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## REDISCOVERED LUWIAN HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM WESTERN ASIA MINOR

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# REDISCOVERED LUWIAN HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM WESTERN ASIA MINOR

(*Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum 42*)

Eberhard Zangger & Fred Woudhuizen

## Editorial note

The announcement, earlier this year, of the publication of a monumental Luwian hieroglyphical inscription, supposedly found in Beyköy in the Phrygian highlands in 1878 but lost soon afterwards and only preserved in drawings, immediately triggered a lively debate among luwologists and many others. The debate soon mainly focused on the surmised falsification of the drawings, supposedly copies after the originals made by the French archaeologist Georges Perrot, which were retrieved from the estate of professor James Mellaart (1925-2012). This debate goes on, even though practically no one as yet ever has seen the drawings.

The editors of *Talanta* are aware of the fact that James Mellaart has been involved in a series of forgery cases, particularly the so-called Dorak affair (for a brief review on this see, e.g., <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dorak_affair>) and his publication of non-documented wallpaintings and tablets from Catalhöyük (for the paintings and his (ab)use of them see, e.g., <http://www.marlamallett.com/chupdate.htm>). Simultaneously, the editors of *Talanta* are also aware of the fact that there are serious doubts whether Georges Perrot has been in western Asia Minor in 1878 at all. If, then, supposed copies of a series of drawings of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, allegedly made by Perrot at Beyköy in 1878, surface in the estate of Mellaart, it makes alarm bells go off – and, indeed, they did go off in our offices, loudly and clearly.

In spite of all concerns, the editors of *Talanta* nevertheless welcome the possibility to publish the drawings, on the one hand presenting (now already online in a preliminary version) an interpretation by Eberhard Zangger and Fred Woudhuizen, who see this as the longest surviving Luwian inscription, found and drawn in 1878 but as yet never published. On the other hand we would gladly welcome to present the views of those arguing the documents found in Mellaart's estate are forgeries. We, therefore, cordially invite scholars to present their views,

from whichever perspective they see relevant. We hope such a combination of perspectives, to be presented in the 50th issue of *Talanta*, can at least give this document its proper place in the scholarly debate.

We do not choose to proceed in this way because we have masochistic tendencies, are fond of alarm bells, or want to benefit from all the attention even the announcement that these documents would be published generated. The editors of *Talanta* believe that a genuine and fair debate, based upon all the facts known to us, is – or at least should be – the basis of scholarly progress. That is the first reason to publish the contribution of Zangger and Woudhuizen. There is also a second reason: by giving the discussions the basis of the story of its discovery as presented by Mellaart as well as images of the relevant documents, an actual reading, transcription, translation, and a proposal for a epigraphic and historical context of the (possible) inscription, the online pre-publication now and the more final version in print later are also direct invitations to comment on all aspects of it, emphatically including arguments *pro* and *contra* its falsification, not only in the dedicated volume of *Talanta*, which we hope to publish within 2018, but also beyond. Only then there may be a possibility to further our knowledge of, on one hand, the era this inscription (allegedly) discusses, an era, moreover, of which we cannot allow ourselves to lose a shred of potential evidence, and on the other hand the work of James Mellaart.

Abstract

*The estate of the British prehistorian James Mellaart (1925–2012) contained Mellaart's tracing of several Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, including a particular prominent one that was originally drawn by the French archaeologist Georges Perrot in 1878. In search of building materials, peasants in the village of Beyköy, approximately 34 kilometers north of Afyonkarahisar in western Turkey, had retrieved a number of stones from the ground. Together they make up a frieze 29 meters in length and about 35 centimeters in height. Not yet able to read the symbols, Perrot drew the stones in the wrong sequence. After Perrot had recorded the inscription, the villagers installed the stones into the foundation of a newly-built mosque. When Luwian hieroglyphic was deciphered, Perrot's drawing was meant to be published within the framework of a joint Turkish/US-American research project focusing on thus far unpublished documents that had come into the possession of the Ottoman government during the 19th century. The Turkish archaeologist Uluğ Bahadır Alkım produced a preliminary interpretation of the contents and established the correct sequence of the stones shortly before he died in 1981. – The Beyköy inscription contains 50 phrases and is thus the longest known Bronze Age hieroglyphic document. It outranks by far any documents known from western Anatolia. The inscription was commissioned by great king Kupantakuruntas of Mira. It commemorates his deeds, and in so doing provides a detailed account of his realm and conquests. The text dates back to the upheavals of the Sea Peoples,* ca. *1190–1180 BC. It relates the maritime conquests in the eastern*

*Mediterranean under the command of great prince Muksus from the Troad. The western Anatolian naval forces proceeded all the way to Ashkelon in southern Palestine, bordering on Egypt. The memory of this endeavor was preserved in Greek literary tradition in the form of the legendary tales about Mopsos. In short, the Luwian hieroglyphic text from Beyköy gives us a fascinating insight into the history of a region and a period which has thus far been shrouded in darkness. It is reproduced and discussed here together with three more substantial Luwian hieroglyphic documents and four fragments from Mellaart's estate.*

## 1. Introduction

The 29-meter-long Luwian hieroglyphic stone inscription introduced here (Fig. 1) was transmitted through several versions of drawings retrieved from the estate of the late prehistorian and pioneer of Anatolian Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeology James Mellaart (1925–2012). It was part of a 15-centimeter tall pile comprising 500 sheets of paper of copies and translations of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age documents from western Asia Minor that Mellaart had specifically set aside in his private study in north London and marked as being of utmost importance. This part of the bequest was transferred by James Mellaart's sole inheritor, his son Alan, to one of the authors (EZ) for further study and publication within the framework of Luwian Studies (see Zangger 2017, 309).

In a series of handwritten notes, Mellaart stated that the designated editor of this material, the archaeologist and former professor at Istanbul University Uluğ Bahadır Alkım (1915-1981), "expressed the wish that the texts he was editing should see publication by 2000 AD. If delayed for any reason, … the translation should be communicated widely to prevent obstruction from whatever sources" (Mellaart's underlinings and omission). He then added: "If I, James Mellaart, will not reach the year 2000 AD, see that my literary executors ensure publication. J. Mellaart". In another handwritten note, Mellaart recollects how Alkım's widow Handam had made Mellaart undertake to oversee the publication of this inscription shortly before she passed away in 1984.

The material we present here is, therefore, at this stage exclusively derived from Mellaart's inheritance. Fortunately, the archaeologist described the provenance and research history of the inscription in some detail in several pages of handwritten notes. What follows is a summary of this history.

Mellaart's estate contains an inscription from Yazılıtaş in northwestern Asia Minor that was found as early as 1854 as well as one from Edremit found in 1871 (see below). Until now, the first documents bearing Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions were thought to have arrived in the Ottoman archaeological collection in Constantinople in November 1872. William Wright, at that time an Irish missionary in Damascus, and Subhī Pasha, the governor of southern Syria, who were on a field trip to Hama on the Orontes in Syria, confiscated four orthostats bearing Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. They had requested explicit permission from Sultan Abdülaziz to secure these four stones, and had them taken from the walls of modern buildings, two of

1 (1)

2 (20)

3 (21)

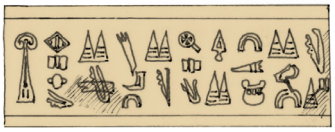
4 (22)

5 (23)

6 (24)

7 (25)

8 (2)



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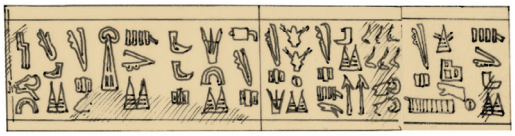
(4)



11 (11)

12 (5)

13 (26)

14 (6)

15 (7)

16 (8)

17 (9)

18 (10)

Fig. 1. The 29-meter-long Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (Beyköy 2) as recorded by Georges Perrot in 1878 is depicted here in the ink tracing produced by James Mellaart during the 1970s. The numbers in parentheses record the sequence of the stones as it was drawn by Perrot and Mellaart. Also published in Zangger 2017, 312-313.

which were still inhabited. Wright described this endeavor in elaborate detail in his 1884 publication *The Empire of the Hittites*, which featured one of the inscriptions, prominently plated with gold color, on its cover (Wright 1884, 7-11). These stones are still on display in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.

In 1878, news arrived at the Department of Antiquities in Constantinople that peasants in the hamlet of Beyköy, about 34 kilometers north of Afyonkarahisar in western Turkey, had found a large number of stone blocks with hieroglyphic inscriptions resembling those from Hama. The government commissioned the French archaeologist Georges Perrot, who had visited and carefully documented the ruins in Boğazköy in 1862 and was visiting Turkey at that time, to travel to Beyköy to produce drawings of the stone inscriptions and, if possible, to even photograph them. Perrot was provided with an appropriate escort. The archaeologist was successful – he proceeded from Beyköy directly to Edremit to record the inscription that had been found there and was stored in a public park. Perrot returned with copies whose quality satisfied the requirements he had been set. Realizing the potential significance of the finds, the Turkish government then ordered the stones from Beyköy to be secured. But nothing happened. So, the Director of the Department of Antiquities ultimately went to Beyköy himself, only to find that the stones had already been built into the foundations of a new mosque. Furious, the chief archaeologist ordered the entire village to be searched. This raid produced three large bronze tablets covered with cuneiform text in the Hittite language, later dubbed the "Beyköy Texts".

During the 1950s, the Director of the Department of Antiquities in Ankara, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay, obtained government permission to translate and publish the exceedingly elaborate Beyköy Texts. He succeeded in winning over the world's most respected hittitologist, Albrecht Goetze in Yale. The publication, however, had to have a Turkish co-author and be produced by the Turkish authorities. The Turkish Historic Society commissioned Professor U. Bahadır Alkım and his wife, Handam Alkım, to coordinate and edit this publication. Around 1956, a comprehensive international project emerged, which included not only the publication of the Beyköy Texts, but also that of various other prominent inscriptions that had been confiscated or acquired by the Ottoman government during the 19th century. The initiators of the project included Albrecht Goetze (Yale), Edmund Irwin Gordon (Harvard), and Richard David Barnett, curator at the British Museum in London. Koşay and Alkım, arguably among the most influential Turkish archaeologists at the time, appear to have had unrestricted access to the original documents.

The translation of the centerpiece, the Beyköy Texts, by Albrecht Goetze and Edmund Irwin Gordon appears to have been finished as early as 1960, because Mellaart reports that Goetze then deposited a copy of it in the library of the BIAA (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara). However, the publication had not appeared in 1971 when Goetze died. Bahadır Alkım and his wife then approached James Mellaart during a two-month research stay in England in 1976 and asked him to write an article about the historical geography west of the Hittite domain for the second volume in the envisioned series. Alkım himself wanted to write about

Hatti, Kizzuwatna, and Eastern Anatolia, as he was the expert on these regions. James Mellaart agreed and thus became a member of the project.

While working on these inscriptions, which had made their way into Ottoman archives before the Hittite language and Luwian hieroglyphic were deciphered, Alkım was also specifically searching for the drawings of the extensive stone inscriptions that Georges Perrot had recorded in 1878 – and he succeeded in retrieving them. Being a former PhD student of the German-born art historian Helmuth Bossert, who played a key role in the deciphering of Luwian hieroglyphic, and having taken part in the initial excavations at Karatepe-Arslantas, where the bilingue was found that made deciphering possible, Alkım was himself an expert on Luwian hieroglyphic. He wanted to publish this stone inscription in the second volume of the overall project. Mellaart visited Alkım in his office in İstanbul in 1979. On that occasion, Mellaart saw the material for the planned publication: photographs (of the bronze tablets), transcriptions, translations, and philological comments. Only appendices, a bibliography, and registers were missing. Moreover, work on the Turkish translation of the text, one of the conditions for the publication, had not yet begun.

It must have been on such an occasion that Mellaart sat down in İstanbul and copied the Luwian hieroglyphic stone inscription discussed here. Of the Beyköy inscription, he first produced a pencil sketch on four sheets of A4-sized vellum, evidently tracing the signs from a reproduction of Perrot's drawings. In a second step – and on fresh sheets of vellum – Mellaart produced ink drawings of his sketches. The illustration shown in this paper consists of a scan of these ink drawings by Mellaart (Fig. 1).

When Perrot copied the hieroglyphic signs, their meaning was not yet understood. His transcripts corresponded clearly to the pre-1900 style transmission, for instance, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* by Leopold Messerschmidt in 1900. Because nobody could read the text, Perrot had partially arranged the fragments in the wrong order. Mellaart's original drawings still reflected this initial erroneous sequence. A handwritten note from Mellaart states that Bahadır Alkım re-arranged the drawings of the individual stone blocks over a century after they had been made by Perrot. Mellaart, who had typed out Alkım's interpretation on his own type-writer, subsequently cut the paper and re-arranged it, marking it "Beyköy, rearranged text. U.B. Alkım 1980" (Fig. 2).

Before Mellaart had completed his contribution to the interpretation of the bronze tablets, the designated editor, Bahadır Alkım, died in 1981 at the age of sixty-six. Mellaart ultimately sent his manuscript on the political geography of western Asia Minor to Alkim's widow Handam, who informed him in 1984 that the first volume had finally been sent to the printers. Its title was "History and Geography of Arzawa" (or something along those lines, for the book never materialized). That year, Edmund Irwin Gordon died, followed by Handam Alkım and Hamit Zübeyir Koşay in 1985, and Richard David Barnett the following year. All the researchers who had been involved in this international project were thus dead, and not a single publication had appeared. Mellaart noted that at that time at least five more people

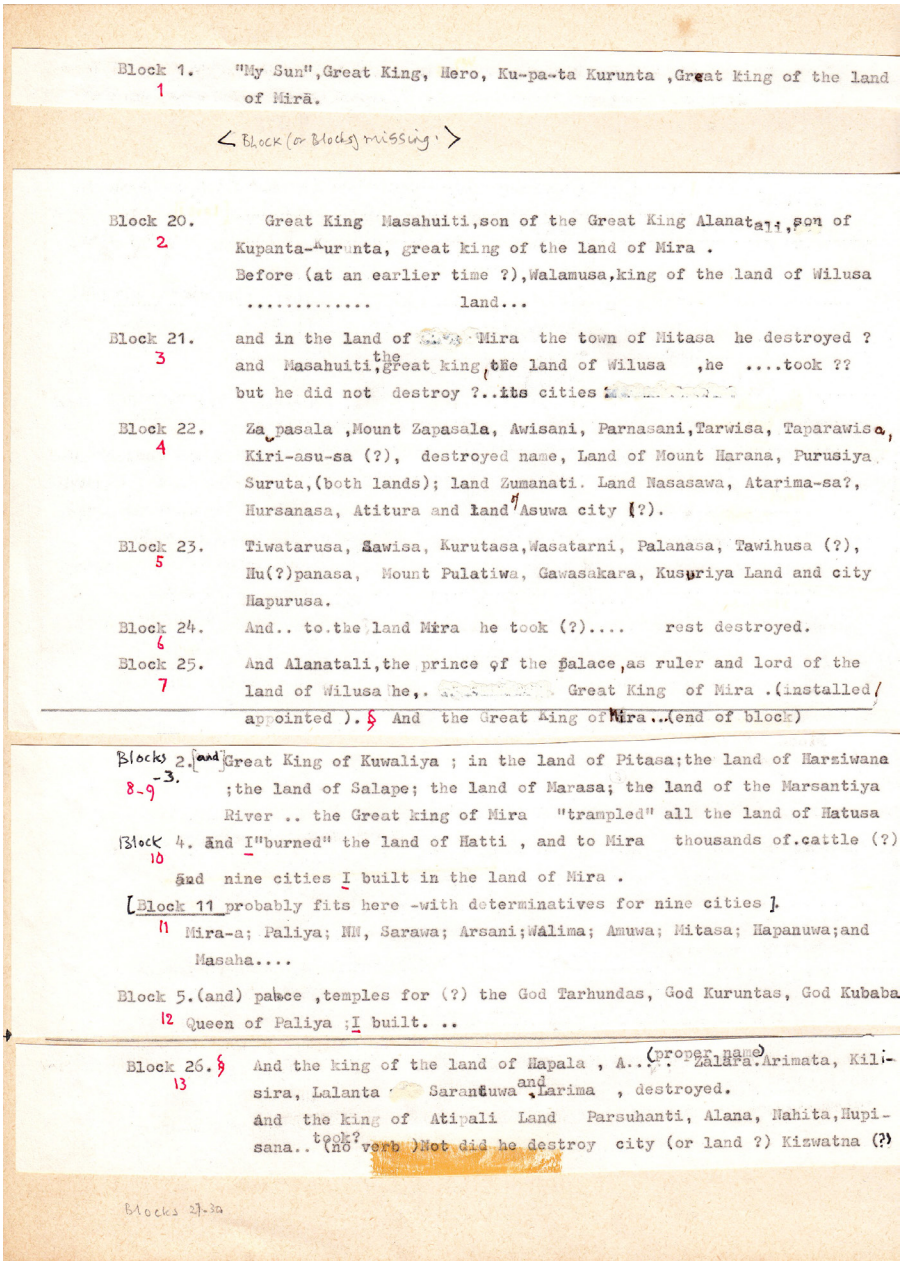



Fig. 2 (pp. 16-18). Mellaart's version of Alkım's unpublished interpretation of Beyköy 2 reflects how the sequence of the stones was rearranged several times before the correct order was established in 1980.

Block 6. § And six kings ; the king of Luka; the king of Hapala; the king of Walwarq; the king of the Land of the River-ha (Seha) ; the Great King of Mira (and) the Great king of Arzawa ....

Block 7. And NN (?) , king of the land of Hatti ..... Ura (city); Tarsa (city) Atant (city); Lawazatiya (city) ; Mount Amana; Land Muka-ha; Land Halapa; land Karkamisa ; land Wakarta (Ugarit) land NN. [lost]

Block 8. Land Amatu ; Land Kupila (Gubla). And Land Mira..... ships-sa City, Land Parha ; Land Piga+ri-

Block 9. Land Pulasati; Land Lasatina; and city Ura , land Luka; Land Sakarasa; city Lamiya . And the Great King's son , Mukusus, king and lord of the land Amiwina ; son of Kuwadna-ziti, Great King; son of Asuwati, Great King; son of Piyama-Kurunta, Great king.... [Reached]

Block 10. the frontier(s) of the land Mizri (Egypt); the city Asakuluna and the city Gasi a fortress [with] Infantry, chariotry, navy "

§ The Great king of Arzawa (land) "sat for 40 years on his throne " and the Great King (for) the God Tarhundas, the god Kuruntas, the Goddess Kupapa, the Mountain god, the NN god (he) temples built in the land Kizuwadna , the Land Arzawa, the land Parha and the land Apasa .

Block 12. The Great King Muksus built cities in the land of Arzawa ; cities: Apasa , Alupa, Kurupina, Lapata, -murina, Akuma, Asarutana,

Block 13. Mt. Timulasa, Huwalawa (?), Kulawamisa, Kuwalissa, Minuwasa, Harpahila; Mt. Hunasa, Parianasa, Salapasa, Uranassa, Alawasa, Atipaliya , + 3 other

Block 14. (cities, continued); Parlawisa. Kuwari...; Purastana, Mt. Anamawanzana, city Hapala and Minuwa, Alusa, Anisaea, Haraanasa .

Block 15. (cities) Mirawanzana, Apakata(?), Parsatana, Atarali, Apar-iyata and Mulawasa, Zakarri, Luk[illegible]nasa , Kintuwa , Nasasa.

Block 16 . And the Great King, Hero, Muk(sus)..... Land Arzawa . "built all these in"

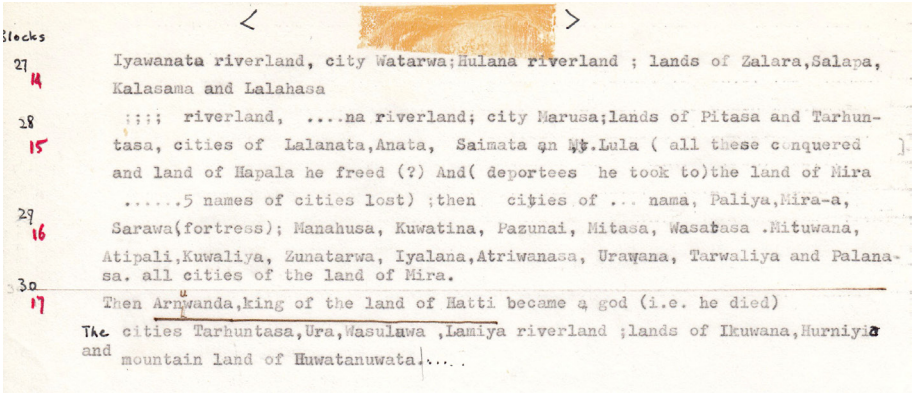
There follows a row of deities , Tarhunda, Kurunta, NN, Kupapa, and four others with lost names. Probably records temple building.

Block. 17. § And Kuwadnamuwa , my brother, the Great king became God Kuwatnamuwa and Muksa ancestral throne ascended as Great King of Land Arzawa.

And there "brought peace /gifts/tribute" the kings of the lands of Tarhuntassa, Gasga, Masa, .....

Block 18. Atipaliya, Kizzuwadna, Karkamisa, Alasiya , Iyalusa, Kapitara and , all islands .
and Ri-a,ma-sa-sa, the Great king of Mizri (Egypt) .

Block 19. § And the Great king Muksus .. The god Tarhundas, the god. NN ... (rest destroyed). [In larger signs] Kupanta-Kurunta , Hero,.. [the author of the Inscription]




knew about the legendary text: the British hittitologist Oliver Robert Gurney, then head of the BIAA; Edmond Sollberger, curator at the British Museum in London; Emanuel Laroche, linguist at the Collège de France in Paris; Pierre Demargne, a classical archaeologist at the Sorbonne in Paris and excavator of the ancient city of Xanthos in Lycia; and, of course, Mellaart himself. In principle, the history of this project and its failed publication was already outlined in a little-known publication by James Mellaart in 1993. Mellaart also summarized the contents of the Beyköy Texts in two long letters to Eberhard Zangger during the summer of 1995 (Zangger 2017, 215-227).

Today, we can tell that the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from Beyköy dates back to the reign of the great king Kupantakuruntas of Mira, a contemporary of Muksus, from the time around 1180 BC. The text contains a genealogy going back to his great-grandfather and namesake who, in the late 14th century BC, was installed by the Hittite great king Mursilis II. Despite minor damage, the inscription is in general well preserved. It deals with events during the time of the invasions of the Sea Peoples, and includes numerous lists of places, countries, and deities. The empire of king Kupantakuruntas included bases in Philistia, more specifically at Ashkelon along the Egyptian frontier, and thus extended to Syria and Palestine.

## 2. The Luwian hieroglyphic text from Beyköy

Until now, only one Luwian hieroglyphic inscription was known from Beyköy, the one treated by Emilia Masson (1980, 119-122). This concerns a fragmentarily preserved text in commemoration of a successful military campaign by Muwatallis II's *tuhkanti* or crown prince Urhitesup (= later great king Mursilis III) in the region (Woudhuizen *forthcoming*, 111-112). If we label this text as Beyköy 1, the one discussed here should be named Beyköy 2.

Beyköy 2, then, is the largest Luwian hieroglyphic text from the Late Bronze Age, and as such the most significant discovery since the bilingual text from Karatepe. Beyköy 2 comprises a total of 50 individual phrases, 40 of which are marked as

such by the sentence introductory particle(s) *à-wa* and *wa-à*. However, a substantial part of it consists of enumerations of names of places and lands, amounting to more than 150 in total. Nevertheless, in between these enumerations there is enough evidence of grammar and syntax to give us an idea of the language involved, which is likely to be identified as that of the principal of the text, great king Kupantakuruntas of Mira. In other words, we have here a major testimony to the Luwian language as it was spoken in Arzawa. Thus far, this has only been transmitted to us in one other type of document – cuneiform Luwian, the so-called Istanuwan songs (Woudhuizen *forthcoming*, 157-162).

The text is in the main well preserved, and the drawing of it turns out to be reliable even for those sections which are only fragmentarily preserved – no mean feat once you realize that it was drawn by Perrot before the decipherment of the script. The signary used is by and large reasonably mainstream. There is only an idiosyncratic variant of the negative *332 $na_4$, without its usual legs. Novelties are the ship sign, ***navis***$_2$ (§§ 25, 28)[1], the sign in form of a metal weight (§ 29), the one depicting a gift bearing person (§ 42), and the one in form of a loom (§ 45). In only a few cases the order of the signs is definitely mistaken, thus *HÁ(TI) sá-sá-ha*$^{UTNA}$ in § 15 should be read as *HÁ(TI)*$^{UTNA}$ *sá-sá-ha*, *i-i-ā* in § 18 no doubt correctly reads *i-ā-i*, and *PARNA(+r) ARHA* $ta_6$ in § 19, analogous to § 4, should be read as *PARNA(+r)-*$ta_6$ *ARHA*. In one instance, § 37 (= block 23), the signs are not rendered in a column facing left as is regular, but in a vertical line running from left to right.

Even though the text dates from the Bronze Age – albeit the last part of the Bronze Age, *ca*. 1190-1180 BC – the sign *376 (§ 6, etc.) and possibly also *209 (§ 43) are already marked by the two slanting strokes at their lower side to form *377 and *210 – a typical feature of Luwian hieroglyphic texts from an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age. Note, however, in this connection that *377 is found by Willemijn Waal (2017, 304-305, Fig. 7) on a Hittite clay tablet, so this particular innovation must have started already in the Late Bronze Age, presumably in western Anatolia.

The system of transliteration used here adheres to the one introduced in Woudhuizen 2011, 21-38). The polyphonic nature of *376, expressing both the values *i* and *zi*, is underlined by the fact that on the one hand the MN *ma-sa-hù+i-ti* in §§ 1, 5 (with *331 being a ligature of a semicircle for *hù* with *376 *i*) corresponds to Hittite cuneiform *Mashuittas* (Hagenbuchner 1989, 317 [KBo XVIII 18]) and the TN *i-ku-wa-na* in § 50 corresponds to Hittite cuneiform *Ikkuwaniya* "Konya" (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 137-138), whereas on the other hand the TN *mi-zi+r(i)* in § 28 corresponds to Hittite cuneiform *Mizri* "Egypt" (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 273-

[1] There is already a ship sign in Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Middle Bronze Age, namely *35, but this became stylized to such an extent in the course of time that it is no longer recognizable as such in inscriptions dating from the Late Bronze Age and still later became secondarily identified as the lower part of the arm. Only the value *na*, then, is reminiscent of its original form, being acrophonically derived from Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) *$nah_2we$- "ship"

275). Note furthermore that *186 *lu* is distinguished here from *445 *lú*, and that *329 is transliterated as *KWA* even though we cannot yet be sure whether it had already become subject to lenition and rather expresses the value *HWA*.

**Summary of the contents of Beyköy 2**

§ 1 genealogy of great king Kupantakuruntas of Mira

*deed of Mashuittas, father of Kupantakuruntas*

§§ 2-10 Mashuittas reinstalled king Walmus of Wilusa
enumeration of 25 towns and lands in NW Anatolia now under the sway of Mira, includes Tarwisa (= Troy) Apassawa (= Apaisos in Troad), and Assuwa-town
Kupantakuruntas dedicated the Beyköy monument in commemoration of this successful intervention by his father
wish-formula that future ruler of Wilusa will guard its territory like the great king of Mira did

*deeds of Kupantakuruntas*

§§ 11-13 building of roads connecting Kuwaliya with Pitassa, Sallapa, Masa, and the divine land (= Istanuwa or Tarhuntassa?)
§§ 14-15 Hittite sanctuaries will be provided for, Hittite interests being respected
§ 16 dedication of 6000 rams (for offering purposes)

§ 17 10 fortresses have been built in Mira, which are enumerated
§ 18 palace and temple for the Luwian divine triad (= Tarhunt, the god of the field, and Kupapa) have been built

§ 19 the king of Hapalla destroyed 6 towns, which are enumerated
§ 20 the king of Atapali fortified 5 towns, which are enumerated and include the place of the monument (= modern Beyköy)

§ 21-23 in total there are 6 kings: of Wilusa, Hapalla, Seha(?), Assuwa(?), headed by the great king of Mira, who is also the great king of Arzawa
§ 24 overview of the territory of the deceased king of Hatti: Tarsus, Adana, Lawazantiya and, ruled indirectly, Amanus, Mukish, Aleppo, Karkamis, Ugarit, and Byblos

§ 25 maritime conquests by Mira: Parha, Philistia, Ura, Lamiya

§ 26-27 commanders: Muksus, Kulanamuwas, Tuwatas, and Piyamakuruntas
§ 28 they built a frontier fortress at Ashkelon on the border with Egypt
§§ 29-30 dedication 40 units of metal(?) and building of a temple for 6 gods, including the Luwian divine triad

§ 31-32 fortresses have been built in Arzawa, enumeration of 25 towns including Apasa, Kurupiya, and Smyrna
§ 33-35 idem in Hapalla, enumeration of 14 towns and lands

§ 36-37 Muksus sacrifices to 8 gods, including the Luwian divine triad, in the land of Apaisos in the Troad
§ 38 so on behalf of the great king Muksus in Apaisos
§ 39 Kulanamuwas appeases the god of the army in Masa
§ 40 the great king remains seated on the throne of Arzawa

§ 41 campaigns against Tarhuntassa, Kaska, and Masa
§ 42 enumeration of 6 kings who brought gifts, includes the kings of Atapali, Kizzuwatna, and Karkamis
§ 43 Masa is made into a fortress of Arzawa
§ 44 Muksus in context of dedication to gods

§§ 45-46 to Hapalla have been sent 8000 troops and with these are conquered 16 towns and lands, including Hulana river-land, Sallapa, Kalasma, Pitassa, Tarhuntassa, and Lalanda
§§ 47-48 in Mira are stationed 6000 troops, with these are guarded 3 towns, including Mira, Tarkuwa, and Mitasa already mentioned in § 17

§§ 49-50 the deceased king of Hatti, Arnuwandas, did not campaign in and restore control over i.a. Ura, Lamiya, Tarhuntassa, the sea, and Ikkuwaniya

**Beyköy 2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| § 1 | ***sol suus*** *URA+HANTAWAT la+PÁRNA ku-pa-tá-KURUNT la+PÁRNA URA+HANTAWAT mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ URA+HANTAWAT ma-sa-hù+i-ti* ***infans***$^{m}$ *URA+HANTAWAT á-la-na-ti+li* ***infans***$^{m}$ *ku-pa-tá-KURUNT URA+HANTAWAT mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$* <***infans***$^{m}$> | "His Majesty, great king, labarnas Kupantakuruntas, labarnas, great king (of) Mira, son (of) great king Mashuittas, son (of) great great king Alantallis, son (of) Kupantakuruntas, great king of Mira." |

§ 2 *à-wa PÁRANA-na wa-la-mu-sa*
*HANTAWAT wi-lu-sa$^{UTNA}$ [ ]*
"On behalf of Walmus, king (of) Wilusa [ ]."

§ 3 *[ ] i pa-ti [ ] UMINA*
"[ ] this for him [ ] town."

§ 4 *à-wa mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ à+ta*
*mi-ti-sa UMINA ARHA*
*PARNA+r-ta$_6$*
"In Mira (the enemy) destroyed the town of a servant."

§ 5 *à-wa ma-sa-hù+i-ti*
*URA+HANTAWAT wi-lu-sa$^{UTNA}$ [ ]*
"Great king Mashuittas [supported] Wilusa."

§ 6 *ī[ -wa] PARNA(+r)-ti ARHA*
*UMINA-mi-na$^{UMINA}$ [ ]*
"(If the enemy) will destroy this town,"

§ 7 *à-wa [ ]*

§ 8 *ta$_4$-pa<+r>-sa$_7$-la UMINA na$_4$*
*ta$_4$-pa<+r>-sa$_7$-la*

*ā-wi-sa-nà$^{UMINA}$*
*PARNA(+r)na-sa-nà$^{UMINA}$*
*ta+r-wi-sa$^{UMINA}$ TAPAR-wi-sa$^{UMINA}$*
*ki+r-su-sa$^{UMINA}$ [ ]$^{UMINA}$ na$_4$*
*há+r-na$^{UTNA}$ pu-ru-sú-wa$^{UMINA}$*
*su-ru-ti$^{UMINA}$ wí/zu-sà-na-ti$^{UTNA}$*
*APA-sa-sa-wa$^{UTNA}$*
*ā-ta+r-ma-sa$^{UMINA}$*
*lu+r-sa-na-sa$^{UMINA}$ ā-ti-tu+r(a)$^{UMINA}$*
*ā-su-wa$^{UMINA}$ UTNA*
*TIWATA-ru-sa$^{UMINA}$ sá-wi-sa$^{UMINA}$*
*ku-ru-ti-sa$^{UMINA}$ wa-sa-ta+r-nà$^{UMINA}$*
*pa-la-na-sa$^{UMINA}$ ti-wa-lú-sa$^{UMINA}$*
*KWA-pa-na-sa$^{UMINA}$ na$_4$ -pu -la*
*ti-wa ka-wa-sa-ká+r(i)$^{UMINA}$*
*ku-su+r-ā$^{UTNA}$ ha-pu-ru-sa$^{UMINA}$*
"Towns of the government (and) not (directly) of the government (total 25): Awisana, Parnasana, Troy, Taparwisa, Kirsusa, [ ]; not (directly): the land (of) Harnas, Purusuwa, Suruta, the land (of) Wi/Zusanati, the land (of ) Apaisos, Atarmasa, Lursanasa, Atitura, the land (of) Assuwa-town, Tiwatarusa, Sawisa, Kurtisa, Wastarna, Palanasa, Tiwalusa, Kwapanasa; formerly not go(ing along) with him: in Kawasaka, the land (of) Kusura, Hapurusa."

§ 9 *à-wa ī ÁMU ta-sa -ha*
*mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ tà-ha*
"I placed this stele also (for/in) Mira."

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| § 10 | *à-wa ā-la-na-ti -li*<br>***infans**$^{m}$+HANTAWAT URA+PARNA*<br>***infans**$^{m}$ TUZI-mi wi-lu-sa$^{UTNA}$*<br>*á URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*mi[+r(a)]-à$^{[UTNA]}$* | "The prince (or)<br>palace official<br>(who) will covet (it) for<br>himself: may you guard<br>Wilusa (like) the great king<br>(of) Mira (did)!" |
| [ ] | | |
| § 11 | *à-wa URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*mi[+r(a)]-à$^{UTNA}$* | "Great king (of) Mira," |
| § 12 | *URA+HANTAWAT ku-wa-lú-à$^{UTNA}$*<br>*à+ta pi-ta$_{6}$ -sa$^{UTNA}$ à ha$_{6}$+r-wa-na*<br>*KWA UTNA sa-la-pa$^{UTNA}$*<br>*ma-sa$^{UMINA}$* | "(I), great king, made a road<br>in Kuwaliya (to) Pitassa<br>(and) what(ever) land:<br>Sallapa (and) Masa-town," |
| § 13 | *à-wa HARWAN ma-sa-na-ti$^{UTNA}$* | "and a road into the divine land." |
| § 14 | *à-wa -mu URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ TIWA$_{2}$-TIWA$_{2}$-wa*<br>*HÁ(TI)-sa$^{UTNA}$ *202 à-wa* | "I, great king (of) Mira, will<br>continue to provide (for) the<br>sanctuarie(s) of Hatti, (and)<br>I will make (use of them)." |
| § 15 | *à-wa HÁ(TI)$^{UTNA}$ sá-sá-ha* | "I continuously rendered<br>support (to) Hatti." |
| § 16 | *à-wa mi+r(a) ta-ta$_{6}$ UTNA i-i 6000*<br>*ma ma* | "Mira has placed (in) the<br>land these 6000 rams." |
| § 17 | *à-wa 10 UMINA+mi TAMA-ha*<br>*mi+r(a)-à-ti$^{UTNA}$*<br>*mi+r(a)-à$^{UMINA}$ PÁRA-ASA$^{UMINA}$*<br>*[?-?]-wa$^{UMINA}$ TARKU-wa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*á+r-TARKU-nà$^{UMINA}$ wa-ha$_{4}$-ma$^{UMINA}$*<br>*ā-mu-wa$^{UMINA}$ mi-ta$_{6}$-sa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*há-pa-nu$^{UMINA}$ ma-TARKU -ha$^{[UMINA]}$* | "I have built 10 citadel(s) in<br>Mira:<br>Mira-town, Parasa, [ ]wa,<br>Tarkuwa, Artarkuna,<br>Wahama, Amuwa, Mitasa,<br>Hapanu, and Matarku." |
| § 18 | *à-wa URA+PARNA*<br>*$^{MASANA}$PARNA i-ā-i*<br>*$^{MASANA}$TARHUNT $^{MASANA}$(a)pá+r(a)*<br>*$^{MASANA}$ku-*128 URA+**domina***<br>*PÁRA-ASA$^{UMINA}$ TAMA-ha wa-[ā]* | "I have built a palace (and)<br>a temple for these (3 gods):<br>Tarhunt, the god of the field,<br>(and) Kupapa, the queen (of)<br>Parasa, (while) pray(ing)." |

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| § 19 | *à-wa HANTAWAT há-pa-la*$^{UTNA}$<br>*ā[ ]*<br>*ta*$_4$*-la+r(i)*$^{UMINA}$ *á+r-ma-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$<br>*hi-li-?+r*$^{UMINA}$ *la-la-ta*$^{UMINA}$<br>*sa*$_5$*+r-tu-wa*$^{UMINA}$ *la+r(i)-ma*$^{UMINA}$<br>*PARNA(+r)-ta*$_6$ *ARHA* | "The king (of) Hapalla [ ]<br>destroyed (6 towns):<br>in Tala, Armata, Hili[..]r,<br>Lalanda, Sartuwa, (and)<br>Larima." |
| § 20 | *à-wa HANTAWAT á-ta*$_6$*-pa-li*$^{UTNA}$<br><br>*PARNA-su-ha-na-ti*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-la-?*$^{UMINA}$<br>*na-hi-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *hu-ta-na*$^{UMINA}$<br>*PARNA(+r)-ta*$_6$ *ī* ***infans***$^{m}$*na-na*$^{UMINA}$ | "The king (of) Atapali<br>fortified (5 towns): in<br>Parnasuhana, Ala[..],<br>Nahita, Hutana,<br>(and) this town (of) a son (=<br>junior official) [= Beyköy]." |
| § 21 | *à-wa 6 HANTAWAT*$^{!}$<br>*HANTAWAT wa-lu-sa*$^{UTNA}$<br>*HANTAWAT há-pa-la*$^{UTNA}$<br>*HANTAWAT URA-WALWA*$^{UTNA}$<br>*HANTAWAT AS[UW]A -ha*$^{UTNA}$ | "(There are in sum) 6 king(s):<br>the king (of) Wilusa, the<br>king (of) Hapalla, the king<br>(of) Urawalwas' land (=<br>Seha), and the king (of) Assuwa," |
| § 22 | *à-wa URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*mi+r(a)-à*$^{UTNA}$ | "and the great king (of)<br>Mira," |
| § 23 | *à-wa i URA-HANTAWAT ARA-wa* | "(and) this (one is also) the<br>great king (of) Arzawa." |
| § 24 | *à-wa á+ya HANTAWAT HÁ(TI)*$^{UTNA}$<br>*URA+UMINA ta*$_6$<br><br>*ta+r-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-ti-na*$^{UMINA}$<br>*la-wa-ta*$_4$*-ti*$^{UMINA}$<br>*na*$_4$ *à-ma-na mu-ka-sa +ha*$^{UTNA}$<br>*ha-la-pa*$^{UTNA}$ *ká+r-ka-mi+sa*$^{UTNA}$<br>*wa-ka+r-tá*$^{UTNA}$ *[ ]*$^{UTNA}$<br>*ā-ma-tu*$^{UTNA}$ *ku-pi-la*$^{UTNA}$ | "The hero, king (of) Hatti,<br>provides the capital (for the<br>towns):<br>Tarsos, Adana, (and)<br>Lawazantiya;<br>(and) not (directly): the lands<br>(of) Amanos and Mukish,<br>Halpa, Karkamis, Ugarit,<br>[ ], Hamath, (and) Byblos." |
| § 25 | *à-wa mi+r(a)-à*$^{UTNA}$ ***navis***$_2$ ***navis***$_2$<br>*URA+UMINA wa*<br>*PÁRA-há*$^{UTNA}$ *pi+?-?*$^{UMINA}$<br>*pu-la-sà-ti*$^{UTNA}$ *la-sà-ti-na*$^{UTNA}$<br>*URA*$^{UMINA}$ *wa-lu-KATA*$^{UTNA}$ *sà*<br>*KATA-sa*$^{UTNA}$ *la-mi-á*$^{UMINA}$ | "(Owing to its) fleet Mira<br>(provides) the capital (for):<br>Parha, Pi[ ], Philistia,<br>Lasatina, Ura, Walukata of<br>the Lower Land, (and)<br>Lamiya." |
| § 26 | *à-wa [-mu]* | "For me Muksus, great |

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| | *URA+HANTAWAT+**infans**$^{m}$*<br>*'mu-ku-su-sa ā-nà UTNA*<br>*UMINA -wa MI WI* | prince in the land(s) and<br>town(s of) Mi(ra and)<br>Wi(lusa),” |
| § 27 | *à-wa **infans**$^{m}$ KULANA*<br>*URA+HANTAWAT **infans**$^{m}$*<br>*tu$^{?}$-wa-ta$_{6}$ URA+HANTAWAT*<br>***infans**$^{m}$ PIA-ma-KURUNT*<br>*URA+HANTAWAT* | “great prince<br>Kulana(muwa)s, great prince<br>Tuwatas, (and) great prince<br>Piyamakuruntas,” |
| § 28 | *à-wa ARHA mi-zi+r(i)$^{UTNA}$*<br>*ā-sa-ka-lú-na$^{UMINA}$ ka-?-?-ha$_{6}$*<br>***navis**$_{2}$ ā-ta$_{6}$ HARNAS* | “they made Ashkelon<br>(along) the border (of) Egypt<br>(by) war(?) ship (into) a<br>fortress.” |
| § 29 | *à-wa* [ ] *URA+HANTAWAT á-i-wa*<br>*UTNA ASATAR ya 40 *?* (= weight) | “[ ] I, great king, will<br>sacrifice (from that) land<br>(for) a throne these 40 (metal<br>units),” |
| § 30 | *à-wa URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*$^{MASANA}$TARHUNT $^{MASANA}$PARNA*<br>*TAMA $^{MASANA}$(a)pá+r(a)*<br>*[ka]-ta-WATA-na$^{UTNA}$*<br>*$^{MASANA}$ku-*128 [ ]$^{UTNA}$*<br>*$^{MASANA}$WANTI [ ] $^{MASANA}$[ ]*<br>*[? -?]$^{UTNA\ MASANA}$[ ] á-pa-sa$^{UTNA}$* | “and I, great king, have built<br>a temple (for the gods)<br>Tarhunt, the god of the<br>field of Kizzuwatna,<br>Kupapa of the land [ ], the<br>god of the divine mountain<br>[ ], god [ ] of the land [ ],<br>god [ ] of the land Ephesos.” |
| § 31 | *à-wa URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*UMINA+mi TAMA-mu-ha ASU*<br>*à+ta ARA-wa$^{UTNA}$*<br>*á-pa-sa$^{UMINA}$ ā-lú-pa-na$^{UMINA}$*<br>*ku-ru-pi$^{UMINA}$ la-pa-ti$^{UMINA}$*<br>*[sa]-mu+r-na$^{UMINA}$*<br>*ā-ku-ma-na$^{UMINA}$ ASA-ru-ti$^{UMINA}$*<br>*na$_{4}$ ti$_{4}$-ma-la$^{URA+HARNAS}$*<br>*hu-wa-la-?-?$^{UMINA}$*<br>*ku-ka-wa-mi-sa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*ku-wa-li-sa-sa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*nà-nú-wa-sa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*ha$_{6}$+r-pa-hi-li$^{UMINA}$*<br>*na$_{4}$ hu-na-sa$^{HARNAS}$*<br>*PARA-ASA-ā-na-sa$^{UMINA}$* | “I, great king, built lavishly<br>citadel(s) in Arzawa (total<br>25):<br>Ephesos, Alupana, Kurupi,<br>Lapati, Smyrna, Akumana,<br>Sardis, not (in a town)<br>the great fortress (of)<br>Timala, Huwala[ ],<br>Kukawamisa, Kuwalissa,<br>Nanuwasa, Harpahili, not<br>(in a town) the fortress (of)<br>Hunasa, Parasanasa,<br>Salapasa, Uranassa,<br>Alawasa, Atipaliya-town,<br>[ ], [ ], (and) [ ],” |

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| | *sa$_5$-la-á-pa-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*URA-na-sa-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ā-la-wa-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-ti-pa-li-à*$^{UMINA}$<br>*[ ]*$^{UMINA}$ *[ ]*$^{UMINA}$ *[ ]*$^{UMINA}$ | |
| § 32 | *à-wa PÁRA-la-à-wi-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ku-wa+r-?*$^{UMINA}$ *pu+r-sa-ta-na*$^{UMINA}$ | "and Paralawisa, Kuwar[..], (and) Pursatana." |
| § 33 | *na$_4$ á-na-ma wa-na ī-na*<br>*há-pa-la*$^{UMINA}$ | "Not (included those) with a name-stele in Hapalla (total 14):" |
| § 34 | *à-wa APAMI-mi*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-lu-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*á-na-sà+r(i)*$^{UMINA}$ *HARNAS*<br>*TARKU-na-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*mi+r(a)-wa-na-ī*$^{UMINA}$<br>*hu$_4$-pa-ka-tì*$^{UMINA}$<br>*pá+r-sa-tí*$^{?}$*-na*$^{UTNA}$<br>*hu$_4$-ta+r-ā-li*$^{UMINA}$ *á-pa+r-ā$_4$-ti*$^{UMINA}$ | "West-town, Alusa, in the fortress (of) Anasa, Tarkunasa, Mirawanai, Hupakati, the land of Parsatina, Hutarali, (and) Aparati," |
| § 35 | *à-wa mu-la-wa-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ī-ká+r(i)*$^{UTNA}$ *lu-KATA-na-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ki-na-tu-wa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*na-sa-sa*$^{[UMINA]}$ | "and Mulawasa, in the land (of) Ika, Lukatanasa, Kinatuwa, (and) Nassa." |
| § 36 | *à-wa URA+HANTAWAT la+PÁRNA*<br>*mu-ku[-su-sa] [APA-sa-sa]-wa*$^{UTNA}$<br>*à [ ]* $^{MASANA}$*TARHUNT*<br>$^{MASANA}$*(a)pá+r(a)* $^{MASANA}$*[ ]*<br>$^{MASANA}$*ku-*128* $^{MASANA}$*[ ]*<br>$^{MASANA}$*[ ]* $^{MASANA}$*[ ]* $^{MASANA}$*[ ]* | "(On behalf of) the great king, labarnas, Muksus will sacrifice (in) the land (of) Apaisos (to) Tarhunt, the god of the field, the god [ ], Kupapa, the god [ ], the god [ ], the god [ ], (and) the god [ ]," |
| § 37 | *wa-à KWA PÁRA-na i-ā* | "and (he will do) what(ever else) for the benefit of these." |
| § 38 | *URA+HANTAWAT [ ]*<br>*[mu-ku-su]-sa [APA-sa-sa]-wa*$^{UTNA}$ | "(So on behalf of) the great king [ ] [Muksu]s (in) the land (of) [Apaiso]s." |
| § 39 | *à-wa KULANA-MUWA* ***infans***$^{m}$<br>*MA URA+HANTAWAT*<br>$^{MASANA}$*KULANA[ ] mu-ka-sa<+r>*<br>*lu-lu-ti -li* | "Kulanamuwas, great prince (of) Ma(sa), will placate for himself the god of the army (by) invocation." |

§ 40 *ASATAR [ASA]-wa ARA*$^{UTNA}$ *URA+HANTAWAT*

"I, great king, will [remain seated] (on) the throne (of) Arzawa."

§ 41 *à-wa* $^{MASANA}$*TARHUNT-ti-sa-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *UTNA AMU TIWA-TIWA ka-sa-ka*$^{UMINA}$ *UTNA AMU TIWA-TIWA ma-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *UTNA*

"I regularly campaigned (in) the divine land (of) Tarhuntassa, I regularly campaigned (in) the land (of) Kaska, (and so also) in the land (of) Masa."

§ 42 *à-wa HANTAWAT á-ti-pa-li*$^{UTNA}$ *HANTAWAT KATA-WATA-na*$^{UTNA}$ *HANTAWAT ká+r-ka-mi+sa*$^{UTNA}$ *HANTAWAT ā-la-sá-?*$^{UTNA}$ *HANTAWAT a*$_5$*-lu-sa-?*$^{UTNA}$ *HANTAWAT ka-ta-ta+r-?*$^{UTNA}$ *TALMI-ma*$_4$ *[ ] UTNA *?* (gift bearing person)

"The king (of) Atapali, the king (of) Kizzuwatna, the king (of) Karkamis, the king (of) Alasiya(?), the king (of) (W)ilusiya(?), the king (of) lower Tar[..](?), (the kings of) all land(s) brought gifts."

§ 43 *à-wa ā ma-sa-sa UMINA+mi mi*$^{?}$*-ā-na URA+HANTAWAT UTNA*

"(I), great king, made the citadel of Masa (into) my (own) land."

§ 44 *à-wa URA+HANTAWAT [ ] mu-ku-su-sa* $^{MASANA}$*TARHUNT [ ]* $^{MASANA}$*[ ]*

"(On behalf of) the great king, Muksus [ ] (to) Tarhunt, the god [ ]."

[ ]

§ 45 *ku-pa-tá-KURUNT la+PÁRNA a*$_5$*-wa-na-ta*$_6$$^{HAPA-UTNA}$ *wa-ta+r-wa*$^{UMINA}$ *hu-la-na*$^{HAPA-UTNA}$ *ha*$_6$*+r-KWA-wa-na*$^{UTNA}$ *TARKASNA-la+r(i)*$^{UTNA}$ *sa-la-pa*$^{UTNA}$ *ka-la-sa-ma*$^{UTNA}$ *la-la-ha-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *[ ]*$^{HAPA-UTNA}$ **?-na*$^{HAPA-UTNA}$ *AMU-ru-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *pi-ta*$_6$*-sa*$^{UTNA}$ $^{MASANA}$*TARHUNT-sa*$^{UTNA}$ *la-la-na-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *ā-na-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *sa-i-ma-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *na*$_4$ *lu-la-sa*$^{UTNA}$

"Labarnas Kupantakuruntas, the Awanata river-land, the town (of) Watarwa, the Hulana river-land, the land (of) Harkwawana, in the land (of) Tarkasnala, the land (of) Sallapa, the land (of) Kalasma, the town (of) Lalha, the river-land (of) [ ], the river-land (of) [..]na, the town (of) Amurusa, the land (of) Pitassa, the divine land (of) Tarhuntassa, the town (of)

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| | | Lalanda, the town (of) Anata, the town (of) Saimata (total 16 towns and lands), (but) not the land (of) Lula," |
| § 46 | *à-wa UTNA sa-ta+r-ha-ta$_6$*<br>*há-pa-la$^{UTNA}$ á+r-wa-na-ta$_6$*<br>*8000 [ ]* | "he continued to be victorious over the land(s) (and to) Hapalla he sent 8000 (troops) [ ]." |
| § 47 | *mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ à-ta [ ]$^{UMINA}$*<br>*[ ]$^{UMINA}$ [ ]$^{UMINA}$ [ ]$^{UMINA}$*<br>*[ ]$^{UMINA}$ [ ]$^{UMINA}$ pa-li-i$^{UMINA}$*<br>*mi<+r(a)>-à$^{UMINA}$*<br>*TARKU-wa$^{HARNAS-UMINA}$*<br>*ma-na-hu-sa$^{UMINA}$ ku-wa-ta$_6$-na$^{UMINA}$*<br>*pa-wí/zu-na-i$^{UMINA}$ mi-ta$_6$-sa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*wa-sa-ta$_6$-sa$^{UMINA}$ mi-tu-wa-na$^{UMINA}$*<br>*i-ta-pa-li$^{UMINA}$*<br>*hu-wa-li-i$^{UMINA}$*<br>*wí/zu-na-ta+r-wa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*a$_5$-la-na$^{UMINA}$ á-wa-na-sa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*URA-wa-na$^{UMINA}$ ta+r-wa-li-i$^{UMINA}$*<br>*pa-la-na-sa$^{UMINA}$* | "In Mira (total 23 towns): [ ], [ ], [ ], [ ], [ ], [ ], Pali, Mira, Tarkuwa, Manahusa, Kuwatana, Pawi/zunai, Mitasa, Wasatasa, Mituwana, Itapali, Huwali, Wi/Zunatarwa, Alana, Awanasa, Urawana, Tarwali, Palanasa," |
| § 48 | *à-wa [ ] HARNAS sa*<br>*mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ 6000 ta-ta$_6$*<br>*á+r-wa-na [ ]* | "he placed (at) the [ ] fortress of Mira 6000 (troops for) missions." |
| § 49 | *à-wa á+r-nú-wa-na-ta$_6$*<br>*HANTAWAT HÁ(TI)$^{UTNA}$ MASANA*<br>*<á-i-mi>* | "Arnuwandas, king (of) Hatti, having become god," |
| § 50 | *à-wa -tá $^{MASANA}$TARHUNT+UMINA*<br>*URA$^{UMINA}$ wa-su la-wa$^{UMINA}$*<br>*la-mi-i$^{HAPA-UTNA}$ WARPA HÁ(TI)$^{UTNA}$*<br>*ā-ru-na-sa WARPA i-ku-wa-na$^{UTNA}$*<br>*hu+r-nà-i$^{UTNA}$ na$_4$ hu-wa-ta$_6$*<br>*nú-wa-ta$_6$ UTNA* | "because of this he did not run into (and) renew (his hold on) the(se) land(s): Tarhuntassa, Ura, holy Lawa(zantiya), Lamiya, crown domain(s of) Hatti of the sea, (further) crown domain(s of Hatti): Ikkuwaniya (and) Hurna." |

## Comments[2]

§ 1
The genealogy of Kupantakuruntas, great king of Mira, confronts us with personal names duly attested in the Hittite records. As we have already noted, the father Mashuittas is mentioned in the introductory phrase of KBo XVIII 18, and is explicitly referred to here as great king. Next, the grandfather, Alantallis, features as king of Mira among the witnesses in the Bronze Tablet from Boğazköy, which dates from the beginning of the reign of Tudhaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC) (Otten 1988, 26-27). Finally, the great-grandfather, also named Kupantakuruntas, is presented as the successor of Mashuiluwas, king of Mira, after the latter's being deposed in year 12 of the reign of Mursilis II (1321-1295 BC) (Götze 1933, 144-145). The grandfather Alantallis, and in all probability also the great-grandfather Kupantakuruntas, are also recorded in a Luwian hieroglyphic text, the rock inscription at Karabel, where they appear as father and grandfather in the genealogy of Tarkuwas, king of Mira (Hawkins 1998, 6, Fig. 4; 18). If we combine these data from the two different sources, it follows that Mashuittas was the brother of Tarkuwas, and most likely succeeded the latter.

§ 2
Walmus, the king of Wilusa, is known from the Hittite Milawata-letter. According to this text, he was deposed and the Hittite great king ordered his re-instalment. Unfortunately, the personal names of both sender and addressee are lost. As the text also deals with the borders of Millawanda or Miletos and the exchange of hostages from Pina(ti) and Awarna in Lukka or Lycia for hostages from Utima and Atriya in the hinterland of Millawanda, it seems likely that the sender was Tudhaliyas IV, who had just conquered Lycia (see the Luwian hieroglyphic Yalburt text), and that the addressee was the son and successor of Atpas, the governor of Millawanda in the Tawagalawas-letter, who sided with the enemy of the Hittites, Piyamaradus (cf. Beckman *et alii* 2011, 123-133). No matter how this may be, even though the final part of this phrase is damaged, safely deduced from § 5, that the action in support of the Wilusian king Walmus recorded here was a deed of Kupantakuruntas's father and predecessor Mashuittas. As the reign of this latter great king is likely to be situated in the period following the reign of Tudhaliyas IV, the incident commemorated here is probably not identical with that of the Milawata-letter, but rather with the Wilusa incident of KBo XVIII 18 (Hagenbuchner 1989, 317). Note, however, that our understanding of the present phrase is also blurred by the fact that the preposition *PÁRA-na* "on behalf of" is associated with the personal name Walmus in what appears to be the N(m/f) sg. in *-sa* instead of the, in the light of the relevant parallel, expected D sg. (Woudhuizen 2011, 390).

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[2] In order not to burden this commentary with references to the work in question, I use Woudhuizen 2011 as a work of reference.

Perhaps the key to the solution to this problem may be provided by the observation that only the non-Luwian names Walmus and Muksus are marked by the N(m/f) sg. in *-sa*[3]. If so, the scribe possibly mistook the ending for a root-final consonant and intended a D sg. in *-a*.

§ 3
The only form readable with certainty is *pa-ti*, the D sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *pa-* "he; that (person or thing)".

§ 4
From the context, it seems deducible that the subject of this phrase is an otherwise unspecified enemy, who also caused trouble for Walmus. In any case, the meaning of the verbal root *PARNA(+r)-* "to build, fortify" is changed into its opposite by the preverb *ARHA* "de-, away" and hence renders the meaning "to destroy" in like manner as is the case in Yalburt §§ 15 and 33 and Emirgazi § 29. And the verbal form as such definitely shows the 3rd person sg. ending of the past tense in *-ta*$_6$. Note further that *mi-ti-sa* is the G sg. in *-sa* of *mi-ti-* "servant" and that *à+ta* "in" is postposition.

§ 5
As noted in § 2, the action of Mashuittas in support of Wilusa is reflected in KBo XVIII 18 (Hagenbuchner 1989, 317).

§ 6
In this phrase the verb *PARNA(+r)-* c. *ARHA,* "to destroy," is marked by the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti*, so it likely denotes a possible future event. The object of possible future destruction by the enemy is *ī (…) UMINA-mi-na*$^{UMINA}$ "this citadel", with which reference is made to the findspot of the monument, modern Beyköy. Note that the writing of the noun by logogram with phonetic supplement is paralleled already for Köylütolu § 3. This particular noun is m/f, but the ending of the A(m/f) sg. in *-na* is omitted in the declension of the noun and mostly that of the pronoun as well.

§ 8
What follows in this phrase is an enumeration of 25 towns in the Troad, which are divided into two distinct categories: *ta*$_4$*-pa*<*+r*>*sa*$_7$*-la* "of the government" (< Luwian *tapar-* "to rule", cf. *TAPARta*$_4$*-pa*<*+r*>*-sà-la-* "governmental" in Assur a § 10, etc.) and *na*$_4$ *ta*$_4$*-pa*<*+r*>*-sa*$_7$*-la* "not of the government". The given division is enhanced by the fact that after the 6th place-name the negative *na*$_4$ is repeated in order to mark the remaining 19 place-names as belonging to the second category. The rationale behind this distinction is presumably that the second category is ruled

[3] Walmus corresponds to Greek *Halmos* or *Almos*, which is rooted in the Minyan substrate (Woudhuizen *forthcoming*, 168), whereas Muksus is of origin a Phrygian type name, cf. Linear B *mo-qo-so* "Mopsos" (KN De 1381, see Woudhuizen 2016, 329) and Phrygian *Muksos* as attested for tumulus MM at Gordion during the late 8th century BC (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009, 145; 155, Fig. 5).

indirectly by a vassal or junior official. Within the second group of 19 place-names, finally, the last 3 are distinguished once more by an expression in the negative: *na$_4$ -pu -la ti-wa* "formerly not go(ing along) with him". In this expression the enclitic *-pu* corresponds to cuneiform Luwian *puwa* "formerly" (Melchert 2001, *s.v.*), the enclitic *-la* recalls Lydian -λ "for him (D sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person)" (Gusmani 1964, 161-162), and *tiwa* confronts us with an endingless form of the verb *tiwa-* "to go". It may well be that the first of the 3 place-names distinguished as such is marked by the Loc. sg. in *+r(i)*.
Among the place-names, only a few are paralleled in the Hittite texts: *Tarwisa* "Troy" (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 408), *Atitura* in form of *Atatura*, a member of the Assuwa-coalition (del Monte/Tischler 1978: 56), and *Assuwa*, be it the town of this name and not the homonymous land (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 52-53). Added to this, *Apassawa* is likely to be identified with *Apaisos* as recorded by Homer in his enumeration of the Trojan forces (*Iliad* 2.828).

§ 9
The subject *ÁMU* "I" and the verb *tà-ha* "I placed" make it clear that we are no longer dealing with the deed of the father of Kupantakuruntas but one of the dedicator himself. The object *i (...) ta-sa* "this stele", which renders the, according to Late Bronze Age scribal tradition regularly endingless, N-A(n) sg., refers to the stone stelae on which the hieroglyphic inscription is written. It is added by the enclitic *-ha* "and; also" attached to *ta-sa* that it, although located in Hapalla or more specifically the western confines of Hapalla, Atapali, has also been erected for Mira. Note that by commemorating a deed of his father, Mashuittas, Kupantakuruntas reinforces the legitimacy of his own position as the former's successor.

§ 10
The verb in the first part of this phrase is *ā-la-na-ti*, the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti* of the verbal root *ālana-* "to covet" (cf. *á-lá-na-ī-* "to be covetous" in Karatepe § 65). The enclitic *-li* attached to it is the reflexive *-ti* "for himself", characterized by interchange between [t] and [l]. The subject is ***infans***$^{m}$*+HANTAWAT* "prince" or *URA+PARNA* ***infans***$^{m}$ "representative (of) the palace". The latter is subsequently urged by means of the verb in the second part of the phrase, *TU-ZI-mi*, which renders the endingless 2nd person sg. of the imperative, as follows: "may you guard" Wilusa in the same way as the great king of Mira did. Note that "in the same way, like" is used here as a translation of the introductory particle *á*, which actually renders a colon (:).

§§ 11-13
The subject in these phrases is *URA+HANTAWAT mi[+r(a)]-à*$^{UTNA}$ "the great king (of) Mira", Kupantakuruntas, who now turns to a description of his own achievements. The verb is expressed by *à*, an endingless form of the root *a(ia)-* "to make", representing no doubt the 1st person sg. of the past tense *a(ia)ha*. The object consists of the entry *ha$_6$+r-wa-na*, an endingless form of the noun

*harwan-* "road". This road is made *ku-wa-lú-à*$^{UTNA}$ *à+ta* "in Kuwaliya", in which sequence *à+ta* "in" functions as postposition, again. Now, the province of Kuwaliya (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 232), which belongs to the realm of Mira-Kuwaliya, can positively be located in the region of modern Afyon owing to its mention in lenited form *HWÁ-li-à*$^{UMINA}$ in a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from this place (Afyon § 1, see Woudhuizen 2013: 9-12). The road in question is stated to run to *pi-ta*$_6$*-sa*$^{UTNA}$ "(to) Pitassa", which lies along the northwest boundary of Tarhuntassa to the south of Kuwaliya (Otten 1988, 10-11; cf. del Monte/Tischler 1978, 318-319). Furthermore, it runs to *KWA UTNA* "what(ever land)", an all-inclusive statement which is narrowed down by *sa-la-pa*$^{UTNA}$ and *ma-sa*$^{UMINA}$ "the land (of) Sallapa" (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 333) and "Masa-town" (cf. del Monte/Tischler 1978, 264-265), which are presumably to be located to the southwest (near Salbacus Mons) and west (classical Mysia) of Kuwaliya, respectively (Woudhuizen 2014, 128-130; 136). In a separate phrase (§ 13), a road running in yet another direction *ma-sa-na-ti*$^{UTNA}$ "into the divine land" (with the Abl. sg. in *-ti* of the adjective *masana-* "divine") is mentioned. It lies at hand that with this divine land reference is made to Istanuwa, which lies in the bend of the Sahiriya or Sangarios river or the province of Hapalla (presumably northeast of Beyköy) and the importance of which in Arzawan cult is highlighted by the so-called Istanuwan songs. Alternatively, with the adjective "divine" reference may be made to Tarhuntassa, which is qualified as such in §§ 41 and 45. Note that the construction of a road is also reported as a commemorative event by Tudhaliyas IV in the Yalburt text (§§ 27-28).

§ 14
The description of Kupantakuruntas' achievements continues with a statement, also in the 1st person sg. *(-mu* "I"), but this time with the verbs in the present/future in *-wa*: *TIWA*$_2$*-TIWA*$_2$*-wa* "I will continue to provide" (cf. Yalburt § 37 for this verb) and *à-wa* "I will make (use of)" – the latter verbal form not to be mixed-up with the introductory particles *à-wa*. The object is expressed by *202, an endingless form of the noun meaning "sanctuary" which presumably represents the N-A(n) pl. It is further specified by *HÁ(TI)-sa*$^{UTNA}$ "of Hatti", which is marked by the G sg. in *-sa*. In other words: Kupantakuruntas pledges to keep the Hittite sanctuaries in his realm in reference.

§ 15
In the next phrase the verb renders the 1st person sg. of the past tense, again, as in § 9 above: *sá-sá-ha* "I continuously rendered support" (cf. Karkamis A15b, § 15). The support is rendered *HÁ(TI)*$^{UTNA}$ "(to) Hatti". Kupantakuruntas professes here to be the legitimate heir of Hittite rule. However, as we will see below, his conquests over sea and on land lead him into regions such as Ura, Lamiya (§ 25), and Tarhuntassa (§ 41), which definitely formed an integral part of the Hittite Empire.

§ 16
In this phrase the verb (*ta-ta*$_6$) renders the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta*,

because the subject changes from Kupantakuruntas to his realm, Mira. The realm Mira, then, "has placed" *i-i 6000 ma ma* "these 6000 rams", in which *i-i* renders the A(m/f) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this" and the doubling of *110 *ma* depicting a ram marks the plurality of the sacrificial animals involved. The rams for offering purposes are placed *UTNA* "(in) the land" of modern Beyköy, which, as we will see (§§ 19-20) below, lies in the western part of the province of Hapalla, called Atapali. Note that the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this" is also attested for the Istanuwan songs in cuneiform Luwian (KUB 25.39 Rs. i § 27: *i-ya* "these (N-A(n) pl.)", see Woudhuizen *forthcoming*, 160-161).

§ 17
The next achievement by Kupantakuruntas is conducted in the 1st person sg. of the past tense, again: *TAMA-ha* "I built". The object is *UMINA+mi*, which in this text clearly refers to the citadel of a town. It is stated that 10 of these citadels have been built by the great king in his realm Mira (note that Mira is marked by the Loc. sg. in *-ti*). Then follows the enumeration of the 10 towns in question. *Mira*-town is for its mention in the legend of the stamp seal from Beycesultan, dated *ca*. 2000 BC, likely to be identified as modern Beycesultan (Woudhuizen 2012). Next, *Parasa* is known from Hittite texts (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 302), it recurs in the following phrase as a centre of the cult of Kupapa. Finally, *Tarkuwa*-town is named after the king of Mira mentioned in the rock relief at Karabel, Tarkuwas, presumably, as we have noted above, the older brother of Kupantakuruntas' father Mashuittas (cf. Hawkins 1998, 6, Fig. 4; 18).

§ 18
Alongside citadels, Kupantakuruntas also built (*TAMA-ha* "I built") a palace (*URA+PARNA*) and a temple ($^{MAŠANA}$*PARNA*) *i-ā-i* "for these" (D pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this"), after which follows the enumeration of 3 gods, the Luwian divine triad consisting of the storm-god Tarhunt, the tutelary deity or god of the field, and the goddess Kupapa, specified here as the queen of Parasa. The last entry of this phrase, *wa-[ā]*, may, against the backdrop of Babylon 2, § 2 *wa-a*, likely be interpreted as "while praying".

§ 19
This phrase deals with a feat of a vassal of Kupantakuruntas, the king of Hapalla. The latter *PARNA(+r)-ta*$_6$ *ARHA* "destroyed" (3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta*) a total number of 6 towns, which are enumerated in the middle of the phrase. Among the TNs, that of *la-la-ta*$^{UMINA}$ no doubt refers to *Lalanda* (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 240-241) in the Lower Land near the border of Hapalla; in variant writing of *la-la-na-ta*$_6^{UMINA}$ it recurs in § 45. Further, *la+r(i)-ma*$^{UMINA}$ may be a *Larima*, not necessarily identical with the one in the Hulaya region of the Hittite province of Tarhuntassa (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 244). Finally, *ta*$_4$*-la+r(i)*$^{UMINA}$ may well render the Loc. sg. in *+r(i)* of the TN *Tala* (cf. del Monte/Tischler 1978, 389).

§ 20
Yet another vassal of Kupantakuruntas, the king of Atapali, *PARNA(+r)-ta*$_6$ "fortified" (3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta*) a total of 5 towns, among which features *ī* ***infans***$^{m}$*na-na*$^{UMINA}$ "this town (of) a junior official" (with the endingless A(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ī-* "this") in final position. As herewith reference is made to modern Beyköy, this is evidently located in Atapali, and the latter accordingly must be situated along the western confines of Hapalla. Among the TNs, that of *Nahita* is paralleled for Hittite texts (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 279), which does not necessarily imply identity.

§§ 21-23
In this section the parts of the realm of Kupantakuruntas are specified, which are ruled by kings. In total there are distinguished 6 kings: (1) of Wilusa, (2) of Hapalla, (3) of the land of Urawalwas, (4) of Assuwa, (5) of Mira (i.e the great king himself), who is also (6) the great king of Arzawa (with *i* "this", the endingless N(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this"). The names of the lands of Assuwa and Arzawa are rendered in abbreviation, *ASA*$^{UTNA}$ and *ARA-wa*, respectively, whereas with the land of *Urawalwas* (cf. Laroche 1966, no. 1440) reference is likely made to Seha (Woudhuizen 2014, 121 with note 367) and also known as the land of *Muwawalwas*. Note the use of the enclitic *-ha* "and" as attached to the last entry in § 21, in between *AS[UW]A* and $^{UTNA}$.

§ 24
The verb *ta*$_6$ is endingless, but likely represents the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti*. At any rate, the subject is the king of Hatti, although deceased, not living, as inferable from the use of the word *á+ya* "hero". Now, the verb *ta-* expresses the meaning "to stand," but in light of the context appears to be used here for "to provide". The deceased king of Hatti, then, provides the *URA+UMINA* "capital" for the total of 11 towns and lands which are enumerated in the following. Of the towns and lands, the first three are located in the province of Kizzuwatna: *Tarsa*, *Adana*, and *Lawazantiya* (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 408, 54, and 237-238, respectively). Just as in § 8, the remaining eight TNs are distinguished from the preceding ones by the use of the negative *na*$_4$, which again likely means that these are ruled not directly, but indirectly by one or more vassal kings. In any case, we are confronted here with *Amana* and *Mukish*, grouped together by the enclitic conjunction *+ha* "and", *Halpa*, *Karkamis*, *Ugarit*, a land the name of which is damaged beyond repair, *Hamath*, and *Gublu* or *Byblos*, all situated in the North Syrian province headed by the king of Karkamis (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 11-12, 275, 71-74, 81-82, 451, respectively; Hamath is known from Neo-Hittite Luwian hieroglyphic texts and Gublu from the El Amarna texts).

§ 25
This phrase is similar to the previous one, although the verb is omitted and the subject now is Mira. If rightly analyzed as such, Mira serves as the capital for

eight towns and lands enumerated in the following. It owes this position to the fleet, represented by two signs in the form of a ship – two again expressing plurality (like *ma ma* "rams" in § 16). Introducing the enumeration of TNs the scribe used the introductory particle *wa,* similarly to our colon (:). Featured among the names of towns and lands are *Parha* (in Pamphylia), *Pulasati* "Philistia" in the southern Levant, *Ura,* and *Lamiya* (harbor towns of the Hittites in coastal Cilicia) (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 302, 457-458, 242, respectively; for Philistia, cf. the Peleset of the Sea Peoples' texts by Ramesses III). Furthermore, it may reasonably be suggested that *la-sà-ti-na*$^{UTNA}$ is identical with *Lasti[ ]* near Ura (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 245). Finally, it is worth noting that *sà KATA-sa* specifies the otherwise unrecorded *Walukata* as being part of the Lower Land – note the use of the genitive particle *sà* "of", corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *SA* of the same function (KUB 35.54 Vs. ii 40).

§§ 26-28

In this section there are four subjects in total, the great princes Muksus, Kulanamuwas, Tuwatas, and Piyamakuruntas. Accordingly, the verb *ā-ta*$_6$ "they made" renders the 3rd person of the pl. in -$^{n}$*ta*. The object is *ā-sa-ka-lú-na*$^{UMINA}$ "Ashkelon" *ARHA mi-zi+r(i)*$^{UTNA}$ "(along) the border (of) Egypt", which is made *HARNAS* "(into) a fortress" ***navis***$_2$ "(by) ship". The ship sign is preceded by an adjective, *ka-?-?-ha*$_6$, of which two signs are unfortunately unclear, but "for battle" seems a reasonable guess. Owing to the enclitic *-mu* "for me", it is clear that the great princes act in this maritime undertaking on behalf of the great king Kupantakuruntas. Most important among the great princes is *Muksus*, whose name is the only one in the entire text marked as such by the determinative of personal names. He is said to exercise power *ā-nà UTNA UMINA -wa MI WI* "in the land(s) and town(s of) Mira (and) Wilusa", in which expression *ā-nà* corresponds to the Akkadian preposition *A-NA* "in", the introductory particle *-wa* functions as the enclitic conjunction "and", and *MI* and *WI* are abbreviations of the country names Mira and Wilusa, respectively. Now we have already noted (§ 2) that the personal name Muksus, like Walmus, is of a non-Luwian type and that only these two names are marked by the N(m/f) sg. in *-sa*. Notwithstanding its Phrygian origin, the name Muksus is already attested for the Madduwattas-text from the reign of Tudhaliyas II (1425-1390 BC) and Arnuwandas I (1400-1370 BC), be it in a section damaged beyond repair (Beckman *et alii*. 2011, 94-94). The memory to the maritime conquests by the Muksus of our present text up to and including Ashkelon along the border with Egypt was kept alive in Greek myth in the legendary tales about Mopsos (Houwink ten Cate 1961, 44-50, esp. 45). The names of the remaining three great princes *Kulanamuwas*, *Tuwatas*, and *Piyamakuruntas* are all of Luwian type. The first and third name are mentioned in Hittite texts (Laroche 1966, no. 665 [still wrongly transcribed as Kuwatnamuwas]; no. 980), whereas the second name recalls that of Tuwatis, a great king of Tabal mentioned in various Early Iron Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. Finally, the name of Kulanamuwas is also recorded for Late Bronze

Age Luwian hieroglyphic rock inscriptions from Haniyeri, İmamkulu, and Sipylos (Hawkins 1983, 398).

§ 29
In this phrase great king Kupantakuruntas is again the subject and the verb *á-i-wa* is conducted in the 1st person sg. of the present/future in *-wa*. With a view to the context, the verbal root *á-i-* "to make, do" is used here in its religious sense "to sacrifice". The object is expressed by *ya 40* and a sign in the form of a metal weight. The form *ya* renders the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this", so in sum we arrive at the translation "these 40 (metal units)". Even though *UTNA* and *ASATAR* are undeclined, it seems evident that the 40 units of metal that will be sacrificed by Kupantakuruntas are "(from that) land", referring to Ashkelon in the previous phrase, and are destined "for (the fabrication of) a throne".

§ 30
Even though the verb *TAMA* is undeclined, it seems clear that the text continues in the 1st person sg., presumably of the past tense. If so, *TAMA* represents *TAMA-ha* "I built" as recorded for § 17. The object is formed by $^{MASANA}$*PARNA* "temple". The six gods in total mentioned are evidently the beneficiaries of this temple. We come across here the Luwian divine triad consisting of the storm-god Tarhunt, the tutelary deity or god of the field, and the goddess Kupapa, again, like in § 18. The goddess Kupapa is specified here by a toponym as being the one from *[ka]-ta-WATA-na*$^{UTNA}$ "Kizzuwatna" (Fraktin § 3; cf. del Monte/Tischler 1978, 211-216). The last god in the enumeration of divinities is the one from *á-pa-sa*$^{UTNA}$ "Ephesos" (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 26-27).

§§ 31-32
The verbal form *TAMA-mu-ha* confronts us with a variant spelling of regular *TA-MA-ha* "I built". The object is *UMINA+mi* "citadel(s)", which, although undeclined, obviously renders the plural as an enumeration of 25 place-names in sum follows. These citadels are located *à+ta ARA-wa*$^{UTNA}$ "in Arzawa"; note that *à+ta* "in" is preposition here, and not postposition as in §§ 4 and 12. The remaining element *ASU* "good" functions as adverb, and likely expresses the meaning "lavishly". In the enumeration of place-names, we come across *Apasa* "Ephesos" (see preceding phrase), *Kurupi(ya)* (member of the Assuwa-coalition, see del Monte/Tischler 1978, 228), *Smyrna*, and *Asaruti* or *Assaratta* (also associated with Assuwa, cf. del Monte/Tischler 1978, 46). All these places are located in later Lydia: Ephesos and Smyrna along the Aegean coast, whereas Kurupiya has been plausibly identified by Jacques Freu with Mt. Koruphè on the promontory between Ephesus and Smyrna (Woudhuizen 2014, 120; 123; 129; 136) and Assaratta has been cogently argued by Michael Bányai (*forthc*.) to be identical with Sardis on account of its association with the *Warmala* or Hermos river (Fig. 6)[4]. Furthermore, *ha*$_6$*+r-pa-hi-li*$^{UMINA}$ may well be identical with Harpanhila (del Monte & Tischler 1978: 89), whereas *ā-ti-pa-li-à*$^{UMINA}$ needs to be distinguished from the Hapallan province of Atapali.

§§ 33-35

In this section follows an enumeration of 14 towns and lands *ī-na há-pa-la*$^{UMINA}$ "in Hapalla" (with *ī-na* corresponding to the Akkadian preposition *I-NA* "in"). The introductory phrase starts with the negative *na*$_4$ "not", which, as in §§ 8 and 24, seems to indicate that the towns and lands in question are ruled not directly by the great king of Arzawa but indirectly by his vassal king of Hapalla (that is the reason why these 14 TNs are not included in the preceding enumeration of 25 Arzawan towns). Then follows the sequence *á-na-ma wa-na*, of which the second element is likely to be identified as *wana-* "stele". If this is correct, it is reasonable to consider the preceding *á-na-ma* as a reflex of PIE **h*$_1$*nómn̥ )* "name" (Mallory/Adams 2007, 356). It follows that the Arzawan language is distinct in this respect from the language otherwise attested for Luwian hieroglyphic, which is characterized by *á+tì-ma* (Köylütolu § 4), linked up with Hittite *lāman* "name" by means of interchange between [t] and [l]. At any rate, the foregoing analysis leads us to the conclusion that in the 14 towns and lands of Hapalla following in the enumeration a name-stele has been erected. As far as the names are concerned, Alusa, Anasara, and Nassa are paralleled for Hittte texts (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 11, 16, and 280, respectively). As opposed to this, *ī-ka+r*$^{UTNA}$ seems more likely to be paralleled by Luwian hieroglyphic *Ika* as attested for the Kululu lead strip 1, §§ 28 and 45 than by Hittite *Ikara* (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 137). If so, this entry likely renders the Loc. sg. in *+r(i)*.

§ 36

The subject of this phrase appears to be Muksus. The verb is expressed by *à*, which, if we are right about the subject, likely represents the 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-ti* of *a(ia)-* "to make, do" in its religious sense "to sacrifice"[5]. If so, Muksus will sacrifice *APA-sa-sa-wa*$^{UTNA}$ "(in) the land (of) Apaisos" *URA+HANTAWAT la+PÁRNA* "(on behalf of) the great king, Labarnas", and he will do so to the series of 8 gods that follows, among which features the Luwian divine triad with which we are already familiar and which consists of the storm-god Tarhunt, the tutelary deity or god of the field, and the goddess Kupapa.

§ 37

The preposition *PÁRA-na* "for the benefit of" rules the accusative case (Woudhuizen 2011, 390) and is regularly followed by *i-ā*, the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this". Accordingly, Muksus will further do *KWA* "what(ever else)" for the benefit of the gods just mentioned, considered here as a collective.

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[4] A reflex of PIE **g*$^{wh}$*ermós* "warm" (Mallory/Adams 2007, 344-345) with for Luwian regular loss of the voiced velar.

[5] Note that the present/future is more likely than the past tense here against the backdrop that the religious activities by great prince Kulanamuwas in § 39 are also in the present/future.

§ 38
This phrase partly repeats § 36 and forms the closure of the topic on the religious obligations by Muksus on behalf of the great king: "(So) Muksus (on behalf of) the great king (in) the land (of) Apaisos".

§ 39
After the religious obligations of Muksus, the text here continues with those of another primary vassal, great prince Kulanamuwas. The latter is specified here by the abbreviation *MA* as the vassal ruler of Masa. Now, the religious obligation of Kulanamuwas consists of the task that *luluti* "he will placate" (= reduplicated variant of the verb *lu-*)[6] *-li* "for himself" (= reflexive *-ti* by interchange between [t] and [l]), *mu-ka-sa<+r>* "(by) invocation" (cf. *mu-ki-SARA-* in Karahöyük-Elbistan § 6) $^{MASANA}$*KULANA* "the god of the army".

§ 40
While his foremost great princes Muksus and Kulanamuwas are busy with their religious obligations in their respective realms, Apaisos and Masa, the great king himself, as he states in his own words: *ASA-wa* "I will remain seated" *ASATAR* "(on) the throne" *ARA*$^{UTNA}$ "(of) Arzawa".

§ 41
The verb *TIWA-TIWA*, which occurs twice, is undeclined, but in view of the preceding *AMU* "I" doubtless represents the 1st person sg. of the past tense in *-ha*, *TIWA-TIWA-ha* "I regularly campaigned" (cf. *TIWA*$_2$*-TIWA*$_2$*-* "to walk regularly" in Karatepe § 35). There are mentioned three lands in which these military campaigns were launched: *Tarhuntassa*, *Kaska* territory, and *Masa*. As noted in the discussion of § 15 above, Tarhuntassa definitely formed an integral part of the Hittite Empire until its downfall *ca*. 1190 BC.

§ 42
The verb is expressed by the image of a gift bearing person. There are listed 6 kings in sum, who brought gifts, among which feature the ones from Atipali (= writing variant of Atapali of § 20), Kizzuwatna (*KATA-WATA-na*$^{UTNA}$, cf. § 30) and Karkamis (cf. § 24). Again, Kizzuwatna and Karkamis formed an integral part of the Hittite Empire until its downfall *ca*. 1190 BC. It may be that with *ā-la-sá-?*$^{UTNA}$ reference is made to Alasiya (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 6), but this is uncertain because of the damaged sign indicated here by a question mark. The sequence *TALMI-ma*$_4$ *[ ] UTNA* no doubt renders the meaning "(the kings of) all land(s)".

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[6] The verbal root *lu-* is also present in *lu-sá-* c. *ar+ha* "to absent (oneself)" in Assur f-g §§ 45 and 51; note that reduplication renders a frequentative aspect.

§ 43
In this phrase the subject is the great king, Kupantakuruntas, again. The verb *ā* is undeclined, but likely represents the 1st person sg. of the past tense in *-ha*, *a(-i-a)-ha* "I made". At any rate, the verb governs a double accusative, as the object *UMINA+mi ma-sa-sa* "the citadel of Masa" (note that Masa is marked by the G sg. in *-sa*) is made into *mi$^{?}$-ā-na UTNA* "my (own) land" (with the possessive pronoun of the 1st person sg. *mi(a)-* marked by the A(m/f) sg. in *-na*).

§ 44
This phrase is damaged beyond repair. In general outline, it recalls §§ 36 and 38.

§ 45-46
The subject of this section is Kupantakuruntas, again, but the verbs *sa-ta+r-ha-ta$_6$* and *à+r-wa-na-ta$_6$* are conducted in the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta*. It seems likely that *sa-ta+r-ha-ta$_6$* confronts us with the reduplicated variant of the verb *tarh-* "to be victorious" (cf. *tá-ta+r-ha-tá* in Beyköy 1, see Woudhuizen *forthcoming*, 160), the first syllable for some unknown reason being subject to assibilation. In any case, it is clear that Kupantakuruntas "continued to be victorious" *UTNA* "over the land(s)" which are enumerated in the preceding. Furthermore, the root of *à+r-wa-na-ta$_6$* likely comes into consideration as a reflex of the verb *harwana-* "to send", characterized by the loss of the initial laryngeal (on the loss of the laryngeal in Luwian, see Woudhuizen 2011, 412-413). If so, Kupantakuruntas sent 8000 (troops) to Hapalla in order to ensure his victories over the enumerated lands. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that among the enumerated lands and towns (16 in sum) we come across those in the neighborhood of Hapalla, like the *Hulana* river land (del Monte/Tischler 1978: 529-530), the land of *Kalasma* with the town *Lalha* (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 163-164 and 241, respectively, the latter marked here by the N(m/f) or G sg. ending in *-sa*), *Pitassa* (in a spelling varying from its mention in § 12), *Tarhuntassa* (in a spelling varying from its mention in § 41), and the town *Lalanda* (again in a spelling varying from its mention in § 19). Furthermore, *Watarwa* is a toponym known from Hittite texts, and *TARKASNA-la+r(i)$^{UTNA}$* presumably confronts us with the Loc. sg. in *+r(i)* of a land named after the ruler of Hapalla in the reign of Mursilis II, Targasnallis (Bryce 2010, 214). Finally, it is worth mentioning that Kupantakuruntas did not (negative *na$_4$*) march against *Lula* (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 251, associated with Tarhuntassa; note that this name, like Lalha, is also marked here by the N(m/f) or G sg. ending in *-sa*).

§§ 47-48
This section starts with *mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$ à-ta* "in Mira" (with postposition *à-ta* "in"), which is followed by the enumeration of 25 place-names. Among these TNs feature *mi<+r(a)>-à$^{UMINA}$* "Mira-town", Tarkuwa, and Mitasa, which we already came across in § 17. Note furthermore that *Urawana* is paralleled for Hittite texts in form of *Urauna* (del Monte/Tischler 1978, 459, associated with Kalasma). After this follows the remark that Kupantakuruntas *ta-ta$_6$* "placed" *HARNAS sa mi+r(a)-à$^{UTNA}$*

"(at) the fortress of Mira" (with genitive particle *sa* "of" like in § 25) 6000 (troops) *á+r-wa-na* "(for) missions" (N-A(n) in *-a* of a noun *harwan-* "mission" derived from the verb *harwana-* "to send", with loss of the initial laryngeal, again).

§§ 49-50
The subject of this section is *á+r-nú-wa-na-ta*$_6$ "Arnuwandas", *HANTAWAT HÁ(TI)*$^{UTNA}$ "king (of) Hatti". The ruler in question is known as Arnuwandas III, the penultimate Hittite great king, who ruled shortly from *ca*. 1209 to *ca*. 1205 BC (for his sealings, see Güterbock 1940, no. 64; Herbordt/Bawanypeck/Hawkins 2011, 100; 208-210; Tafel 52-53 [= Kat. 138-139]). Against the backdrop of the association of his name with *MASANA*, we are likely to be dealing here with the expression *MASANA á-i-mi* "having become god", a euphemism for having died as known from Fraktin § 3. This information coincides with that of § 24, in which, as we have seen, the king of Hatti is addressed as a hero – a term used only in association with deceased kings. It is said of this king that *-tá* "because of this" *na*$_4$ *hu-wa-ta*$_6$ *nú-wa-ta*$_6$ "he did not run (into and) renew (his hold on)" in sum 7 towns and lands. The towns and lands enumerated are: *Tarhuntassa* (in a spelling varying from its mention in §§ 41 and 45), *Ura* (also mentioned in § 25), *wa-su la-wa*$^{UMINA}$ "holy Lawazantiya" (with the TN *la-wa-ta*$_4$*-ti* of § 24 occurring here in abbreviation), *la-mi-i*$^{HAPA\text{-}UTNA}$ "the river land (of) Lamiya" (occurring as *la-mi-à* in § 25), *WARPA HÁ(TI)*$^{UTNA}$ *ā-ru-na-sa* "crown domain(s of) Hatti of the sea" (cf. Hittite *aruna-* "sea"), *WARPA i-ku-wa-na*$^{UTNA}$ *hu+r-nà-i*$^{UTNA}$ "(further) crown domain(s of Hatti): Konya (and) Hurna" (= Hittite *Ikkuwaniya*, see del Monte/Tischler 1978, 137-138, and *Hurna*, see del Monte/Tischler 1978, 126, associated with Mount Haharwa). Kupantakuruntas is entirely neglecting here the reign of Suppiluliumas II (*ca*. 1205-1190 BC), which he apparently did not recognize and which provides him with the pretext to campaign in Hatti-lands while at the same time keeping up the appearance to act in the interest of the Hittite Empire (§§ 14-15). It follows from this observation that Suppiliulumas II had a serious problem along his western and southern borders with a hostile Arzawan great king who was supposed to be his loyal partner.

## 3. Significance of Beyköy 2

The Luwian hieroglyphic Beyköy 2 document constitutes a remarkable item of research history, initially recorded in 1878 but not published until now. The text is unique in a number of ways. Firstly, it was composed in western Asia Minor, an area that has produced little documentary evidence so far. Previously, we had only scraps of texts from this region consisting of a mere two phrases at most. Secondly, Beyköy 2 dates back to a time at the end of the Bronze Age which is not well documented. Until now, the latest text from the imperial period had been the Südburg inscription, written at a time when the reign of Suppiluliumas II had reached a mature stage. Beyköy 2 was evidently composed after Hittite rule had

collapsed. And thirdly, with 50 phrases it is the longest text from the imperial period, relegating the Yalburt inscription with its 44 phrases to second place. These physical characteristics alone make Beyköy 2 unique, regardless of its contents.

The inscription reveals that at the beginning of the 12th century BC a powerful great kingdom existed in western Asia Minor. Kupantakurantas, the great king who ruled in this region and ordered the inscription, aims to report his achievements at home and abroad. It is the third ruler by this name that we know of. The first was a contemporary of Arnuwandas I and is mentioned in the Maduwattas text. The second was a contemporary of Mursilis II and Muwatallis II. After Mursilis II had conquered the west, he installed Kupantakurantas II as a vassal to serve the great king of Hatti – in perpetuity.

Kupantakurantas II's grandson was Mashuittas of Mira. Under his rule, the west gained strength. Tudhaliyas IV soon faced problems again in the west and captured 500 chariots from Tarhunaradus of Seha. Also, Mashuittas was addressed as "great king" by a Hittite ruler whose name is lost. The issue at stake at the time was Wilusa. As the hieroglyphic text shows, the king of Wilusa, Walmus, was reinstalled by Mashuittas, and thus obviously became a vassal of Mira instead of Hatti.

Kupantakurantas III's basic realm appears to have consisted of Mira and Hapalla. At the time the inscription was composed, however, it had grown to include six kingdoms: (1) Mira and (2) Arzawa, directly governed by the great king himself; (3) Hapalla, (4) Wilusa, plus what appears to be (5) Assuwa and may have been a district of Mira, and the territory ruled by King Urawalwas, that is presumably identical with (6) Seha.

The king of Hapalla is said to have destroyed six towns, while the king of Atapali, the western province of Hapalla, fortified five towns. For four of those, the names are given. The fifth is "this place," i.e. modern Beyköy. Beyköy was therefore located in the kingdom of Hapalla.

Arzawa has a long tradition and comes across as the most prestigious kingdom of the entire realm, even more so than Mira. The kingdom evidently included the Aegean coast. The place names given can be identified on a modern map: Smyrna (İzmir), Kurupiya (the peninsula south of İzmir), and Apasa (Efes). It is not clear how far inland the kingdom stretched. The text says that Kupantakuruntas built 25 citadels in Arzawa.

Mira is the most likely seat of Kupantakurantas. A candidate for its capital is Sardis, since this was the center of gold production and the seat of wealthy Iron Age rulers. The name Sardis appears to be reflected in Assaratta, which is associated with Assuwa. In other words, Sardis lay in a district called Assuwa that was part of the kingdom of Mira. This would explain why Assuwa and Mira alternate in their significance in texts from the Empire period – the terms may have been pretty much synonymous.

Above all, Beyköy 2 illuminates the period during the Sea People invasions – a time that has thus far been completely obscure. Kupantakurantas III speaks highly of Arnuwandas III, the last ruler of the Hittite kingdom whom he recognized. As we know, Arnuwandas III had no son. When he died, his younger brother Suppiluliumas

II assumed the vacated throne. But Kupantakurantas III does not mention this last Hittite king. Either he did not recognize him as a legitimate ruler, or Suppiluliumas II had already died and the central part of his kingdom had been devastated by advancing Kaskans. It appears as if the southern and southeastern districts of the Hittite realm were uncontrolled. This gave Kupantakurantas III the right to march into these territories, as the text implies. Coming over land, his forces attacked Kaska, Masa, and Tarhuntassa. He then established a fleet and began conquering coastal cities: (1) Parha (evidently Perge on the Kaistros river in Pamphylia); (2) Ura (often identified with Silifke on the Cilician coast); (3) Lamiya (also on the Cilician coast, presumably on the river Lamos); and (4) Philistia. The name Philistia might represent the southern coast of the Levant (Palestine), but since we know that the term was also used farther north, it might also represent the region around Ugarit. In any case, the forces of the great king of Mira stormed far south and even established a fortress in Ashkelon, "on the border with Egypt", as the text emphasizes. Kupantakuruntas states that this maritime campaign to southeastern Anatolia and the Levant was conducted not by himself but by four great princes: Muksus, Kulanamuwas, Tuwatas, and Piyakuruntas. Of these, Muksus is the most prominent, as his name is singled out by the determinative of personal names and more sections are dedicated to him. Bearing a Phrygian type of name, he was seated in Apassawa or Apaisos on the Dardanelles. The memory of the conquest of Ashkelon by Muksus has been preserved in the legendary tales of Mopsos in Greek historical tradition. The Lydian historian Xanthos recalls how a powerful western Anatolian ruler "penetrated as far as Ascalon during a campaign against Egypt" (Houwink ten Cate 1961, 45).

Beyköy 2 thus provides additional evidence that the states of western Asia Minor, under the central rulership of the great king of Mira, actively participated in the attacks that brought down a large number of coastal cities in the eastern Mediterranean at the transition between the Bronze and the Iron Age. People from western Asia Minor actively took part in the upheavals that have been transmitted to us as the so-called Sea Peoples' invasions. The naval leadership of an aristocrat from the Troad helps explain the many parallels between the Tjekker mentioned in the Sea Peoples' inscription from Medinet Habu and the Early Iron Age Teukros from Troy. In addition, the text shows that historiography existed in western Asia Minor some eight hundred years before Herodotos.

This of course raises the question as to why, if this text was of utmost significance for archaeological research, Mellaart did not publish it. Mellaart was a specialist in archaeology and historical geography, but not in inscriptions and texts. The translation was the result of painstaking research by scholars who were senior to Mellaart. Mellaart thus considered this to be other people's work, and was convinced for many years that a publication would soon materialize. When one of us (EZ) asked Mellaart during a telephone conversation in August 1995 what could be done to have the important cuneiform Beyköy Text published, he replied calmly: "Just wait another five years!" (see Zangger 2017, 216-217).

## 4. Arguments for and against authenticity

After this paper had been submitted and accepted for publication, a number of people in the field of Luwian hieroglyphic studies heard about the imminent appearance of a document that owing to its sheer size would constitute about one third of all thus far known Luwian hieroglyphic texts from the Bronze Age. At this point it emerged that J. David Hawkins had known about the document since 1989, and Mark Weeden since 2012. Both scholars, we learnt, were convinced that Beyköy 2 was a forgery produced by Mellaart.

Mellaart's name has indeed sometimes been connected with artefacts of doubtful provenance, above all the Dorak treasure. However, the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara set up a commission to investigate this particular case and it arrived at the conclusion that Mellaart had acted correctly and could thus not be blamed for any wrongdoing. The police in İzmir also thoroughly investigated the case, with a commission delivering the same judgment: Mellaart was not guilty. We have also looked into the cases where Mellaart was accused of "imagining evidence" (Hodder) and have found the accusations unconvincing. Above all, Mellaart has never been convicted of having committed forgery. In our opinion, he encountered a wealth of artefacts during his research and did not have the financial resources to record them as properly as one would wish from today's perspective.

The following arguments have thus far been put forward in support of the claim that Beyköy 2 is a forgery:

*a. The inscription contains signs from the Imperial period as well as from the Early Iron Age.* – As has been stated before, the sign *376 (§ 6, etc.) marked by the two slanting strokes at their lower side to form *377 and *210 is a typical feature of Luwian hieroglyphic texts from an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age. However, the sign has recently also been identified in this form on a Hittite clay tablet (Waal 2017, 304-305, Fig. 7), and was thus already in use during the Late Bronze Age.

*b. The endings for the nominative and accusative singular of the communal gender in* -sa *and* -na *are in the main omitted*. – This is in contrast with the procedure in texts dating from Early Iron Age. However, the omission of these endings is a typical feature of texts dating to the Late Bronze Age (Woudhuizen 2011, 103-104) and characteristic even for Linear B texts. Rather than being an argument for forgery, this observation underlines the authenticity of the document.

*c. Sign *376 is used both for* i *and* zi. – This conflicts with the current paradigm in Luwian hieroglyphic studies that *376 is used exclusively for the expression of the value *zi*. However, the polyphonic nature of *376, being used for *i* and *zi*, has been proved on the basis of an exhaustive and unbiased overview of the bilingual evidence (Woudhuizen 2011, 92-97). Beyköy 2 confirms the polyphonic nature of *376, which has significant repercussions for the reading of Luwian hieroglyphs in general. Much of the work published during the past twenty years needs to be reevaluated.

*d. Unnatural syllabications occur in the text.* – Beyköy 2 represents the only

large document reflecting the Luwian language as it was spoken in Arzawa (as opposed to Hattusa). We simply do not know what was common practice among scribes in western Asia Minor. However, there does not seem to be anything unusual about the way this text is composed.

*e. The document contains unknown ligatures.* – Since it is the only document of this size that has thus far come to light, it is bound to contain symbols and ligatures that have not been seen before. Therefore, the existence of these signs argues in favor of the authenticity of the document, since a forger would have carefully avoided any aberrations.

*f. The person identified as* ma-sa-hù+i-ti *(= Mashuittas) should be read as* ma-sa-AVUS+zi-ti. – The name *Mashuittas* occurs only once so far, as that of a great king in a Hittite cuneiform letter (KBo XVIII 18, see Hagenbuchner 1989, 317); we did not know until now how the name would be spelled in hieroglyphs. Evidently, there was only one great king called Mashuittas, so Beyköy 2 now produces bigraphic (Hittite cuneiform and Luwian hieroglyphic) evidence for his existence. This is indeed another strong argument for the authenticity of the document.

*g. The spelling* Pulasati *is a "Masperonian relic" for "Philistia" in the southern Levant.* – The term *Pulasati* was thus far only known from Egyptian hieroglyphs. In Beyköy 2 it occurs for the first time in Luwian hieroglyphs – as a genuine Luwian hieroglyphic reflex of Egyptian *pwrsṯ*. It is spelled exactly as one would expect, and Mellaart's/Alkım's transliteration as "Philistia" makes perfect sense.

*h. Contrary to the spelling rules known thus far, the [n] before a dental is sometimes written, as most conspicuous in the case of* la-la-na-ta$_6$ *(§ 45) alongside* la-la-ta *(§ 19) "Lalanda".* – If taken as an argument in favour of a forgery, the forger must be assumed to be an *ignoramus* in the field of Luwian hieroglyphics, which would collide with his brilliant mastery of the grammar which is typical for Late Bronze Age texts. It seems more economical, therefore, to assume that the western Anatolian tradition in writing in hieroglyphic differs in this respect from that of the rest of Anatolia, likely under the influence of cuneiform Luwian in which the writing of [n] before a dental is standard.

None of the above issues is of any relevance for the gist of the text. On the other hand, there are numerous arguments suggesting that the document must be authentic:

*a.* Mellaart could not read Luwian hieroglyphs, let alone compose texts with them.

*b.* The document itself exhibits a sophistication in grammar way beyond the interpretative skills of the scholars who worked on it.

*c.* The style of the drawing is characteristic for the 19th century, compare the corpus by Messerschmidt of 1900.

*d.* The blocks were drawn in the wrong order. Mellaart produced pencil drawings of the entire document on four A4 pages and then a separate ink drawing of each page. These drawings – with the stones in the wrong order – reached J. David Hawkins. It is quite clear from Mellaart's estate that the correct order

of the stones was only recognized shortly before Alkım died. The bequest contained a complete interpretation of the document marked "Beyköy, rearranged text. U. B. Alkım 1980" (Fig. 2).

*e.* The document contains more than 150 toponyms, of which two thirds are not even identifiable at this point. A forger might have invented a few place names to add an exotic touch, but why as many as one hundred?

*f.* Four of the symbols used in the document are thus far unknown.

*g.* On three occasions, the order of signs has been accidentally reversed.

*h.* In one instance, the pattern of writing in columns has been changed and the text is written in a horizontal line from left to right.

*i.* The documents retrieved from Mellaart's study reveal many years of careful analysis of these texts, re-arranged manuscript passages, new page numberings, and hand-drawn lists of kings and maps. They show how over the years the archaeologist increasingly managed to grasp the information provided in the texts and thereby improve his interpretations. But he was clearly struggling, and it evidently took Mellaart many years to get acquainted with the material.

If the allegation is made that the document was forged, it should be backed up with arguments as to why, how, and by whom. Composing the factual content of the document would require many years of research to establish a plausible and consistent political geography and the appropriate chronological charts with the sequences of rulers – something that the entire scholarly community has so far failed to achieve despite a century of research. There would have to have been countless stages of development, drafts, and prototypes. And it would all have to have been done manually without the help of computers, which were not yet invented. Absolutely nothing in Mellaart's study records a step involving creation – all his efforts were dedicated to analyzing what was given to him. And what would have been the motivation for forgery? Mellaart would not publish the document; he would not even mention it in any of his publications. He clearly left the interpretation of the document to Alkım.

All in all, how likely is the scenario that Mellaart fabricated this text compared to the alternative: that some ancient documents were discovered during the second half of the 19th century, made it into governmental Ottoman possession, and that Turkish scholars began to work on these documents soon after the scripts were deciphered and the languages had become readable? After all, tens of thousands of Late Bronze Age documents were retrieved during the first half of the 20th century; it would thus not be surprising if a few had already been found before. People in the field are indeed aware that the collections of the archaeological museums in Turkey contain unpublished documents of significant value. The papers in Mellaart's file yield a glimpse into this material.

We therefore decided that this document should be published so that its merit and authenticity could be evaluated and discussed by the scientific community.

## 5. Other Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions from Mellaart's files

Beyköy 2 is the most prominent Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from the Imperial period ever found, and as such also stands out among the documents from Mellaart's estate. However, Mellaart's files contained three other large hieroglyphic inscriptions: one from Edremit (Fig. 3), one from Yazılıtaş (Fig. 4), and one from Dağardı (Fig. 5: E-F), as well as four fragments, one from Dağardı (Fig. 5: D), again, one from Şahankaya (Fig. 5: C), and two from Beyköy (Fig. 5: A-B).
The inscription from Yazılıtaş ("inscribed stone") was found as early as in 1854, when the hieroglyphs were still interpreted as being Egyptian (?)! The notes in French, which apparently go back to Perrot, read as follows:

> "Longeur près de six metres, hauteur 30-35 cms. Inscriptions rupestre en hièroglyphique Egyptiens(?) sculptée en haut relief près du sommet de Mandira Dagh ("Yazılıtaş" sa Ayarmend) visitée en 1854 et copiée par Subni Sami + variante chose".

According to the map provided by Mellaart, Yazılıtaş was located at 1344 meters above sea level in the mountain range 36 km northeast of Pergamon. "Mandra Dağ" is to be identified with Mount Ahuwanati in Luwian. The inscription was hewn into the bedrock near the summit and might therefore still be visible today. The remark that it was rendered in high relief presumably also holds good for Beyköy 2 and the other inscriptions as this is a regular feature of Late Bronze Age stone inscriptions.
According to Mellaart's handwritten notes, the inscription from Edremit was found in 1878, immediately after the one in Beyköy. Mellaart writes: "The local authorities had taken the blocks and kept them with other remains at the Belediye [municipality] Garden." Perrot copied it in 1878, immediately after he had copied the Beyköy 2 text.
The two documents consist almost entirely of place-names. The Edremit inscription comprises 43 place-names beginning with towns on Lesbos and ending with the mountain were the text was engraved. A typical feature of the inscriptions from Edremit and Yazılıtaş is that the determinatives for "town" (*225) and "land" (*228) are encircled when having a bearing on an island; for convenience's sake, these are transliterated as *UMINA* and *UTNA*. In the inscription from Edremit, furthermore, the determinative of a personal name is written below the name marked as such instead of at the start of it.

### Edremit

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| § 1 | *URA+HANTAWAT+**infans**$^{m}$*<br>*mu-ka-sa ā-nà MI WI*<br>*UTNA-**dominus** HARNAS-sa*<br>*ta+r-ha-ta$_6$ a$_5$-la-na-ta$_6$*$^{UTNA}$<br>*um+li-wa-na-ta$_6$*$^{UTNA}$ | "Great prince Muksas,<br>country-lord in Mi(ra and)<br>Wi(lusa), conquered the<br>(following) fortress(es in<br>the lands of) Alanda (and)<br>Muliwanda (total 43): |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *wa-na-ta$_6$-sa$^{UMINA}$ [la-sa]-pa$^{UMINA}$* | Antissa, the island (of) |
| | *um+mi-tu-mi-na$^{UMINA}$* | Lesbos, Methymna, |
| | *mu-ti-li-na$^{UMINA}$ [?-?-?]$^{UMINA}$* | Mitylene, the islands (of) |
| | *[?-?]-sa$^{UMINA}$ [ā]-pa+r(a)$^{UMINA}$* | [ ], [ ]sa, Imbros, Lemnos, |
| | *la-mi-na$^{UMINA}$ ta$_6$-na-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$* | Tenedos, Alanda-town, |
| | *a$_5$-la-na-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$ ku-ru-sa$^{UMINA}$* | Chryse, Watama, Atar, |
| | *wa-ta$_6$-ma$^{UMINA}$ ā-ta+r$^{UMINA}$* | [ ], Kamusa, Astyra, |
| | *[ ] ka-mu-sa$^{UMINA}$* | Tatuwanasa, Kilipana, |
| | *á-sa-tu+r(a)$^{UMINA}$* | Pirwi/zuna, Wahapatasa, |
| | *ta$_6$-tu-wa-na-sa$^{UMINA}$* | Abydos, Awi/zunalasa, |
| | *ki-li-pa-nà$^{UMINA}$ pi+r-wí/zu-na$^{UMINA}$* | mount Wi/Zumiwasa, |
| | *wa-ha-pa-ta-sa$^{UMINA}$* | Kamanata, the land (of) |
| | *ā-ta$_6$-pa-wa-sa$^{UMINA}$* | Muliwanda, Wanatasatar, |
| | *ā-wí/zu-na-la-sa$^{UMINA}$* | Arisbe, Perkote, Pityeia, |
| | *$^{WANTI}$wí/zu-mi-wa-sa$^{UMINA}$* | La[ ], Apartur, [ ]sa, |
| | *ka-ma-na-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$* | Nana[ ], Parion, Samatasa, |
| | *um+li-wa-na-ta$_6$$^{UTNA}$* | [ ], Adrasteia, Winatasa, |
| | *wa-na-ta$_6$-sa-ta+r$^{UMINA}$* | Gargara, the land (of) mount |
| | *ā+r-sa-pa$^{UMINA}$ pa-ru-ki-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$* | Leleges, Atarnatur, |
| | *pi-tu[-?]$^{UMINA}$ la[-?-?-?]$^{UMINA}$* | Adramyttion [= Edremit], |
| | *ā-pa+r-tu+r$^{UMINA}$ [?-?]-sa$^{UMINA}$* | (and) Matarsa." |
| | *nà-nà[-?-?]$^{UMINA}$ pa+r-mu-sa$^{UMINA}$* | |
| | *sa-ma-ta$_6$-sa$^{UMINA}$ [?-?-?]$^{UMINA}$* | |
| | *ā-ta+r-sa-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$ wi-nà-ta$_6$-sa$^{UMINA}$* | |
| | *ká+r-ka$^{!}$-la-sa$^{UMINA}$* | |
| | *$^{WANTI}$la-la-ka<-sa>$^{UTNA}$* | |
| | *ā-ta+r-na-tu+r$^{UMINA}$* | |
| | *ā-ta+r-mu-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$ ma-ta+r-sa$^{UMINA}$* | |
| § 2 | *à-wa á-ta$_6$-la-wa-sa* | "And Atalawas represented |
| | *um+li-wa-ta$_6$$^{UMINA}$ á-sa$_4$$^{?}$-wa$^{UTNA}$* | the crown (in) Muliwanda- |
| | *WARPA-ta$_6$* | town (and) the land (of) Asa$^{?}$wa." |
| § 3 | *'ma-la-mu-sa tu-ha-pi-sa **infans**$^{m}$* | "Malamus, son of Tuhapis, |
| | *'á-ka-tár-ha-sa la-ku-pa<-sa>* | (and) Akatarhas, son (of) |
| | ***infans**$^{m}$ pi-há-sa-ta [?-?-?]$^{UTNA}$* | Lakupas, continued to be |
| | | glorious (in) the land [ ]." |
| § 4 | *[ ] $^{MASANA}$[ ] $^{MASANA}$[ ]* | (dedication to the gods) |

For the first section of § 1, cf. Beyköy 2, § 26. The verb is expressed here by *ta+r-ha-ta$_6$*, the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta* of *tarh-* "to conquer", whereas the object is formed by *HARNAS-sa*, the N-A(n) sg. in *-sa* (otherwise attested only for texts from an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age) of the noun

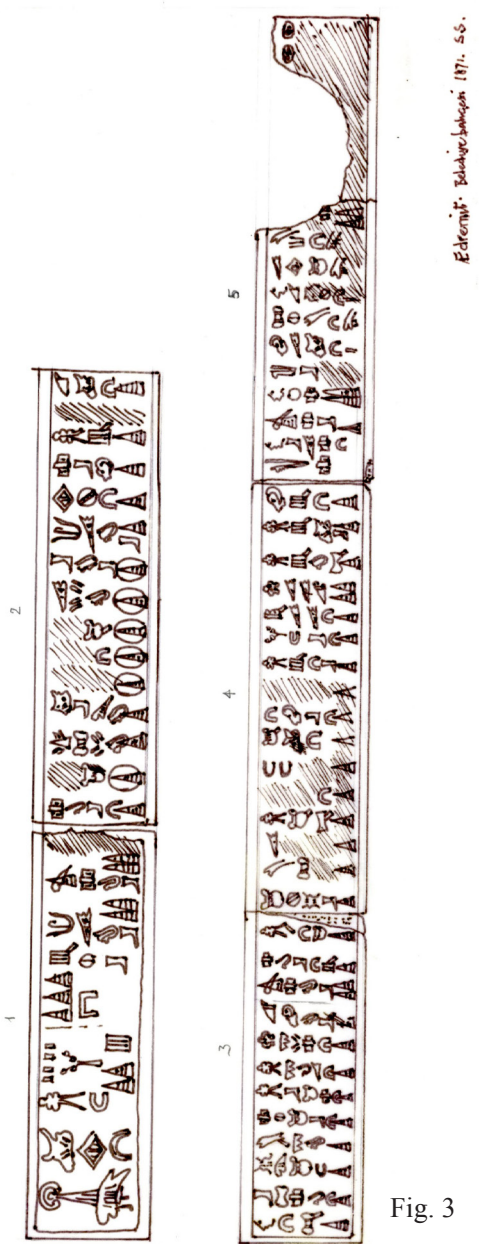

Fig. 3

Fig. 4.

Fig. 3. The inscription from Edremit, discovered in 1871.
Fig. 4. The inscription from Yazılıtaş, discovered in 1854.
Copied by Georges Perrot in 1878 and depicted here in the ink tracing produced by James Mellaart during the 1970s.

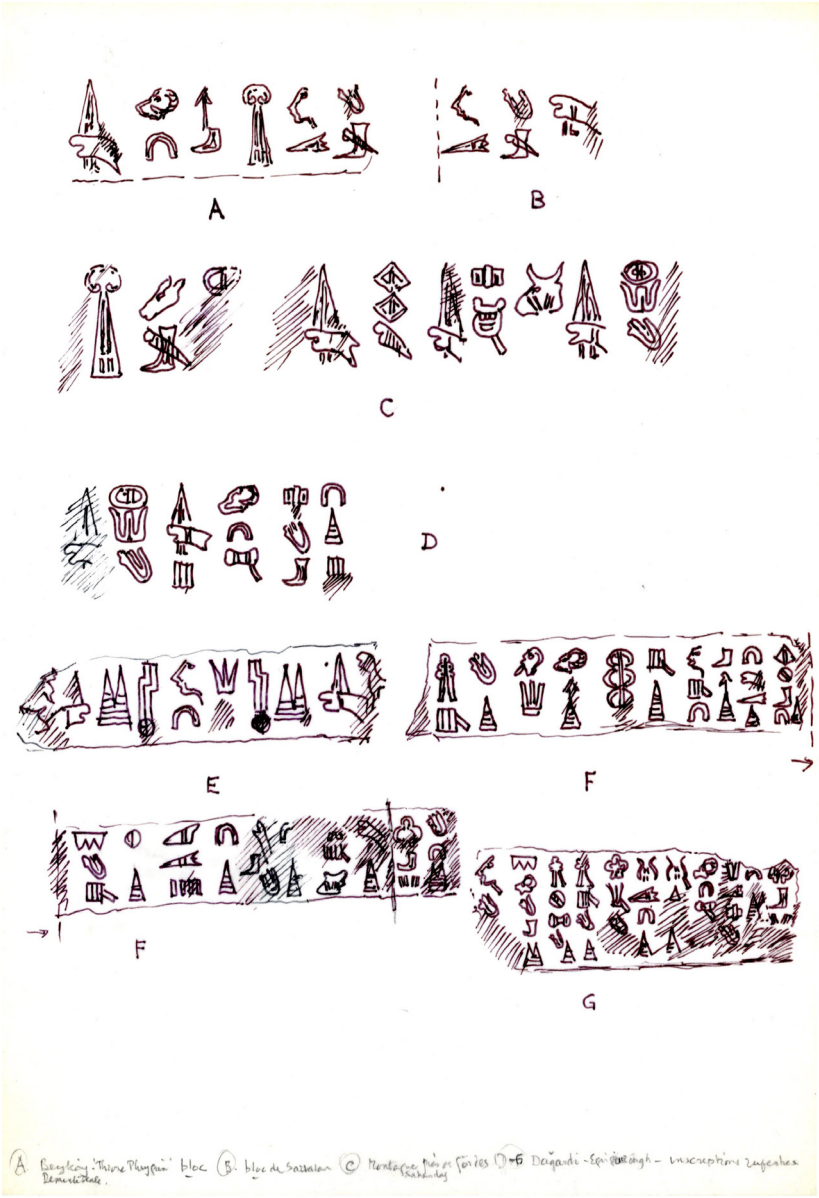


Fig. 5. Remaining inscriptions: Beyköy 3-4 (A-B), Şahankaya (C), Dağardı 1 (D), and Dağardı 2 (E-G). Copied by Georges Perrot and depicted here in the ink tracing produced by James Mellaart during the 1970s.

*harnas-* "fortress" used here for the expression of the plural. The list of place-names with a bearing of the realm of great prince Muksas informs us about the extent of his Trojan realm. Now, in this list three clusters can be distinguished (here provided in their Greek form):
I. (west) Antissa, Lesbos, Methymna, Mytilene, Imbros, Lemnos, Tenedos;
II. (northeast) Abydos, Arisbe, Perkote, Pityeia, Parion;
III. (southeast) Gargara, mount Leleges, Adramyttion.
With the exception of Gargara and mount Leleges (cf. Hom., *Il.* 20.92-96; 21.86), all these names were already correctly identified by Alkım or Mellaart. Only two verbs appear in the entire text. The verb in § 2 consists of *WARPA-ta*$_6$, the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta* of the root *warpa-* "to represent the crown" (cf. Afyon § 1). As opposed to this, the verb in § 3, *pi-há-sa-ta*, renders the 3rd person pl. of the past tense in *-*$^n$*ta* of the frequentative in *-sa-* of the root *piha-* "to shine, be glorious". Note that the personal names in the latter two phrases are characterized by the N(m/f) sg. in *-sa* or, in case of the patronymics, the G sg. in *-sa*.

**Yazılıtaş**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| § 1 | *[ ] la-sa-pa*$^{\underline{UTNA}}$ *ā-ru-na*<br>$^{WANTI}$*ā-hu-wa-na-ta*$_6$$^{UTNA}$<br>*á-pa-wi-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *ku-ti-nà-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*a*$_5$*-la-na-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$<br>*á-ta+r-mu-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *ā-ta*$_6$*-pa*$^{UMINA}$<br>$^{WANTI}$*sa+r-wa-na-ta*$_6$ $^{WANTI}$*a*$_5$*-ta*$_6$*-ā*<br>*pa-li-nà-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *á-wa+r-na*$^{UMINA}$<br>*su-wi-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *wa-la+r(i)ma*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ma+r*$^{?}$*-wa-na-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ta*$_6$*-ta*$_6$*+r-na-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *wí/zu-ru-ā*$^{UMINA}$<br>*á+r(i)-na-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*wí/zu-ma+r-na*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ā-wa-ta*$_6$*-nà-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-ru-nà*$^{UMINA}$<br>$^{WANTI}$*la-la-ka-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*wi-na-ta*$_6$$^{UMINA}$ *mu-ta*$_6$*-la*$^{\underline{UTNA}}$<br>*wí/zu-ma-na-ta*$_6$$^{UTNA}$<br>$^{WANTI}$*há+r-na*$^{HARNAS}$<br>*ma-sa-tu+r(i)-wa-na-ta*$_6$*-sa*$^{UMINA}$<br>*ASA+ha*$^{UTNA}$ *URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*WALWA-MUWA* ***infans***$^{m}$<br>*URA+HANTAWAT*<br>*ku-pa-tá-KURUNT [ ]* | "Lesbos, the sea, the land (of) mount Ahuwanda, Apawisa, Kutinasa, Alanda-town, Adramyttion, Atapa, mount Sarwanda, mount Ida, Palinata, Awarna, Suwisa, Hyllarima, Mar$^{?}$wanasa, Atarneus, Wi/Zurua, Arinasa, Wi/Zumarna, Awatanasa, the sea, the town (of) mount Leleges, Winata, the island(s of) Muwatallis, the land (of) Wi/Zumanda, the fortress (of) mount Harna, Masturiwantasa: great king (of) the land (of) Seha Walwamuwas, great king, son (of) great king Kupantakuruntas [ ]." |

**Dağardı 1**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (D) | ***infans***$^{m}$*+HANTAWAT MASANA-TARHU(NT)-na* ***infans***$^{m}$*+HANTAWAT* ***dominus*** *ma-sa-tu+r(i)-wa-na-ta*$_{6}$*-sa*$^{UMINA}$ ***dominus*** | "Prince Masanatarhunas, prince, lord (of) Masturiwantasa [= Dağardı], lord." |

**Dağardı 2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (E) | ***infans***$^{m}$*+HANTAWAT ASA+ha*$^{UTNA}$ *á-sa-há[-?] ASA+ha*$^{UTNA}$ ***infans***$^{m}$***+***HANTAWAT *WALWA[-MUWA* ***infans***$^{m}$*]* | "Prince (of) Seha Asaha[ ]s, prince (of) Seha, [son (of)] Walwa[muwa]s." |
| (F) | *ā-ta+r-na*$^{UMINA}$ *PÁRA-há-ma*$^{UMINA}$ *TIWATA-ta+r(a)*$^{UMINA}$ *á-ta+r-sa-ta*$_{6}$*-i*$^{?UMINA}$ *sa-ta-la*$^{UMINA}$ *ku-ru-ta*$_{6}$*-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *wí/zu-na-ta+r-ha*$^{UMINA}$ *ka-la-wa-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *pi-ta*$_{6}$*-na-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-ta+r-mu-ta*$^{UMINA}$ $^{WANTI}$*ta*$_{6}$*-mi-na-sa*$^{UTNA}$ | "Atarna, Pergamon, Thyateira, Adrasteia, Satala, Kurtasa, Wi/Zunatarha, Kalawasa, Pitane, Adramyttion, the land (of) mount Taminasa." |
| (G) | *á-na[-?] wí/zu-ma-na-ta*$_{6}$$^{UTNA}$ *ā-ru-tu-na*$^{UMINA}$ *ā-ta+r-na*$^{UMINA}$ $^{WANTI}$*há+r-na*$^{[HARNAS]}$*ki-la-sa*$^{UMINA}$ *ki-su[-?]*$^{UMINA}$ *ma-sa-pa*$^{?[UMINA]}$ *[?]-wa-na-sa*$^{UTNA}$ *[?]-ta*$_{6}$*-mi[-?]* | "Ana[ ], the land (of) Wi/Zumanda, Artuna, Atarna, the fortress (of) mount Harna, Kilasa, Kisu[ ], Masapa, the land (of) [ ]wana, [ ]tami[ ]." |

As is clear from their contents, Yazılıtaş and Dağardı 1-2 are dedicated by the rulers of Seha, while Yazılıtaş was the work of great king Walwamuwas and the inscription from Dağardı stem from the princes Masanatarhunas and Asaha[ ]s. The latter may have functioned as Sekundogenitur, governing the capital of the inland part of the realm, Masturiwantasa, named after a former king of Seha, Masturis. At any rate, it seems deducible from (D) that the latter town is likely to be identified as the find spot of the inscriptions, Dağardı.

This inscription establishes once and for all the location of Seha. The following place-names are of relevance in this pursuit (provided in their Greek form):

1. Lesbos, the sea, Adramyttion, Atarneus, mount Leleges (Yazılıtaş)
2. Pergamon, Thyateira, Pitane, Adramyttion (Dağardı).

With the exception of Atarneus and mount Leleges, again, all these names were already correctly identified by Alkım or Mellaart. Hence, there can be no doubt

that Seha is to be located in the Kaikos valley. The overlap between the place-names of Seha and those of category III (southeast) of the Troad (see above) may be explained by the fact that Yazılıtaş postdates Edremit as the principal of the former, Walwamuwas, was a son of Kupantakuruntas III, whereas the principal of the latter, Muksas, was a contemporary of Kupantakuruntas III.

**Şahankaya**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (C) | *URA+HANTAWAT TARKU-ta$_6$+li* | "great king Tarkutallis" |
| | *HANTAWAT+**infans**$^m$ ku-ku-li* | "prince Kukulis" |
| | *HANTAWAT+**infans**$^m$ wa-pa+r-mu* | "prince Waparmus" |
| | *HANTAWAT+**infans**$^m$* | "prince Masanatarhunas" |
| | *MASANA-TARHU(NT)-na* | |

**Beyköy 3-4**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (A) | *HANTAWAT+**infans**$^m$* | "prince Mashuittas, (son of) |
| | *ma-sa-<hù>+i-ti URA+HANTAWAT* | great king Alantallis" |
| | *á-la-na-ta$_6$+li* | |
| (B) | *á-la-na-ta$_6$+li **infans**$^m$* | "son (of) Alantallis" |

## 6. The Arzawan language

The Luwian hieroglyphic texts from western Anatolia inform us about the Arzawan language. It is therefore worthy to remark that in these texts we come across the following evidence for (pro)nominal declension and verbal conjugation:

| | (PRO)NOUN | |
|---|---|---|
| | sg. | pl. |
| N | —, *-sa* | |
| A | —, *-na* | *-i* |
| N-A(n) | —, *-sa* | *-a* |
| D | | *-āi* |
| G | *-sa* | |
| Abl. | *-ti* | |
| Loc. | *-ti*, *+r(i)* | |

| | VERB | |
|---|---|---|
| | sg. | pl. |
| 1st pers. pres./fut. | *-wa* | |
| 3rd pers. pres./fut. | *-ti* | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st pers. past tense | *-ha* | |
| 3rd pres. past tense | *-ta* | *-$^{n}$ta* |
| 2nd pers. imp. | — | |
| participle act. | *-$^{n}$t-* | |
| participle mid.-pas. | *-mi-* | |

Table I. Overview of the grammar.

From the use of Akkadisms like the genitive particle *SA* "of", and the prepositions *A-NA* "in" and *I-NA* "in", however, it may safely be deduced that the Arzawan scribes, writing in Luwian hieroglyphic, were also acquainted with the cuneiform script.
The latter inference coincides neatly with the fact that another source on the Arzawan language is the Istanuwan songs in cuneiform Luwian. Note, however, that the distinction between the two scripts did involve a certain amount of code-switching, as, for example, the N and A(m/f) pl. are both expressed by *-i* in Luwian hieroglyphic, but by *-nzi* and *-nza* in cuneiform Luwian.
It is further worth mentioning in this connection that, on account of the correspondence the D sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-la* to Lydian *-λ*, the Arzawan language can be shown to be a direct forerunner of the later Lydian.

## 7. Closing remarks

The large texts from Edremit, Yazılıtaş, and Dağardı provide us with many place names and thus with detailed information about the political geography of western Asia Minor during the late Imperial phase. The realm of the great prince Muksus or Muksas consisted of Mira and Wilusiya; both names are given in an abbreviated form that was not recognized by Alkım and Mellaart. However, the text only relates places in Wilusiya, centering on the Troad and thus coinciding with the realm of the kings of Troy. This kingdom included the islands Lesbos, Lemnos, Imbros, and Tenedos, the places on the southern shore of the Dardanelles (Arisbe, Perkote, Pityeia) and the settlements in the Gulf of Edremit (e.g. Adramyttion). Place names are listed clockwise from northwest to southeast. They are for the most part not known from Hittite documents, but coincide with the names transmitted in Greek; much as the description of the whole kingdom parallels that given by Homer (*Il.* 24.546).
The inscriptions from Yazılıtaş and Dağardı fulfill the same purpose for the kingdom of Seha, which evidently lay south of Wilusiya and centered around the Kaikos valley. There is some overlap between the two, since Adramyttion and even Mount Ida are said to belong to Seha as well.
In any case, with the retrieval of these documents, Seha, Wilusiya and, by implication, Masa can now be put solidly on a map. The "guessing game" involved in the political geography of western Asia Minor, as James Macqueen once called it, is therefore over, having occupied Hittilogists for almost a century. All the major

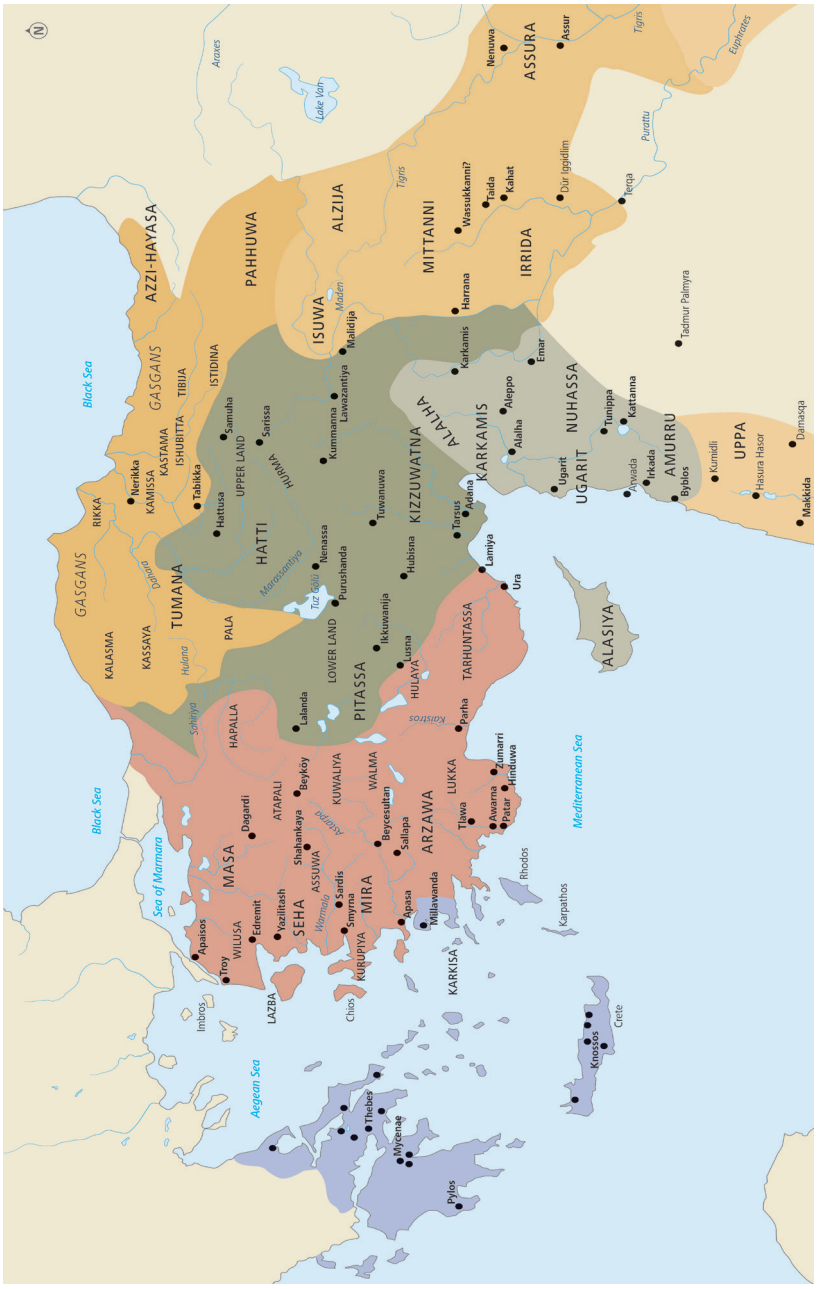


Fig. 6. The political geography of Asia Minor around 1200 BC shows how the states in western Asia Minor had gained significance (boundaries after Starke 2002).

kingdoms in the west can now be accommodated. Furthermore, the documents described here indicate that Luwian was spoken and written in northwestern Asia Minor, even though it is still unclear how large the relevant share of the population was. The gap in our knowledge of the Late Bronze Age in western Asia Minor appears, now, to have been closed.

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