” l. 2.
amu “I” ll. 2, 4, 12, 14, 18.
amu “for, to me” ll. 10, 11.
an(i)- “Mother [GN]” l. 5.
asawēlu- “safe haven” l. 18.
ata “under” l. 7.
awV- “to come” l. 17.
Azi- “Asia [geogr. name]” l. 16.
e- “to come” l. 18.
Eleki- “from Ilion” l. 15.
emen- “to sell” l. 11.
epe- “that (person or thing)” ll. 5-6, 14.
es- “to be” l. 10.

- i-*, *y-* “this” ll. 6, 11, 20.
iru “favorably, in favor of” l. 9.
Isure- “Isures [MN]” l. 1.
kala “great” l. 20.
Kalipini- “Khalpazitis [MN]” ll. 3, 10.
Kamiri₁- “Kameiros [TN]” l. 13.
kapar- “merchant” l. 16.
Kazusilis- “Khattusilis [MN]” l. 13.
Kinuki- “Canaan [geogr. name]” l. 3.
kizulu- “lower section” l. 17.
ku- “who, what” ll. 5 [2x], 8, 11, 19.
le₂k- “field camp” l. 1.
Lumura- “Limyra [TN]” ll. 4, 18.
ma sentence introductory particle l. 19.
mam- “to build” l. 18.
maramu- “to enforce law” l. 19.
masa- “god” l. 20.
mi, *-mi* “for me” ll. 6, 13.
miya- “my” l. 20.
Mikulisa- “Mykalessos [TN]” l. 12.
Milase- “Milyas [geogr. name]” l. 2.
-mu “me” l. 15.
-mu “for me, under me (c. *ata*), by me (c. inf. pass.)” ll. 6, 7, 18.
Nesiri- “the Hittite” ll. 8-9, 9.
niwe₁ “not” l. 10.
nu sentence introductory particle l. 16.
nukarura- “great enemy” l. 15.
Papir(e)- “Paphian [GN]” l. 4.
-pewa, *-pewe* sentence introductory particles ll. 12, 14.
pi- “to give” ll. 1, 6, 8, 9.
pu- “to write” l. 11.
purarura- “great king” l. 13.
pure- “prytanis” l. 14.
-ra “it” l. 10.
ru₁, *ru₁wē* “formerly” ll. 3, 6, 9, 13.
Ru₁zi- “Rhodos [geogr. name]” l. 12.
Sam(u)- “Samos [geogr. name]” l. 14.
sar- “king” l. 3.
Semure- “Semures [MN]” l. 20.

- suwe-* “to fulfill” l. 10.
ta- “to take” ll. 5, 8, 12, 14, 19.
-ta “it” l. 14.
-ta “about it” l. 11.
te- “to give, assign” l. 17.
tiwV- “to come” l. 9.
tu-, *tuw(a)-*, *tuwe₁-* “to establish” ll. 4, 6, 19.
tupa- “to strike, hit, smite” l. 15.
tupilu- “(the one) of the breaking of the oath” l. 15.
umu- “to be actually present” l. 7.
ule₂-, *wele-* “to fear” l. 17 [2x].
ur(e)- “great” ll. 5 [2x], 8, 11, 16, 19.
wase “good” l. 18.
we₁, *-wa*, *-we*, *-we₁* sentence introductory particle ll. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12.
we₁w(V)-, *wVw(e)-* “ox” ll. 4, 6.
ze-, *zi-* “this” ll. 1, 8, 9, 13 [2x], 16, 18.
zel(u)-, *zilu-* “nauarkh” ll. 8, 10, 12, 20.
zile₁ku- “to fall under the authority of a nauarkh” l. 7.
zili “subsequently” ll. 7, 16.
zuku “for you” l. 19.
zusi- “army camp” ll. 7, 11.
zusira- “great army camp” l. 17.

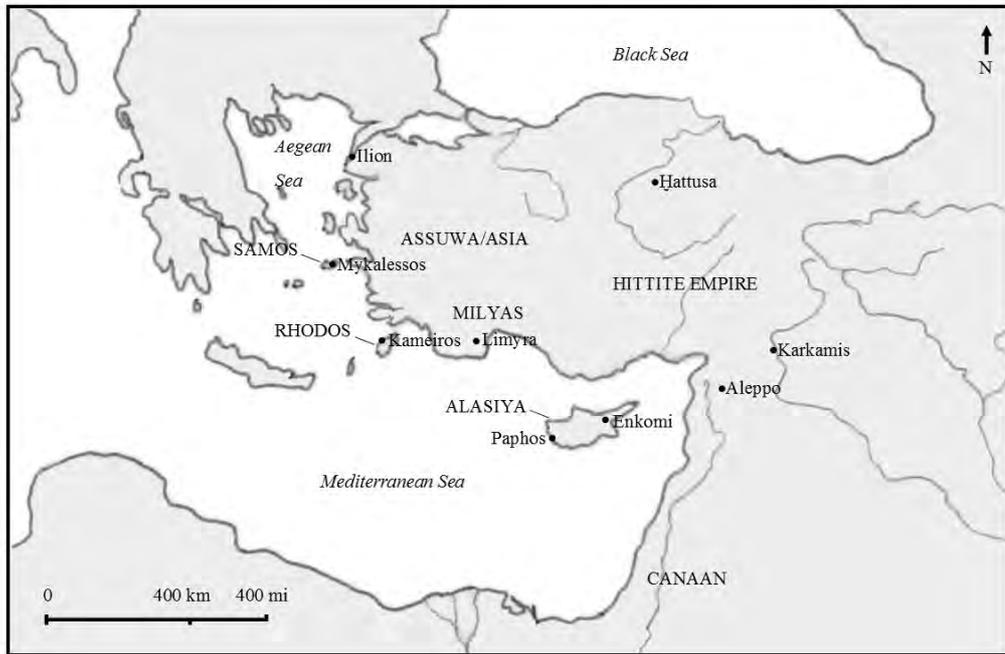


Fig. 21. Map showing place-names mentioned in chapter 5 (design: Clio Stronk).

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