

LUWIAN HIEROGLYPHIC MONUMENTAL ROCK AND STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE HITTITE EMPIRE PERIOD*

Fred C. Woudhuizen

Owing to recent discoveries at Yalbur and the Südburg in Boğazköy, our knowledge of Luwian hieroglyphic monumental inscriptions from the Hittite Empire period has substantially increased. Therefore it seems worthwhile to discuss this group of texts in its own right and in so doing try to improve our understanding of the respective contents. In the present contribution, then, I will present a treatment of the rock and stone inscriptions from Aleppo, Köylütolu, Yalbur, Fraktin and the Südburg in Boğazköy. Other members of the same group of texts are mentioned only in passing. Most important among these latter are the inscribed altar stones from Emirgazi and the Nişantaş monument at Boğazköy, of which problems of reading still preclude a coherent interpretation.

1. TEMPLE DEDICATIONS BY TALMISARRUMAS OF ALEPPO

Antiquarian travelers exploring the Near East in the early 1870s first reported a stone with hieroglyphic inscription built, upside down, into the south wall of the *Mosc el-Qiqān* ("of the crows") at Aleppo in North Syria.¹ In the early 20th century, specialists in the "Hittite" script cross-examined the inscription and added their own drawings to the ones by the travelers already circulating.² In three instances these specialists have illustrated their findings with a photograph of either the stone or an "Abklatsch"—otherwise only referred to as working tools at hand.³

* My thanks are due to Daan Smit for his reading of the manuscript and advice on Hittite cuneiform matters—the reflection of which, of course, remains my sole responsibility.

¹ Tyrwhitt-Drake 1872; Clermont-Ganneau 1873; Smith 1874; Boscawen 1877; Crawford 1876. See Rylands 1883: 146-9, Figs. 1-4; Rylands 1884: 132-3 & Fig.; Wright 1884: Pls. v-vii.

² Messerschmidt 1900: 4-5, Taf. IIIA; Garstang 1908: 8, Pl. ix, 3 (= 2); Olmstead 1911: 44, Pl. xxiv.

³ Olmstead 1911: 45, Fig. 44 (= "Abklatsch"); Gelb 1938: 9, Pls. i, 2 & ii, 2;



Fig. 1. The Aleppo text (from Bossert 1954).

Eventually, scholars working in the 1940s and 1950s tackled the question of the contents of the text. Thus Hans G. Güterbock successfully identified the name of the dedicator,⁴ Helmuth Th. Bossert—who presented the best drawing reproduced here as our figure 1—clarified the first phrase in its main outlines,⁵ and Emmanuel Laroche arrived at an authoritative interpretation of the entire text.⁶ Considering the fact that more recent treatments of the Aleppo text largely depend from the views of these latter three scholars, their contributions may well serve as a starting point for our present discussion.⁷

The inscription consists of two lines of text, running boustrophedon from the upper right to the lower right side of the stone. As observed by Bossert, the remains of the frame in relief along the four sides of the stone guarantee that the inscription is complete.⁸ The individual signs, executed in high relief, are mostly well preserved. Only the middle section of line 2 is heavily worn, which finds its explanation in the fact that the people believed the stone to possess curing powers against

Sauvaget 1941: Tav. ix, 2. Note that Messerschmidt 1900: 4-5 and Gurney 1908: 8 acknowledge that their drawings are based on photographs and "Abklatsche". See further note 5 below.

⁴ Güterbock 1942: 22-3; 81, Abb. a, b (= drawing of the relevant section based on an unpublished photograph); Güterbock 1943: 308.

⁵ Bossert 1954: 229, Abb. 1 (= drawing); 230, Abb. 2-3 (= photographs of the stone); 231, Abb. 4-5 (= photographs of an "Abklatsch").

⁶ Laroche 1956: 135, Fig. 1 (= schematic rendering of the text).

⁷ Meriggi 1975: 330-1; Tav. xvii, no. 306 (= drawing); Werner 1991: 50, Fig. 1 (= copy of Bossert's drawing).

⁸ Bossert 1954: 228; cf. Laroche 1956: 137.

ophthalmia and for centuries have been rubbing their eyelids against its surface.⁹ The text can easily be divided into two separate phrases, one, characterized by a large type of lettering, covering line 1 and the first half of line 2, and the second, executed in much more modest dimensions, covering the remaining space in line 2.¹⁰ The first of these two phrases evidently constitutes the dedication formula proper, whereas the second appears to present additional information of as yet unclear nature.

In connection with the first phrase, Güterbock—as hinted at earlier—has identified the dedicator of the stone monument as Talmisarrumas, king of Aleppo.¹¹ The latter is known from Hittite cuneiform sources to be the son of Telipinus and grandson of Suppiluliumas I (1344-1322 BC), who ascended the throne of Aleppo in the 9th year of Mursilis II (1321-1295 BC).¹² Accordingly, our text dates to the late 14th or early 13th century BC and is in fact the oldest monumental stone inscription of some length discovered thus far.¹³

Next Bossert, even though he initially rejected Güterbock's reading of the name of the dedicator, has clarified most of the other elements of the first phrase.¹⁴ Thus he correctly analyzed *iā* as a form of the demonstrative pronoun,¹⁵ *MASANA PARNNA* as the noun "temple",¹⁶ *hál(a)pa^{UMINA}* as the town name "Aleppo",¹⁷ *infans^m* as the kinship term "son",¹⁸ *TAMI* as the verb "to build",¹⁹ and *MASANA hapasarumi* as a composite divine name corresponding to cuneiform *Hepat-Šaruma* "Sarrumas, (son of) Hepat".¹⁹

Finally, with the support of bilingual evidence freshly surfaced at the site of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Laroche has filled in the remaining blank spots. Apart from reconfirming the reading of the dedicator's name as Talmisarrumas,²⁰ he definitely established the identification of *URA+*372*

⁹ Rylands 1883: 147.

¹⁰ Bossert 1954: 229; Laroche 1956: 134; Meriggi 1975: 330-1; Werner 1991: 51.

¹¹ Güterbock 1942: 22-3; Güterbock 1943: 308.

¹² Götze 1967: 124-5 (= KBo IV 4 Rs III 15-6).

¹³ Cf. Laroche 1960: 261; Werner 1991: 51.

¹⁴ Bossert 1954: 226, 236, 239-43 (suggesting †*Danamasaruma*); note that already in his postscript Bossert has acknowledged the validity of Güterbock's identification.

¹⁵ Bossert 1954: 235.

¹⁶ Bossert 1954: 236.

¹⁷ Bossert 1954: 234, Abb. 7; 237; the correct reading of this place name is first achieved in Bossert 1932: 40.

¹⁸ Bossert 1954: 238. For the numbering of the signs, see Laroche 1960.

¹⁹ Bossert 1954: 243-4; the corresponding cuneiform GN, glossed by Laroche 1947: 48, s.v. *Hepat*, is attested for KUB VI 45 I 78, 46 II 43 and KUB II 13 V 14 of which the first dates to the reign of Muwatallis (1295-1271 BC).

²⁰ Laroche 1956: 132-3; on the basis of the fact that the first element of his name is also attested for the seal of king Talmitešup of Karkemis (= RS 17.226; for the seals from Ugarit, see Schaeffer 1956).

as the religious title “high priest”,²¹ and of the tree-like symbol *151 as the patronymic “Telipinus”.²² These latter readings also nicely coincide with cuneiform information according to which Telipinus, the son of Suppiluliumas I, has been appointed by his own father to priest of Hepat and Sarrumas in Kizzuwatna.²³ Evidently, his son Talmisarrumas has made an effort to propagate the same cult in Aleppo as well.

Laroche also had the courage to discuss the more problematic second phrase. In so doing, he convincingly demonstrated that this part of the text contains the personal name *ākitesuppa*,²⁴ the occupational term *TUPA<L>* “scribe”,²⁵ and the town name *ātūwa*^{UMINA}.²⁶ Furthermore, he plausibly explained the enigmatic sequence *wawarātāli* at the start of this phrase as an agent noun in *-talli-*, indicating the *religious* function assigned to the scribe Akitesup.²⁷

It is interesting to note in this connection that the name of the scribe recurs as a patronymic of yet another scribe in a cuneiform text from the reign of Muwatallis (1295-1271 BC).²⁸ If we recall, namely, that our scribe’s patron Talmisarrumas is a contemporary of Mursilis, his son may well have been active in the time of Muwatallis. Hence, both occurrences of the name Akitesup likely bear reference to one and the same person.²⁹ Similarly, his home town Atūwa may, for the corre-

²¹ Laroche 1956: 133; note that the ear-sign *372 corresponds to cuneiform ^WSANGA “priest” on seal RS 18.02 of priest Kiliya. For the composite honorific title ^WURA+^WSACERDOS, compare Hittite cuneiform GAL.SANGA (KBo I 6 II 19) or ^WSANGA.GAL “high-priest” (KUB XIII 4 III 3, 12, etc.).

²² Laroche 1956: 133-4; note that *Telipinus* is the Hittite god of vegetation and agricultural fertility.

²³ Götze 1940: 12-7 (= KUB XIX 25 I 3-5); cf. Laroche 1956: 137-8.

²⁴ Laroche 1956: 134-6; note that the alternative reading †*Kilitesup* is ruled out because the sign in second position definitely reads *450 *ā* instead of †*278 *li*; note further that the correspondence of hieroglyphic *ki*-*199 to cuneiform *A-ki-ā*U on seal RS 19.78 favors transliteration as *Akitesup*, see Mora 1987: 360. I do not understand why Meriggi 1975: 331 questions this latter reading and Werner 1991: 51 maintains the incorrect †*Kilitesub*.

²⁵ Laroche 1956: 134; note that hieroglyphic *TUPA-la* corresponds to cuneiform ^WDUB.SAR “scribe” on seal RS 17.28 B. Meriggi 1975: 331 wrongly considers *326 as a part of the personal name.

²⁶ Laroche 1956: 136, note 9; cf. Meriggi 1975: 331 and Werner 1991: 51 (new reading †*Ituwa*) who also consider Laroche’s alternative reading †*Atawa* less probable (see further below).

²⁷ Laroche 1956: 136; for occupational terms in *-talli-*, see Pecchioli Daddi 1982, s.v. ^Wāšušatalla- (a temple functionary), ^Wauriyatalla- “frontier guard”, ^Whalugatalla- “messenger”, etc.

²⁸ Laroche 1966: 25, no. 16, 6 (KBo XI I Vs 27).

²⁹ Van den Hout 1989: 270.

spondence of hieroglyphic *209 (1-3, 6) *ā* to cuneiform *i* or *e*,³⁰ likely be identified with *Ituwa*—a locality situated to the southwest of Karkemis along a tributary of the Euphrates (see Map 1).³¹

For the predominantly logographic nature of the script, the Aleppo text has been considered to confirm evolutionary theories according to which Luwian hieroglyphic develops from a primitive logographic to a full-grown phonetic stage.³² The texts recently discovered at Yalbur and the Südburg in Boğazköy, however, should warn us against such oversimplified notions. The Yalbur text, namely, which dates to the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC), is much more syllabic than the one from the Südburg, which dates to the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV's successor Suppiluliumas II (1205-1180? BC).³³ In fact, there can be no doubt that in a hieroglyphic writing system both types of spelling are complementary devices, which belong together like the two sides of a coin.³⁴ Thus syllabic spellings are already represented in the earliest glyptic attestations of the script, which antedates the Aleppo stone more than half a millennium.³⁵ Furthermore, the increased popularity of syllabic spellings in the latest set of documents does not result from the elimination of logograms, but from the urge to spell these out phonetically—a phenomenon rarely attested for Late Bronze Age texts.³⁶

The predominantly logographic nature of the writing also entails the discussion whether the Aleppo text is written in the Luwian language or not. For Bossert the demonstrative pronoun *iā* at the start of the first phrase evidently did suffice to demonstrate the Luwian nature of the language.³⁷ Laroche, on the other hand, has argued that because of the logographic nature of the writing this form may alternatively be inter-

³⁰ Compare, for example, the correspondence of hieroglyphic *ā-ni-tesup-pa* to cuneiform *I-ni-⁴U-up* on seals RS 17.59 and RS 17.158; cf. Laroche 1960: 115, *sub* *209. Note that *209 and *209 (1-3, 6) are already distinguished as separate signs in the Yalbur and Südburg texts, and that the latter is in fact the Late Bronze Age forerunner of *210 *ā*. Consequently, the correct transcription of the town name according to the new reading is †*Yatuwa* instead of, as Werner wants to have it (see note 26 above), †*Ituwa*.

³¹ Del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v. *Ituwa*; Röllig 1980: 33, s.v. *Idue, Ituwe*; del Monte 1992, s.v. *Ituwa*.

³² Bossert 1954: 235; Laroche 1956: 138-41; cf. Laroche 1960: 252-6. Note, however, that the subordinate second phrase—apart from being executed in more modest dimensions—is predominantly syllabic in nature.

³³ Woudhuizen 1995: 61, esp. note 28.

³⁴ Cow 1994 lucidly explains how evolutionary models are based on assumed, but non-existent ideographic writing systems.

³⁵ Güterbock & Boehmer 1987; Woudhuizen 1990-1991.

³⁶ The spelling *UMINA-mi-na* "town" in the Köylütolu text is quite exceptional; in other instances the phonetic complement only repeats the root-final consonant.

³⁷ Bossert 1954: 245-6.

preted as Hittite *kē*.³⁸ The latter view, however, is untenable and hence there can be no doubt that the Aleppo stone is conducted in the Luwian tongue.

Aleppo

1. *i-ā* ^{MASANA} *ha-pa<-tu>-SARU+mi* "These (.....) of the temple
^{MASANA} *PARNA TAL-mi-SARU+mi* (for) Sarrumas, (son of)
^{HANTAWAT} *hā-l(a)-pa* ^{UMINA} Hepat, Talmisarrumas, king
^{TALIPINU URA+} *sacerdos infans*^m of Aleppo, son of Telipinus,
^{*246} *TAMI* the high-priest, has built."
2. *wa-wa+r-ā-tā-li ā-ki-TESUP-pa* "Herdsman: Akitesup, scribe
^{TUPA<-la> ā-tu-wa} ^{UMINA} of Atuwa."

COMMENTS

Phrase 1

The form *iā* is definitely A(n) pl. in *-ā* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* "this".³⁹ It seems to be taken for granted that this form qualifies the neuter ^{MASANA} *PARNA* "temple", but the latter assumption is by no means certain since the given noun lacks a phonetic complement indicating the expected A(n) pl. ending *-ā*. If the two forms do correspond, one should translate "these temples". However, I think the demonstrative much more likely refers to certain parts of the temple or some kind of temple dedications.

Phrase 2

The occupational term *wawarātāli* is likely to be based on the Luwian root *wawa-* "ox", in which case the translation "herdsman" seems to recommend itself.⁴⁰ Note that in Hittite cuneiform sources mention is made of a temple functionary indicated as ^{LU}*wawi-*.⁴¹

2. SAUSKAKURUNTIS' CAPTURE OF ATTARIMA

In 1884 the Polish scholar M. Sokolowski discovered a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription in the vicinity of Köylütolu—a village in the lake area of western Turkey.⁴² Since then, this inscription has been exam-

³⁸ Laroche 1956: 138-40.

³⁹ Meriggi 1966: 54, § 87; 54, § 87; Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145 (new reading †*zaya*).

⁴⁰ Laroche 1960: 65-6, *sub* *105.

⁴¹ Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 268-9 (KBo XVII 57 Rs 4; XX 68 I 9).

⁴² Sokolowski 1885: 261-3.

ined by a series of scholars, whose studies resulted in a variety of drawings differing in detail.⁴³ In four of these studies the author has furnished his findings with one or more photographs.⁴⁴ As a result of the insecurities in reading, only in three instances an attempt has been made to unravel the contents of the text.⁴⁵ Of these, the latest one by Emilia Masson is most thorough in aspects of both epigraphy and language, and therefore this may serve as a frame of reference for our present inquiry.

The inscription consists of three lines of text, running boustrophedon from the upper right to the lower left side of the stone. Emilia Masson assumes that the text is incomplete and that there must have been a similar stone at its right side with a preceding section.⁴⁶ This need not be the case, however, because the first phrase is characterized by a conjunction in form of a declined form of the relative pronoun which often marks the beginning of a text or a section of it.⁴⁷ Piero Meriggi even believes that the text continues after the third line—a possibility definitely ruled out by the vacancy following the last sign.⁴⁸

The reading of the individual signs, carefully executed in high relief, is complicated by some damaged spots in the first two lines of the text. Nevertheless, this task is by no means as hopeless as it might appear from the aforementioned variety in drawings. Consultation of the available photographs, then, suggests the following adjustments of Masson's transliteration (see Fig. 2).⁴⁹

Line 1

(1) The sign at the top side of the third column from the right is damaged beyond repair, but the photograph in Ramsay & Hogarth 1893 still preserves a semi-circular or crescent-like shape.

⁴³Ramsay 1889: 179; Messerschmidt 1900: Pl. xxxv; Sayce 1904; Olmstead 1911: figs. 4-6; Hrozný 1937: Pl. LXXII; Gelb 1939: Pl. LXIII; Meriggi 1975: Tav. II; Masson 1980: 108, Fig. 2.

⁴⁴Ramsay & Hogarth 1893: Taf. v; Olmstead 1911: Pl. II; Hrozný 1937: Pl. LXXI; Gelb 1939: Pls. LXII, LXIV.

⁴⁵Hrozný 1937; Meriggi 1975; Masson 1980.

⁴⁶Masson 1980: 109; so also Meriggi 1975: 265.

⁴⁷Cf. the use of *hwar* "when" in the texts from the Südburg in Boğazköy and from Yalbur, which marks the beginning of the first section and that of the second, respectively. In form *hwati* the conjunction is paralleled only for texts from the Early Iron Age, see esp. Karkemis no. 10, phrase 25 where it marks the beginning of the damnation formula (for the numbering of the Early Iron Age texts, see Meriggi 1967).

⁴⁸Meriggi 1975: 265.

⁴⁹Masson 1980: 109-10.

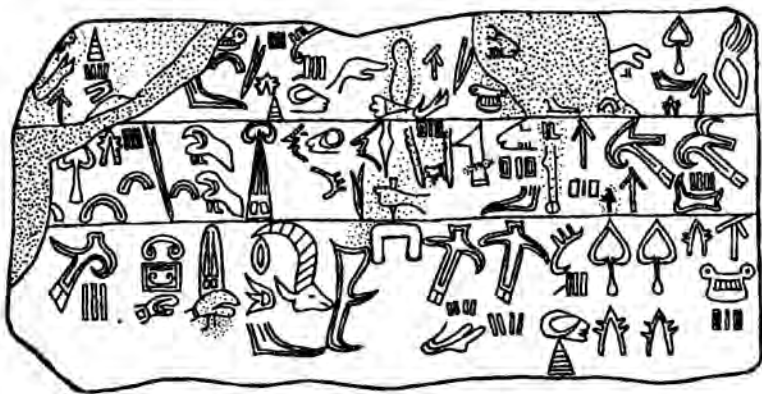


Fig. 2. The Köylütölu text (after Masson 1980).

(2) The mark at the lower side of the same column, which consists of two vertical strokes and a horizontal one to the left, is not a separate sign, but belongs to the hand on top with which it forms *45 *infans*.

(3) None of the photographs published can substantiate Masson's identification of the signs in the damaged section following the fourth column, for which reason these are left out here.

(4) The traces of the sign at the top side of the first column to the left of the damaged section just mentioned, which are best preserved in the photograph by Ramsay & Hogarth 1893, positively indicate the reading *107 *mu*.

(5) The remark sub (3) also applies to the damaged section near the end of the line.

(6) The traces of the damaged sign at the top side of the last column, which are best visible in the photograph published by Olmstead 1911, suggest *334 *pa*, possibly with the "thorn" *383 +*r* attached to it.

Line 2

(7) Consultation of the photograph published by Ramsay & Hogarth 1893 favors the reading *28 *MUWATALI* (instead of Masson's †*29 *tá*) for the sign at the lower right side of *21 *heros* in the middle of the line.

(8) The sign at the upper right side of the following column certainly reads *450 *à*.

(9) The remains of the sign at the lower middle side of the same column indicate *29 *tá* (instead of Masson's rather fanciful †*223 *sa₆*).⁵⁰

(10) The sign in front of the fourth column from the left is definitely *273 *WARPA*.

⁵⁰ Note that Hrozný 1937: Pl. LXXII, Gelb 1939: Pl. LXIII and Meriggi 1975: 265; Tav. II all have †*90 *ti* here.

(11) Inspection of the photograph by Ramsay & Hogarth 1893 shows that the sign at the upper left side of the third column from the right is not an instance of the word-divider—otherwise absent from the text—but a rectangle, which in combination with *273 *WARPA* below forms *274.⁵¹ The value of the latter sign is unknown, but, on the basis of the context, one might suggest something like “domain”.

(12) Even though it is slightly damaged, the sign at the lower middle side of the third column from the left may—in accordance with the opinion of Hrozný, Gelb and Meriggi—safely be identified as *439 *wa* (instead of Masson’s †*415 *sa*).

(13) In accordance with the opinion of Hrozný and Gelb, the sign at the lower right side of the same column reads *376 *i*.⁵²

Line 3

(14) Masson’s omission of one of the two instances of *hwa-ā* in the first section no doubt results from a printing error.

(15) The sign in the middle of the line is, *pace* Masson, virtually in tact and therefore clearly reads *430 *sa*.

The given adjustments of the reading have their repercussions on the division of the text into separate phrases. Masson distinguishes six phrases in sum—two in each line.⁵³ Her analysis agrees with the one of Meriggi—except for the fact that the latter considers the first line largely incomprehensible.⁵⁴ The twofold division of line 3 is certainly correct: one phrase, marked as such by the introductory particles *-pa-wa*, runs from the demonstrative pronoun at the start of the line to the verb in the middle, and another, dedicated to the name and titles of some dignitary, fills the rest of the space up to the vacancy at the end. But the same verdict does not apply to line 2. Here the column which Meriggi and Masson take for the verb of the first phrase is in fact a combination of introductory particles with enclitic pronoun attached to it—the hallmark of a new phrase.⁵⁵ This second phrase is a short one and ends with *muwati*—definitely a verb.⁵⁶ Next comes another short phrase with enclitic(s) attached to the first word and verb in final position, again. Consequently, line 2 is characterized by a threefold division. Being much more damaged than the other lines, the division of line 1

⁵¹ For the identification of the lower sign, see Meriggi 1975: 265; Tav. II.

⁵² Hrozný 1937: Pl. LXXII; Gelb 1939: Pl. LXIII.

⁵³ Masson 1980: 109–10.

⁵⁴ Meriggi 1975: 265–6.

⁵⁵ Meriggi 1975: 265; Masson 1980: 109.

⁵⁶ *Pace* Masson 1980: 110, who considers this form an ablative of the noun *muwa-*.

remains problematic. In my opinion, however, this likewise contains three phrases: one, characterized by the conjunction *hwatiā* “when”, of which the final section is lost, another, introduced by the particle *-pa*, which continues to the place name just after the verb,⁵⁷ and the third, filling the rest of the space, of which the middle section is lost. Accordingly, then, we arrive at a total number of 8 phrases in sum.

Having discussed the transliteration of the text, we now turn to the interpretation of its contents. In general outline, it is clear that the text commemorates a military action against the town of Titarma in which the greatking and a high palace official named Sauskakuruntis play a role.⁵⁸ The personal name Sauskakuruntis is also attested for four seal impressions discovered at Boğazköy-Ḫattusa.⁵⁹ In form of ^dLIS-^dKAL, it even appears once, but possibly twice, in a cuneiform text.⁶⁰ Because the titles of the seal impressions and the cuneiform text(s) overlap with the ones enumerated in the final section of our text, it is possible that reference is actually made to one and the same person (cf. Fig. 3).⁶¹ Masson proposes to identify the place name Titarma with cuneiform *Attarima*, a fortified town in (or near) the Lukka lands.⁶² This is mentioned in three distinct historical settings: the crimes of Madduwattas, situated in the early 14th century BC, the Arzawa campaign of Mursilis II (1322-1295 BC), and the episode of the Tawagalawas-letter, attributed to the reign of either Muwatallis (1295-1271 BC) or Ḫattusilis III (1264-1239 BC).⁶³ She further suggests to identify the greatking, to

⁵⁷ Masson 1980: 109 wants to have the verb in final position, but note that there is ample evidence of verbs in second or penultimate position as well.

⁵⁸ Meriggi 1975: 265-6; Masson 1980: 109-11.

⁵⁹ Meriggi 1975: 266 (refers to SBo II, 8; 30); Masson 1980: 116-8, figs. 4a-d (= SBo II, 8; 30; 67; BK V, 28); cf. Boehmer & Güterbock 1987: Taf. xxix, nr. 241. Although the transcription of this name varies substantially (Laroche 1960: *Sausgarāmure-ti*; Meriggi 1975: *Ruwa-Saw(a)skati*; Masson 1980: *Sausga-Ru(wa)ti*), there can be no doubt that the one adopted here is correct.

⁶⁰ Masson 1980: 117, note 37; Laroche 1966: 161, s.v. *Šauška-d*KAL; cf. van den Hout 1989: 108-12 (with reference to KUB L 72 I 2 & KUB XX 18 (1b) 10, respectively). As rightly emphasized by van den Hout, in both these instances ^dLIS-^dKAL is associated with Neriqqailis, a son of Ḫattusilis III; moreover, if the emendation of his name in KUB XX 18 (1b) 10 applies, Sauskakuruntis must have been a son of Ḫattusilis III himself.

⁶¹ Masson 1980: 117-8.

⁶² Masson 1980: 111.

⁶³ Del Monte & Tischler 1978: 55, s.v. *Atarima* (refers to KUB XIV 1 rev 30; KUB XIV 15 III 29f. & XIV 16 III 31; KUB XIV 3 I 1). The dating of the Tawagalawas-letter is complicated by conflicting indications. On the one hand, the mention of Kuruntas, who is likely to be identified as the son of Muwatallis and later king of Tarḫuntassa, argues for a Ḫattusilis-dating. On the other hand, specification of Atpas, who is also mentioned in the Manapatarḫundas-letter, as a DUMU.NITA



Fig. 3. Seals of prince Sauskakuruntis: (a) SBo II, 8; (b) SBo II, 30; (c) SBo II, 67; (d) BK V 28.

whom reference is made only by his title *labarnas*, with Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC).⁶⁴ Tudḫaliyas IV, however, cannot be shown to have had an interest in Attarima, and therefore this latter equation seems to collide with the former one.⁶⁵ It seems more suitable, then, to look for a candidate among the greatkings who did have an interest in Attarima, in which case the writer of the Tawagalawas-letter comes into consideration first. Accordingly, our text dates to the reign of Muwatallis or Ḫattusilis III and forms the second oldest monumental stone inscription

"boy" indicates a Muwatallis-dating. For an extensive treatment of the matter, see van den Hout 1984 (favors Ḫattusilis-dating, but neglects DUMU.NITA-problem) and Smit 1990-1 (favors Muwatallis-dating, but plays down Kuruntas-identification).

⁶⁴ Masson 1980: 109; so also Bittel 1984: 12-3; contrary to Masson's claim, this identification with Tudḫaliyas IV is not based on archaeological and epigraphical evidence: neither has the findspot of the stone been properly investigated nor have stylistic criteria for the assignment of a Late Bronze Age hieroglyphic text to the reign of a certain greatking been developed.

⁶⁵ Note that Attarima is absent from the Milawata-letter (KUB XIX 55), whereas Pina(ta) and Awarna, mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts of Tudḫaliyas IV from Yalburt and Emirgazi (see further below), do appear here.

of some length, being outmatched only by the dedicatory inscription of king Talmisarrumas of Aleppo discussed in the previous section.⁶⁶

A fundamental flaw in Masson's interpretation of the text is that she considers the greatking to be subject. In fact, there can be no doubt that Sauskakuruntis has conquered Attarima *ina laparna* "on behalf of the greatking" (phrase 2). This also explains why the third line with the name and titles of Sauskakuruntis is written in much larger dimensions than the two preceding ones. On the other hand, it is, of course, the greatking who has raised the dedicator's offspring and will confirm it in its *warpa-* (phrases 4-5).

Insofar as the location of Attarima is concerned, Masson assumes that this must be somewhere in the neighborhood of the findspot of the stone, viz. Köylütolu.⁶⁷ Similarly, she maintains that, because of their mention in a hieroglyphic text from Emirgazi,⁶⁸ Pinata and Awarna should be situated in the vicinity of the latter site.⁶⁹ This reasoning, however, has been proved to be incorrect by the discovery of the hieroglyphic text from Yalburt, a site west of Köylütolu.⁷⁰ The latter text, namely, mentions Pinata and Awarna in connection with Talwa and Patar—all of which, as Massimo Poetto rightly points out, correspond to Lycian equivalents (*Pinale*, *Arñna*, *Tlawa* and *Pttara*, respectively) situated in the valley of the Xanthos river.⁷¹ If, then, the monuments at Yalburt and Emirgazi have been set up in celebration of a campaign in far away Lycia, Attarima may, of course, likewise be situated at a great distance from Köylütolu (see Map I).

In sum, this leads us to the following transliteration and interpretation of the Köylütolu text.

Köylütolu

1. TARKASNA-i ḫWA-ti-ā
infanš m+[]

"When the horsemen [of]
(functionary) [],"

⁶⁶ Meriggi 1975: 330-1, no. 306 (= Aleppo I); see discussion in section 1 above. Note, however, that the identification of Sauskakuruntis as a son of Ḫattusilis III (see note 60 above) would eliminate the reign of Muwatallis as a possible dating of our text.

⁶⁷ Masson 1980: 111.

⁶⁸ Meriggi 1975: 280-23, nr. 23 (= Emirgazi V).

⁶⁹ Masson 1979a: 37; Masson 1979b: 540.

⁷⁰ Özguç 1988: xxv-xxvii; Pls. 85-95; Figs. 60-3.

⁷¹ Poetto 1992: 75-81; note with Poetto (1992: 77) that Talwa also occurs in the Emirgazi text; cf. Hawkins 1990: 313, note 60. In my own contribution to the subject I have supplemented the identification of Luwata with *Loanda* and of Ḫwalatarna (also present in the Emirgazi text, see Poetto 1992: 77) with *Xbide*, both situated in the valley (= *ḫapir utna*) of the Indus river in the Lycian-Carian borderland, see Woudhuizen 1995: 58-9 and esp. section 3 below. For the epichoric Lycian and Hellenistic forms of the place names, see Zgusta 1984, s.v.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>2. <i>m̥ -pa-à i-na la+PÁRNA TÀ</i>
<i>tì-ta+r-ma^{UMINA}</i></p> | <p>“But, on behalf of the
greatking, I have taken
Attarima,”</p> |
| <p>3. <i>mì-ā à-pa-sa-ti []</i>
<i>UMINA-mi-na pa+r-na-i</i></p> | <p>“Owing to his (?) []
my (troops) [-ed] (in)
the town (and its) houses.”</p> |
| <p>4. <i>[HWA-ā]-ṣa HWA-ā-sa mi-sa-à</i>
<i>infans^m-infans^m-sa</i>
<i>URA+HANTAWAT á-ti-ma-à heros</i>
<i>MUWATALI</i></p> | <p>“The greatking has made
the name of my offspring,
who(ever belongs to it),
strong (like that of) a hero.”</p> |
| <p>5. <i>à-wa -lā-à WARPA mu-wa-ti</i></p> | <p>“And he will confirm it (in)
(its) <i>warpa</i>.”</p> |
| <p>6. <i>m̥*274-i -wa-i custos-i *283-mi-tu</i></p> | <p>“May the guards guard our
domains,”</p> |
| <p>7. <i>i-ā -pa-wa HWA-ā HWA-ā</i>
<i>tì-ta+r-ma^{UMINA}</i>
<i>custos-mi-custos-mi-na SA</i></p> | <p>“(So that) these (parts),
whatever (belongs to)
Attarima, be very safe!”</p> |
| <p>8. <i>sà-us-ka-KURUNT-ti</i>
<i>infans^m+HANTAWAT</i>
<i>infans^m+URA+PARNA</i>
<i>custos-dominus</i></p> | <p>“Sauskakuruntis, prince,
palace official, commander
of the guard.”</p> |

COMMENTS

Phrase 1

infans^m + [] probably forms part of a composite title modelled after the pattern of ***infans^m*** + *HANTAWAT* “prince” and ***infans^m*** + *URA+PARNA* “palace official”. As such, it may well be assumed to bear reference to the leader of the enemy.

Phrase 2

The element *ina* is not a form of the demonstrative pronoun, but a preposition. This preposition corresponds to *ina* “in, towards” in texts of later date, which may also be used adverbially in the construction *ina* *ina* “on the one hand on the other hand”.⁷² In the present context,

⁷² Karatepe no. 24, phrase 5 (= 32): *i-na APAMIA-pa-mi versus-ā-na i<-na> -pa-*

however, the meaning “on behalf of” or the like recommends itself.

Phrase 3

mīā: N-A(n) pl. in *-ā* of the possessive pronoun (*ā*)*mī*- “my”.⁷³ This form has no corresponding noun, so that the latter must be considered implicit. On the analogy of similar constructions in the Yalburt text, the implied notion may reasonably be assumed to bear reference to the troops under Sauskakuruntis’ command.⁷⁴

āpasati: Abl. sg. (or pl.?) in *-ati* of the possessive pronoun *āpasa*- “his”, which possibly refers back to the enemy mentioned earlier.⁷⁵

parnai seems to be lined with *umina* (definitely D sg. in *-a*), and therefore should preferably be analyzed as D pl. in *-āi* of *parna*- “house”.⁷⁶

Phrase 4

All elements of the subordinate relative clause [*hwāsa*] *hwāsa mīsa infans^m-infans^msa*, which depends from the object *ātima* “name” (a neuter) in the following main clause,⁷⁷ are in G sg. *-sa*.⁷⁸

Phrase 5

-tā: A(n) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, referring back to *infans^m-infans^m* “offspring” in the previous phrase.⁷⁹

muwati: 3rd person sg. of the present/future tense in *-ti* of *muwa*- “to make strong”.⁸⁰

wā KISATAMIKI-sā-ta₁-mī-a versus-ā-na “toward the west and toward the east”; Karkemis no. 11, phrases 7-8: *sā-na-ḥa-wa-ta₁, i-na ḥAPA-pi-na TIWA₁-sa-nū-ḥa i<-na>-ḥa-wa-ta₁, ḥAPA-pi-a-na TIWA₂-sa-nu-ḥa* “and I have channeled it to the river on the opposite side, and I have channeled it to the river (on this side)”. Note that the presence of the postposition *versusāna* “toward” in the first example also allows for the adverbial interpretation *ina ina* “on the one hand on the other hand” here.

⁷³ Meriggi 1966: 55, § 91; Meriggi 1980: 321, § 141 (new reading †*amiya*).

⁷⁴ Yalburt, phrase 14: *ā-wa-mu ā-mi-i ḥWA-a-i i-a-ti₁, KATA+mi MUWATALI-tā* “My (footsoldiers), who (were) here with me, were victorious”; Yalburt, phrase 29: *ā[-wa-mu?] TARKASNA-nā[-ā] KATA+mi PIA* “I added charioteers to (the men) with me”. See Woudhuizen 1995: 70-1 and section 3 below.

⁷⁵ Meriggi 1966: 56, § 96; Meriggi 1980: 321, § 141.

⁷⁶ Meriggi 1966: 42, § 53; cf. Laroche 1960: 123, *sub* *225.

⁷⁷ Cf. *ātimaī*, characterized by A(n) sg. ending *-ī*, in texts of later date; note that *ātimaīna* (Karatepe no. 24, phrase 39), characterized by a combination of A(n) sg. *-ī* with A(m/f) *-na*, is corrupt. See Laroche 1960: 92, *sub* *172.

⁷⁸ Meriggi 1966: 55, § 91 (*āmias*); Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22. See also Friedrich’s (1960: 167-9, § 334) remarks on relative clauses in Hittite.

⁷⁹ Meriggi 1966: 51, § 78; Meriggi 1980: 317, § 134.

⁸⁰ Meriggi 1966: 66, § 124; 337, § 192. For the combination of present/future in IE Anatolian, see Friedrich 1960: 76, § 147.

Phrase 6

*274-*i*: A(m/f) pl. in -*i* of *274-, probably meaning “domain (or the like)”.⁸¹

-*wai*: probably D of the enclitic pronoun of the first person plural.⁸²

custosi: N(m/f) pl. in -*i* of *custos*- “guard”.⁸³

custosmitu: 3rd person pl. of the imperative (also used to render the subjunctive) in -*tu* of *custosmi*- “to guard”.⁸⁴

Phrase 7

iā: N(n) pl. in -*ā* of the demonstrative pronoun *i*- “this”.⁸⁵ Note that for its correspondence with the indefinite pronoun *hwā hwā* this form does not refer back to *274-*i* (communal gender instead of neuter) in the previous phrase, but anticipates the following subordinate relative clause.

hwaā hwaā: N(n) pl. in -*ā* of the indefinite pronoun *hwa*- *hwa*- “whoever, whatever”.⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that the expression *hwā hwā tītarma*^{UMINA} strikingly recalls *hwa hwa lúwatā*^{UTNA} “whatever belongs to Loanda” in the Yalburt text.⁸⁷

custosmi-custosmina: probably to be analyzed as N(n) pl. in -*a* of the middle-passive participle in -*mina*- of reduplicated (= intensified) *custosmi*- “to guard”. If so, the loss of -*mi*- obviously results from haplology.⁸⁸

sa: logographic writing of 3rd person sg. of the present/future tense in <-*ti*> of *sa*- “to be”.⁸⁹

⁸¹ Meriggi 1966: 27, § 7; Meriggi 1980: 283, § 29 (new reading †-*zi*).

⁸² Meriggi 1966: 47-9, §§ 69-75; Meriggi 1980: 317, § 132 (new reading †*waza*). Note that the evidence for this enclitic pronoun presented by Meriggi 1966 is not always correct, but that a certain instance is attested for Maraš no. 32, phrase 14.

⁸³ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; 31, § 19; Meriggi 1980: 283, § 29; 296, § 69 (new reading †-*zi*). Note that the transliteration of *283 as *custos* follows from Masson's (1980: 115-6) convincing explanation of *283-*dominus* as a military title.

⁸⁴ Meriggi 1966: 63, § 118; Meriggi 1980: 353, § 239.

⁸⁵ Meriggi 1966: 53, § 85; 54, § 87; Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145 (new reading †*zaya*).

⁸⁶ Meriggi 1966: 57, § 100; Meriggi 1980: 325, § 154 (new reading †*hwaya*).

⁸⁷ Yalburt phrase 9, see Woudhuizen 1995: 56, note 9 and section 3 below. Compare also the use of Hittite *kuit* in the following passage from the Ulmitesup-treaty (KBo IV 10 Vs. 29-30): ^{URU}ša-li-ja-aš-ma-kán A-NA KUR ^{URU}HA-AT-TI a-aš-sa-an-za “(Die Stadt) Šaliya aber bleibt beim Land Hattuša”, a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-za-ma-aš-ši ^{URU}Ua-al-ya-ra-aš ku-it ku-it ú-pa-ti “Außerhalb (davon) besitzt er [= Ulmirešub] (die Stadt) Walwara und welches Territorium auch immer bei Walwara liegt.” (cited from Starke 1990: 196-7).

⁸⁸ Meriggi 1966: 65, § 120, with reference to *walamina*, the middle-passive participle of *wala*- “to elevate”; for reduplication, see Meriggi 1980: 332, § 176.

⁸⁹ Meriggi 1966: 68, § 130; Meriggi 1980: 337, § 192.

3. THE LYCIAN CAMPAIGN OF TUDḪALIYAS IV

In 1970 large blocks with hieroglyphic inscriptions came to light in the course of bulldozing activities to level terrain for a modern fountain at Yalburt, a site northwest of Konya. Rescue excavations conducted by Raci Temizer in the next year established that the blocks belong to a rectangular stone basin from the Late Hittite Empire period. In sum 19 or 20 blocks with hieroglyphs in relief were found, most of them not in their original position but scattered over the floor of the basin (Fig. 4).⁹⁰

In an attempt to reconstruct the monument, the inscribed blocks have been put back into their position on the walls of the basin where they originally formed a frieze above water level decorating three of the four sides (Fig. 5).⁹¹ According to this reconstruction the blocks are numbered from 1 to 19. Unfortunately, however, the sequence as established in the course of the reconstruction is certainly incorrect. Block 1 is indisputably the first since it starts with a blank space and bears the aedicula of the principal of the text, greatking TudḪaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC). But, as Massimo Poetto convincingly pointed out in his recently published treatment of the Yalburt text, the genealogy following the royal aedicula continues on block 16, which therefore must be second in line.⁹² Furthermore, John David Hawkins rightly observed that, on the analogy of the formulaic combination of the adverb *wasà<r>ti* "by the grace of" with divine names,⁹³ block 10, which starts with this adverb, is likely to be the continuation of block 16, which ends with the divine name *Kuruntis*.⁹⁴ Consequently, the blocks need to be

⁹⁰ Özgüç 1988: xxvi mentions 20 blocks; Mellink 1972: 171 speaks of 19 blocks; Hawkins 1992 refers only to the 18 blocks published with a photograph in Özgüç 1988. Poetto 1992: Tav. I-xxiii presents photographs of 19 blocks, which number therefore forms the lower limit.

⁹¹ Özgüç 1988: xxv-vii.

⁹² Poetto 1992: 21; 15-7; cf. Hawkins 1992: 261. Considering that *ḫamsukali* means "great-grandson", part of the genealogy is evidently missing—probably as a result of the fact that block 16 is damaged at its left side; cf. Hawkins 1992: 272 (addendum) and see Neve 1992: 34, Abb. 84-5 for a stele which presents the complete genealogy in hieroglyphic.

⁹³ Note that emendation of the "thorn" *383 + *r* is indicated by the variant writing ^{HAWKINS} *wasàrti* from texts of later date, see Meriggi 1962, s.v. and cf. Woudhuizen 1992-3: 208.

⁹⁴ Hawkins 1992: 261. As duly stressed by Poetto 1992: 27, there is not enough space to allow for the determinative of divine names on top of *103 *KURUNT*. Nevertheless, the close correspondence of the entire passage to the fragmentary preserved inscription from Emirgazi (see Alp 1973: 11-3) to which Hawkins draws especially attention in this connection strongly suggests the emendation <MASHAH-TAMI->*KURUNT*-<ti>.

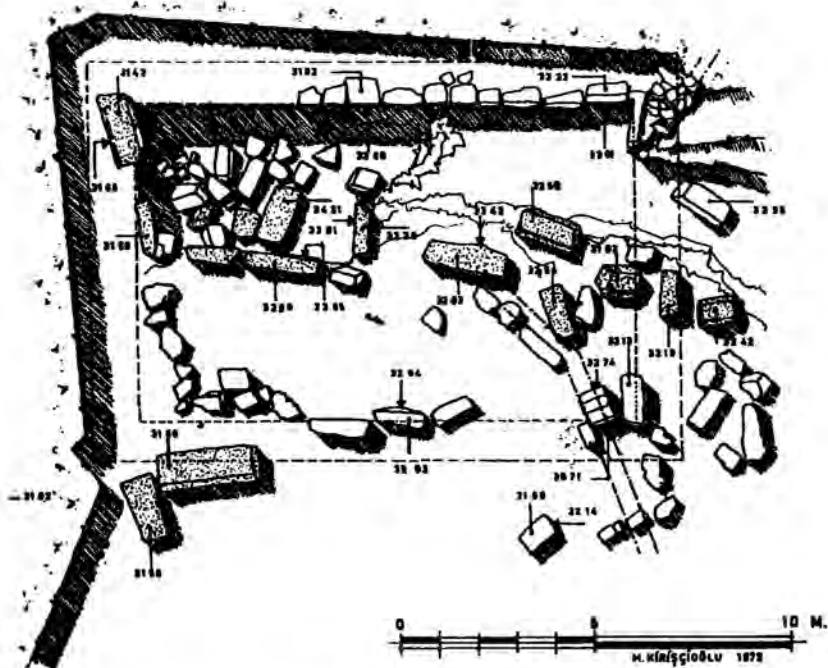


Fig. 4. Blocks of the Yalbur inscription in their original position (from Özgüç 1988).

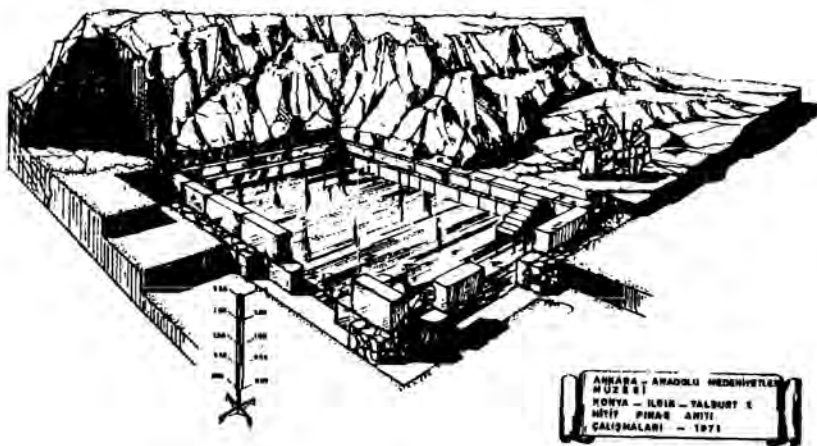


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the Yalbur monument (from Özgüç 1988).

fit together like a jigsaw puzzle on the basis of linguistic criteria before the contents of the text can be fully grasped.⁹⁵

If we try to put more pieces of the puzzle in place it appears that among the remaining sixteen blocks—of which two, the numbers 18 and 19, are so heavily damaged that they can only be used to fill any gaps that might occur—there is no manifest continuation of block 10. Yet, it is clear that the sequence of blocks 12 to 15 forms a cluster of its own and is therefore correctly reconstructed.⁹⁶ This section deals with townships in the valley of the Xanthus river in the western part of Lycia, viz. *Pinata*, *Awarna* and *Talwa* (= epichoric Lycian *Pinale*, *Arñne* and *Tlawa*, respectively).⁹⁷ It informs us that *Pinata* became hostile and is subsequently destroyed, that *Awarna* is plundered, and that *Talwa* submitted and became a tributary. On the basis of the analogy of expressions used in this passage yet another sequence of blocks may be discerned. Thus the township *Hwalatarna* is discussed on blocks 6 and 17 in virtually the same terms as *Talwa*,⁹⁸ from which observation it may be deduced that block 6 is a continuation of block 17. Similarly, the regional indications *hapir utna* “river land”⁹⁹ and *hwa hwa Luwata* “whatever (belongs to) Luwanda”¹⁰⁰ are discussed on blocks 7 and 11 in terms that remind us of *Pinata*, for which reason these blocks can be shown to precede block 17.¹⁰¹ In this manner, then, we arrive at the sequence of blocks 7, 11, 17 and 6 which likewise forms a separate cluster and informs us that the as yet unspecified river land became hostile and is subsequently destroyed, that the associated *Luwata* more or less passively shared its fate, and that *Hwalatarna* submitted and became a tributary.

⁹⁵ Poetto 1992 greatly suffers from the fact that, with the exception of block 16, the author has adhered to the sequence of the blocks as established in the course of the reconstruction.

⁹⁶ Poetto 1992: 18; note that Hawkins 1992: 261 acknowledges the sequence from blocks 12 to 13, but (according to Poetto 1992: 18, note 17a) wants to have the sequence from blocks 14 to 15 reversed.

⁹⁷ Poetto 1992: 78–80 with reference to the sequence [A]rñna Pinale Tlawa in TL 44b, line 3; cf. Zgusta 1984, s.v. *Ἀρνα, Πίναρα* and *Τλῶς*.

⁹⁸ Poetto 1992: 41–4 (especially 42: “l'esatto duplicato del bloc. 15”); 72–3 (†*Kuwalatarna*).

⁹⁹ Correction of Poetto 1992: 45; 75–6 (†*Napir*) on the basis of Karkemis no. 22/23, phrase 25: *ḥapa-utna ḥapatā-* “(river) valley”; cf. Karatepe no. 24, phrase 48 *ḥapaḥāpar-* “(offering) stream”. Both forms are derivations of *ḥapaḥapali-* “river, stream”, attested for Karkemis no. 11, phrases 6–8.

¹⁰⁰ Correction of Poetto 1992: 46; 75–6 (†*Kuwakuwuluwa*“ta) on the basis of Köylütölü phrase 7: *ḥwā ḥwā tilarma*^{UNINA} “whatever (belongs to) Attarima”.

¹⁰¹ Note that the verb *arḥa parna-* “to destroy”, which on the basis of the given analogy should be expected to occur in connection with *hapir utna* “river land”, is present at the start of block 17.

With eleven blocks grouped together in this manner in three major clusters it becomes more easy to put the remaining eight pieces of the puzzle in their proper place. First, block 4 obviously belongs to the sequence of blocks 12 to 15 for its mention of the place name *Patar* (= Lycian *Pttara*), likewise situated in the valley of the Xanthos river.¹⁰² Since this block also contains a kind of epilogue, it must be the last one of the cluster on the Xanthos valley—if not, indeed, near the end of the text as a whole. Next, block 9, which mentions the *Lukka lands* (roughly corresponding to classical Lycia) in general and the city *Wiyawanda* (= classical *Oinoanda*) situated in the northern part of the Xanthos valley in particular,¹⁰³ most likely belongs to the introductory section, where it makes good sense as the continuation of block 10. Possibly, but less clearly so, it is followed here by block 2. Finally, it might be suggested that the sequence of blocks 8, 5 and 3, which deals with donations (final part of block 8 and beginning of block 5) and the construction of a road through the mountains (final part of block 5¹⁰⁴ and beginning of block 3¹⁰⁵), precedes the cluster on the lower Xanthos valley.¹⁰⁶

The larger units thus created, however, cannot be fit together into a fully running text. Two blocks are certainly missing, one following block 2 at the end of the introductory section and the other following block 4 at the end of the section on the Xanthos valley (= blocks 18 and 19?). Furthermore, there might be a lacuna at the end of the section on the as yet unspecified river land, Luwata and Hwalatarna as well. Nevertheless, the relative order of these units seems clear: (1) general introduction to the campaigns; (2) campaign in the river land associated with Luwata and Hwalatarna; (3) campaign in the region of the Xanthos valley followed by an epilogue (Fig. 6).

If the sequence of the blocks as reconstructed here is considered a plausible one, the contents of the Yalbur text may be summarized as follows:

INTRODUCTION

§ 1 aedification and genealogy of greatking Tudhaliyas IV

§ 2 thanks to the god Tarhnt for a strong position of the monarchy

¹⁰² Poetto 1992: 80; cf. Zgusta 1984, s.v. *Pátapa*.

¹⁰³ Poetto 1992: 80; cf. Zgusta 1984, s.v. *Oivóavda*.

¹⁰⁴ Poetto 1992: 40-1 mistakenly omits the occurrence of sign *221 *ĦARWAN* in the final section of block 5, which, however, is clearly visible in the photograph and therefore added in the drawing reproduced in Fig. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Poetto 1992: 32-3 wrongly reads †*216 *ARĦA* instead of *221 *ĦARWAN*.

¹⁰⁶ Note that the phrase started at the end of block 3 is continued at the beginning of block 12; the first combination of block 12 reads *57+*419 *KATA+mi* "with me", not, as Poetto 1992: 58 wants to have it in connection with its occurrence on block 11, †*KU.KATA*.

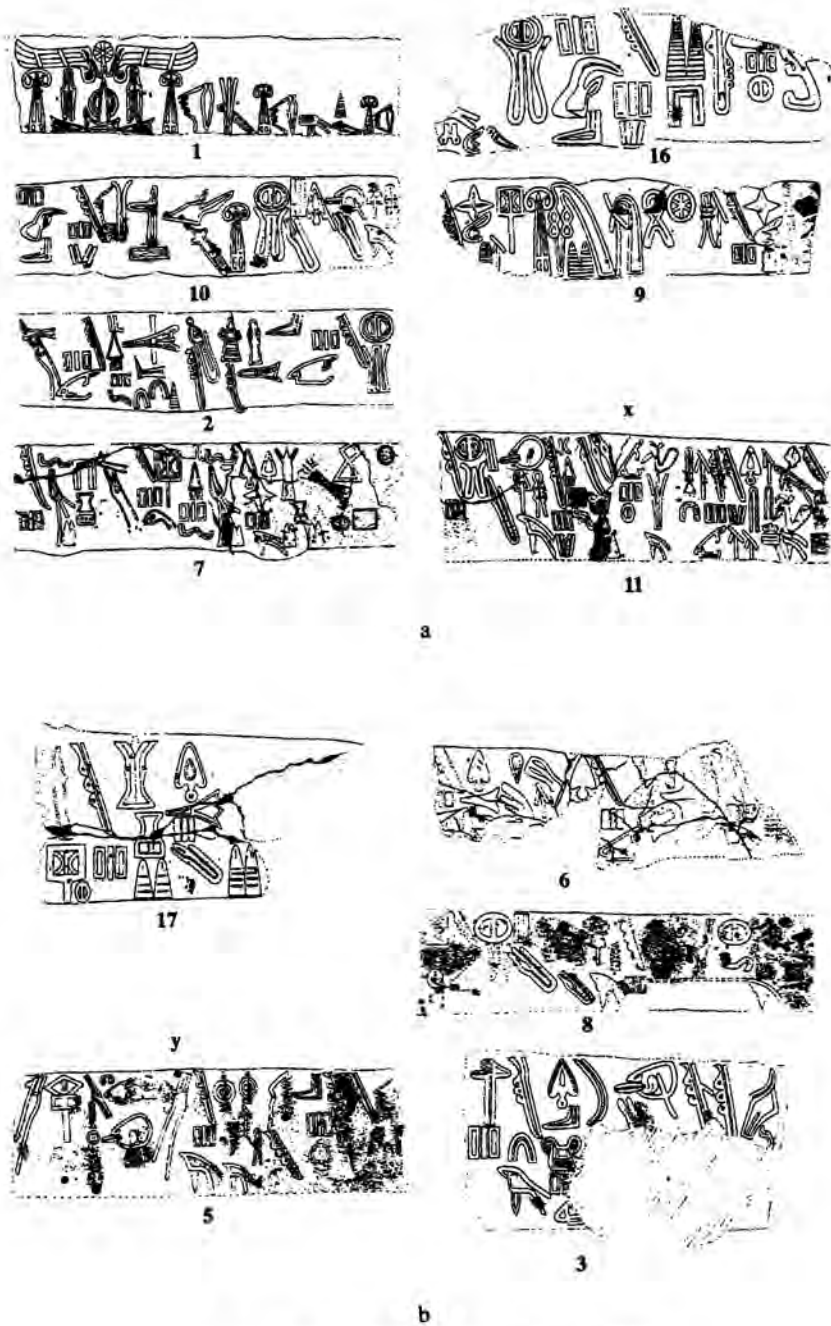


Fig. 6a-b. The Yalburt text (after Poetto 1992).

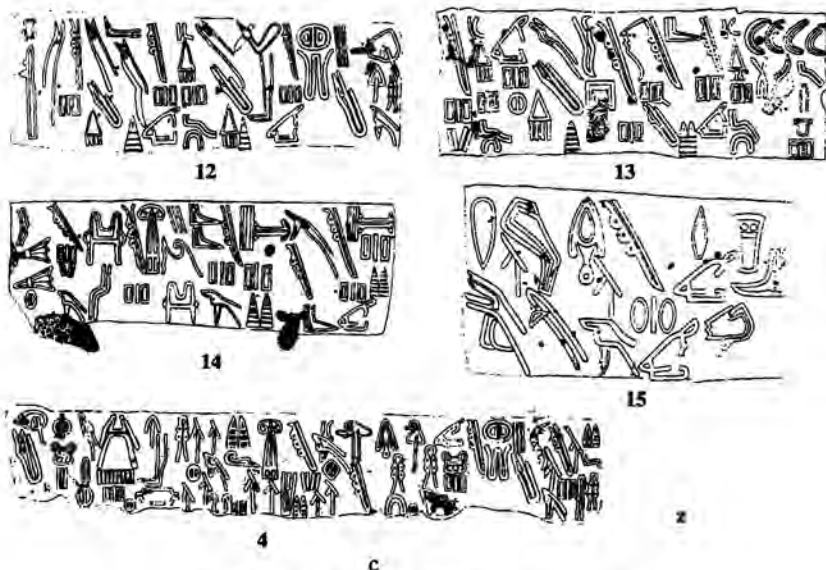


Fig. 6c. The Yalbur text (after Poetto 1992).

- § 3 thanks to the god <*463->Kuruntis for support in building the sacred pool
- § 4 stationing of troops & 100 chariots at Wiyanawanda in the Lukka lands
- § 5 action behind the city of Wiyanawanda against a town of the enemy on the far side
[vacat]

CAMPAIGN IN THE RIVER LAND NEAR LUWATA

- § 6 the river land near the town Luwata becomes hostile
- § 7 with troops & 100 chariots the river land near the town Luwata is defeated, reconquered and destroyed
- § 8 the region of Hwalatarna surrenders and becomes a tributary
[vacat]
- § 9 dedication of various offerings to the gods
- § 10 march of troops & horses across roadless mountain range

CAMPAIGN IN THE XANTHOS VALLEY

- § 11 the town Pinata becomes hostile
- § 12 Pinata is conquered and destroyed
- § 13 booty is taken from the region of Awarna and a garrison is settled there
- § 14 the region of Talwa surrenders and becomes a tributary
- § 15 dedication of offerings before the mountain of Patar
- § 16 none of the predecessors of Tudhaliyas IV has been to these lands before
[vacat]

This summary presents the picture of a coherent text. What still needs to be clarified, though, is the location of Luwata, Hwalatarna and the river land associated with these places. In so doing, it is relevant to

note with Poetto that Hwalatarna is also mentioned in a hieroglyphic inscription of Tudhaliyas IV from Emirgazi, where it appears in combination with Talwa.¹⁰⁷ In a Hittite cuneiform text the latter town is directly associated with *Kuwalapašša*,¹⁰⁸ which in the opinion of Onofrio Carruba bears reference to classical Telmessos (= present-day Fethiye), situated along the Lycian coast west of the mouth of the Xanthos river.¹⁰⁹ On account of the similarity of the first element of both places associated with Tal(a)wa, then, Poetto has proposed to identify Hwalatarna with Kuwalapassa alias Telmessos.¹¹⁰ This identification nicely fits the requirements of the introductory section of our text, according to which Tudhaliyas IV first went *behind* the city of Wiyanawanda in defence of some allied town (§ 5): from a central Anatolian perspective this means that he marched *westwards* to the Indus valley, north of the bay of Telmessos. It even receives further support from the fact that Luwata can positively be identified with classical *Loanda*, a locality situated at the eastern border of the Indus river.¹¹¹ Hence the river land associated with Luwata and Hwalatarna refers to the valley of the Indus river. In order to reach Pinata from this part of the country one certainly has to cross a mountain range as related in the prelude to the action against this town (§ 10)! However, even if the general location of Hwalatarna in the region west of the Xanthos valley is correct, its identification with Kuwalapassa alias Telmessos is not. Firstly, most scholars believe that Kuwalapassa is to be identified with classical *Kolbasa* in Pamphylia — and, considering the description of the route to this place in another Hittite cuneiform text, with due cause.¹¹² Secondly, the distinctive first element *hwala-* corresponds exactly to the epichoric Lycian form of classical Kaunos, *Xbide*, for which reason Hwalatarna is likely to bear reference to the latter site (see Map I).¹¹³

From a historical point of view the Yalburt text presents interesting

¹⁰⁷ Poetto 1992: 81; cf. Masson 1979: 14 (= Emirgazi V, A5); in the same text reference is made to Pinata and (A)wana as well, see Masson 1979: 14; 36-7 (= Emirgazi V, B3). Note that the direct association of Hwalatarna with Talwa in Emirgazi V strikingly mirrors the similarity of their description in the Yalburt text.

¹⁰⁸ Del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v. *Kuwalapaša*; Poetto 1992: 81 (= KUB XXIII 83 Rs 1).

¹⁰⁹ Carruba 1978: 167; cf. del Monte 1992, s.v. *Kuwalapaša*; Poetto 1992: 81.

¹¹⁰ Poetto 1992: 81; cf. Masson 1980: 112, note 18.

¹¹¹ Zgusta 1984, s.v. *Loanda*.

¹¹² Del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v. *Kuwalapaša* (= KUB XXI 6a Rs 5-14); cf. Zgusta 1984, s.v. *Κόλβασα*. Although an *argumentum e silentio*, the absence of Wiyanawanda in this route description is particularly ominous for Carruba's Telmessos-thesis because the latter town functions as military headquarters for the Lycian campaign in the Yalburt text.

¹¹³ TL 44c6-9; Meriggi 1980: 371, § 289. Note that Lycian [b] originates from [w]

information about the territorial range of the Hittite Empire in the southwest corner of Asia Minor. Early in the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV the southwest border is situated at *Parḫa* along the river *Kaštaraya*—a site convincingly identified by Heinrich Otten with classical *Perge* along the *Kestros* in Pamphylia.¹¹⁴ Later this border is shifted to the west of *Parḫa* in a campaign of which we have no other evidence than its announcement in the Bronze Tablet.¹¹⁵ Still later, in the period of the Yalburt text this border is once again shifted to the west. By now the region of the Xanthos valley is incorporated into the Empire and the sphere of influence even extends towards the valley of the Indus river and Kaunos beyond the confines of Lycia proper. In this manner, then, the Hittites have gained control over the entire southern coastal zone of the Anatolian peninsula (see Map I). It stands to reason, however, to assume that this control is no objective *per se*, but a prelude to the Alasiya campaign launched by Tudḫaliyas IV in the final years of his reign.¹¹⁶

Yalburt

- ¹*sol suus* URA+ḪANTAWAT
la+PÁRNA ^{MASANA+WATI}TU(TḪALIA)
la+PÁRNA URA+ḪANTAWAT **heros**
ḪÁ(TI)+li URA+ḪANTAWAT **heros**
infans^m um+r-li URA+ḪANTAWAT
heros [*infans^m*300* *SUPI-LULIA-mi*
URA+ḪANTAWAT **heros**]
¹⁶*infans^m*300* <*ḫa-ma-su*>-ka-li

"His majesty, greatking, labarnas, Tudḫaliyas, greatking, hero, son of Ḫattusilis, greatking, hero, [grandson] of Mursilis, greatking, hero, great-grandson [of Suppiluliumas, greatking, hero]."
- ^{MASANA}TARḪUNT wa-sà<+r>-ti
à-wa -mi UTNA-sa WARPA
mu-wa-ḫa

"By the grace (of) Tarḫunt I have confirmed the *warpa*- (in this part) of the country."
- <^{MASANA}TÁMI->KURUNT<-ti>
¹⁰wa-sà<+r>-ti
à-wa -mi **heros** ^{*246}TÁMI
MALIA-WATA URA+ḪANTAWAT

"By the grace (of) Kuruntis (of) <building> (I), hero, greatking, have built (this) sacred pool."

and that, on the analogy of the correspondance of Lycian *Pinale* to hieroglyphic *Pinata*, substitution of [d] for [l] can easily be accounted for by the frequent interchange of these sounds.

¹¹⁴ Otten 1988: viii, 60-2; cf. del Monte 1992, s.v. *Parḫa*; *Gewässeramen*, s.v. *Kaštaraja*.

¹¹⁵ Otten 1988: viii, 62-4.

¹¹⁶ Güterbock 1967: 74-5; 80-1; Woudhuizen 1994: 524-6. Note in this connection that Alasiya is reported to have suffered from seasonal harassment by Lycian pirates since the times of El Amarna in the 14th century BC.

4. ^{MASANA}TARHUNT **dominus-na**
 HWA+r PÁRA-na HWA-ā-tá
 9[ā-wa] lú-ka^{UTNA-i} PARNA
 URA+HANTAWAT
 WIANA+WAT^{UTNA} KULANA
 100 rota ā-i
5. ā-wa lú-ka^{UTNA-i} [?·?-?] 2tu-pi
6. ā-wa -mu ^{MASANA}ta₅-wa-ná-sa
 i+la-tu-sa UMINA APA-ā
 UMINA-ā la+PÁRNA TIWA
7. ā-wa -mu ^{MASANA}TARHUNT
 ***[dominus-na PÁRA-na**
 HWA-ā-tá]
8. 7ā-wa HAPA-pi+r UTNA sa-sa,
 tu-pi
9. ā-wa -tā PARNA ^{MASANA}ta₅-wa-ná
 HAPA-pi+r UTNA HWA HWA
 lú-wa-tā^{UTNA} *468-sa₅ UTNA
10. tā-ḥa -pa 100 rota
11. 11ā-wa ^{MASANA}TARHUNT
dominus-na PÁRA<-na> HWA-ā-tá
12. ā-wa -mi ^{MASANA}ta₅-wa-ná ā-pa-ta,
 UMINA APA mu-wa-ḥa
13. ^{MUWATALI}<ta+r>-ḥá-tá a-su-sa-i
14. ā-wa -mu ā-mi-i HWA-a-i i-a-ti₀
 KATA+mi MUWATALI-tá
- “When Tarhunt, the Lord,
 ran before by (me),
 (I), greatking, built (forts)
 in the Lukka lands (and)
 stationed troops (and) 100
 chariots (in) Wiyanawanda.”
- “[..?..] in the Lukka lands
 became hostile.”
- “I, labarnas, went behind the
 fortress (at Wiyanawanda)
 to the town of the enemy on
 the far side (?).”
- “Tarhunt, [the Lord, ran
 before me].”
- “The river land broke the
 seal.”
- “The enemy fortified the
 river land, whatever part of
 the irrigated land (belongs
 to) Luwanda.”
- “But I took 100 chariots.”
- “Tarhunt, the Lord, ran
 before (me).”
- “I re-subdued the enemy
 (and reconquered) their
 town.”
- “The horse(men) were
 victorious.”
- “My (footsoldiers), who
 (were) here with me, were
 victorious.”

15. à-wa [-mu] ¹⁷ARĤA PARNA-ĥa "I destroyed (the city)."
16. à-wa *468-sa, UTNA
ĤWA-la-ta+r-na^{UTNA} [KATA-à
TIWA₂] "[I descended] to the part of
the irrigated land (belonging
to) Ĥwalatarna."
17. ⁶à-wa -mu ĤWA-la-ta+r-na^{UTNA}
WANATI *infans*^m PATA-i [KATA]
ĤWA[-i-tá] "(In) Ĥwalatarna women
(and) children prostrat[ed at]
my feet."
18. à-wa -mu TÍ UWA ĤAWA SURNA-ti
ARĤA TĀ "I took away with me men,
oxen (and) sheep in plenty."
19. à-wa -tá [?-?]-ta₀ [?-(?)
?] ⁸mu-wa-ĥa "From there [
?] I conquered."
20. à[-wa -mu] ^{MASANA}TARĤUNT
dominus-na [PÁRA]-na ĤWĀ-ā-tá "Tarĥunt, the Lord, ran
[before] me."
21. à-wa [?-? ?-?] PIA MASANA-na "I gave [..?..] the divine
(..?..)."
22. [?-?]-tá [?-? ?-?] ⁵PIA "I gave [..?..] to them."
23. *254+*245 pi-ā-ĥa "I gave the (type of imperial
building)."
24. URA UWA PÁRA PIA "I consecrated a great
(offering of) oxen."
25. à-wa -tá ^{MASANA+WATI}?-tá "From there (I went) to the
holy mountain ?-ta."
26. ^{MASANA+WATI}i-ā SARA-à ti-wa-ĥa "I ascended these holy
mountains."
27. à[-wa] ĤARWAN à[-?-?]
[SARA ?-?] ³neg -wa à-sa-tá "(There) was no road [to
ascend (these mountains)]."
28. ĤWA-ti -pa-wa -mu ĤARWAN
PÁRA-na [TIWA(-?)] à+r[-nu-ĥa] "(So) where [I marched]
ahead I constructed a road."

29. à[-wa -mu?] TARKASNA-ná[-ā]
¹²KATA+mi PIA "I added charioteers to (the men) with me."
30. à-wa pi-na-ta₅^{UMINA} tu-pi "Pinata became hostile."
31. à-wa -mu ^mta₅-wa-ná-sa
pi-na-ta₅^{UMINA} MUWATALI TA₆ "(The army) of the enemy (at) Pinata came to me in full strength."
32. à-wa -mu ^{MASANA}TARHUNT
dominus-na PÁRA Hwá-ā-tá "Tarhunt, the Lord, ran before me."
33. ¹³à-wa -mi ^mta₅-wa-ná-sa
mu-wa-ḥa pi-na-ta₅^{UMINA} ARḤA
PARNA "I conquered (this force) of the enemy (and) destroyed Pinata."
34. à-wa á-à-wa+r-na^{UTNA} TIWA₂ "I went to Awarna."
35. à-wa -mu ^mta₅-wa-ná-sa 4000
100 TARKASNA-ná-ā -pa-wa
¹⁴ARḤA la-la-ḥa "I took away from the (force) of the enemy 4000 (men) and 100 charioteers."
36. à-wa -mi -tá *300 ASA(NU) "I settled my offspring here."
37. à-wa URA+ḤANTAWAT **dominus**
ARA *300 TIWA₂-TIWA₂ "May the offspring (of) the greatking continue to provide the local ruler for all time."
38. à-wa -tá TAL-wa^{UTNA} KATA-à TIWA₂ "From there I descended to the country of Talawa."
39. à-wa -mu TAL-wa^{UTNA} ¹⁵WANATI
infans^m PATA-i KATA HWA-i-tá "(In) Talawa women (and) children prostrated at my feet."
40. à-wa -mu tí UWA HAWA
SURNA-ti <ARḤA TÁ> "I <took away> with me men, oxen (and) sheep in plenty."
41. ⁴PÁRA-na ^{MASANA+WATI}pa-ta+r
pi-a-ḥa tà₂-nu-wa-ḥa
^{HWI-TA}*202-i ā-i-ḥa "In front of the divine mountain Patara I gave (an offering), erected (stelai), (and) made sculptured corridor-façades."

42. *i-tá-i -pa-wa UTNA-ná-i*
URA+HANTAWAT-i HÁ(TI)^{UTNA}
à-mi-i ^{TA}(TI) HUHA-ì
neg-à HWA-ā-sa-ḫa HWA-ā-tá "In these lands the
greatkings of Hatti, my
father and predecessors,
no one has marched."
43. *mu -pa-wa-à ^{MASANA}TARḪUNT*
dominus-na á-i-tá "But for me Tarḫunt, the
Lord, made (it happen)."
44. *à-wa i-a UTNA-ná-ā []* "These lands []."

COMMENTS

The transcription of the text adheres to the one established by Poetto 1992: 13-73 and Tav. I-XXII unless indicated otherwise. For brevity's sake, comments on matters of interpretation will be restricted to the essentials.

Phrase 2

UTNAsa: G sg. in *-sa* of the noun *utna*- "country",¹¹⁷ The logographic reading of *228 as *UTNA* (cf. Hittite *udnē*) is indicated by the fact that the syllabic value *tu*, (< **ut*) regularly originates from it according to the acrophonic principle.¹¹⁸ Note further that the genitive functions as a partitive here.

The expression *WARPA MUWA*- "to confirm the *warpa*-" is also attested for the Kōylütölu text¹¹⁹ and an Early Iron Age rock inscription from Karadağ.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, the precise meaning of *warpa*- remains unclear, but its use in a late 10th or early 9th century BC text from Karkemis suggests reference to some symbol of royal investiture or sovereignty.¹²¹

Phrase 3

As hinted at earlier, Hawkins duly notified that, with the exception of the honorific titles *heros* and *URA+HANTAWAT*, this phrase recurs in its

¹¹⁷ Meriggi 1966: 29, § 14; Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

¹¹⁸ Laroche 1960: 127, *sub* *230.

¹¹⁹ Hawkins 1992: 262; Poetto 1992: 24; see further section 2 above.

¹²⁰ Hawkins 1992: 262-3; 267; 268; Poetto 1992: 22; Woudhuizen 1992-3: 209. Contrary to Hawkins' opinion, however, the allegedly corresponding section of Kızıldağ 4 actually reads *UTNAsa āpa MUWA*- "to reconquer (this part) of the country"; note that Woudhuizen 1992-3: 207; 209 also needs to be corrected accordingly.

¹²¹ Karkemis no. 11, phrases 13 and 21.

entirety in a fragmentary preserved inscription from Emirgazi.¹²² Of this phrase, the elements in fifth and penultimate position are in need of further clarification. Hawkins suggested that the first, which he analyzed as a hand on top of the rectangular *398, may well be identified as the clause's verb.¹²³ In line with this suggestion, we are likely to have here a graphic variant of *²⁴⁶TAMI "to build".¹²⁴ Next, Poetto argued that the second element, which consists of calf's head (*109 MALIA, *ma*₆) in combination with *285, renders yet another honorific title bearing reference to the principal of the text, greatking Tudḥaliyas IV.¹²⁵ Such a solution, however, fails to account for all the relevant facts. The combination *109-²⁸⁵ has only four certain attestations in sum: apart from in the Yalburt text and the Emirgazi fragment just mentioned, it also occurs in monumental inscriptions from Karakuyu and Kızıldağ.¹²⁶ Insofar as the context of these four inscriptions has been examined, it appears that all are characterized by the prominent position of water. Thus, the Yalburt monument consists of a reservoir for water from a source nearby,¹²⁷ the Karakuyu stone originates from a sluice for the regulation of a storage lake at the confluence of three rivulets,¹²⁸ and the text at Kızıldağ belongs to a sanctuary which for the presence of one or more artificial water holes is considered to bear testimony of a rain cult.¹²⁹ This being the case, *109-²⁸⁵ may plausibly be identified as the clause's object and for that matter be assumed to contain a reflex of the root for "water" as one of its constituent elements. Hence, under

¹²² Hawkins 1992: 261; cf. note 94 above. The Emirgazi fragment reads in full: *JMASANA*463-KURUNT-ti wa-sâ<+r>-ti â-wa -mi-â MALIA-WATA *²⁴⁶TAMI*, see Alp 1973: 11-3, Abb. 1a-c.

¹²³ Hawkins 1992: 263; cf. Poetto 1992: 56.

¹²⁴ Laroche 1960: 131, *sub* *246; note the use of this verb in its regular form in the Aleppo and Südburg texts, discussed in sections 1 and 5, respectively.

¹²⁵ Poetto 1992: 53; 54-5.

¹²⁶ Poetto 1992: 54-5; Hawkins 1992: 263. The reconstruction of *109-²⁸⁵ for the text of one of the Emirgazi altars (see Masson 1979: 23-6, esp. fig. 5a) cannot be verified with the help of the available photographs and hence remains uncertain. The occurrence of this combination on a seal from the museum of Mersin (see Dinçol 1985: 36-7; Taf. 4A-B) is likewise uncertain because the second sign lacks the distinctive horizontal protrusions—however, if the Dinçols are right in their identification, it should be noted that the titular nature of the term in this particular instance is determined by the use of the determinative of male gender, *386 "crampon" (see further below).

¹²⁷ Özgüç 1988: xxv-vii.

¹²⁸ Gelb 1939: 32-3; Pl. LII; Bittel 1984: 13; 33, Tav. v; 34, Tav. vi.

¹²⁹ Gonnet 1984: 122 "une ou plusieurs cupules (...), qui sont probablement en relation avec le culte de la pluie"; Pl. vi, 5.

due consideration of Anatolian **watar/n-* “water”, we arrive at the transliteration *MALIA-WATA* “sacred water”.¹³⁰

Phrase 4

As rightly observed by Poetto the expression *PÁRANA HWĀ* matches Hittite *píran huia-* or *huuā(i)-* “to stand by”, which frequently turns up in the annals of Mursilis II.¹³¹

UTNAI: D pl. in *-ai* of the noun *utna-* “country”.¹³² The analysis of the ending is especially clear from the context of phrases 42-4, where *itái utnái* “in these lands” occurs alongside *ia utnā* “these lands [A(n) pl.]”.¹³³

PARNA: logographic writing of the 1st person sg. of the past tense in <*-ha*> of the verb *parna-* “to build”.¹³⁴ Contrary to the opinion of the scholars who thus far tackled the question, *parna-* only renders the opposite meaning “to destroy” when it occurs in combination with the adverb *arha* “de-” (as it does in phrases 15 and 33).¹³⁵

As Poetto justly emphasized, the sequence *KULANA 100 rota* “troops (and) 100 chariots” recalls cuneiform *ERIN*^{MES GIGIR}^{MES}—one of the stock expressions in Hittite annalistic tradition.¹³⁶

Phrase 5

tupi: endingless form of the verb *tupi-* “to hit, strike”.¹³⁷ On the basis of its recurrence in phrases 8 and 30, the subject implied by this form of the verb is likely to be the force which rises against the greatking and not, as Poetto wants to have it, the greatking himself.¹³⁸ Hence, this form

¹³⁰ Friedrich 1991, s.v. *uatar*, G *uetenāš*; Melchert 1993: 267, s.v. *wattant(i)-* “having a spring/source”. See also our discussion of the Fraktin relief in section 4 below.

¹³¹ Poetto 1992: 37, note 77; cf. *nu -mu DINGIR.MEŠ píran huieir* “the gods stood by me” (KUB XIV 15 Vs I 1).

¹³² Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 285, § 34 (new reading *†-za*).

¹³³ Meriggi 1966: 35, § 29; 38, § 37; cf. Friedrich 1960: 187, § 387; Meriggi 1980: 284, § 33. Pace Poetto (1992: 33; 40), who considers both forms to be accusative.

¹³⁴ Cf. *parnawa-* “to build” in Karkemis no. 163, phrase 6 (where the preceding *arha* is not adverb but noun, see Woudhuizen 1992-3: 174-5); this latter form develops into later Lycian *pr̥nawa-* “to build”.

¹³⁵ Poetto 1992: 47-8; 45 and note 97; Poetto correctly remarks that the context of Yalburt phrase 33 is repeated in Emirgazi Vb, line 3 with omission of the adverb *arha* (see Masson 1979a: 14; Masson 1979b: 539; cf. Poetto 1992: 62), but it should be noted that our understanding of the latter text is much hampered by its stenographic nature.

¹³⁶ Poetto 1992: 50.

¹³⁷ Laroche 1967: 53; 55 (develops into later Lycian *tub(e)i-*, which occurs in the apodosis of the damnation-formula).

¹³⁸ Poetto 1992: 28; 31-2; 44-5; 60.

may safely be assumed to represent the 3rd person sg. or pl. of the past tense in *-ta* or *-ʔa*.¹³⁹

Phrase 6

ʔa,waná:sa: G sg. in *-sa* of the noun *ʔa,waná-* “enemy”.¹⁴⁰ In his preliminary treatment of the Südburg text, Hawkins posited that the word *ta,waná-* “can be seen from its occurrences in the Yalbur inscription to be a royal title” bearing reference to the dedicator of the monument, greatking Tudhaliyas IV.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, he considered the present form to be N(m/f) sg. in *-sa*.¹⁴² However, this suggestion is difficult to reconcile with the relevant data. With the exception of the indefinite pronoun *hwásaḥa* “whoever”,¹⁴³ namely, the ending of the nominative singular genus commune is consistently omitted from the spelling in Late Bronze Age texts.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, considering the singular nature of the office of greatking, the interpretation of *ta,wana-* as an imperial title fails in the face of the nominative plural (m/f) form *ta,waná* as attested for a non-retrospective context in the Südburg inscription.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, we have to look for alternative solutions. A significant clue as to the meaning of the word thus far left out of our discussion is offered by the use of *386 “crampon” in front of it.¹⁴⁶ This sign, which primarily functions as a word divider in texts of later date, is applied as a determinative of male gender in contemporary Late Bronze Age documents (transcription *m*).¹⁴⁷ As a result, *ʔa,waná-* obviously denotes a male person. With the exception of the greatking, however, no person is specified by name in the text. This being the case, it may safely be inferred that the word does not bear reference to any specific individual, but rather forms a generic indication of a certain

¹³⁹ Meriggi 1966: 63, § 118; Meriggi 1980: 345, § 214.

¹⁴⁰ Meriggi 1966: 29, § 14; Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

¹⁴¹ Hawkins 1990: 307; cf. Poetto 1992: 28-9.

¹⁴² Hawkins 1990: 307-8, note 18; cf. Poetto 1992: 28-9.

¹⁴³ Yalbur phrase 42; also frequently attested for the Emirgazi texts.

¹⁴⁴ Hawkins 1992: 265 (“the Empire practice of omitting the case ending [N(m/f) sg. *-sa*] from the name”—which remark should not be confined to the realm of onomastics); cf. Woudhuizen 1992-3: 206.

¹⁴⁵ Südburg phrase 5 (see discussion in section 5 below); for the nominative plural of the imperial title *URA+HANTAWAT-* “greatking” in a retrospective context, see Yalbur phrase 42.

¹⁴⁶ Poetto 1992: 29.

¹⁴⁷ Note that Poetto’s (1992: 29) qualification of “crampon” as a “determinative onorifico” is rather tendentious, because there is nothing intrinsically honorific about the kinship terms *ʔA(TI)-* “father” (Yalbur phrase 42) and *infans* “child, son” (Yalbur phrases 1, 17 and 39).

category of male persons.¹⁴⁸ If this is correct, it eventually becomes possible to explain the word *ta,waná-* in terms of a derivation from cuneiform Luwian *tāwa-* “eye” and to interpret it in line with the related adverb *tāwīyan* “facing, towards” as the Luwian hieroglyphic equivalent of Hittite ¹⁴⁹*KUR-* “enemy”.¹⁴⁹ At any rate, the absence of a leader worth specifying by name on the side of the Lycians is fully in agreement with information from Hittite cuneiform sources.

ilatusa: G sg. in *-sa* of the enigmatic entry *ilatu-*.¹⁵⁰ Poetto interpreted *ilatu-* as a place name.¹⁵¹ The latter interpretation, however, cannot be backed up by supporting evidence. On the contrary, it seems more likely to analyze *ilatu-* as a vocabulary item—probably an adjective qualifying the preceding *ta,waná-* “enemy”.¹⁵²

APAā: preposition “behind”.¹⁵³ Contrary to Poetto’s analysis of *apā* as adverb, I am inclined to the opinion that it functions as preposition to *UMINā* “town”.¹⁵⁴ If rightly so, it may plausibly be suggested that with the town in question reference is made to Tudhaliyas IV’s temporary military headquarter, Wiyana-wanda.

Phrase 8

sa-sa: endingless A(n) sg. of the noun *sasa-* “seal”.¹⁵⁵ With respect to the form *sasa*, Poetto followed Hawkins in his interpretation of *430 as a logographic rendering of cuneiform Luwian *punat(i)-* “all”.¹⁵⁶ As I have argued elsewhere, however, Hawkins’ alternative reading of *430 is entirely unfounded and hence there is no reason whatsoever to discard the traditional explanation of this sign as an angular variant of *415 *sa*.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, we arrive here at the expression *sasa tupi-* “to break the seal”. With this expression, then, the writer of the text stipulates the legal status of the rebels in the Indus valley as inhabitants of an allied country.

¹⁴⁸ Note that this argument precludes interpretation of *ta,waná-* as an honorific title inferior to great king but still of some note as suggested in Woudhuizen 1995: 62.

¹⁴⁹ Melchert 1993, s.v. *tāwa/i-*; *tāwīyan*. For a similar form in texts of later date, cf. *versusnūwā-* “adversary, enemy” (Karkemis no. 22, phrase 2).

¹⁵⁰ Meriggi 1966: 41, § 49 (*u*-stems); Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

¹⁵¹ Poetto 1992: 28; 75.

¹⁵² On the analogy of cuneiform Luwian *ziladuwa-* (see Melchert 1993, s.v.) one might be tempted to suggest something like “on the far side”.

¹⁵³ Laroche 1957-8: 184; Meriggi 1980: 368, § 281.

¹⁵⁴ Poetto 1992: 30; on the variant of *225 *UMINā* with either four or (as is the case here) six additional strokes, see discussion of the Südburg text in section 5 below.

¹⁵⁵ Friedrich 1960: 187, § 387; note that the regular N-A(n) sg. form of *sasa-* “seal” in texts of later date reads *sasā*, see Meriggi 1980: 276-7, § 9 (new reading †*sasaza*).

¹⁵⁶ Poetto 1992: 45; Hawkins 1992: 262.

¹⁵⁷ Woudhuizen 1992-3: 207-8.

Phrase 9

*468-*sa*; G sg. in *-sa*, of *468- "irrigated (land)".¹⁵⁸ As Poetto rightly pointed out, the rare sign *468 is paralleled for inscriptions of later date from Karadağ and Karahüyük-Elbistan.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, however, this observation is of little help to determine the meaning of the sign because the context in which it occurs in these latter texts so far remains unclear. Much more informative appears to be its present context in the Yalburt text, which, in my view, suggests interpretation as a reference to fields cultivated by irrigation works. In line with this interpretation, then, the genitive may safely be assumed to function as a partitive.¹⁶⁰

Phrase 10

Poetto considered the reading of this section too insecure to present a reliable transliteration.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, consultation of the relevant photograph definitely points out that this section reads *tà-ḥa -pa 100 rota*.¹⁶²

Phrase 12

àpata; D pl. in *-ta*, of the demonstrative pronoun *àpa*- "that".¹⁶³ Just like *ilatu*-discussed earlier, *àpata* is not (as Poetto wants to have it) a place name, but simply the dative plural form of the demonstrative pronoun *apa*- "that".¹⁶⁴

APA muwa- "to reconquer".¹⁶⁵ The use of the adverb *apa* "re-, anew" in this context depends from the subject status of the inhabitants of the Indus valley as stipulated in phrase 8.

Phrase 13

MUNWATALI <*tar*> *ḥátá*: 3rd person sg. of the present tense in *-tá* of the verb *MUNWATALI* <*tar*> *ḥá*- "to conquer".¹⁶⁶ The phonetic complement *-ḥá*- (which, for the use of *196 *há* instead of *215 *ha*, apparently confused Poetto)¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁸ Meriggi 1966: 29, § 14; Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

¹⁵⁹ Poetto 1992: 46; 72-3; note that Woudhuizen 1992-3: 209-10 must be corrected accordingly.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. the discussion of *UTNasa* in phrase 2 above.

¹⁶¹ Poetto 1992: 46.

¹⁶² Poetto 1992: Tav. ix.

¹⁶³ Meriggi 1966: 54, § 88 ((*á*)*patāi*); note further the correspondence of this form to later Lycian *ebette* (Meriggi 1980: 324, § 150).

¹⁶⁴ Poetto 1992: 57; 76.

¹⁶⁵ Laroche 1957-8: 184; Meriggi 1980: 368, § 281; cf. the citation from Kızıldağ 4 in note 120 above. Contra Poetto 1992: 57 "quindi conquistai".

¹⁶⁶ Meriggi 1966: 63, § 118; Meriggi 1980: 345, § 214.

¹⁶⁷ Poetto 1992: 58; cf. Hawkins 1990: 308-9, note 26.

specifies the verb as the Hittite equivalent of Luwian *muwa-*, viz. *tarḫ-* “to conquer”.¹⁶⁸

asusai: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *asusa-* “horseman”.¹⁶⁹ As an adjectival derivative in *-asa-* of *asu(wa)-* “horse”, this form obviously presents an alternative reference to the chariot force mentioned in phrases 4 and 10.¹⁷⁰

Phrase 14

āmii: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the possessive pronoun *(a)mi-* “my”.¹⁷¹ Note that this form of the possessive pronoun clearly implies reference to the infantry troops mentioned in phrase 4.

ḫwāai: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the relative pronoun *ḫwa-* “who, what”.¹⁷²
iatī_o: D or Abl. sg. in *-(a)ti_o* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* “this”.¹⁷³

Phrase 17

patai: D pl. in *-ai* of the noun *pata-* “foot”.¹⁷⁴ As Poetto duly pointed out, the expression used in this phrase bears a striking resemblance to Hittite *nu -mu MUNUS^{MES} (...) GİR^{MES}-as GAM-an ḫāliyer* “the women (...) kneeled at my feet”—a manner of speech which, in its various forms, frequently turns up in the annals of Mursilis II.¹⁷⁵

Phrase 18

As keenly observed by Poetto, the sequence *tī uwa ḫawa* strikingly recalls cuneiform *NAM.RA^{MES} GUD^{ḫi.A} UDU^{ḫi.A}* “prisoners of war, oxen, sheep”—one of the stock expressions in Hittite annalistic tradition.¹⁷⁶ From this correspondence, then, it may safely be deduced that the enigmatic element *319 *tī* constitutes the hieroglyphic equivalent of cuneiform *NAM.RA^{MES}* and likewise denotes prisoners of war.

surna-ti: Abl. sg. in *-ati* of the noun *surna-* “abundance”.¹⁷⁷ Note that

¹⁶⁸ Hawkins 1992: 262; Poetto 1992: 23-4.

¹⁶⁹ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 283, § 29 (new reading †-*zi*).

¹⁷⁰ Meriggi 1980: 252, § 6; 265, § 46. Note that the syllabic writing of *asu(wa)-* “horse” with *370 *su* here renders Melchert’s (1987: 201-2) new reading †*azu(wa)-* inadequate.

¹⁷¹ Meriggi 1966: 55, § 91; Meriggi 1980: 320-1, § 141 (new reading †*(a)mizi*).

¹⁷² Meriggi 1966: 57, § 97; 57-8, § 100; Meriggi 1980: 325, § 154 (new reading †*ḫw(i)zi*).

¹⁷³ Meriggi 1966: 53, § 85; 53-4, § 86; Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145 (new reading †*zati*).

¹⁷⁴ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 285, § 34 (new reading †-*za*).

¹⁷⁵ Poetto 1992: 42-3 (with reference to KBo III 4 Rs III 15-6).

¹⁷⁶ Poetto 1992: 43-4.

¹⁷⁷ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 279, §§ 15-6.

Poetto acknowledged his debt to Hawkins for the clarification of this form.¹⁷⁸

Phrase 23

The first element of this short phrase constitutes a ligature of *254 “palace” with *245 “building”, and therefore evidently denotes a type of imperial building.¹⁷⁹

Phrase 24

Poetto suggested two possible readings for the sign on the top left side of *ĤAWA* “sheep”, namely *413 *hi* or *363 *URA*.¹⁸⁰ On the basis of inspection of the photograph, I think that the second of these two options is preferable.

Phrase 26

iā: A(n) pl. in *-ā* of the demonstrative pronoun *i*- “this”.¹⁸¹ Contrary to Poetto’s interpretation of *iā* as a mountain name, it is quite obvious that we have here a form of the demonstrative pronoun referring back to the mountain mentioned in the preceding phrase.¹⁸²

Phrase 29

TARKASNAĀ[ā]: A(n) pl. in *-ā* of the noun *tarkasna*- “donkey; horse, charioteer”.¹⁸³ Note that the emendation is based on the recurrence of this form in phrase 35. In his discussion of the latter section Poetto assumed that the two final signs, *214 *nā* and *209 (1-3, 6) *ā*, belong to the next combination to form the conjunction *nāāpawa*.¹⁸⁴ If our emendation applies, however, this possibility is virtually ruled out by the position of *tarkasnaā* in the present context which leaves no room for a following conjunction. At first sight the ending of the accusative neuter plural in *-ā* seems odd because in connection with animals one would rather expect the communal accusative plural in *-i*.¹⁸⁵ A closer look at the matter, however, learns us that *100 *TARKASNA* actually forms

¹⁷⁸ Poetto 1992: 43-4.

¹⁷⁹ Laroche 1960: 135, *sub* *254; 130, *sub* *245.

¹⁸⁰ Poetto 1992: 40.

¹⁸¹ Meriggi 1966: 53, § 85; 54, § 87; Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145 (new reading †*zaya*).

¹⁸² Poetto 1992: 41.

¹⁸³ Meriggi 1966: 35, § 29; 38, § 37; cf. Friedrich 1960: 187, § 387; Meriggi 1980: 284, § 33.

¹⁸⁴ Poetto 1992: 62.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Laroche 1960: 62, *sub* *100; Meriggi 1966: 31, § 17, with reference to a possible N or A(m/f) pl. *TARKASNA-na-i* “donkeys”.

a calque from cuneiform ANŠE.KUR.RA “horse, charioteer (*lit.* mountain donkey)”.¹⁸⁶ According to this line of approach, then, the accusative neuter plural ending turns out to be functional as a distinctive marker for reference to the chariot force.

Phrase 37

dominus: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the honorific title **dominus** “lord”. Poetto suggested to explain this form either as a noun lined with the preceding URA+ĤANTAWAT “greatking” or as an adjective qualifying the following *300 “offspring”.¹⁸⁷ In the light of the comparative data, however, **dominus** likely refers to an imperial functionary of inferior rank.¹⁸⁸ This being the case, it more plausibly renders the object of the phrase.

Phrase 43

aitá: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -tá of the verb **ái**- “to make”.¹⁸⁹ In line with the new reading of *376 *i* as *†zi*, Poetto considered this verb a form of *aššiya*- “to (be) love(d)”.¹⁹⁰ This suggestion, however, is untenable because in all certain phonetic instances of the latter verb its root is spelled with three signs of which the one lacking here definitely represents the middle sibilant.¹⁹¹ Hence, there can be no doubt that we are actually dealing here with a writing variant of *ai(a)*- “to make”.¹⁹²

4. PUDUĤEPA’S MEMORIAL AT FRAKTIN

In about 1850 a Greek inhabitant of Nevşehir first reported the rock relief at Fraktin to a member of the scholarly world.¹⁹³ Having heard the news, A.H. Sayce suggested that this monument might be Hittite in nature.¹⁹⁴ On the basis of Sayce’s information, William Ramsay and

¹⁸⁶ Friedrich 1991, s.v.; see further the discussion of the Südburg text in section 5 below.

¹⁸⁷ Poetto 1992: 66.

¹⁸⁸ Laroche 1960: 209-10, *sub* *390; note especially its use in the composite title **custos-dominus** “commander of the guard” attributed to prince Sauskakuruntis in the Köylütölu text (see discussion in section 2 above), and in the likewise composite **UMINA-dominus** “lord of the city” as attested for the seal of prince Sauskamuwas (= SBo II, 79).

¹⁸⁹ Meriggi 1966: 65, § 122; Meriggi 1980: 345, § 214.

¹⁹⁰ Poetto 1992: 39.

¹⁹¹ See discussion in section 4 below.

¹⁹² Note in this connection also the variant writing *āi*- recorded for phrase 4.

¹⁹³ Messerschmidt 1900: 25.

¹⁹⁴ I could only trace reference to *Fraktin* in a lecture by Sayce held on the 6th of July 1880, see Sayce 1882: 249; but note that Messerschmidt 1900: 25 mentions a contribution dated August 1880.

D.G. Hogarth were able to locate the Fraktin relief in their 1890 expedition and to present the first scientific description of it.¹⁹⁵ From then onwards it has received attention by numerous scholars, most of whom produced a drawing¹⁹⁶ or photograph.¹⁹⁷ This attention, however, has been focussed on the figurative scenes rather than the associated hieroglyphic inscriptions—a fact which is most eloquently illustrated by the common neglect of the right side of the monument consisting of writing only.¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the hieroglyphic legends did arouse some interest in their own right as well, first sideways by means of isolated identifications,¹⁹⁹ later also in the form of more comprehensive studies.²⁰⁰ Most important among the latter type of studies is the one by Hans Gustav Güterbock, who—using the excellent photographs by Max Hirmer²⁰¹—reached an authoritative reading of the entire text.²⁰² Considering the fact that Güterbock's treatise leaves almost no room for discussion except on the last word,²⁰³ it may well serve as a frame of reference for our present inquiry.

The rock relief at Fraktin is situated along the most important route next to the Cilician gate from the Hittite Lower Land into the province of Kizzuwatna (see Map I).²⁰⁴ It is carved into a cliff alongside the bed of a rivulet nowadays called the Karasu.²⁰⁵ On top of this cliff, right above the relief, there are two artificial holes—one measuring 35 cm in width and 70 cm in depth and the other about 45 cm in width and 50 cm in depth—, which, in the light of the parallels, are no doubt

¹⁹⁵ Ramsay & Hogarth 1893: 87, Pl. vi, 1 (photograph, right side in the shadow); 2-4 (drawing); cf. Messerschmidt 1900: 25. Bittel 1939: 565 and Laroche 1989: 301 are obviously mistaken in dating this trip to, respectively, 1892 and 1880.

¹⁹⁶ Messerschmidt 1900: Taf. xxx; Meriggi 1975: Tav. xiii, no. 73; Mayer-Opificius 1989: 357, fig. 1.

¹⁹⁷ Olmstead 1911: 30, Pl. xiv, Figs. 25-6; Gelb 1939: Pl. xxxviii; Bittel 1976: 173, Pl. 194; 174, Pl. 196; 176-7, Pl. 198.

¹⁹⁸ Garstang 1929: Pl. xli; Bossert 1942: 550-2 (right side in the shadow); Riemschneider 1954: Taf. 39 (libation scene on the left); Alkim 1968: Taf. 108-10; Klengel 1970: Abb. 43 (central libation scene); Macqueen 1986: 143, Fig. 133 (right side in the shadow); Laroche 1989: Pl. 52, 1-2; Mayer-Opificius 1989: Pl. 67, 1-2; Marazzi 1990: Tav. xiii; Darga 1992: Pl. 182 (right side in the shadow); Masson 1994: 59, top figure.

¹⁹⁹ Bossert 1933-4: 185; Bittel & Güterbock 1935: 65; Gelb 1937: 289-91; Güterbock 1940: 29.

²⁰⁰ Börker-Klähn 1980 (written before the appearance of Güterbock 1978); Laroche 1989.

²⁰¹ Akurgal 1961: Taf. 100.

²⁰² Güterbock 1978.

²⁰³ Börker-Klähn 1980; Masson 1988.

²⁰⁴ Börker-Klähn 1980: 43.

²⁰⁵ Messerschmidt 1900: 25; Ussishkin 1975: 85; Börker-Klähn 1980: 42.

connected with the monument.²⁰⁶ In the immediate surrounding there are no traces of a proper Hittite settlement—the nearest one being at a distance of about 2 km²⁰⁷—, but surface finds at a site about 300 m north of the relief included Hittite sherds dated up to the 13th century BC (see Fig. 7).²⁰⁸

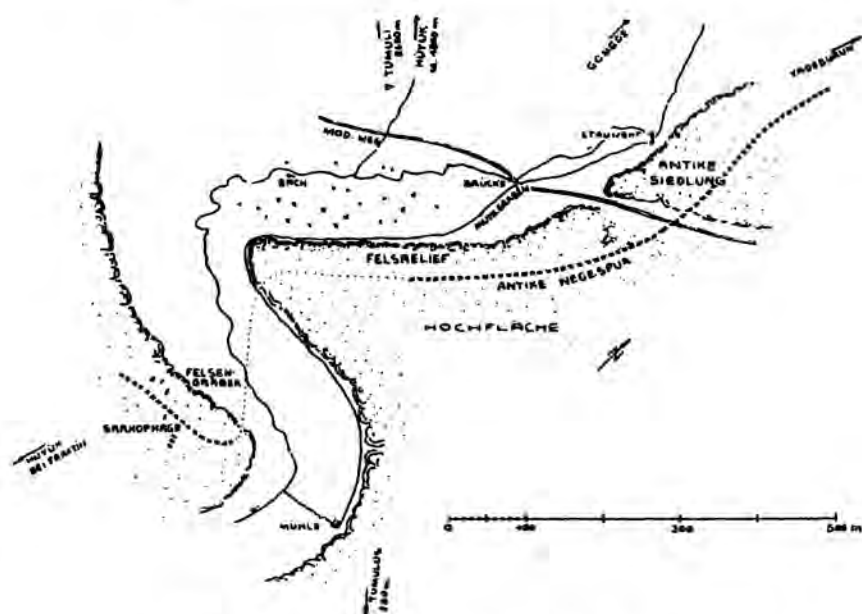


Fig. 7. Site of the rock relief at Fraktin (from Bittel 1939).

The relief itself is placed at a height of about 1.20 m above ground level and measures about 3 x 1 m.²⁰⁹ It consists of three sections, two of which present figurative scenes whereas the third is exclusively hieroglyphic in nature. In the scene on the left (= section A) a male person offers a libation to a male divinity standing in front of him. In the scene in the middle (= section B), which is executed in slightly larger dimensions, a female person likewise offers a libation to a female divinity seated in front of her (see Fig. 8). Each figure in the libation

²⁰⁶ Bittel 1939: 566; Börker-Klähn 1980: 43 and note 37; especially Ussishkin 1975: 86; 100 with reference to the parallels.

²⁰⁷ Börker-Klähn 1980: 43 and note 36 (with references).

²⁰⁸ Bittel 1939: 567; Börker-Klähn, *loc. cit.* speaks of a Chalcolithic site, in this manner disregarding Bittel's remark that sherds from the Hittite period "an Zahl überlegen waren".

²⁰⁹ Messerschmidt 1900: 25.



Fig. 8. Rock relief at Fraktin (from Börker-Klähn 1980).

scenes is associated with a hieroglyphic legend written in front of its head. Thanks to this device the person in question can easily be identified.

In the early days of decipherment, however, results came slowly one by one. First, Güterbock established that the male person in the scene on the left depicts greatking Ḫattusilis III (1265-1240 BC).²¹⁰ Next, Ignace J. Gelb convincingly demonstrated that the female person in the central scene represents Ḫattusilis III's consort, greatqueen Puduḫepa.²¹¹ Furthermore, Helmuth Th. Bossert rightly suggested that the seated goddess, whose name appears in abbreviated form, renders Ḫepat.²¹² Finally, Piero Meriggi plausibly identified the male deity in the scene on the left, which is the only figure without specification of the name, as the Luwian storm-god Tarḫunt.²¹³

The exclusively hieroglyphic section on the right (= section C) turned out to be a much harder nut to crack, and work on this part effectively started only after the war. Obviously, its first element renders the name of a country. For contextual and geographical considerations, Emmanuel Laroche argued that this country name likely refers to the province Kizzuwatna.²¹⁴ On the basis of this equation he further suggested that its phonetic spelling runs either *KATA-WAT-na*²¹⁵ or *kà-zuwa-na*.²¹⁶ Subsequently, Meriggi analyzed the second word as the kinship term *infans* "son".²¹⁷ Güterbock slightly adjusted this view by assuming that the sign in question actually reads *infans* "daughter".²¹⁸ Finally, Güterbock himself explained the last entry as a combination of *MASANA* "god" with the middle-passive participle of the verb *aššiya-* "to love".²¹⁹ In sum, this leads to the following translation of the entire

²¹⁰ Bittel & Güterbock 1933: 47; Bittel & Güterbock 1935: 65; Güterbock 1940: 29. See also Bossert 1933-4: 185.

²¹¹ Gelb 1937: 289. See also Bossert 1933-4: 185; Güterbock 1940: 29. Definite proof for the correctness of these identifications is provided by bilingual sealings surfaced in Ras Shamra-Ugarit, see Laroche 1956: 108-10.

²¹² Bossert 1933-4: 185 (*Hipa*); cf. Güterbock 1978: 130 who omits reference to Bossert for this identification.

²¹³ Meriggi 1975: 309.

²¹⁴ Laroche 1960: 149, *sub* *285.

²¹⁵ Laroche 1967: 49; cf. Meriggi 1975: 310 who transliterates *KAT-**285-*na*.

²¹⁶ Laroche 1969: 89. So also Güterbock 1978: 130; Börker-Klähn 1980: 38; Masson 1988: 149-50.

²¹⁷ Meriggi 1975: 310.

²¹⁸ So also Hawkins 1979: 112-3 (esp. 113: "In the sign for "child", *MANUS+*, the addition is certainly not the *CRAMPON*", with reference to Meriggi 1975: 310 [sic]); Börker-Klähn 1980: 38-9; Masson 1988: 149-50.

²¹⁹ Güterbock 1978: 131-3; cf. Masson 1988: 149-50. Börker-Klähn 1980: 44; 46 also arrived at a form of the verb *aššiya-*, but wrongly took the first sign for *25 *si* instead of *360 *MASANA* and wrongly omitted the final sign *391 *mi*.

section: "daughter of the land Kizzuwatna, beloved (by) the god(s)".

As duly observed by Güterbock, the first part of section C bears a striking resemblance to the cuneiform expression DUMU.SAL KUR *ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni* "daughter of the land Kizzuwatna" as recorded for the seal of queen Puduḫepa in a treaty between Hattusilis III and Ramesses III of Egypt.²²⁰ Consequently, it may safely be concluded that this entire legend forms an apposition to the name of the queen given in the bordering part of the central scene. So far so good. But Güterbock's analysis of the last word, which fully depends from the new reading of *376 *i* as *†zi* (or *†za*),²²¹ is simply untenable. In all certain phonetic instances of *aššiya-*, namely, the root of this verb is spelled with three signs of which—as interchange between *25, *327 and *378 definitely points out—the one attached to or following the first represents the middle sibilant.²²² And precisely the latter syllable is omitted from the spelling of the form presently discussed! It is quite obvious, therefore, that we are dealing here with an entirely different verb, in which case, a graphic variant of *ai(a)-* "to make" comes to mind first.²²³ The more so because the same variant is attested also for other inscriptions from the Hittite Empire period like Yalburt²²⁴ and Nişantaş in Boğazköy.²²⁵ In addition, the resulting expression *MASANA aimi* "having become god" finds a close parallel in Hittite cuneiform DINGIR-^{LI}-iŠ DÜ- "to become god", which is used as a euphemism for being deceased.²²⁶ Accordingly, then, we arrive at the conclusion that the apposition to the name of Puduḫepa informs us that the queen has died.

²²⁰ Güterbock 1978: 129-31; cf. Goetze 1940: 71; Otten 1975: 14.

²²¹ Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies & Neumann 1973.

²²² Laroche 1960: 15, *sub* *20 (*á+si-í-*); 19, *sub* *25 (*á+si-í-*); 169, *sub* *327 (*á-sa-í-*). Note that the attempts by Güterbock 1978: 132 and Hawkins 1980 to disregard the phonetic relevance of signs *25 (*oculus*) and *378 (*lituus*) fail to acknowledge the fact that: (1) other ligatures, like *277 *la+PARNA*, read from bottom to top as well; (2) the sibilant nature of *25 *oculus* can easily be accounted for by derivation from Hittite *šakuwa-* "eyes" according to the acrophonic principle; and (3) the middle-passive participle of *aššiya-* also occurs in graphic variant *ása,imi-* (see Karkemis no. 9, phrase 10).

²²³ Note that Meriggi 1962, s.v. offers only one alternative possibility, namely *āi-* "to send".

²²⁴ Yalburt phrases 42-3: *i-tá-i -pa-wa UTNA-ná-i URA+HANTAWAT-i HÁ(TI)UTNA á-mi-i "TÁ(TI) HUHA-i neg-á HWA-á-sa-ha HWA-á-tá* "In these lands the greatkings of Hatti, my father and predecessors, no one has marched", *mu -pa-wa MASANA TARHUNT dominus-na á-i-tá* "but for me Tarhünt, the Lord, made (it happen)." See discussion of this text in Woudhuizen 1995: 71 and section 3 above.

²²⁵ Nişantaş phrase 2: *mi-a -wa-á tá-ti MASANA+WATU(THALIA) URA+HANTAWAT MASANA-ná-ti á-i ** "and for my father, greatking Tudḫaliyas, I have made the ... on the divine (rock?)" Cf. Steinherr 1972; Masson 1988: 150-1; Poetto 1992: 33; 39.

²²⁶ Friedrich 1991, s.v.

Another matter to be discussed here is the question of the dating of the monument. Owing to the presence of Hattusilis III in the libation scene on the left, the Fraktin relief has generally been assigned to the reign of the latter king.²²⁷ However, for neglect of the two other sections, this is clearly an oversimplification of the problem. As noted earlier, the libation scene of the queen is placed in the centre of the relief and executed in slightly larger dimensions than that of the king. Next, we have also seen that the hieroglyphic section on the right forms an apposition to the name of the queen given in the bordering part of the central scene. Undoubtedly, therefore, the carvings have been set up in honor of queen Puduḥepa instead of her husband, king Hattusilis III. If, in addition, our interpretation of the last word of this apposition holds good, the nature of the monument can even be further specified as Puduḥepa's death memorial. Now, according to cuneiform sources Puduḥepa is recorded to have outlived her husband for at least one or two decades.²²⁸ As a consequence, it is just as well possible that the memorial has been erected in the reign of Hattusilis III's son and successor, Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC). The latter option even gains weight if we realize that work on the carvings has never been properly finished.²²⁹ At the end of Tudḫaliyas IV's reign, namely, the Hittite Empire suffers from a serious setback, causing the disruption of its imperial building program.²³⁰ Hence, the Fraktin relief is likely to be assigned to the period of Tudḫaliyas IV's final years.²³¹

²²⁷ Bittel 1939: 567; Bittel 1984: 11-2, esp. note 8; cf. Börker-Klähn 1980: 45, esp. note 48.

²²⁸ Otten 1984: 30 (with reference to KUB XXVI 43 Vs. 1 ff. and seal RS 17.159); 33; van den Hout 1984: 90 (with reference to KUB III 66). See also Edel 1976: 29 (dating KUB III 66 and III 68 to the years 1237-1223 BC); 91-105; van den Hout 1989: 98-9; Edel 1994: 257 ff.

²²⁹ Güterbock 1978: 131; Börker-Klähn 1980: 37; 45 (strangely enough leading her to a dating early in the reign of Hattusilis III).

²³⁰ A text from Suppiluliumas II (KBo XII 38) informs us that Tudḫaliyas IV did not succeed to build the memorial for his Alasiya (= Cyprus) campaign, see Güterbock 1967; another unfinished monument from the period of Tudḫaliyas IV has been discovered at Karakuyu, a site situated 110 km northeast of Kayseri, see Gelb 1939: 32-3; Meriggi 1975: 315-6; cf. Bittel 1984: 13.

²³¹ Puduḥepa is known to have married shortly after the battle at Kadesh (1275 BC). If we assume that she was about 20 years at the time of her marriage, this implies that in the final decade of Tudḫaliyas IV's reign she would have reached the respectable age of about 75 to 85 years.

Fraktin

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. ^{MASANA} <TARHUNT>
 URA-HANTAWAT HÁ(TI)+li
 URA-HANTAWAT</p> | <p>"The god <Tarhunt>."
 "Greatking Hattusilis,
 greatking."</p> |
| <p>B. ^{MASANA} hi<-pa-tu>
 pu-tu-ḫa-pa URA-<i>domina</i></p> | <p>"The goddess Hebat."
 "Puduḫepa, greatqueen,"</p> |
| <p>C. KATA-WATA-na^{UTNA} <i>infans</i>^f
 MASANA á-i-mi</p> | <p>"daughter of Kizzuwatna,
 having become god."</p> |

COMMENTS

Phrase 3

The spelling of the country name *Kizzuwatna* depends from the value of the relatively rare sign *285. On the basis of its use in the name of one of the divinities depicted at Yazılıkaya and in a personal name recorded for the seals, Laroche suggested that *285 plausibly renders the value *zuwa*.²³² In an earlier investigation into the origins of the geographic name Cappadocia, however, the same author argued that the Persian variant *Katpatuka* presupposes Luwian **Katwatna*, from which it follows that *285 represents *wata*.²³³ A third category of evidence, which Laroche left out of his argument, is provided by the presence of *285 in a word attested for monumental inscriptions from Yalburt, Emirgazi, Karakuyu and Kızıldağ.²³⁴ As we have seen in the previous discussion of the Yalburt text, this word bears reference to the waterworks with which the inscription is associated and therefore likely contains a reflex of the root for "water" as one of its constituent elements.²³⁵ Accordingly, the case for *285 *wata* receives substantial confirmation because the latter value comes into consideration as a reflex of Anatolian **watar/n-* "water", whereas *zuwa* does not.²³⁶ In addition, this analysis coincides remarkably with Günter Neumann's etymological explanation of the geographic name *Kizzuwatna* as a compound of Anatolian **watar/n-* "water" with a prefixed adverbial

²³² Laroche 1969: 85; 89.

²³³ Laroche 1967: 48-9.

²³⁴ Hawkins 1992: 263; Poetto 1992: 54-5.

²³⁵ See discussion of the Yalburt text in section 3 above.

²³⁶ See note 130 above.

form.²³⁷ All in all, it may safely be concluded that the reading of the sign *285 which Laroche first suggested is probably correct.²³⁸

5. THE DEEDS OF SUPPILULIUMAS II

In the 1988 campaign of his excavations at the Südburg in the Hittite capital Hattusa-Boğazköy, Peter Neve discovered a monument in form of a stone-built vaulted chamber. The three walls of this chamber-like construction are decorated with reliefs, one with the image of greatking Suppiluliumas II (1205-1180? BC), a second with the image of the sun-god, and the third with a hieroglyphic inscription. Immediately below the relief of the sun-god, situated on the south wall, there is a pit in the floor which forms part of the original plan of the room (see Fig. 9). The monument is well-preserved because it has been protected by the Phrygian wall built over it. Most of the stones were therefore found in their original position or in the debris laying in front of the monument. The few stones that were missing turned out to be reused for the Phrygian wall, so that the room could be reconstructed in its entirety. Owing to this rather fortunate situation, the hieroglyphic inscription decorating the west wall of the room is completely preserved. The inscription covers six nicely worked stones and consists of six lines. It starts sinistroversely at the right upper corner of block 1 and runs boustrophedon up to the blank space in line 6 which covers the right lower side of block 5 and the entire lower side of block 6.²³⁹ Just a few signs are difficult to read because of some damaged spots or, as in case of block 6, a line of fissure. Only at the end of line 1 some signs are missing as a result of a damaged spot at the left upper corner of block 3.²⁴⁰ Such an excellent state of preservation is exceptional, indeed, and therefore it is all the more regrettable that, seven years after its discovery, the inscription still awaits proper publication. For this cir-

²³⁷ Neumann 1958: 112-4; contrary to Neumann's opinion, however, the first element of this compound is not formed by Hittite *kez* "on this side", but Luwian *kata* "below", so that reference is obviously made to the territory below the river *Maraššanta* (= present-day Kızıl Irmak).

²³⁸ Note that the legend ^{MASANA}la-wata(N) recorded for Yazılıkaya nos. 45 and 46 may find meaningful explanation as a reference to the patron god of Puduḫepa's hometown in Kizzuwatna, *Lawazantiya* (with Hittite [z] = Luwian [t] like in the couple *Kizzuwatna/Karwatna*). It must be admitted, however, that the personal name from the seal published by Laroche 1969: 89, fig. 28 lacks a convincing parallel in the present transcription.

²³⁹ Neve 1992: 69-74; Abb. 201-8, 211, 213-7, 219; 88, Abb. 241.

²⁴⁰ Note that a number of Neve's photographs referred to in the preceding note still depict the missing part of block 3 in its original position, but unfortunately it is not possible to distinguish the individual signs written here; cf. Hawkins 1990: 306.

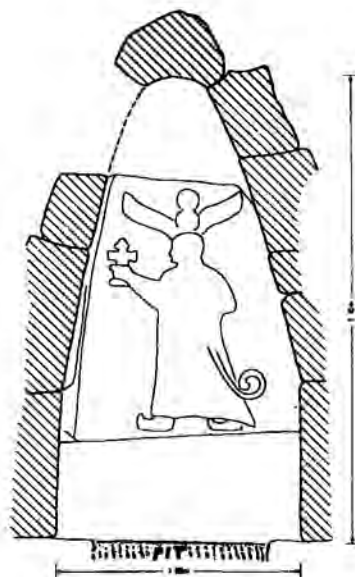


Fig. 9. View of the backside of the Südburg monument
(after Neve 1992).

cumstance, then, we have to rely on photographs circulating incidentally and the brief preliminary discussions by Heinrich Otten and John David Hawkins (see Fig. 10).²⁴¹

In his preliminary discussion Hawkins rightly remarks that the writing of the Südburg inscription is predominantly logographic and



Fig. 10. The Südburg inscription (drawing by the author).

²⁴¹ Neve 1989: 328, Abb. 59 (detail of lower left side); Otten 1989; Hawkins 1990. Note that Marazzi 1991: 108, fig. 28 only reproduces Otten's (1988: 333, Abb. 63) sketch of the position of the blocks and the division of the lines over their surface.

that, for the rare use of noun & verb endings and introductory particles, this substantially hampers our attempts at elucidation.²⁴² Nevertheless, it is possible to determine the contents of the text in broad outlines and to distinguish various sections on specific topics. Thus the last section deals with the function of the monument as ^{MASANA}*202 *āpa*- “divine offering pit”—which coincides remarkably with the noted presence of a pit in the floor below the relief of the sun-god on the south wall of the room.²⁴³ Next, the first two lines elaborate on campaigns against the countries *Wiyānawanda*, *Tamina*, *Lukka*, *Masa* and *Akuna*, which (apart from the mysterious one last mentioned) are definitely situated in western Anatolia.²⁴⁴ Finally, the remaining space in the middle contains clusters on “towns”,²⁴⁵ a “mountain”²⁴⁶ and the province of *Tarḫuntassa*.²⁴⁷ According to Hawkins the last two of these clusters record military campaigns as well.²⁴⁸ This assumption depends from his interpretation of *ta₃wanā*- as an honorific title bearing reference to the dedicator of the monument, greatking Suppiluliumas II.²⁴⁹ In the foregoing discussion of the Yalburt text, however, we have seen that this interpretation is erroneous and that *ta₃wanā*- actually renders the meaning “enemy”.²⁵⁰ In addition, Hawkins obviously disregards the fact that the form *āka* from the formulaic expression *ta₃wanā KATA āka* “(subject) subdued the enemy” functions as main verb only in the closing phrase of the section on the campaigns in the west, whereas it is subordinate verb in all its

²⁴² Hawkins 1990: 306. Only 2 of the 24 verbs in sum are characterized by an ending, and 6 of the 19 phrases are marked as such by introductory particles. For the Yalburt text, on the other hand, these ratio's amount 24 out of 45 verbs and 37 out of 44 phrases. Considering the fact that the Yalburt text is older than the one from the Südburg, this should warn us against oversimplified views on the development of the hieroglyphic script from logographic in the Middle and Late Bronze Age to syllabic in the Early Iron Age (cf. our remarks on this topic in section 1 above).

²⁴³ Cf. Hawkins 1990: 307; 314 (with reference to Hittite *āpi*- “holy pit to the underworld, *bothros*”).

²⁴⁴ Otten 1989: 334-5, note 62 compares the third and fourth place name to Hittite *Lukka* and *Maša*, respectively; Hawkins 1990: 309-10, esp. note 28, and 312-3, esp. notes 51-3 adds the comparisons of the first and second to Hittite *Wiyānawanda* (associated with Lycia) and *Tumana* (associated with Pala). Note that *Tamina* is still recorded for a hieroglyphic text of later date, where it occurs in form of *Ta₃amanā*- (Karkemis no. 11, phrase 18). Hawkins' suggestion (1990: 312) to identify the fifth place name *Akuna* with Hittite *Ikkuwaniya* and classical *Ikonion* (= present-day Konya) is certainly incorrect.

²⁴⁵ Otten 1989: 335-6; Hawkins 1990: 310, 312.

²⁴⁶ Hawkins 1990: 310.

²⁴⁷ Otten 1989: 335; Hawkins 1990: 310, esp. note 36.

²⁴⁸ Hawkins 1990: 310.

²⁴⁹ Hawkins 1990: 307-10.

²⁵⁰ See pp. 182-3 above.

further occurrences.²⁵¹ Owing to the latter observation, then, it becomes possible to interpret the clusters on a “mountain” and on the province of Tarḫuntassa in line with the preceding cluster on “towns” as non-military actions implemented *after* the campaigns in the west had been successfully concluded.

From here on we may even go a little further with our interpretation of the three clusters in the middle section. In connection with the first one, Hawkins duly notifies that it refers to the building of towns in the countries pacified as a result of the foregoing campaigns in the west.²⁵² Contrary to Hawkins’ opinion, however, these towns are not specified by individual place names, but by indications of a more generic nature like honorific titles and functional characteristics.²⁵³ As a consequence, we are obviously dealing here with various *types* of towns and the entire passage may safely be explained in terms of a restoration program of the local imperial infrastructure. Concerning the second cluster it is interesting to note that what Hawkins considers to be a “mountain” is discussed in much the same wording as the province of Tarḫuntassa in the next cluster.²⁵⁴ On the basis of this parity in wording, namely, the alleged mountain name may likewise be assumed to refer to one of the provinces in the Hittite Empire. If so, the phonetic spelling of this name as *wa₄-*?-mi* clearly suggests its identification with *Walma*—a province situated along the western border of Tarḫuntassa and east of the Lukka lands.²⁵⁵ As a welcome by-product, the resulting value *la₂* for the enigmatic middle sign may help us out in our attempts to clarify the third cluster. Here it appears at the start of a new phrase and makes good sense as an endless form of the verb *la-* “to take”.²⁵⁶ If this interpretation applies, the salient point of the passage is that the province of Tarḫuntassa falls to the Crown and, just like Walma, is placed under the authority of a military commander (literally “head (of) men”).²⁵⁷

On the basis of the aforementioned considerations, the contents of the Südburg text may be summarized as follows:

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

§ 1 the enemy at Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka and Akuna is subdued and these countries are brought back under Hittite control

²⁵¹ Cf. Hawkins 1990: 309, note 27; I herewith correct my former reading of this form as pronominal *†AMUKA* “I, me” in Woudhuizen 1995: 62.

²⁵² Hawkins 1990: 309-10.

²⁵³ Cf. Hawkins 1990: 310.

²⁵⁴ Note the correspondence of phrases 8 and 9 to, respectively, phrases 11 and 14.

²⁵⁵ Otten 1988: viii, 64-6; KBo IV 10 Vs 31-2; cf. del Monte 1992, s.v. *Walma*.

²⁵⁶ Cf. reduplicated *lala-* “to take (frequentative)” in Yalbut, phrase 35.

²⁵⁷ Note that Hawkins 1990: 308 wrongly considers *ḪARMAḪI-ZITI* an honorific title referring to greatking Suppiluliumas II.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

- § 2 the imperial defence and communication systems are restored in the pacified provinces
- § 3 the province of Walma is placed under the authority of a military commander
- § 4 the province of Tarḫuntassa falls to the Crown and is placed under the authority of a military commander

RELIGIOUS DUTIES

- § 5 libations to the gods are made yearly in the offering pit

Having established the contents of the Südburg text in bare outlines, we may now turn to the historically relevant data it presents. As we have just noted, the text commemorates not only campaigns in the west, but also administrative measures implemented in the wake of this event. Now some of these measures, like the restoration of the imperial infrastructure in the pacified territories (§ 2), may reasonably be assumed to have covered a period of several years. Therefore it is virtually excluded that, as Hawkins wants us to believe, all recorded events belong to one and the same year.²⁵⁸ More likely, then, we are informed here about Suppiluliumas II's deeds in a certain period of his reign. Another point of interest appears to be the appropriation of the province of Tarḫuntassa to the Crown (§ 4). In the light of the relevant treaties this measure is conceivable only if the last known vassal king of Tarḫuntassa, Ulmitesup, had died without leaving a legitimate heir to his throne.²⁵⁹ As far as the scanty evidence goes, Ulmitesup probably succeeded his predecessor Kuruntas in the late 20s or early 10s of the 13th century BC.²⁶⁰ Under normal conditions his reign may well have lasted for two decades or more, and hence a vacancy of the throne need not be expected before the 90s of the 12th century BC. If so, it evidently follows that the period of the commemorated deeds should be assigned to an advanced stage of Suppiluliumas II's reign. Next, it deserves our attention in this connection that the text lacks references to the achievements of Suppiluliumas II's father and predecessor, Tudḫaliyas IV. Such references, namely, are in fact the hallmark of documents from the earliest stage of Suppiluliumas II's reign, like the Niṣantaš text in memory of his Alasiya campaigns.²⁶¹ In this manner, then, our assign-

²⁵⁸ Hawkins 1990: 310; 312; note also that the use of the past tense in the final phrase of the text likewise implies a lapse of several years.

²⁵⁹ KBo IV 10 Rs 21-7; cf. Otten 1988: xxiv-vi.

²⁶⁰ For the latest mention of Kuruntas, see Edel 1976: 29 (dating KUB III 67 to the years 1237-1223 BC); 91-105; van den Hout 1989: 98-9; Edel 1994: 257 ff. In view of this dating Ulmitesup of Tarḫuntassa is (*pace* van den Hout 1989: 217-9) probably to be distinguished from his namesake active at the time of Ḫattusilis III's coup d'état of 1265 BC (see KUB XXI 37 Vs 37).

²⁶¹ See note 225 above.

ment of the Südburg monument to an advanced stage of Suppiluliumas II's reign is substantially confirmed. In view of the chronological setting thus arrived at, finally, it comes to no surprise that the homeland of two members of the ominous Sea Peoples is included among the hostile countries in the west, viz. Lycia and Mysia.²⁶² However, this fascinating circumstance should not stir our imagination beyond acceptable limits because the Südburg text shows us the last of the Hittite greatkings very much in control of the imperial machinery.

Südburg

1. ¹HÁ(TI)^{UTNA}-sa HWA+r
ta₅-wa-ná KATA á-ka
WIANA+WATI ta₄-mi-na
ma-sa₅ lú-ka ā-ku-na
ATUWALI *300 URA+HANTAWAT
[HANTA]-i PÁRA
“When (I) subdued the enemy (in these parts) of Hatti (at) Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka (and) Akuna, bad descendants (of) the greatking fled before (their) [opponents].”
2. ta₆-nu -pa SUPPILULIA-mi
URA+HANTAWAT **heros** []
“But (I), Suppiluliumas, greatking, hero, [] stood (firm).”
3. ²MASANA-sa
MASANA-TIWATA-TIWATA
MASANA-TARHUNT HÁ(TI)
MASANA-TARHUNT KULANA
MASANA-TÁMI-sà-us-ka
MASANA-MUWATALI
MASANA-TARHUNT sà-*?-*?
MASANA-HÁ(TI) KATA+mi
su<+r>-na-a-ti TA₆
“Of the gods, the sun-god (of) heaven, Tarhunt (of) Hatti, Tarhunt (of) the army, Sauska (of) building, the god (of) strength, Tarhunt (of) sa-?-?, (and) the god (of) Hatti went with me in support.”
4. à-tá ta₅-wa-ná KATA á-ka
WIANA+WATI ta₄-mi-na
ma-sa₅ lú-ka ā-ku-na
“And (I) subdued the enemy (at) Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka (and) Akuna.”
5. ³HARMAHI-ZITI HÁ(TI)^{UTNA}-sa
ARHA-i HÁ(TI) ta₅-wa-ná-i
ARHA+TÁ
“(And for) the governor(s) (in these parts) of Hatti (I) took away the enemies from (their) Hatti domains.”

²⁶² Note the mention of *rk* “Lycians” and *mšwš* “Mysians” among the auxiliaries of the Libyans in their assault of the Egyptian Delta as recorded for the 5th year of Merneptah (= 1208 BC).

6. *SUPI-LULIA-mi URA+HANTAWAT*
heros $\text{H}\dot{\text{A}}(\text{TI})^{\text{UTNA}}\text{-sa i+la}$
^{*246}TAMI
*UMINA-sa+*399*₂^{UMINA}
custos+*HANTAWAT*^{UMINA} *pá-la*^{UTNA}
TARKASNA -HWA^{UMINA}
^{*300}UMINA
ti-[-] TA^{UMINA}
⁴**dominus**-*li-na*^{UMINA}
7. *ā -ti-a i+la* ^{*246}TAMI
8. *wa₄-la₂-mi ta₅-wa-ná KATA á-ka*
ta-ta
9. *SUPI-LULIA-mi URA+HANTAWAT*
ta₅-wa-ná KATA á-ka
wa₄-la₂-mi TUWA HARMaHI-ZITI
10. *wa₄-la₂-mi i+la HĀ(TI) ta-ta*
11. *TARHUNT+UMINA*^{UTNA}
⁵*ta₅-wa-ná KATA á-ka ta-ta*
12. *la₂ -wa -ti HUHA-li-na*
13. **neg**-*wa -tá HWA-ti-ḥa URA*
UPA₂-ḥa
14. *SUPI-LULIA-mi URA+HANTAWAT*
ta₅-wa-ná KATA á-ka HARMaHI-ZITI
TARHUNT+UMINA^{UTNA} *a-i*
- “(And I), Suppiluliumas, greatking, hero, built lavishly (in these parts) of Hatti: (part) of the citadels (for a garrison of) 50 (men), frontier outposts (of) the royal guard (toward) Pala, mansions, towns (of) descendants, (type of stronghold), (and) the seigneurial town.”
- “And (I) built these into prosperous (towns).”
- “(After I) subdued the enemy, Walma served.”
- “(And after I) subdued the enemy, (I), Suppiluliumas, greatking, placed a governor (in) Walma.”
- “(And) Walma served Hatti faithfully.”
- “(After I) subdued the enemy, Tarḥuntassa served.”
- “And (I) appropriated it as (my) ancestral (heritage).”
- “And I did not found for anybody else a (position as) great (man) there.”
- “(But after I) subdued the enemy, (I), Suppiluliumas, greatking, appointed a governor (in) Tarḥuntassa.”

15. <ta₁-wa-ná> KATA á-ka ARĤA+TÀ TARKASNA “(And after I) subdued the enemy, I took away the charioteers.”
16. **neg** UMINA *²⁴⁶TAMI TARĤUNT+UMINA “(And I) built no towns (in) Tarĥuntassa.”
17. ⁶TALAMI-sà -ma UMINA KATA PIA UMINA “But (I) subordinated all towns to (this) town.”
18. MALWA-ĥa-sà MASANA-i PIA-ĥa “I gave libations to the gods,”
19. i-à-ti ^{MASANA}*²⁰²à-pa-ti USA ā-i “(And I) did (so) year(ly) in this divine offering pit.”

COMMENTS

Phrase 1

ĤĀ(TI)sa: G sg. in -sa of the country name *Ĥati*- “Ĥatti”.²⁶³ Note that the genitive renders a partitive aspect here.

[*ĤANTA*]i: D pl. in -ai of the noun *ĥanta*- “opponent”.²⁶⁴ The remains of the damaged sign at the upper right side of block 3 leave room only for the emendation of *26 *ĤANTA*-.

PĀRA: logographic writing of the 3rd person pl. of the past tense in <-“ta> of the verb *para*- “to chase, banish; flee”.²⁶⁵ Note that in texts of later date the root of this verb primarily occurs in factitive variant *pārnu*-.²⁶⁶

Phrase 2

ta₁nu: endingless form of the verb *tanu(wa)*- “to place”, representing the 1st person sg. of the past tense in -ĥa.²⁶⁷

Phrase 3

MASANASA: G sg. in -sa of the noun *masana*- “god”.²⁶⁸ Note that the genitive renders a partitive aspect here.

For the identity of the first element, the composite divine name *TĀMI*-

²⁶³ Meriggi 1966: 31, § 19; Meriggi 1980: 295, § 64.

²⁶⁴ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 285, § 34 (new reading †-“za).

²⁶⁵ Meriggi 1966: 63, § 118; Meriggi 1980: 349, §§ 226-8; cf. cuneiform Luwian *par(a)*- (Melchert 1993, s.v.).

²⁶⁶ Laroche 1960: 133, *sub* *248.

²⁶⁷ Meriggi 1966: 66, § 125; Meriggi 1980: 340, § 206.

²⁶⁸ Meriggi 1966: 29, § 14; Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

saùska strikingly recalls *TAMI-KURUNTti* as attested for a fragmentarily preserved inscription from Emirgazi and, on the analogy of the latter, probably for the Yalburt text as well.²⁶⁹ Apparently, we are dealing here with protective deities of the monuments in question.

su<r>naati: Abl. sg. in *-ati* of the noun *surna*- “abundance”,²⁷⁰ Note that this form, just like its graphic variant in the Yalburt text, functions as adverb.²⁷¹

Phrase 5

ARĦAI: D pl. in *-ai* of the noun *arĥa*- “frontier; territory”.²⁷²

ta,wanaí: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *ta,waná*- “enemy”.²⁷³

Phrase 6

ila: “favorably”, adverb. This adverb shows the same root as the verb *īlanu*- “to favor” attested for texts of later date.²⁷⁴

UMINASA: G sg. in *-sa* of the noun *umina*- “town”.²⁷⁵ Note that the root *umina*- is expressed by a variant of *225 characterized by four additional strokes. In my opinion these strokes serve no phonetic purposes, but rather convey the general sense that the settlement in question forms part of a network. This suggestion is enhanced by the fact that the number of additional strokes may be increased without a significant change of meaning.²⁷⁶ It further deserves our attention in this connection that the form under discussion is followed by a sign which represents only half of *399 “100” and therefore likely renders the numeral “50”. As numerals usually precede the word with which they are associated, this number does not indicate the amount of towns involved, but further specifies the type of settlement we are dealing with. All in all, reference appears to be made to a network of garrison towns guarded by a unit of 50 men.

The composite place name *TARKASNA-HWA* “mansion (*lit.* donkey run place)” strongly recommends identification of *100 *TARKASNA* as a calque from cuneiform *ANŠE.KUR.RA* “donkey; horse, charioteer”.²⁷⁷ At any rate, fast communications are maintained by means of horses and chariots instead of donkeys.

²⁶⁹ See notes 94 and 122 above.

²⁷⁰ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 279, § 16.

²⁷¹ See pp. 185-6 and note 178 above.

²⁷² Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

²⁷³ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 283, § 30 (new reading †-“zi”).

²⁷⁴ Laroche 1960: 94, *sub*- *177.

²⁷⁵ Meriggi 1966: 29, § 14; Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22.

²⁷⁶ See note 154 above and cf. Poetto 1992: 30-1 on the graphic variant of *225 with 6 additional strokes attested for Yalburt phrase 6.

²⁷⁷ See pp. 186-7 above.

dominuslina: A(m/f) sg. in *-na* of the adjective **dominusli-** “of the feudal lord, seignorial”.²⁷⁸

Phrase 7

tata: endingless form of the verb *tata-* “to serve”, representing the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ta*.²⁷⁹

Phrase 12

ḥuḥalina: A(m/f) sg. in *-na* of the adjective **ḥuḥali-** “ancestral”.²⁸⁰

Phrase 13

ḥwatiḥa: D sg. in *-ati* of the indefinite pronoun **ḥwasaha** “whoever [N(m/f) sg.]”.²⁸¹

ūpa₂ḥa: 1st person sg. of the past tense in *-ḥa* of the verb *upa-* “to found”.²⁸²

Phrase 17

talāmisa: A(n) pl. in *-sa* of the adjective **talami-** “all”.²⁸³

Phrase 18

masanaī: D pl. in *-ai* of the noun **masana-** “god”.²⁸⁴

Phrase 19

iāti: Abl. sg. in *-ati* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* “this”.²⁸⁵ Note that this form of the demonstrative qualifies the noun ^{MASANA-*}202 **āpa-** “under-world pit, *bothros*”.

²⁷⁸ Meriggi 1966: 38, § 39; Meriggi 1980: 289, § 45.

²⁷⁹ Meriggi 1966: 63, § 118; Meriggi 1980: 345, § 214.

²⁸⁰ Meriggi 1966: 38, § 39; Meriggi 1980: 289, § 45.

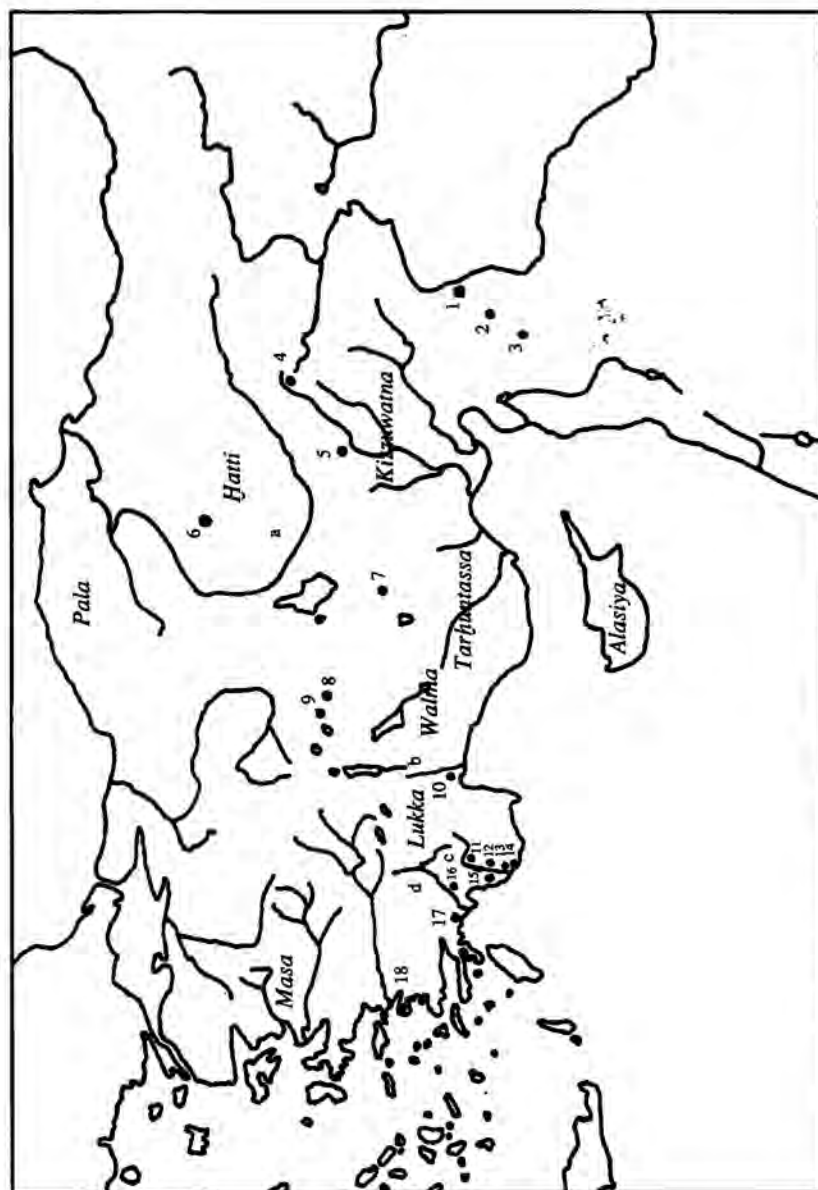
²⁸¹ Meriggi 1966: 57, § 99; Meriggi 1980: 327, § 162.

²⁸² Meriggi 1966: 66, § 123; Meriggi 1980: 340, § 206.

²⁸³ Meriggi 1980: 297, § 72.

²⁸⁴ Meriggi 1966: 26, § 5; Meriggi 1980: 283, § 30 (new reading †-*za*).

²⁸⁵ Meriggi 1966: 53, § 86; Meriggi 1980: 322, § 145 (new reading †*zati*).



Map I. Sites mentioned in the text.

1. Karkemis, 2. Ituwa, 3. Aleppo, 4. Karakuyu, 5. Fraktin, 6. Boğazköy, 7. Emirgazi, 8. Köylütolu, 9. Yalbur, 10. Perge, 11. Oinoanda, 12. Tlos, 13. Arinna, 14. Patara, 15. Pinara, 16. Loanda, 17. Kaunos, 18. Kaunos.
- a. Miletus, b. Kestros river, c. Xanthos river, d. Indus river.

- à- (sentence introductory particle, see à-wa) S, 4, 7.
a-i-, ā-i-, á-i- "to make, do" F, 3; S, 14, 19; Y, 4, 41, 43.
á-ka- c. KATA "to subdue" S, 1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15.
à-ki-RESUP-pa- "Akitesup [MN]" A, 2.
ā-ku-na- (place name) S, 1, 4.
à-mi- "my" Y, 14, 42.
à-pa- "(s)he; that" Y, 12.
à-pa- "offering pit, bothros" S, 19.
APA-à "behind, after", preposition c. D Y, 6.
APA "re-, anew", adverb Y, 12.
à-pa-sa- "his, her" (see also à-pa- "she; that") K, 3.
ARA- "long", adjective Y, 37.
ARĤA "de-, (emphatic)", adverb S, 5, 15; Y, 15, 18, 33, 35, <40>.
ARĤA- "border, frontier; territory" S, 5.
à+r-nu- "to construct" Y, 28.
à-sa- "to be" Y, 27.
ASA(NU)- "to settle" Y, 36.
a-su-sa- "horse(man)" Y, 13.
á-ŭ-ma- "name" K, 4.
ā-tu-wa- "Atuwa [TN]" A, 2.
ATUWALI- "bad, wicked", adjective S, 1.
a-wa, à-wa, à-wa-à (sentence introductory particles, cf. à- and -wa) K, 5; Y, 2, 3, [4], 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44.
á-à-wa+r-na- "Awama [TN]" Y, 34.
à[- -] Y, 27.
custos- "guard" K, 6.
custos-dominus- "commander of the guard" K, 8.
custos+ĤANTAWAT- "royal guard" S, 6.
custos-mi- "to guard" K, 6.
custos-mi-custos-mi- "to guard continuously" K, 7.
dominus- "lord, seigneur, master" Y, 37.
dominus-li- "seigneurial", adjective S, 6.
dominus-na- "Lord" Y, 4, [7], 11, 20, 32, 43.
heros "hero" K, 4; S, 2, 6; Y, 1 (3x[+1]), 3.
ĥá-l(a)-pa- "Aleppo [TN]" A, 1.
<ĥa-ma-su>ka-li- "great-grandson" Y, 1.
ĤANTA- "opponent" S, [1].
ĤANTAWAT- "king" A, 1.
ĤAPA-pi+r- "river, stream" Y, 8, 9.
ĥa-pa<tu>- "Ĥepat [GN]" (see also ĥi-pa-tu-).
ĥa-pa<tu>-SARU+mi "Sarrumas, (son of) Ĥepat" A, 1.
ĤARMAĤI-ZITI- "headman" S, 5, 9, 14.
ĤARWAN- "road" Y, 27, 28.
ĤÁ(TI)- "Ĥatti [country name]" S, 1, 3 (2x), 5 (2x), 6, 10; Y, 42.

- HÁ(Π)+li “Hattusilis [MN]” F, 1; Y, 1.
 HAWA- “sheep” Y, 18, 40.
 hi<-pa-tu>- “Hepat [GN]” F, 2.
 HUHA- “grandfather” Y, 42.
 HUHA-li- “ancestral”, adjective S, 12.
 HWA-, HWA-a-, HWA-ā- “who, what” Y, 14.
 HWA-ā- “to run” Y, 42; c. PÁRA-na “to run before” Y, 4, [7], 11, 20, [28], 32.
 HWA- -ha, HWA-ā- -ha “someone, something” S, 13; Y, 42.
 HWA- HWA-, HWA-ā- HWA-ā- “whoever, whatever” K, 4, 7; Y, 9.
 HWA-i- “to kneel (down)”; c. KATA “to prostrate” Y, 17, 39.
 HWA-la-ta+r-na- “Hwalatarna [TN]” Y, 16, 17.
 HWA+r “when, because; like” S, 1; Y, 4.
 HWA-ti “where(to)” Y, 28.
 HWA-ti-ā “when” K, 1.
 HWI (determinative of sculptured object) Y, 41.

 i-, i-a-, i-ā- “this” A, 1; K, 7; S, 19.; Y, 14, 26, 42, 44.
 i+la “favorably”, adverb S, 6, 7, 10.
 i+la-tu- “on the far side(?)” Y, 6.
 i-na “on behalf of” K, 2.
 infans^f “daughter” F, 3.
 infans^m “son, child” (in combination with HANTAWAT- and URA+PARNA-, see below)
 A, 1; Y, 1, 17, 39.
 infans^m+HANTAWAT- “prince” K, [1], 8.
 infans^m-infans^m- “lineage, ancestry” K, 4.
 infans-URA+PARNA “palace official” K, 8.
 infans^m-*300 (determinative of kinship term <ha-ma-su->ka-la-) Y, 1.
 infans^m-*300 “grandson” Y, [1].

 KATA, KATA-ā “down, under”, adverb S, 1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17; Y, [16], [17], 38,
 39.
 KATA+mi “with me” S, 3; Y, 14, 29.
 KATA-WATA-na “Kizzuwatna [country name]” F, 3.
 KULANA- “infantry, troops; army” S, 3; Y, 4.
 KURUNT- “Kuruntis [GN]” (see <TÁMI->KURUNT<-ti>-).

 la₂- “to take, appropriate” S, 12.
 la-la- “to take”, c. ARHA “to take away” Y, 35.
 la+PÁRNA “labarnas” K, 2; Y, 1 (2x), 6.
 lú-ka- “Lukka [country name]” S, 1, 4; Y, 4, 5.
 lú-wa-tá- “Luwanda [TN]” Y, 9.

 -ma “but, and” S, 17.
 MALIA-WATA “sacred pool” Y, 3.
 MALWA-ha-sā- “libation” S, 18.
 ma-sā₅- “Masa [country name]” S, 1, 4.
 MASANA (determinative of divine name or object; in combination with PARNA- and
 WATI-, see below) A, 1; F, 1, 2; S, 3 (7x), 19; Y, 2, 4, 7, 11, 20, 32, 43.
 MASANA- “god” A, 1; F, 3; S, 3, 18.
 MASANA-na- “divine” Y, 21.
 MASANA+WATI (determinative of divine mountain or things related to it) Y, 1, 25, 26,
 41.

-mi "me, for myself" (see also KATA+mi) Y, 2, 3, 12, 33, 36.
 mi- "my" (see also à-mi-) K, 3, 4.
 mu "I, me, for me" K, 2; Y, 43.
 -mu "I, me, for me" Y, 6, 7, 14, [15], 17, 18, [20], 28, [29], 31, 32, 35, 39, 40.
 mu-wa- "to conquer" Y, 19, 33; c. APA "to reconquer" Y, 12; c. WARPA- "to strengthen, confirm (the warpa-)" K, 5; Y, 2.
 MUWATALI (determinative of strength, force) Y, 13.
 MUWATALI-, MUWATALI-li- "strength; stronghold" S, 3; Y, 31.
 MUWATALI- "to make strong, rally forces" K, 4.
 MUWATALI- "overwhelm, be victorious" Y, 14.

neg-, **neg-à** "not" S, 13, 16; Y, 27, 42.

-pa-, -pa-à "but, and" K, 2; S, 2; Y, 10.
 pá+la- "Pala [country name]" S, 6.
 PÁRA "before, pre-", adverb Y, 24, 32.
 PÁRA- "to chase, flee" S, 1.
 PÁRA-na "before", pre- or postposition c. D Y, 41.
 PÁRA-na "before, pre-", adverb (see also PÁRA) Y, 4, [7], 11, 20, 28.
 PARNA-, pa+r-na- "house" K, 3; c. MASANA "temple" A, 1.
 PARNA- "to build, fortify" Y, 4, 9; c. ARĤA "to destroy" Y, 15, 33.
 PATA- "foot" Y, 17, 39.
 pa-ta+r- "Patara [mountain name]" Y, 41.
 -pa-wa-, -pa-wa-à "but, and" (see also -pa) K, 7; Y, 28, 35, 42, 43.
 PIA-, pi-a-, pi-ā- "to give" S, 18; Y, 21, 22, 23, 29, 41; c. KATA "to subordinate" S 17;
 c. PÁRA "to consecrate" Y, 24.
 pi-na-ta-, "Pinata [TN]" Y, 30, 31, 33.
 pu-tu-ĥa-pa "Puduĥepa [FN]" F, 2.

rota "chariot" Y, 4, 10.

SA- "to be" (see also à-sa-) K, 7.
 SARA-à "up, above", adverb Y, 26, [27].
 SARU+mi- "Sarrumas [GN]" (see ĥa-pa<-tu>-SARU+mi-).
 sa-sa-, "seal" Y, 8.
 SĀ(USKA)-, sà-us-ka- "Sauska [GN]" (see TĀMI-sà-us-ka-).
 sà-us-ka-KURUNT-ti- "Sauskakuruntis [MN]" K, 8.
 sà-?-*? (apposition to TARĤUNT-) S, 3.
sol suus "his majesty" Y, 1.
 SUPILULIA-mi- "Suppiluliumas [MN]" S, 2, 6, 9, 14; Y, [1].
 SURNA-ti, su<+r>-na-a-ti "in plenty, abundance", adverb S, 3; Y, 18, 40.

TĀ-, tà- "to take" K, 2; Y, 10; c. ARĤA "to take away, destroy" S, 5, 15; Y, 18, <40>.
 TĀ c. determinative UMINA (type of stronghold) S, 6.
 -tá-, -tà-, -tá-à "it" K, 5; S, 4; Y, 9, 19, 22, 25.
 -tá "there" S, 13; Y, 36, 38.
 TA- "to arrive, come" S, 3; Y, 31.
 TALAMI- "all" S, 17.
 TAL-mi-SARU+mi- "Talmisarrumas [MN]" A, 1.
 TAL-wa- "Talawa [TN]" Y, 38, 39.
 ta-mi-na- "Tumana [country name]" S, 1, 4.
 TAMI-, TĀMI- "to build" A, 1; S, 6, 7, 16; Y, 3.

<TÁMI>KURUNT<-ti>- "Kuruntis (of) building [GN]" Y, 3.
 TÁMI-sà-us-ka- "Sauska (of) building [GN]" S, 3.
 ta₆-nu- "to place (oneself), stand (firm)" S, 2.
 tã₂-nu-wa- "to place, erect" Y, 41.
 <ta+r>-ha- "to overwhelm, be victorious" Y, 13.
 TARHUNT- "Tarhunt [GN]" F, [1]; S, 3 (3x); Y, 2, 4, 7, 11, 20, 32, 43.
 TARHUNT+UMINA- "Tarhuntassa [country name]" S, 11, 14, 16.
 TARKASNA-ná- "donkey; horse, charioteer (= cun. ANŠU.KUR.RA)" S, 15; Y, 29, 35.
 TARKASNA-ĥwā- "mansion" S, 6.
 *ta₅-wa-ná-, ta₃-wa-ná- "enemy" S, 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 14, <15>; Y, 6, 9, 12, 31, 33, 35.
 ta-ta- "to serve" S, 8, 10, 11.
 *TÁ(Ti)- "father" Y, 42.
 TA₆-*202- "corridor-façade" (see also ta₆- and *202-) Y, 41.
 ta₄- "?" K, 1.
 TELIPINU- "Telebinus [MN]" A, 1.
 tí- "men (= cun. NAM.RA^{mes})" Y, 18, 40.
 -ti (reflexive particle) S, 12.
 -ti-a "these" S, 7.
 ti-ta+r-ma- "Attarima [TN]" K, 2, 7.
 TIWA₁-ti-wa- "to go, bring" Y, 6, 34; c. SARA-à "to go up, mount" Y, 26.
 TIWA₂- "to go", c. KATA-à "to go down, descend" Y, [16], 38.
 TIWATA-TIWATA- "sun-god of heaven" S, 3.
 TIWA₂-TIWA₂- "to go in future" Y, 37.
 tí[-]- "?" S, 6.
 TU(TĤALIA)- "TudĤaliyas [MN]" Y, 1.
 TUPA<-la>- "scribe" A, 2.
 tu-pi- "to strike, hit, smite" Y, 5, 8, 30.
 TUWA- "to place" S, 9.

UMINA (determinative of town name or indication of town) A, 1, 2; K, 2, 7; S, 6 (6x); Y, 30, 31, 33.

UMINA-, UMINA-mi-na- "town" K, 3; S, 6, 16, 17 (2x); Y, 6 (2x), 12.

um+r-li- "Mursilis [MN]" Y, 1.

UPA₂- "to found" S, 13.

URA- "great" (in combination with **domina**-, **ĤANTAWAT**-, **PARNA**, and **sacerdos**-, see below) S 13; Y, 24.

URA+**domina**- "greatqueen" F, 2.

URA+ĤANTAWAT- "greatking" K, 4; F, 1 (2x); S, 1, 2, 6, 9, 14; Y, 1 (5x), 3, 4, 37, 42.

URA+PARNA "palace" (see **infans**-URA+PARNA).

URA+**sacerdos**- "high-priest" A, 1.

USA "year(ly)", adverb S, 19.

UTNA (determinative of country name or indication of country) F, 3; S, 1, 5, 6 (2x), 11, 14; Y, 4 (2x), 5, 8, 9 (3x), 16 (2x), 17, 34, 38, 39, 42.

UTNA-, UTNA-ná- "country" Y, 2, 42, 44.

UWA- "ox" Y, 18, 24, 40.

-wa (sentence introductory particle, see à-wa) S, 12, 13; Y, 27.

-wa-i "our" K, 6.

wa₄-la₂-mi- "Walma [country name]" S, 8, 9, 10.

WANATI- "woman, wife" Y, 17, 39.

WARPA- (symbol of royal investiture) K, 5; Y, 2.

wa-sà<+r>-ti "in veneration, out of gratitude" Y, 2, 3.

wa-wa+r-ā-tá-li- "herdsman" A, 2.

WIANA+WATI- "Wiyawanda [TN]" S, 1, 4; Y, 4.

*202 (determinative of a type of monument) S, 19.

*246 (determinative of building, see TAMI-) A, 1; S, 6, 7, 16; Y, 3.

*254+*245- (type of imperial building) Y, 23.

*274- "domain" K, 6.

*300- "offspring, descendant" S, 1, 6; Y, 36, 37.

*399½ "50" S, 6.

*399 "100" Y, 4, 10, 35.

*400 "1000" Y, 35 (4x).

*468-sa,- "irrigated (land)" Y, 9, 16.

*?-tá- (mountain name) Y, 25.

[] K, 1, 3.

[-] Y, 27.

[-] Y, 22, 27.

[-]-tá Y, 19.

[- (-)] Y, 19.

[- -] Y, 5, 22.

[- - -] Y, 21.

[] S, 2.

[] Y, 19, 44.

General

Bittel, Kurt

- 1984 Denkmäler eines hethitischen Großkönigs des 13. Jahrhunderts vor Christus.
Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Bittel, Kurt, & Güterbock, Hans Gustav

- 1935 Boğazköy I. Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt.
Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Edel, Elmar

- 1976 Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof, Neue
Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses' II. aus Boğazköy. Rheinisch-
Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 205.
Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

- 1994 Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boğazköy in babylonischer
und hethitischer Sprache I-II.
Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Friedrich, Johannes

- 1991 Kurzgefaßtes Hethitisches Wörterbuch.
Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Gelb, Ignace J.

- 1939 Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments.
Chicago-Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

Götze, Albrecht (also: Goetze)

- 1940 Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography.
New Haven: Yale University Press.

Güterbock, Hans G.

- 1942 Siegel aus Boğazköy II (= *SBo II*).
Berlin: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers.

Hawkins, John David

- 1990 The New Inscription from the Südburg of Boğazköy-Hattuša. *Archäologischer
Anzeiger* 1990. Pp. 305-314.

- 1992 The Inscriptions of the Kızıldağ and the Karadağ in the light of the Yalburt
Inscription. In: Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in
Honour of Sedat Alp, eds. Heinrich Otten, Hayri Ertem, Ekrem Akurgal &
Aygül Süel. Pp. 259-275.
Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Hout, Theo P.J. van den

- 1984 Kurunta und die Datierung einiger hethitischen Texte. *Revue d'Assyriologie
et d'Archéologie Orientale* 78. Pp. 89-92.

- 1989 KBo IV-10+ (CTH 106), Studien zum spätjunghethitischen Texte der Zeit
Tudḫalijas IV.
Amsterdam (dissertation).

Laroche, Emmanuel

- 1960 Les hiéroglyphes hittites. Première partie: l'écriture.
Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique.

- 1966 Les Noms des Hittites.

Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.

Masson, Emilia

- 1979a Les inscriptions louvites hiéroglyphiques d'Emirgazi. *Journal des Savants*,
Janvier-mars 1979. Pp. 3-49.

- 1980 Les inscriptions luvites hiéroglyphiques de Köylütölu et Beyköy. *Kadmos* 22. Pp. 106-122.
- Melchert, H. Craig
1993 Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon. *Lexica Anatolica* 2. Chapel Hill N.C.
- Meriggi, Piero
1962 Hieroglyphisch-Hethitisches Glossar. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1966 Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico. I, 1 Grammatica, 1ª serie. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- 1975 Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico. II Testi-Tavole, 2ª e 3ª serie. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- 1980 Schizzo grammaticale dell'Anatolico. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- Messerschmidt, L.
1900 Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum. Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag.
- Monte, Giuseppe F. del, & Tischler, Johann
1978 Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* 6. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Monte, Giuseppe F. del
1992 Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* 6, 2. Supplement. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Neve, Peter
1992 Hattusa—Stadt der Götter und Tempel. *Antike Welt, Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*. 23. Jahrgang, Sondernummer. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Olmstead, A.T., Charles, B.B., & Wrench, J.E.
1911 Travels and Studies in the Nearer-East, Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient, Vol. I, 2: Hittite Inscriptions. Ithaca-New York.
- Özgüç, Tahsin
1988 Inandiktepe, An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Poetto, Massimo
1992 L'iscrizione Luvio-Geroglifica di Yalburt, Nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'anatolia sud-occidentale. *Studia Mediterranea* 8. Pavia.
- Ramsay, William M., & Hogarth, D.G.
1893 Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 14. Pp. 74-94.
- Woudhuizen, Fred C.
1995 The Late Hittite Empire in the Light of Recently Discovered Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 23. Pp. 53-81.
- Zgusta, Ladislav
1984 Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Aleppo

- Boehmer, Rainer Michael, & Güterbock, Hans Gustav
 1987 Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy. Grabungskampagnen 1931-1939.
 Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Bossert, Helmuth Th.
 1954 Bemerkungen zu einer hieroglyphen-hethitischen Inschrift aus Aleppo. *Syria* 31. Pp. 225-253.
- Clermont-Ganneau, M.
 1873 Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Cow, Michael D.
 1994 Breaking the Maya Code.
 Penguin Books.
- Garstang, John
 1908 Notes on a Journey through Asia Minor. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 1. Pp. 1-12; Pls. i-xv.
- Götze, Albrecht (also: Goetze)
 1967 Die Annalen des Muršiliš (unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1933).
 Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Güterbock, Hans G.
 1943 Hethitische Götterdarstellungen und Götternamen. *Belleten* 7. Pp. 295-317.
- Laroche, Emmanuel
 1947 Recherches sur les Noms des Dieux Hittites.
 Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine G.-P. Maisonneuve.
- 1956 L'inscription Hittite d'Alep. *Syria* 33. Pp. 131-141.
- Mora, Clelia
 1987 La glittica anatolica del II millennio A.C.: classificazione tipologica. *Studi Mediterranea* 6.
 Pavia: Gianni Juculano Editore.
- Pecchioli Daddi, Franca
 1982 Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita.
 Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Röllig, Wolfgang
 1980 *Idue, Ituwe*. Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 5. P. 33.
- Rylands, W. Harry
 1883 On the Aleppo Inscription. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 5. Pp. 146-149.
- 1884 The Aleppo Inscription. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 6. Pp. 132-133.
- Sayce, A.H.
 1876 The Hamathite Inscriptions. *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 5. Pp. 22-32.
- 1908 *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- Schaeffer, Claude F.-A.
 1956 Ugaritica III. Sceaux et cylindres Hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mimeptah, tablettes Chypro-Minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras Shamra.
 Paris: Librairie Orientale Paul Geuthner.

- Tyrwhitt-Drake, Charles F.
1872 *Unexplored Syria*, Vol. 2.
London.
- Werner, Rudolf
1991 *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische*.
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Freiburg-Schweiz: Universitätsverlag.
- Woudhuizen, Fred C.
1990-1 *The Dawn of Indo-European Literacy. Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 22-23. Pp. 139-149.
- Wright, William.
1884 *The Empire of the Hittites*.
London: James Nisbet & Co.

Köylütolu

- Bittel, Kurt, & alii
1975 *Boğazköy V, Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971 (= BK V)*.
Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Boehmer, Rainer Michael, & Güterbock, Hans Gustav
1987 *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*.
Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Friedrich, Johannes
1960 *Hethitisches Elementarbuch. I Kurzgefaßte Grammatik (Zweite Aufl.)*.
Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Hrozný, Bedrich
1937 *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques III*.
Praha.
- Masson, Emilia
1979b *Quelques lectures nouvelles sur les inscriptions louvites hiéroglyphiques d'Emirgazi*. In: *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic and Typological Linguistics, Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Vol. II. Pp. 537-547.
Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Meriggi, Piero
1967 *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico. I, 2 Testi, 1ª serie*.
Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Ramsay, William M.
1889 *Syro-Cappadocian Monuments in Asia Minor. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 14. Pp. 170-191.
- Sayce, A.H.
1904 *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 26. Pp. 24 ff.
- Smit, Daan W.
1990-1 *KUB XIV 3 and Hittite History, A Historical Approach to the Tawagalawa-letter. Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 22-23. Pp. 79-111.
- Sokolowski, Maryan
1885 *Le Monument d'Eflatoun en Lycaonie et une inscription Hittite. Revue Archéologique, Troisième Série—Tome V, Janvier-juin 1885*. Pp. 257-264.
- Starke, Frank
1990 *Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens. Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten* 31.
Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Yalburn

Alp, Sedat

- 1973 Eine weitere Hieroglypheninschrift aus Emirgazi und ein Rollsiegel mit Hieroglyphenlegenden aus dem Gebiet von Adiyaman, Südöstlich von Malatya. In: Festschrift Heinrich Otten. Pp. 11-15.
Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Carruba, Onofrio

- 1978 Il relativo e gli indefiniti in licio. *Die Sprache* 24. Pp. 163-179.

Dinçol, Ali M. & Belkis

- 1985 Neue hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel in den Museen zu Ankara und Mersin. *Akkadica* 45. Pp. 33-40.

Laroche, Emmanuel

- 1957-8 Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien I. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* 53. Pp. 159-197.

Melchert, H. Craig

- 1987 PIE velars in Luvian. In: *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill* (1929-1985), Papers from the Fourth East Coast Indo-European Conference, Cornell University, June 6-9, 1985. Pp. 182-204.
Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Mellink, Machteld

- 1972 Archaeology in Asia Minor. *American Journal of Archaeology* 76. P. 171.
Otten, Heinrich

- 1988 Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy, Ein Staatsvertrag Tudḫalijas IV. Studien zur Boğazköy Texte, Beiheft 1,
Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Smit, Daan W.

- 1992-3 Kurunta & Tuthalija (IV): A "Greek" practice among the Hittites? *Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 24-25. Pp. 85-97.

Woudhuizen, Fred C.

- 1992 The Language of the Sea Peoples.
Amsterdam: Najade Press.

- 1992-3 On the Dating of Luwian Great Kings. *Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 24-5. Pp. 167-219.

- 1994 Tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit: Evidence of Maritime Trade in the Final Years of the Bronze Age. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 26. Pp. 509-538.

Fraktin

Alkim, U. Bahadır

- 1968 Anatolien I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.
München-Genf-Paris: Nagel Verlag.

Akurgal, Ekrem

- 1961 Die Kunst der Hethiter.
München: Hirmer Verlag.

Bittel, Kurt

- 1939 Beobachtungen in Kappadokien. *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 54. Pp. 548-568.

1976 Die Hethiter.

München: Verlag C.H. Beck.

- Bittel, Kurt & Güterbock, Hans Gustav
 1933 Vorläufiger Bericht über die dritte Grabung in Boğazköy. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 72. Pp. 1-53.
- Börker-Klähn, Jutta
 1980 Zur Lesung der Fraktin-Beischrift. *Oriens Antiquus* 19. Pp. 37-48.
- Bossert, Helmuth Th.
 1933-4 Nishan-Tepe und Nishan-Tash. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 9. Pp. 104-118.
- 1942 Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur.
 Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth.
- Darga, A. Muhibbe
 1992 Hitit Sanatı.
 İstanbul.
- Garstang, John
 1929 The Hittite Empire.
 London: Constable and Company Ltd.
- Gelb, Ignace J.
 1937 Queen Puduhepa. *American Journal of Archaeology* 41. Pp. 289-291.
- Güterbock, Hans Gustav
 1940 Siegel aus Boğazköy I.
 Berlin: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers.
- 1967 The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26, 2. Pp. 73-81.
- 1978 Die Hieroglypheninschrift von Fraktin. In: Festschrift Lubor Matouš. Pp. 127-136.
 Budapest: Készült az Elte Szekszorosítóüzemében.
- Hawkins, John David
 1979 The Luwian Word for "Daughter". *Historische Sprachforschung* 92, 1-2. Pp. 112-116.
- 1980 The logogram "LITUUS" and the verbs "to see" in Hieroglyphic Luwian. *Kadmos* 19. Pp. 123-142.
- Hawkins, John David, Morpurgo-Davies, Anna, & Neumann, Günter
 1973 Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection. *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 6.
 Göttingen.
- Klengel, Evelyn & Horst
 1970 Die Hethiter, Geschichte und Umwelt. Eine Kulturgeschichte Kleasiens von Catal Hüyük bis zu Alexander dem Großen.
 Wien-München: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co.
- Laroche, Emmanuel
 1956 Documents hiéroglyphiques Hittites provenant du palais d'Ugarit. *Ugaritica* III. Pp. 97-160.
- 1967 Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien IV. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* 62. Pp. 46-66.
- 1969 Les dieux de Yazılıkaya. *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 27, 84-85. Pp. 61-109.
- 1989 Les Reliefs de Fraktin. In: *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*. Pp. 301-302.
 Ankara.
- Macqueen, J.G.
 1986 The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor (2nd ed.).
 London: Thames and Hudson.

Marazzi, Massimiliano

- 1990 Il geroglifico anatolico, Problemi di analisi e prospettive di ricerca.
Roma: Dipartimento di Studi Glottoantropologici Università "La Sapienza".

Masson, Emilia

- 1988 La formule "aimé des dieux" dans les hiéroglyphes Louvites. In: EOTHEN, Studi di storia et di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli. Pp. 147-153.
Firenze: Elite (Edizioni Librarie Italiane Estere).

- 1994 Le pays des Hittites. In: Civilisation indo-européenne à fleur de roche. *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 193, Mai. Pp. 40-61.

Mayer-Opificius, Ruth

- 1989 Hethitische Kunstdenkmäler des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. In: Anatolia and the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç. Pp. 301-302.
Ankara.

Neumann, Günter

- 1958 Sawatra und Kizzuwatna. *Die Sprache* 4. Pp. 111-114.

Otten, Heinrich

- 1975 Puduhepa, Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen.
Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Riemschneider, Margarete

- 1954 Die Welt der Hethiter.
Zürich: Fretz & Wasmuth Verlag AG.

Sayce, A.H.

- 1882 The Monuments of the Hittites (read 6th July 1880). *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 8. Pp. 248-293.

Steinherr, Franz

- 1972 Die Großkönigsinschrift von Nişantaş (Boğazkale). *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22. Pp. 1-13.

Ussishkin, David

- 1975 Hollows, "Cup-Marks", and Hittite Stone Monuments. *Anatolian Studies* 25. Pp. 85-103.

Südburg

Marazzi, Massimiliano

- 1991 Il cosiddetto geroglifico anatolico: spunti e riflessioni per una sua definizione. *Scrittura e Civiltà* 15. Pp. 31-124.

Neve, Peter

- 1989 Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1988. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1989. Pp. 316-332.

Otten, Heinrich

- 1989 Die hieroglyphen-luwische Inschrift, Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1988. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1989. Pp. 333-337.