

## ON THE DATING OF LUWIAN GREAT KINGS\*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The title "great king" is commonly attested for Luwian hieroglyphic documents from the Late Bronze Age, since the Hittite emperors preferred this monumental class of writing for the centre of their seals and for their rock reliefs. The same title, however, happens to be a rare phenomenon for inscriptions from the post-Empire or Early Iron Age period. In the latter period it occurs in only 9 different texts or text groups distributed over two distinct geographical entities, which are separated from each other by the formidable natural barrier of the Taurus mountain range. These geographical entities are Karkemis and the Malatya region to the east of this mountain range and the lower land of the central Anatolian plateau to the west of it.

The eastern group of inscriptions consists of two inscribed stelai, one from Karahöyük (no. 101) and the other from Karkemis (no. 163), and two rock reliefs, discovered at Gürün (no. 97) and Kötükale (no. 104), respectively.<sup>1</sup> These monuments bear witness of two, but possibly three or even four, rulers exercising a claim to the title "great king": (1) *Aritešub* of a country of enigmatic reading [no. 101], (2) *Uratarhuntas* of Karkemis [no. 163], (3) *?-itarhuntas* of Karkemis [no. 97], which is possibly to be identified with *Uratarhuntas*, and (4) another name of uncertain reading based on the onomastic element *tarhunt-* [no. 104], again, which may likewise be identified with *Uratarhuntas*, though more insecurely so for the omission of the place name Karkemis.

The western group of inscriptions comprises rock reliefs at Kızıldağ (nos. 14-18), Karadağ (nos. 12-13), Burunkaya (Alp 1974), Topada (no. 31) and Suvasa (no. 36). These texts contain the names of three rulers exercising a claim to the title "great king": (1) *Hartapus* [nos. 12-18 &

\* At the outset of this study I like to express my feelings of sincere gratitude to professor Sedat Alp who kindly enabled me to consult the most recent contributions on the subject by generously presenting me a copy of his *Festschrift*.

<sup>1</sup> For the numbering of the texts, see Meriggi 1966-7 & 1975.

Alp 1974], (2) *Tuwatis* [no. 31] and (3) his son *Wasusarmas* [nos. 31 & 36].

Of these 5, possibly 6 or 7, rulers of the rank of great king recorded for Early Iron Age texts, only the two last mentioned are known from Assyrian cuneiform sources as well and therefore datable in terms of absolute chronology. Thus *Tuwatis* appears as *Tuatte* in a list of tributary kings of *Tabal* from the earlier part of the reign of *Tiglathpileser III* (745-727 BC), and his son *Wasusarmas* is mentioned as *Wassurme*, likewise a tributary king of *Tabal*, in the annals of the same Assyrian king for the later part of his reign.<sup>2</sup> The reason why so few Luwian great kings have entered the Assyrian records has been explained satisfactorily by Hawkins, who rightly stressed that only in times of Assyrian weakness local rulers of North Syria and Anatolia could rise to such high rank.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence of this *conditio sine qua non*, most of the Luwian great kings can only be loosely assigned to some point in the period of the Dark Ages (c. 1150-850 BC) on the basis of the stylistic features of their monuments or the genealogical sequences recorded in these. In other words: they are more or less floating in the dark.

Recently, the flexible nature of these relative dates has become a central issue in scholarly debate. According to Peter James, the "centuries of darkness" which separate the Bronze Age from the Early Iron Age are largely illusory and the last phase of the former period must be lowered in date with about two centuries. Consequently, he situates the Luwian great kings without mention in Assyrian sources in a Late Bronze Age milieu.<sup>4</sup> A serious disadvantage of this new chronological model in general, however, is formed by Assyrian kings recorded for the allegedly non-existing years. One of these, *Tiglathpileser I* (1115-1077 BC) even makes mention in his annals of a king *Initesub* of *Karkemis*, who is not known from epichoric texts but obviously must have ruled at the time.<sup>5</sup>

James' rather radical scenario received a great deal of inspiration from the latest views of specialists in Luwian hieroglyphic on the dates of the great kings in question. Just before the appearance of James' work on the Dark Ages, Hawkins treated at length the eastern group of Luwian great kings and reached the conclusion that the one recorded in the rock relief at *Gürün* (no. 97) in the *Malatya* region must be identified with the

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins 1982: 413.

<sup>3</sup> Hawkins 1988.

<sup>4</sup> James *e.a.* 1991.

<sup>5</sup> James *e.a.* 1991: 125 calls this evidence "problematic"; his redating of the Assyrian king on the basis of the Luwian hieroglyphic evidence (p. 303) is unacceptable.

last Late Bronze Age king of Karkemis, Kuzitesub.<sup>6</sup> With this link to the Late Bronze Age in mind, he next initiated a reexamination of the rock reliefs of the western great king Hartapus at Kızıldağ (nos. 14-18), Karadağ (nos. 12-13) and Burunkaya (Alp 1974), and drew the conclusion that these inscriptions for their close affinity in style and wording to recently discovered Late Bronze Age documents must be dated to the first half of the 12th century BC.<sup>7</sup>

The chief advantage of Hawkins' propositions, which readily gained acceptance among his colleagues,<sup>8</sup> is that there can now be shown to exist direct continuity of cultural traditions during the transition from Late Bronze to Early Iron Age. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there are also some problematic aspects to his propositions as well. In the first place, the identification of the great king of Karkemis mentioned in the rock inscription at Gürün with the last Bronze Age king of that town, Kuzitesub, leads up to a chronological inconsistency. As Hawkins admits, the epigraphic features of this inscription are indicative of a date in the late 10th or early 9th century BC. Now, the monument has been commissioned by a local ruler called Ruwas, who according to his genealogy happens to be the grandson of the Karkemisian great king in question. If this great king is to be identified with Kuzitesub, Ruwas can never be his real grandson, and therefore Hawkins suggests that the kinship term means "descendant" here—an *ad hoc* interpretation which is otherwise unparalleled.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, the assignment of great king Hartapus to the first half of the 12th century BC generates chronological difficulties of a comparable nature. One of this ruler's inscriptions, executed in relief (Kızıldağ 1, no. 14), is associated with the incised representation of a royal figure. Because this representation shows Assyrian influences in hairstyle and beard it must be dated to an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age (though not necessarily as late as the second half of the 8th century as Hawkins claims).<sup>10</sup> If great king Hartapus, then, is rightly assigned to the early 12th century BC, this evidently means that the inscription is separated from the adjoining

<sup>6</sup> Hawkins 1988.

<sup>7</sup> Hawkins 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Hauptmann 1991; Mora 1992; Yakar 1993: 21; 23 (with reference to an as yet unpublished paper by Güterbock).

<sup>9</sup> Hawkins 1988: 103: "If after due consideration the chronological implications of accepting the authors of the Malatya inscriptions and sculpture as the literal grandsons of Kuzi-Tesub prove too problematic in terms of the development of Neo-Hittite art and paleography, it will remain possible to lower their dates by interpreting "grandson" as indicating only "descendant". Note the omission of any reference to similar use of the kinship term in question in other texts.

<sup>10</sup> Alp 1979: pl. IV, Abb. 7. Alp 1979: 22 reckons with Assyrian influence from the 10th century BC onwards; Gonnet 1984: 119 speaks of the 9th century BC.

representation by several centuries. As Hawkins sees it, this chronological inconsistency might be resolved by assuming that a later king added his representation to the already existing aedicula of Hartapus in order to stress his direct lineage from this illustrious ancestor.<sup>11</sup> Although reutilization of existing monuments for propagandistic purposes is a possibility to be seriously reckoned with,<sup>12</sup> in this particular case there are no further archaeological clues to substantiate such a scenario.<sup>13</sup>

Because of these chronological inconsistencies, Hawkins' redating of some of the Luwian great kings may, in my opinion, not be considered conclusive. The preliminary nature of his analysis is further emphasized by the fact that this is based on the interpretation of segments of the relevant texts which in their entirety are as yet not fully comprehensible. As a consequence, improvement of our understanding of the texts as a whole might cause changes in the interpretation of these segments. Therefore I propose to examine the relevant texts in their entirety first and, only after this, to address the question of the dating of the Luwian great kings.

In the discussion of the relevant texts, the eastern group will be treated first and the western one second. For the sake of brevity the stele from Karahöyük (no. 101) is omitted from the discussion of the eastern group of texts because its treatment in full is not warranted within the frame of our present investigation. In the first place, it displays no special relations to the other members of its group. Next, the conventional dating of the great king mentioned in it, Aritesub, to the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age, say about 12th-10th century BC, is not seriously contested.<sup>14</sup> Therefore it may suffice to observe here that the information of the Karahöyük inscription coincides remarkably with that of the annals of Tiglathpileser I (1115-1077 BC) insofar it likewise attests to the continuous use of Hurritic royal names in the region at the time in question.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, two inscribed stelae from Darende (no. 98) and Işpekçür (no. 103) in the Malatya region will be added to the eastern

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<sup>11</sup> Hawkins 1992: 269; 272.

<sup>12</sup> For an instance of a reused monument, see discussion of the Darende text below.

<sup>13</sup> Gonnet 1984: 120. Note that the application of two different techniques, incision for the representation and relief for the inscription, is paralleled for other monuments like the stele from Karkemis (no. 163, see discussion below), and therefore rightly kept out of the argument by Hawkins.

<sup>14</sup> Laroche 1960: 262; Masson 1979; Hawkins 1988: 105.

<sup>15</sup> Note that this text is omitted in James 1991, which even does not make reference to it in passing; Hawkins 1974: 78 and note 73 refers to the possible identification of Aritesup with his namesake, the king of S[ubartu?], mentioned in the annals of Tiglathpileser I.

group because of their importance for our understanding of the rock inscriptions at Gürün (no. 97) and Kötükale (no. 104). For reasons of economy, again, the rock inscriptions at Topada (no. 31) and Suvasa (no. 36) will not receive extensive treatment in the discussion of the western group of texts. As we have noted above, the great kings mentioned in these texts are datable in terms of absolute chronology and therefore least interesting to our present inquiry.

## 2. EASTERN GROUP OF TEXTS

### a. No. 163

The first text to be examined here is inscribed on a basalt stele from Karkemis (see Fig. 1). The object, classified as Karkemis A4b, has been unearthed in the northwest corner of the courtyard in front of the temple of the stormgod. The excavator, Sir Leonard Woolley, thought that it was not found in its original position, but had once formed part of the furniture of the temple shrine which is first built in the Hittite Empire period.<sup>16</sup> In fact, however, his assignment of the stele to the Late Bronze Age is based on epigraphic considerations, *in casu* the use of the title "great king". The shrine itself underwent wholesale remodelling in the Early Iron Age and is shown to have been in use up to the time of Katuwas, a local dynast ruling in the late 10th or early 9th century BC, who renewed its doorway jambs and embellished these with hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>17</sup> Evidently, this time span leaves us ample opportunity for the dedication of Early Iron Age objects in the shrine and their subsequent removal from it. But also the epigraphic considerations were soon refuted, as Barnett already in the same volume of the excavations' report cogently argued that the presence of a great king at Karkemis is only admissible for the Early Iron Age period.<sup>18</sup> At present, the stele is generally assigned to the first half of the 10th century BC.<sup>19</sup>

The front side of the stele is decorated at the top with a winged sun-disc in relief. The compact style of this symbol of imperial dignity definitely distinguishes it from its Late Bronze Age forerunners and therefore provides us with yet another argument in favour of the post-Empire date of the monument. Immediately below the winged sun-disc there are seven lines inscribed with a hieroglyphic text, which is fairly well preserved—only a limited number of signs is difficult to read or even entirely lost because of some damaged spots. This text starts in

<sup>16</sup> Woolley & Barnett 1952: 167; 170.

<sup>17</sup> Woolley & Barnett 1952: 169-170.

<sup>18</sup> Woolley & Barnett 1952: 259.

<sup>19</sup> Hawkins 1974: 72; cf. James 1991: 136, c. 970 BC.



a



b

Fig. 1. Karkemis no. 163; (a) winged sun-disc [from Woolley & Barnett 1922],  
(b) inscription [from Meriggi 1975].

right-to-left direction of writing and then continues boustrophedon. Insofar as its contents is concerned, the text can be subdivided into separate phrases with the help of the sentence introductory particle *wa*. The latter particle has three certain occurrences which mark the start of the phrases 2, 3, and 5, respectively, whereas it may plausibly be reconstructed once, in front of phrase 6. The remaining three sections are likely to be identified as phrases unmarked by this device, which in that case should be numbered 1, 4, and 7.

In his discussion of the text, Meriggi arrives at basically the same division into phrases, be it that he distinguishes one more phrase in the sequence of words which follows the verb *PARNA-wa-ta*<sub>4</sub> in phrase 6 and precedes the subject *su-hi-sa* in phrase 7.<sup>20</sup> His reason to do so is no doubt formed by the fact that, just like the phrases 3, 4 and 5, phrase 6 in this way has its verb in final position.<sup>21</sup> It is true that verbs commonly occur in final position, but one cannot possibly rely on this observation as a criterion for the distinction of individual phrases because there is ample evidence of verbs in second or penultimate position as well. Moreover, in this particular case there is a serious objection to Meriggi's suggestion, because his additional phrase takes the verb of our final phrase, which therefore would have no verb at all. Even though verbless phrases do exist (see for example phrase 1), it is clear that the change of subject from Uratarhuntas to Suhis in the last phrase warrants a verb for the specification of the latter's action. And such a verb cannot be assumed for the damaged spot at the end of the last phrase, since emendation of the place name *Ká+r-ka[-mi-sà]* takes all the space which is left.

Before we go into the details of the transcription and the translation of the text as rendered below, it might be rewarding to treat one more clue to the understanding of its general content. As we have noted above, some phrases are characterized by the introductory particle *wa*- whereas others are not. This distinction raises the question whether the element *wa*- merely functions as an introductory particle or adds qualities of its own on the semantic level.<sup>22</sup> If we look at the text with this question in mind, it occurs that phrases without *wa*- actually mark the beginning of a new section the subject matter of which is subsequently elaborated by phrases with *wa*-. Apparently, therefore, *wa*- functions as a coordinate conjunction expressing the cohesion between phrases of one section.

<sup>20</sup> Meriggi 1975: 325-7.

<sup>21</sup> Note that Meriggi's interpretation of the enigmatic last sign \*121 in phrase 2 as a verb completes his efforts to have the verb in final position in almost every phrase. For the numbering of the signs, see Laroche 1960.

<sup>22</sup> The particle *wa*- indicates direct speech, but note that this function does not cover all its usages.

# No. 163 Stele from Karkemis, dated to the early 10th century BC

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| <p>1. URA-HANTAWAT URA-TARHUNT<br/>         URA-HANTAWAT <b>heros</b><br/> <i>ka+r-ka-mi-sà<sup>regio</sup></i> HANTAWAT<br/> <i>tà-pa(+r)-zi-ti[-sa]</i> URA-HANTAWAT<br/> <b>heros</b> <i>infans</i> ná-MUWA-ī</p> <p>2. <i>wa -tu -tá-à x-ti-ta<sub>4</sub>?</i> HARSALA-na?<br/> <i>ar+ha</i> *121</p> <p>3. <i>wa -tá-à KULANA[-la?]-na<sub>4</sub>-ti TUWA</i></p> <p>4. URA-TARHUNT HANTAWAT<br/>         MUWATALI <i>MASANA</i> TARHUNT<br/> <i>MASANA</i> <i>ku-pá[-pa]</i> MUWATALI-sa?<br/>         WARPA TUWA</p> <p>5. <i>wa -tá[-à?] [x-]ti-ta<sub>4</sub></i></p> <p>6. [<i>wa?</i>] -ti [-tá-à?] HARSALA-na <i>ar+ha</i><br/>         PARNA-wa-ta<sub>4</sub> MUWATALI-sa?</p> <p>7. <i>i WANAI ta<sub>4</sub>-nú-wa<sub>4</sub>-tá su-ši-sa</i><br/>         TARWANA -tu +r <i>infans</i> ná-MUWA-i<br/> <i>MASANA</i> <i>ku-pá[-pa]</i> <i>ká(+r)-ka[-mi-sà]</i></p> | <p>"Great king Uratarhuntas,<br/>         great king, hero,<br/>         king of the land of Karkemis,<br/>         son of Taparzititis, great king,<br/>         hero."</p> <p>"From him (enemy) has taken?<br/>         disputed borderland"</p> <p>"and has occupied it with an army."</p> <p>"Great king Uratarhuntas,<br/>         (thanks to) the strong gods<br/>         Tarhunt (and) Kupapa,<br/>         has placed a strong shield,"</p> <p>"and he has taken? it [= the disputed<br/>         borderland] (back),"</p> <p>"and he has built the disputed<br/>         borderland into a strong (place) for<br/>         himself."</p> <p>"This stele, governor Suhis,<br/>         son of the goddess Kupapa<br/>         of Karkemis, has erected it for him<br/>         [= Uratarhuntas]."</p> |
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## Comments

(1) The first sign of the patronymic in phrase 1 is problematic. Meriggi suggests \*70 SARA, whereas Hawkins leaves the matter undecided.<sup>23</sup> In my opinion, the sign is identifiable as an upright variant of \*39 *tà*. This reading leads to the name *Tapa(r)zititis*, which is fairly well attested for Luwian LBA seals.<sup>24</sup>

(2) According to Meriggi's analysis of phrase 2, the verb is expressed by the enigmatic sign \*121 and *ar+ha* is preverb. He also suggests \*17 *HANTAWAT* for the damaged third sign of line 2. The latter sign, however, is much more likely to be identified as \*100 *ta<sub>4</sub>*. This recurs in the phrases 5 and 6, where it is used for the verbal ending -*ta* (3rd person of the past tense). In addition, the sequence of signs preceding it is identical with the root of the verb in phrase 5 (in both instances the first sign is of problematic reading but nonetheless similar in form). For these reasons, I think that *x-ti-ta<sub>4</sub>* must be the verb. Next, I am inclined to the opinion that *ar+ha* is to be analyzed as the noun "border" instead of the preverb "de-, re-".<sup>25</sup> This view is further emphasized by the fact that *ar+ha* is consistently associated with *HARSALA-na*, which apparently qualifies it. Consequently, the latter word may be explained as an adjectival deriva-

<sup>23</sup> Meriggi 1975: 325; Hawkins 1974: 71.

<sup>24</sup> Laroche 1960: 73, *sub* \*115.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Laroche 1960, glossary *s. v.*

tive in *-na-* of the noun *harsala-* “anger, dispute, conflict”,<sup>26</sup> and the entire combination may be interpreted as “disputed border(land)”. Finally, the riddle of which word is the subject needs to be solved. This task can be accomplished by the process of elimination. First it should be noted in this connection that the dative form of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person singular, *-tu*, which is attached to the introductory particle at the start of the phrase, obviously refers to the person in whose honour the stele is erected, Uratarhuntas.<sup>27</sup> This rules him out as a possible candidate for subject. Secondly, as we have noted earlier, the combination *HARSALA-na ar+ha* recurs in phrase 6. Since this combination is definitely object in the latter case (see discussion below), the close parallelism between the two phrases suggests that it is likely to be so in phrase 2 as well. By means of deduction, then, this leaves us with the sign \*121 in the form of a sphinx-like creature as the ~~only~~ possible candidate for subject.<sup>28</sup> It is clear from the context that this subject refers to an enemy, perhaps some Assyrian king.<sup>29</sup>

(3) Meriggi rightly stresses that the verb *TUWA* at the end of phrase 3, even though it is written logographically and therefore lacks the expected phonetic complement *-ta*, is in the 3rd person singular of the past tense.<sup>30</sup> In between the verb and the introductory particle with the accusative neuter of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, *-tá-à*, attached to it,<sup>31</sup> he distinguishes two words, *KULANA-?* “army” and the enigmatic element *na<sub>4</sub>-ti*, of which the former is considered to be in the dative and the latter taken for a preposition.<sup>32</sup> In view of the fact that the regular phonetic complement of \*269 *KULANA* reads *-lá-ná-*, I am inclined, however, to the view that we have here the continuation of the phonetic complement of *KULANA*.<sup>33</sup> This alternative view cannot be

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Laroche 1960, glossary s.v.; for the adjectival morpheme *-na-*, cf. ethnic *-wanni-* (Laroche 1959: 139).

<sup>27</sup> Meriggi 1980: 317, § 132.

<sup>28</sup> Note that signs in the form of completely drawn animals listed in Güterbock 1942 are especially applied for personal names, like the bull in Muwatallis (nr. 1), the antelope in Tuwarsas (nr. 37), and the deer in Kuruntis (nr. 35).

<sup>29</sup> For the suggestion that the sphinx-like creature might symbolize Assyrian power, cf. the monumental winged bull from the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud, depicted in James 1991: 263, fig. 11:1; but note that the sphinx is also used as a symbol of royal power in the seal of king Initesup of Karkemis from the late 13th century BC.

<sup>30</sup> Meriggi 1975: 326; cf. Hawkins 1975: 129 who adds other parallels.

<sup>31</sup> Meriggi 1980: 318, § 136.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Laroche 1960: 142, *sub* \*269.

<sup>33</sup> The presence of the word divider in between *KULANA-?* and *na<sub>4</sub>-ti* forms no serious objection to this suggestion, as it is sometimes improperly used, like, for example, in phrase 5 of our text. Note however that according to Hawkins 1975: 132 & appendix the value *na<sub>4</sub> of frons* (\*26) is unfounded.

proved straightforwardly because the sign in between *KULANA* and *na<sub>4</sub>-ti* is damaged. If it be accepted, though, it follows that *KULANA[-la?]-na<sub>4</sub>-ti* is an ablative instrumental in *-ti* and that the subject “has placed with an army”. For a proper understanding of the given interpretation of the phrase it is further important to realize that: (a) the enclitic *-ta* refers to the object *ḤARSALA-na ar+ḥa* “disputed border(land)” of the previous phrase; (b) the subject, because it is implicit, must be the same enemy in form of a sphinx-like creature as mentioned in the previous phrase; and (c) the use of the verb *TUWA* in a military sense seemingly allows for its translation as “occupied”.

(4) With the proviso that the exact meaning of phrase 4 eludes him, Meriggi thinks that the divine names <sup>MASANA</sup>*TARHUNT* and <sup>MASANA</sup>*ku-pá[-pa]* are subject, that king Uratarhuntas is indirect object, and that the verb, expressed by the last sign, either reads *TUWA* or *PIA*. Further, he wonders about the absence of *wa-*, which in inscriptions of later date is indicative of a relationship in contents with the previous phrase whereas this is not the case here. As we have noted above, in this early text the situation is exactly reversed: *wa-* stresses the relationship in contents with the previous phrase and its absence marks the beginning of a new section. With respect to the identification of subject and indirect object certainty is difficult to achieve because the names of both Uratarhuntas and the two divinities are written (semi-)logographically without indication of the ending. In contrast to Meriggi’s analysis, however, I believe that the mention of Uratarhuntas in first position of a new section stresses the change of subject from the enemy in form of a sphinx-like creature to the king of Karkemis himself. If this is correct, the gods Tarhunt and Kupapa are likely to be in the dative or ablative. At any rate, the object is clearly formed by *MUWATALI-sa? WARPA* “a strong shield”.<sup>34</sup> Since there is no reason to doubt the identification of the verb as *TUWA* (it is written in exactly the same way as its counterpart of phrase 3), the interpretation of the phrase in its main outlines appears to run as follows: “king Uratarhuntas has placed a strong shield”. What is left is the instance of *MUWATALI* in front of the two divine names, which on the analogy of Kızıldağ 2 (see discussion below) may be explained as an adjective corresponding to these two divinities in the dative or ablative: “(thanks) to the strong gods Tarhunt and Kupapa”. Note finally that the reading of sign \*128 in the divine name Kupapa as *pá* is assured by its use in the place name *ḥa-l(a)-pá* “Aleppo”.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> \*273 *WARPA* is usually translated “altar” or the like, but the sign is clearly related to \*272 which serves as an ideogram of *ḥarli-* “shield”, see Laroche 1960: 143.

<sup>35</sup> Meriggi 1975: 53, text no. 108.

(5) Phrase 5 is a very short one and consists only of three elements, the introductory particle *wa-*, the accusative neuter of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-ta*, and the verb *x-ti-ta*, characterized by the ending of the 3rd person of the past tense. The meaning of the verb, which, as we have noted above, also occurs in phrase 2, cannot be determined with certainty because its first sign is damaged both here and in phrase 2. From the context, however, it is clear that what the enemy did with the disputed border(land) in phrase 2 is now done by Uratarhuntas. As a consequence, the pronoun *-ta* likely refers back to this disputed border(land).

(6) Meriggi plausibly reconstructs the introductory particle *wa-* at the start of phrase 6. In line with this reconstruction I would like to add the emendation of the enclitic pronoun *-tá-à* for the damaged spot directly following the reflexive particle *-ti*. The chain of enclitics recovered in this manner conforms to the rules of Luwian grammar which require that reflexive particles precede forms of the enclitic pronoun.<sup>36</sup> Meriggi further identifies *PARNA-wa-ta* as the verb, *ar+ha* as preverb and *HARSALA-na* as object. In combination with the preverb *ar+ha*, however, the verb *PARNA-wa-* “to build” is transformed into its opposite “to destroy”.<sup>37</sup> On the basis of the context as established thus far, such a negative meaning is very unlikely. Moreover, it has already been argued in the discussion of phrase 2 above that *ar+ha* should be analyzed as the noun “border” for its association with the adjective *HARSALA-na*. Like in phrase 2, then, the combination *HARSALA-na ar+ha* forms the object. Finally, the last word, *MUWATALI-sa*, which, as we have seen earlier, Meriggi wrongly considers to be the first word of a new phrase for its position behind the verb, also appears to be object and in my opinion should be explained in terms of a double accusative construction: “(subject) has built the disputed border(land) into a stronghold”. If correct, its ending presents evidence of the neuter suffix *-sa*.<sup>38</sup> The subject, of course, must be the same as in the previous phrase.

(7) Meriggi’s understanding of the last phrase seriously suffers from his assumption that it starts with the personal name *su-hi-sa*, and he must take refuge to the observation that it is incomplete in order to patch things up. As we have noted earlier, however, the damaged spot at the end

<sup>36</sup> Laroche 1957-8: 162 (cuneiform Luwian *a-wa-ti-it-ta*); 166 (hieroglyphic Luwian *wa -ti -ta*). Note that the chain of enclitics in phrase 2, *wa -tu -tá-à* also conforms to these rules as indirect forms of the enclitic pronoun must precede direct forms, cf. Laroche 1957-8: 163 (cuneiform Luwian *a-du-ut-ta*); 166 (hieroglyphic Luwian *wa -tu -ta*).

<sup>37</sup> Meriggi 1975: 326 (“destruct”); Laroche 1960: 133, *sub* \*248 (“chase, ban”).

<sup>38</sup> Laroche 1959: 138; Meriggi 1980: 282, § 25.

of the phrase leaves only room for the emendation of the place name *ká(+r)-ka[-mi-sà]*. I propose that it starts with the dedicated object, *i WANAI* “this stele”, continues with the verb, *ta<sub>4</sub>-nú-wa<sub>6</sub>-ta* “he has erected”, and that next comes the subject, *su-ḥi-sa*, with its qualifications. This analysis is substantially emphasized by the fact that the verb *tanuwa*-frequently occurs in combination with the object *wanai*-.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the OVS-type of construction is a typical feature of west-Luwian dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, it must be admitted that the phrase also contains an aberrant feature because the enclitics *-tu +r*, if only correctly identified so, are attached to the title *TARWANA* in fifth position and not to the first word.<sup>41</sup> But, although a rare phenomenon, this is not altogether unparalleled.<sup>42</sup> At any rate, the order of the enclitics is regular, as the dative form *-tu* precedes the writing variant *+r* of the accusative neuter, *-ta*.<sup>43</sup> To this comes that the enclitics are meaningful in the given context as the first refers to the person in whose honour the stele is erected, great king Uratarhuntas, and the second to the dedicated object, *in casu* the stele.

### *Historical remarks*

It is well known that the names of the rulers mentioned in the text on the stele, Uratarhuntas and Suhis, are recorded for other inscriptions from Karkemis as well. We will take a brief look at this evidence here in order to see whether it allows for any identifications to be made.

The name of Uratarhuntas recurs in a text of a later ruler of Karkemis, Katuwas, whose reign is generally assigned to the first half of the 9th century BC. In this text Katuwas refers to a hostile action by the “grandsons of Uratarhuntas” which apparently took place during his term of office.<sup>44</sup> If this namesake grandfather may be identified with the great king Uratarhuntas of our text on the stele, it would follow that the latter’s reign belongs to the period of the second generation before

<sup>39</sup> Laroche 1960: 46, sub \*82 (*i-pa-wa WANAIWA-nà-i<sup>WASANA</sup>pa-ḥa-la-ti-āta<sub>6</sub>-nú-ḥa-á* “I have erected this stele for the god Ba‘al”, etc.).

<sup>40</sup> Compare, for example, the formulaic expression *ebēnnē xupā me-ne prīnawatē (MN)* “This tomb, (MN) has built it” in Lycian funeral inscriptions.

<sup>41</sup> Meriggi 1975: 327 considers their reading uncertain.

<sup>42</sup> Compare the superfluous doubling of *-pa-wa -ta* in Karatepe (= Meriggi 1967: 80, no. 24) phrase 33.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *wa -tu -ta* in phrase 2 and see also note 36 above.

<sup>44</sup> Meriggi 1966-7: 62, Kark. A 11b phrase 4; 68, Kark. 11c, phrase 12 (= text no. 22).

Katuwas, which means approximately the first half of the 10th century BC.<sup>45</sup>

The name Suhis turns up twice in the lineage of Katuwas—the last representative of the dynasty—, once as the father of Katuwas and the second time as the father of Astuwatimais, himself grandfather of Katuwas.<sup>46</sup> As this lineage cannot be traced back any further, the earlier Suhis, or Suhis I, is generally considered to be the founder of the dynasty. The latter inference coincides reasonably well with the information of the text on the stele according to which Suhis is the son of the Karkemisian goddess Kupapa—probably a euphemism for low birth—and therefore unrelated to his predecessor Uratarhuntas. For this reason it has been proposed that Suhis I may be identified with his namesake of the text on the stele. Measured by the genealogical evidence of the Suhis dynasty, this identification would lead to the conclusion that the reign of Uratarhuntas antedates that of Katuwas by at least three generations (note that because Suhis is not a son of Uratarhuntas, there need not be a generation gap between these two rulers).

On the basis of the suggested identifications, then, it is possible to reconstruct two distinct dynasties, one of Uratarhuntas and the other of Suhis. In terms of relative chronology the genealogical evidence of these two dynasties does not present an ideal one-to-one fit. Thus the period separating the reign of Uratarhuntas from that of Katuwas measures two generations in terms of dynasty A but at least three in terms of dynasty B.

#### **Dynasty A**

1. Taparzititis
2. Uratarhuntas
3. [son(s) of Uratarhuntas]
4. grandsons of Uratarhuntas

#### **Dynasty B**

1. Suhis I
2. Astuwatimais
3. Suhis II
4. Katuwas

On the whole, however, the relationship between the two royal families is not unrealistic. One might compare in this connection the

<sup>45</sup> Note that James 1991: 137 proposes to adopt the Hurritic reading of Uratarhuntas and identify him with the one but last Late Bronze Age king of Karkemis, Talmitešub. However, this suggestion is ruled out by the fact that in the given text of Katuwas the name of Uratarhuntas is written in a variant form characterized by the phonetic complement *-ta*, which indicates the reading *tarhunt-* instead of *tesup-* for its second element, see Hawkins 1988: 104, note 33. Note with Hawkins, *loc. cit.*, that the Hurritic reading of the name Uratarhuntas is further discredited by the Luwian nature of the patronymic Taparzititis.

<sup>46</sup> Woolley & Barnett 1952: Pl. A2, A11; Pl. A14a+b.

relationship between the royal houses of Karkemis and Maraş in the 9th century BC, when the long reign of Sangaras overlaps with that of as much as three of his colleagues.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, I believe that the suggested identifications are compatible with the relative chronological evidence as provided by the resulting genealogies.

#### b. No. 98

The second document relevant to our subject is a stele reported to have been found at Darende in the region of Malatya. As the stone is an isolated find, its assignment to the late 10th century BC solely rests on stylistic considerations.<sup>48</sup> The stone monument is worked on all four sides. The front and lateral sides contain a libation scene in relief, whereas the back side is inscribed with six lines of hieroglyphic text.<sup>49</sup> In the libation scene are depicted the images of three persons, one female seated on a throne and two male standing on top of a lion. Of these three images, the female one covers the front side and therefore takes a central position in the scene. She receives a libation from the man in front of her, depicted on the lateral side to the left. The male person behind her, which covers the lateral side to the right, apparently functions as her *paredros*. The interpretation of the scene is further facilitated by the fact that the images are associated with legends in hieroglyphic script. Thanks to these legends the seated woman in the centre can be identified as “the municipal goddess Hepat”<sup>50</sup> and the male standing behind her as “the god Sarruma”. The legend associated with the adorant pouring a libation lacks the determinative *MASANA* “god” and therefore must belong to a human person—most plausibly the king or ruler in whose honour the stele is erected (see Fig. 2a).<sup>51</sup> This identification gains weight from the fact that the signs of the legend are encircled in a cartouche-like manner, which resembles the Egyptian practice of writing pharaoh-names.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately the reading of the royal name inside the cartouche causes problems because the signs are much worn and partly damaged at their right side. Gelb distinguishes only one sign, the symbol of lightning \*199, and reads Tarhuntas.<sup>53</sup> Bossert reconfirms the reading of

<sup>47</sup> See table 3 below.

<sup>48</sup> Bossert 1954-6: 349 f. informs us that he has checked the reported find-spot, but it did not match the requirements; Hawkins 1988: 102-3.

<sup>49</sup> Gelb 1939, Plates xxxiv-v.

<sup>50</sup> For strikingly similar expressions in Lycian (*maliya wedrēñni*), Lydian (*āstrko-as* apposition of *artimuš*) and (east-)Greek (*Artemis astuas*), see Woudhuizen 1992b: 94.

<sup>51</sup> Gelb 1939: 27; Hawkins 1974: 77, 79; Meriggi 1975: 35.

<sup>52</sup> Meriggi 1975: 35.

<sup>53</sup> Gelb 1939: 27.

this sign, but at the same time acknowledges the presence of a second sign, \*363, on top of it, thus arriving at the reading *Uratarhuntas*.<sup>54</sup> In his discussion of the text Meriggi considers the reading of the second sign uncertain, but does not display similar hesitations about that of the first one.<sup>55</sup> In contrast to these views, Hawkins thinks that the reading of \*199 *TARHUNT* is altogether mistaken and must be altered in that of the bird of prey, \*132-4 *ARA*. The latter sign expresses the first syllable of the personal name *Arnuwantas* in the text on the back side of the stele and may therefore, as Hawkins suggests, symbolize that name.<sup>56</sup> In my opinion, however, the new reading of Hawkins cannot stand the test in form of consultation of the photograph presented by Gelb, which is conclusive about the reading of \*199 *TARHUNT* and the remains of \*363 *URA* placed asymmetrically on top of it (see Fig. 2b).<sup>57</sup> In addition, I think that both Meriggi and Hawkins have unjustly neglected another argument of Bossert in favour of his reading of the royal name. This consists of the observation that an inscription from the region of Malatya published by Messerschmidt contains the personal name *Uratarhuntas* in a variant form with phonetic complement *-ta* (see Fig. 3).<sup>58</sup> The inscription is generally considered to be a forgery, but, since it has been published more than 30 years before the decipherment of the Luwian hieroglyphic script, the falsifier cannot possibly have been aware what he was writing down and must have modelled his fraud on real texts extant in the region. Hence it may safely be concluded that the falsification provides corroborative evidence for the reading of the royal name *Uratarhuntas* on the stele from Darendé.

The libation scene of the front and lateral sides is connected with the hieroglyphic text on the back side by a special graphic device (see Fig. 2c). In front of the first two lines there is an unusually large incised sign. Gelb takes this sign for an outstretched hand, belonging to the relief of the king on the lateral side.<sup>59</sup> Meriggi corrects Gelb's view and demon-

<sup>54</sup> Bossert 1954-6: 348.

<sup>55</sup> Meriggi 1975: 35.

<sup>56</sup> Hawkins 1974: 77, 79. Note that Hawkins' drawing is similar in this respect to that of the first publisher of the stele, H.H. von der Osten, as presented by Bossert 1954-6: 349, Abb. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Gelb 1939: Plate xxxiv, B. Note that what Hawkins sees as the head of a bird of prey corresponds to the remains of \*363 *URA* distinguished by Bossert, and that he in this way confirms that there are remains of a second sign on top of the symbol of lightning. Consultation of Gelb's photograph leaves no doubt that these remains are unconnected with the symbol of lightning below it and therefore cannot possibly be considered as a head of a bird of prey on top of its body.

<sup>58</sup> Bossert 1954-6: 351 with reference to Messerschmidt 1900: Taf. xvi c.

<sup>59</sup> Gelb 1939: 27 ff.



Fig. 2a. Darende no. 98: relief of side B [from Gelb 1939].



Fig. 3. "Falsified" inscription from Malatya region [from Messerschmidt 1900].



Fig. 2b. Darende no. 98: detail.

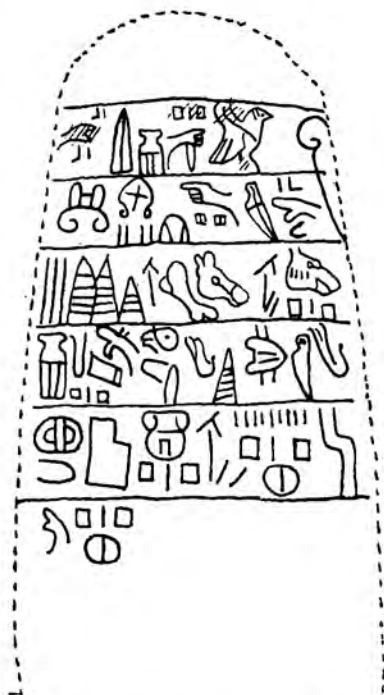


Fig. 2c. Darende no. 98: inscription of side C [from Meriggi 1975].

strates that it is actually an incised restoration of the raised arm of that king, probably resulting from repair works executed at a time that the relief had already been damaged.<sup>60</sup> Insofar as the function of this incised raised arm in the text is concerned, Meriggi agrees with Gelb that it represents the name of the author. Room for such an analysis is created by the fact that one of the names in the genealogy up to three generations of the first phrase is certainly omitted. However, if the incision of the raised arm really results from later repair works on the stele, it necessarily follows that the inscription is a later addition as well. Consequently, the king of the libation scene need not be the same person as the author of the inscription, but it is equally possible that one of his successors added the text on the occasion of the repair works. The latter possibility is certainly not ruled out by the fact that the royal name first mentioned in the genealogy, Arnuwantas, is characterized by the ending *-sa<sub>3</sub>*, which Hawkins considers to be indicative of the genitive, because the same form of the name definitely renders the nominative in the text on the stele from Ispekçür.<sup>61</sup> On the contrary, the analogy presented by this closely related genealogy rather suggests that the king of the libation scene must be identified with the grandfather of the inscription (see discussion of the Ispekçür text below). In that case also the restoration of the monument becomes easily comprehensible in terms of propaganda, as a later king may reasonably be assumed to have underlined the legitimacy of his territorial claims by reference to illustrious predecessors. For this reason, then, I believe that this second option has the best chances of being correct.

The structure of the text itself is a very simple one. Next to the genealogy, which makes up the first phrase, there can be distinguished two more phrases. The beginning of these two consecutive phrases is regularly marked by sentence introductory particles, *a-wa-* in case of phrase 2 and *-pa-wa* in case of phrase 3. Furthermore, each of them has a verbal form in final position, *asa-nu-wa-ḫa* and *ruwa-wa-ḫa*, respectively. It is interesting to note in this connection, finally, that the omission of a sentence introductory particle from the first phrase ties in with the situation in the text on the stele from Karkemis according to which, as we have seen, introductory particles are lacking in the first phrase of each section and their presence in consecutive phrases serves to stress the cohesion between the phrases of such a section.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Meriggi 1975: 34-5.

<sup>61</sup> Hawkins 1988: 102, note 17; 101. For other instances of personal names in the nominative singular *-sa*, see discussion of the western group of texts below.

<sup>62</sup> See page 173 above.

## No. 98 Stele from Darende, dated to the 10th century BC

### Reliefs (sides D, A and B)

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. <sup>MASANA</sup> SARU+mi                             | "the god Sarruma"             |
| 2. <sup>MASANA</sup> hi-pa-tu <sup>UMINA</sup> +mi-na-li | "the municipal goddess Hepat" |
| <sup>MASANA</sup> hi-pa-tu-ti-sa <sub>3</sub>            | "of the goddess Hepat"        |
| 3. URA-TARHUNT   | "Uratarhuntas"                |

### Inscription (side C)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. ARA-wa-tā-sa <sub>3</sub> HANTAWAT [URA-TARHUNT] <sup>infans</sup> *300- <sup>*488</sup> -mi-sa<br>tā+mi-li <sup>infans</sup> nā-mu-wa-ī<br>ma <sub>x</sub> -lī-ī <sup>UMINA</sup> -sa <sub>3</sub> regio dominus | "King Arnuwantas,<br>grandson of Uratarhuntas,<br>son of Tamilis, country-lord<br>of the town Malatya." |
| 2. a-wa -tu ka-ma-nā-a-na <sup>UMINA</sup><br>MUWATALI-lī-na ASA-nu-wa-ha  | "I have settled the town Kamana<br>as a stronghold for him<br>[= Uratarhuntas],"                        |
| 3. ī-pa-wa WANAI MASANA-nā<br>TUWA-wa-ha   | "but I have placed this stele<br>for the goddess."  |

### Comments

(1) The transcription of the patronymic *Tamilis* in phrase 1 is different from the one applied by Meriggi, Laroche and Hawkins, who consider the first sign \*39 a logogram and, for the uncertainty of its Luwian value, prefer to render it as, respectively, *SULU* (on account of an assumed connection with a royal name recorded in cuneiform), *poing* (in French) or *pugnus* (in Latin).<sup>63</sup> But, as there is no objection to the well established syllabic value of \*39 in this connection, *tā* may just as well serve as a plausible rendering.<sup>64</sup> At any rate, the same name is also attested for the Lion Gate relief from Malatya, with which ruler the father of the author of our text is generally identified.<sup>65</sup> The exact reading of the first sign of the place name Malatya, \*109, has long been uncertain, but the recent find of a seal impression in which the same place name is referred to in abbreviation by the sign \*110 *ma* clearly indicates that this must be *ma<sub>x</sub>*.<sup>66</sup> According to Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann the correspondence of Luwian *ma<sub>x</sub>-lī-i* to Phoenician *mlz* confirms their new reading of \*376 as *zi* instead of *i*.<sup>67</sup> But this argument does not hold good for the graphic variant *ma<sub>x</sub>-lī*, characterized by the loss of \*376.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Laroche 1960: 27, *sub* \*39; Meriggi 1975: 36; Hawkins 1988: 102, fig. 1.

<sup>64</sup> In my opinion the logographic value of \*39 may very well be identical with the syllabic one.

<sup>65</sup> Meriggi 1975: 36; Hawkins 1988: 103 also considers the alternative possibility that there are more rulers of this name.

<sup>66</sup> Meriggi 1963: 275 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies & Neumann 1973: 19-20.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Meriggi 1975: 56, text no. 114.

On the contrary, graphic variation of this type is rather indicative of the old reading of \*376 as *i* because it may receive a plausible explanation in the frame of plena writing.<sup>69</sup>

(2) As observed by Meriggi, the place name *ka-ma-nà-a-na* in phrase 2 may perhaps be identified with Assyrian Kammanu as mentioned in texts with a bearing on the region of Malatya.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, \*485 obviously constitutes a writing variant of \*28 *MUWATALI*, especially since it is likewise characterized by the phonetic complement *-li-na*. Note that Bossert's translation of \*485-*li-na* as "stronghold" is fully in line with this identification.<sup>71</sup> Finally, Meriggi holds the opinion that the dative of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person singular *-tu* refers to the father of the author of the text, Tamilis. As opposed to this, I believe that it much more likely refers to his grandfather. In the above it has been argued that, if Meriggi is right that the libation scene has been restored at the time that the text is inscribed, this grandfather may plausibly be identified with the adorant king or ruler, Uratarhuntas. Under these conditions, then, reference to Uratarhuntas as the source of inspiration for the fortification of the town Kamana makes perfect sense as the latter's stele has been restored and placed on the spot.

(3) The form *MASANA-nà* [D sing. in *-a* of *masana-* "god"] in phrase 3 to all probability bears reference to the goddess Hepat, depicted in the centre of the libation scene on the opposite side of the stele.<sup>72</sup>

### c. No. 103

In the previous discussion of the stele from Darende it has already been mentioned in passing that this text is closely related to the one of the stele from Ispekçür, a locality situated east of Darende. The latter stele is fragmentarily preserved because it has been cut into pieces in order to produce mortars for crushing grain or salt. When the pieces are put together again in their original position, it appears that only three sides of the original stele have been worked—as possibly had been the case with Darende before the execution of the repair works. In contrast to Darende, however, both the religious scene in relief and the incised hieroglyphic text are evenly divided over the different sides, the former

<sup>69</sup> For a critical discussion of the new readings as proposed by Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies & Neumann 1973, see Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 89-97.

<sup>70</sup> Meriggi 1962: 277; Luckenbill 1927: II, §§ 26, 60, 79, 92, 99. On account of the Assyrian information Kammanu must be localized in the same plain where Darende and Ispekçür are situated, which in geographical terms forms a western annex to the larger Malatya plain.

<sup>71</sup> Bossert 1954-6: 352; cf. Meriggi 1975: 36. Compare the mode of expression in no. 163, phrase 6 discussed above.

<sup>72</sup> See previous note.

being on top of the latter. The religious scene consists of three figures, one female on top of a building (side A), one male with a lituus on top of a mountain (side B), and another libation pouring male on top of a bull (side C).<sup>73</sup> From the general composition it is clear that the figures first mentioned are recipients of the libation and therefore of divine nature, whereas the third one offering the libation evidently must be human in nature.

This analysis is emphasized by information from subsidiary sections of the hieroglyphic text. Inside the free space left for the window of the building depicted on side A some remnants of a hieroglyphic legend are still traceable. According to the drawings presented by Olmstead, Gelb and Meriggi the upper side of this window contains the royal name *Arnuwantis*.<sup>74</sup> Inspection of the photograph presented by Gelb, however, leads to the conclusion that the reading of these signs is by no means secure. On the other hand, this photograph is conclusive about the reading of the signs visible at the lower side of the window as *Sarruma*.<sup>75</sup> Consequently, the male deity with the lituus depicted on side B is likely to be identified as the god *Sarruma*. Next, immediately below the libation pouring human figure depicted on side C there is a part of the hieroglyphic text which distinguishes itself from the rest by the larger dimensions of its signs. This contains the royal name *Arnuwantis*, now certainly, and partly repeats the latter's genealogy as given in the main text on side B. Apparently, therefore, the human figure on top of it represents king *Arnuwantis*.<sup>76</sup> If all this is correct, the close analogy of the present libation scene to the one on the stele from *Darende* would further suggest that the female deity depicted on side A is *Hepat*.

The main section of the hieroglyphic text covers the lower part of sides B and C (see Fig. 4). Only the final part of the last phrase on side B is for apparent lack of space continued in a smaller type of lettering on side C. But the type of lettering of the subsidiary inscription on this last mentioned side is, as we have just noted, exceptionally large so that confusion between the two texts is precluded. As a result of the fact that the stele has been cut to pieces for the production of mortars, a substantial part of the main text is damaged beyond the means of repair. From this condition any attempt to translate it in its entirety is frustrated and we are forced to set ourself more limited goals. Therefore the treatment

<sup>73</sup> Gelb 1939: 31 (discussion of no. 28); cf. Meriggi 1975: 43-4 for the feminine nature of the first mentioned figure. Note that only Hawkins 1988: 102, note 17 proposes a secular interpretation of the scene, for which, however, parallels are entirely lacking.

<sup>74</sup> Olmstead 1911: Pl. 18; Gelb 1939: Pl. 45; Meriggi 1975: Tav. vii.

<sup>75</sup> Gelb 1939: Pl. 44.

<sup>76</sup> Gelb 1939: 31 (discussion of no. 28); Meriggi 1975: 44.

of this text will be restricted to the fairly well preserved genealogy as presented in phrase 1 and its relationship to the one of the Darende inscription.

### No. 103 Stele from Ispekkür, dated to the late 10th century BC

Subsidiary text (sides A and C)

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. [...] SARU+mi                           | "[...] Sarruma"   |
| 2. à+r-nu[-wa]-ti-sa <sub>3</sub> HANTAWAT | "King Arnuwantis, |
| [...?] infans <sub>3</sub> ha-ma-sá-sa     | grandson of ...?" |

Main text (sides A and B)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. à+r-nu-wa-ti-sa <sub>3</sub> HANTAWAT           | "King Arnuwantis,                         |
| ?-i-TARHUNT <b>heros</b>                           | grandson of the hero                      |
| infans <sub>3</sub> ha-ma-sá-sa <sub>3</sub>       | X-itarhuntas,                             |
| tà+mi-li infans <sub>3</sub> mu-wa-i               | son of Tamilis,                           |
| [mu-lí-i] <sup>UMINA</sup> <b>regio dominus</b>    | country-lord of the town Malatya."        |
| 2. [... ...] ASA[-nu-wa]-ha                        | "I have settled ...?"                     |
| 3. à-wa MUWA-na-i? WATI-i                          | "and I have settled? the strong           |
| [?]-wa-ha  | mountain gods,"                           |
| 4. á-[?]-i a-i-ha                                  | "and I have made ....."                   |
| 5. ASA[-nu-wa-ha]                                  | "...?"                                    |
| 6. [à]-wa-à i-i <sup>WATI?</sup> MASANA-nâ[-i ...] | "and these mountain gods ...?"            |
| 7. [... ...]"                                      | "...?"                                    |
| 8. [... ...] *202-na HUWA-na-ha                    | "...?.. I have sculptured these façades." |
| 9. i-sa -wa -mu [...]                              | "He (who) ...?.. for me ...?"             |

### Comments

The first name of the genealogy in phrase 1 is that of king Arnuwantis. As has been shown above, the association of this royal name with the relief of the adorant human figure on side C definitely points out that Arnuwantis is the ruler responsible for the erection of the stele. Next to this comes the name of the grandfather. The latter name is partly damaged and only its second and third sign can be identified with certainty as \*376 *i* and \*199 *TARHUNT*, respectively. In this situation it is surely a tantalizing misfortune to experience that precisely the name of this grandfather has altogether disappeared from the partly overlapping genealogy of side C because of the damage caused by the stele being cut to pieces. The last name in the series is that of the father. He is called Tamilis and further specified as country-lord of the town Malatya.

It is somehow strange to observe that the name of the father follows that of the grandfather, as this collides with the natural order.<sup>77</sup> There surely are parallels for this phenomenon and it therefore need not be of any consequence as to the status of the father in comparison to that of the

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Meriggi 1975: 64.

grandfather.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, in this particular case it might very well be so. According to Meriggi's analysis of the shorter variant of the genealogy on side C the line of fissure between the different parts of the stone leaves room only for the name of the grandfather in the space above the kinship term *infans hamasa*- "grandson".<sup>79</sup> If this is correct, it necessarily follows that, for brevity's sake, the name of the father has been purposely omitted and is considered to be of minor importance. This latter conclusion is apparently reinforced by the strictly local nature of the father's title "country-lord of the town Malatya", which contrasts markedly with the imperial connotations of the title *heros* "hero" as attributed to the grandfather.<sup>80</sup>

The relationship of this genealogy with the one of the Darende text is remarkably close. Thus the name of the father and his title are identical in both inscriptions. Next, the name of the author differs only insofar as the vowel of the last syllable is concerned, which reads *a* in the Darende text but *i* in that of Ispekçür. Finally, in both instances the name of the grandfather is of composite nature and characterized by the second onomastic element *TARHUNT*.

Darende	Ispekçür
1. Uratarhuntas	1. X-itarhuntas
2. Tamlilis	2. Tamlilis
3. Arnuwantas	3. Arnuwantis

In short, the relationship between the two genealogies is so close that one cannot help to wonder whether both have a bearing on one and the same person. At any rate, the graphic variation in connection with the name of the author forms no serious objection to this possibility. A similar phenomenon can be observed in connection with the name of the Late Bronze Age king of Tarhuntassa, which is variously spelled *Kuruntas* or *Kuruntis*.<sup>81</sup> It may safely be assumed, therefore, that these names are pronounced as *\*Arnuwants* and *\*Kurunts*, respectively, and that the variation in their spelling results from the inherent incapability of

<sup>78</sup> Meriggi 1975: 51, text no. 105; but cf. note 135 below.

<sup>79</sup> Meriggi 1975: 44; note that on the analogy of the main text on side B the syllables *-ti-sa*, are to be analyzed as a continuation of the royal name Arnuwantis.

<sup>80</sup> Note that *heros* "hero" is associated with *URA-HANTAWAT* "great king" in texts nos. 163 and 97 of the eastern group and texts nos. 16, 17, 18, 31 and 36 of the western group; occasionally, however, it is used for officials of lower rank as well, see texts nos. 102 (Izgin), 105 (Malatya) and 119 (Şirzi).

<sup>81</sup> Otten 1988; Neve 1991: 330, fig. 35.

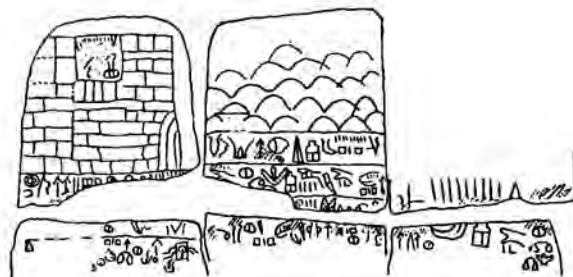


Fig. 4. Ispekçür no. 103 [from Meriggi 1975].



Fig. 5. Gürün no. 97; (a) version A, (b) version B [from Meriggi 1975].

syllabaries to express consonant clusters.<sup>82</sup> A more serious problem for the identification of the two genealogies is posed by the first element of the name of the grandfather, which reads *URA* in the Darende text but is of uncertain reading in that of Ispekçür. If in the latter text this element should turn out to be anything else but *URA*, it obviously follows that the genealogies have a bearing on two entirely different persons and must be considered successive instead of identical. This is exactly the case according to Hawkins, who claims that his "collation of the Ispekçür stele established the reading" *ku* (\*423) for the first sign of the name of the grandfather and, under consideration of the new reading *zi* for \*376, in this manner arrives at Kuzitesup in full.<sup>83</sup> However, Hawkins does not produce any photographs to substantiate this new reading of *ku*, and, as hinted at above, the ones available are not conclusive on this point.<sup>84</sup> Consequently, the matter must be left undecided for the moment. If, finally, we look at the treatment of the genealogies by the author(s) of the texts, there can be observed yet another striking similarity. Both in the Darende text as well as in the one from Ispekçür the author shows a zealous concern with reference to his grandfather rather than to his father, which, as we have seen, ultimately results from the fact that the status of the former is considerably higher than that of the latter. Evidently, therefore, this circumstantial observation is favourable to the possibility that the two genealogies have a bearing on one and the same person.

#### d. No. 97

The fourth text is a rock relief at Gürün, a locality in the mountains north of Darende strategically situated along the route from Malatya to Kayseri. In fact, there are two versions of this text, a smaller one (A) which is sculptured above a cave or niche and a larger one (B) next to the representation of a royal figure nearby (see Fig. 5). Both versions are worn as a result of weather conditions, but the larger one is less lacunary than the smaller one. For this reason in the following discussion we will mainly concentrate on version B and restrict reference to version A insofar as this may contribute to the former's understanding.

According to Meriggi, the text of version B consists of 8 individual phrases, which all but the first one are regularly marked by sentence

<sup>82</sup> Conclusive proof of such a pronunciation is provided in the case of \**Arnuwants* by related Etruscan forms like *Arnths*, *Arruns*, etc.

<sup>83</sup> Hawkins 1988: 101-3; cf. note 12 "after the definite establishment of *ku* on Ispekçür".

<sup>84</sup> Gelb 1939: Pl. 44; note that Hawkins' reading may be inspired by the rather imperfect drawing presented by Olmstead 1911: 36, Pl. xviii.

introductory particles.<sup>85</sup> In the second phrase, however, he wrongly takes \*65 *TUWA* as part of a mountain name instead of a verb. From the latter reading, which can be sustained by supporting evidence from text no. 163, it follows that phrase 2 actually consists of two phrases, one governed by the verb *TUWA* and the other by the verb *li-sa-ḥa*, and that the total number of phrases adds up to 9. The extra phrase 3 thus arrived at also lacks a sentence introductory particle at its start, just like phrase 1. As we have observed in the discussion of the texts treated above, this might mean that it marks the beginning of a new section.

On the basis of the contents of the phrases there can be distinguished three sections in sum. The first section constitutes the actual dedication. It starts with the names of three divinities, Tarhunt, Hepat and Sarruma, to whom the monument is apparently dedicated,<sup>86</sup> and continues with the name of the dedicator, Ruwas, and his genealogy. If we are right in our analysis of the phrases, it also includes phrase 2 with the logographic variant of the verb *tuwa*- "to erect", which, as we have seen above, in text no. 163 from Karkemis is used for the 3rd person singular of the past tense in *-ta*.<sup>87</sup> The second section specifies the reason of the dedication. If we are right in our analysis of the phrases, again, it starts with the extra phrase 3, characterized by a verb in the 1st person singular, *li-sa-ḥa*. At any rate, in contrast to the preceding and following one, this section is conducted in the 1st person singular of the past tense. It lists the deeds of the dedicator and goes on to say that he has erected the monument out of gratitude to the gods, without whose benevolence these deeds could never have been accomplished. The third and final section consists of a damnation formula. It covers the last two phrases 8 and 9, which are each marked by the introductory particle *-pa-wa* "but". In accordance with the standards, the protasis of this damnation formula is characterized by a verb in the present/future tense, *\*li-pá-ti*, whereas its apodosis has a form in the imperative, *ḤARSALA-sa-tu-à*.<sup>88</sup> In this formula the monument is placed under the divine protection against possible assaults by desacrators of precisely the three gods to which it is dedicated.

<sup>85</sup> Meriggi 1975: 32-34.

<sup>86</sup> Meriggi 1975: 32.

<sup>87</sup> See note 30 above.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Meriggi 1975: 31 on version A. Note that the earliest instance of a damnation formula in hieroglyphic is attested for the text on the stele from Karahöyük (no. 101); almost simultaneously, the same phenomenon is observable in Semitic alphabet inscriptions like the one of Ahiaram from Byblos dated to c. 1000 BC, see Donner & Röllig 1962-4: II, no. 1.

No. 97 Rock inscription at Gürün, dated to the late 10th or early 9th century BC

1. URA-MASANA<sup>TARHUNT</sup>  
URA-MASANA<sup>hi</sup>-pa-tu  
URA-MASANA<sup>SARU</sup>+mi  
RUWA ?-i-TARHUNT-sa<sub>3</sub> URA-<sup>HANTAWAT</sup>  
**infans**-NA- \*300- \*488  
**heros** ka+r-ka-mi-sá-a-sa<sub>3</sub> UMINA  
lâ+mi-li [<sup>infans</sup>nâ]-mu-wa-i  
ma<sub>3</sub>-lî-i<sup>UMINA</sup> **regio dominus**
2. wa-lâ-â TA(NA)+r-lâ-a-lî<sup>UMINA</sup>  
ar+<sup>ha</sup> WATI-na i TUWA
3. WATI-na <sup>ha</sup>+r-na-sâ WATI-na  
MUWA-i-na-â MUWATALI?-li-sa-<sup>ha</sup>
4. wa-mu-â MUWATALI-li-na-i  
WATI?-i? [.....]
5. [â-]wa-â UMINA-mi-nâ ASA-nu-wa-<sup>ha</sup>
6. wa-mu-â i-i MASANA-nâ-i URA-nu-tâ
7. â-wa [i-â] \*202-[na? WATI-ti  
i?+la-sâ] ASA-nu-wa-<sup>ha</sup>
8. i-pa-wa \*336 <sup>HWA</sup>+r-sâ <sup>HWA</sup>-a-sa  
ar+<sup>ha</sup> <sup>li</sup>-pâ-ti
9. pa-ti-pa-wa-â URA-MASANA<sup>TARHUNT</sup>  
URA-MASANA<sup>hi</sup>-pa-tu-sa<sub>3</sub> URA-MASANA<sup>SARU</sup>+mi  
<sup>HA</sup>SALA-sa-tu-â

"The great god Tarhunt,  
the great goddess Hepat (and)  
the great god Sarruma."  
"Ruwas, grandson of great king  
X-itarhuntas, the hero,  
of the town Karkemis,  
son of Tamlis, country-lord  
of the town Malatya,"  
"has placed the citadel  
outside the town Darende,"  
"I have strengthened the citadel's  
fortress (and) the citadel's defence  
works,"  
"and the strong mountain  
gods? have ... me,"  
"and I have settled the town,"  
"and these gods have made me great,"  
"and, because I was favoured by the  
mountain (gods), I have settled these  
sculptured façades."  
"But who(ever) will inflict  
damage on these sculptures,"  
"may the great god Tarhunt,  
the great goddess Hepat  
and the great god Sarruma be  
angry with him (forever)."

### Comments

(1) In phrase 1 only one sign causes difficulties in reading. This is the one which directly follows the name of the dedicator, Ruwas. Meriggi interprets it together with the immediately following sign \*376 *i* as the phonetic complement of this name.<sup>89</sup> According to Hawkins, on the other hand, both these signs belong to the next name, that of the grandfather.<sup>90</sup> The latter view is strengthened by the parallels. Thus in another rock relief by the same ruler at Kötükale (see discussion of no. 104 below) the name Ruwas is likewise written without phonetic complement. Next, as we have just experienced, the name of the grandfather also reads X-itarhuntas in the closely related genealogy of the text on the stele from Işpekkür. In fact, the relationship with the latter genealogy is so overwhelmingly strong—note that it also includes the name and title of the father, Tamlis—that Hawkins does not hesitate to draw the conclusion

<sup>89</sup> Meriggi 1962: 275; Meriggi 1975: 32.

<sup>90</sup> Hawkins 1974: 77, Table 1; Hawkins 1988: 101.

that Ruwas actually is a brother of Arnuwantis (we will return to this subject below).<sup>91</sup> In connection with the identification of the problematic sign, Meriggi, who visited the monument, proposes either \*208 *a* or \*445 *lál/lu*.<sup>92</sup> On the basis of the photographs, Hawkins speaks out in favour of \*423 *ku*.<sup>93</sup> The latter proposition, however, is clearly inspired by his new reading of the name of the grandfather in the text of Ispekçür, which, as we have noted above, must be considered inconclusive for the absence of any verifiable supporting evidence.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, in my opinion inspection of the available photographs can only lead to the conclusion that the sign is too much damaged to allow for a conclusive identification.<sup>95</sup> Just like in the case of the Ispekçür inscription, I therefore propose to leave this matter undecided for the time being and transliterate the sign in question as *x*.

(2) The most interesting element of phrase 2 is formed by the ablative in *-ati* of the place name *TA(NA)+r-tà-*. Meriggi plausibly explains the toponym as the ancient hieroglyphic form of modern Darende.<sup>96</sup> If this is correct, the toponym *ka-ma-nà-* "Kammanu" as mentioned in the text of the Darende stele (see no. 98 above) must bear reference to some other locality in the region than that from which the stele is reported to originate. In combination with *ar+ha* the ablative of the place name may therefore be translated "outside (or at the confines of) Darende". The object *wati-na* is interpreted by Meriggi as the noun "mountain".<sup>97</sup> In contrast to this, I think it should rather be analyzed as an adjectival derivative in *-na-* of the root *wati-* "mountain", referring to matters related to the mountain, in this particular case probably the monumental rock relief(s) and associated works.<sup>98</sup> It is immediately followed by an instance of \*376 *i*. This comes into consideration as either the ending of the adjective or a postpositioned form of the demonstrative pronoun

<sup>91</sup> Hawkins 1988: 101 "The same genealogy is given by Runtiyas (written CERVUS) on the inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, thus indicating that he was a brother of Arnuwantis of ISPEKÇÜR."

<sup>92</sup> Meriggi 1962: 275.

<sup>93</sup> Hawkins 1988: 101, note 12 "one can see from the photographs that *ku* is a perfectly possible reading on GÜRÜN too."

<sup>94</sup> See note 83 above.

<sup>95</sup> So far it can be judged, I am inclined to read \*207 *wati, wa*, which is compatible with Meriggi's view in the matter.

<sup>96</sup> Meriggi 1975: 32. Note that the value *TANA* of \*428 is assured by interchange of *á*-\*428(-*wa*)- with *á-ta, -na(-wa)-* for the place name "Adana" in the Karatepe text, see Laroche 1960: 223, *sub* \*428.

<sup>97</sup> Meriggi 1975: 33.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *ḤARSALA-na* in phrases 2 and 6 of text no. 163 for another adjectival derivative in *-na-* and see further note 26 above.

qualifying it. In both cases it is most likely that, on the analogy of *[infans nà]-mu-wa-i* instead of *[infans nà]-mu-wa-ī*, \*377 *ī* is actually intended.<sup>99</sup> At any rate, in this manner one arrives at the accusative singular neuter form which is to be expected for the fact that the object must correlate to the accusative neuter of the enclitic pronoun, *-tá-à*, attached to the particle *wa-* at the beginning of the phrase.<sup>100</sup> Note that in the translation I have preferred the option of a postpositioned demonstrative (“this belonging to the mountain” = “citadel”), which phenomenon is paralleled for Kızıldağ 3 and elsewhere (see discussion below).

(3) The object in phrase 3 is formed by the couples *WATI-na ha+r-na-sà*<sup>101</sup> and *WATI-na MUWA-i-na-à*.<sup>102</sup> Although the second element of the latter couple, *MUWA-i-na-à*, is not entirely clear, its structural parity to *harnasa-* “fortress” seems to suggest that it might refer to some sort of military defence works as well.<sup>103</sup> This suggestion is substantially reinforced by the fact that another derivative of the root *muwa-* “strength”, *muwatali-* “stronghold”, obviously does so in the texts from Karkemis and Darende discussed earlier. If this is correct, then, our analysis of the first element of both couples, *WATI-na*, as an adjectival derivative of the noun *wati-* “mountain”, recommends itself for the present context as well. Apparently, therefore, we are dealing here with military fortifications in mountainous territory—a conclusion quite compatible, indeed, with the location of the text. Finally, it needs to be observed that the reading of *ha* in the adverb *ar+ha* is insecure and that the interpretation of the verb *li-sa-ha* of as yet undetermined meaning is a provisional one based on the context.

(4) Phrase 4 is damaged to the extent that meaningful interpretation is no longer possible. Meriggi’s reading of *sa* for the first syllable of the second word, which seems to be the object, is unfounded.<sup>104</sup>

(5) Phrase 5 is damaged at its beginning, but in the light of the parallels it seems likely that only one sign, \*450 *à*, needs to be emended here.

(6) As a result of some damaged spots the central part of phrase 7 is largely erased. In this particular case, however, the missing part can be restored with the help of the shorter version (A) of the text, which, as far

<sup>99</sup> Meriggi 1980: 275, 276-7; 322.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. note 31 above.

<sup>101</sup> For the reading of \*104 *sà*, see Meriggi 1962: 276, Fig. 1; 277. Meriggi 1975: Tav. vi wrongly indicates \*17 *HANTAWAT* for the same sign.

<sup>102</sup> Meriggi 1962: 276, Fig. 1; 277 wrongly indicates \*110 *ma* instead of \*107 *MUWA, mu*.

<sup>103</sup> Laroche 1960, glossary s.v.

<sup>104</sup> Meriggi 1975: 33.

as the section under discussion is concerned, happens to be fairly well preserved and otherwise virtually identical. Comparison to the latter version, then, enables us to emend, apart from the phonetic complement *-na* of the still visible logogram \*202, the forms *i-ā wati-ti* and *i?+la-sa*.<sup>105</sup> The first one, *i-ā*, is the accusative plural neuter of the demonstrative pronoun and obviously qualifies \*202-*na*.<sup>106</sup> Because the object is in the plural, it is difficult to accept Meriggi's view that \*202 simply renders the generic notion "place".<sup>107</sup> More likely, therefore, it bears direct reference to the two rock reliefs themselves, which inference leads us to the translation of the entire combination as "these sculptured façades". The second form, *wati-ti*, is the ablative in *-(a)ti* of the noun *wati*- "mountain".<sup>108</sup> In my opinion this is associated with to the third and final emendation, *i?+la-sa*, which immediately follows it. The latter form appears to be the participle<sup>109</sup> of the verb *ila-š*to (be) favour(ed)",<sup>110</sup> which, because it is characterized by the nominative singular ending *-sa*, evidently refers to the subject. In the given context, then, this participle may very well form a subordinate conditional clause together with *wati-ti*. If so, the last mentioned word rather refers to the mountain gods than to the mountain itself. In sum, this would lead to the translation of the subordinate clause as "because I am favoured by the mountain (gods)".

(7) As noted by Meriggi, the second half of phrase 8 is almost exactly paralleled in a text from Širzi (no. 119).<sup>111</sup> In the latter text, however, the first sign of the verb, \*66 *PIA* or *pi*, is omitted, so that it may safely be deduced that this functions as a determinative and that the plain verb reads *li-pá-ti*. This being the case, it subsequently turns out that the root of this verb bears a striking resemblance to the one in Lydian *fensl*, *ifid*. The latter form is a compound of the verbal root *l,ib/f*- "to bring damage to" with the preverbs *f(a)*- and *ens*-.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, just like its hieroglyphic counterpart, it is characteristic of the protasis of the damnation formula. This seems sufficient reason, then, to interpret hieroglyphic *lipati* in line with the given etymological relationship. In connection with the object, finally, I am inclined to the opinion that \*336 functions

<sup>105</sup> Note that Meriggi 1975: 33 wrongly reads *ar+ha* on the same spot.

<sup>106</sup> Meriggi 1980: 322; 275, 284-5.

<sup>107</sup> Meriggi 1975: 34.

<sup>108</sup> Meriggi 1975: 31.

<sup>109</sup> Note, however, that the form lacks the morpheme *-nt-* or *-mi-* distinctive of participles, see Meriggi 1980: 302, §265 ff.; but the same applies to Etruscan participles as well, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 93, 99.

<sup>110</sup> Laroche 1960, glossary, s.v. *lainu*-. In connection with the Etruscan equivalent *ila*- I have pointed out that the ligature of \*377 *i* with \*175 *la* reads from bottom to top, and not vice versa, see Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 171.

<sup>111</sup> Meriggi 1975: 61.

<sup>112</sup> Gusmani 1964, s.v.; Woudhuizen 1990: 90 ff., and esp. note 20.

as a determinative and that the first sign of the root reads \*329 *HWA*—the latter adjustment enabling us to bring about a connection with sculptured monuments.<sup>113</sup>

(8) Regarding the apodosis of the damnation formula it might be added to Meriggi's commentary that the imperative *HARSALA-sa-tu-à* is probably characterized by the iterative suffix *-sa-*.<sup>114</sup>

#### e. No. 104

The fifth and last document to be examined here is a rock inscription at Kötükale, a citadel east of Ispekçür situated along to route to Malatya. It is published by Gelb, who incidentally arrived at the site just at the time that workers were planning to blow up the rock for the construction of a road. Luckily, he was able to convince them that the hieroglyphic monument should be preserved and seized the opportunity to make a photograph and a drawing of the text. Up to the present day these serve as the sole working tools for a treatment of the inscription.<sup>115</sup>

The text consists of 7 individual phrases in sum (see Fig. 6). Except for the first one, the beginning of all these phrases is regularly marked by a sentence introductory particle. Insofar as its contents is concerned, Meriggi rightly emphasizes that in general outlines this is closely comparable to that of the rock relief at Gürün treated above.<sup>116</sup> Just like the latter, it starts with an enumeration of divine names in the nominative of rubric, to which gods the monument is apparently dedicated. Then follows the genealogy of the dedicator, Ruwas, which, apart from the problematic name of the grandfather, is identical to the one of the Gürün inscription. After this first section likewise comes one on the deeds of the dedicator (phrases 2-4) and another with the damnation formula (phrases 5-7). An interesting correspondence with the Darende inscription, finally, is that the symbol for the name of the dedicator is encircled in a cartouche-like manner.<sup>117</sup>

#### No. 104 Rock inscription at Kötükale, dated to the late 10th or early 9th century BC

1. *LIRA-MASANA? \*194*  
*MASANA WASU*  
*MASANA SA*  
*MASANA TAPASA*  
*MASANA-\*142*

"The great god \*194,  
the harvest goddess,  
the goddess Sa(usga?),  
the god of heaven,  
the gods, (and)

<sup>113</sup> Laroche 1960: 174, *sub* \*329-330.

<sup>114</sup> Laroche 1959: 144; Meriggi 1966: 6 f.

<sup>115</sup> Gelb 1939: 35, no. 40.

<sup>116</sup> Meriggi 1975: 46.

<sup>117</sup> See note 52 above.

- <sup>MASANA</sup>hi-la  
 RUWA TARHUNT(-)su-wa  
 URA-HANTAWAT [*infans*-NA-] \*300- \*488  
 tà+mi-li <sup>infans</sup>nà-mu-wa-i?  
 [ma<sub>x</sub>-lì-i] <sup>DOMINA</sup>regio dominus  
 2. à-wa i-na \*?tā-ti-na <sup>HUMATI</sup>na?-la?-wa-na  
<sup>TA</sup>a+r-na-ḥa  
 3. i-ḥa-wa HUWA-na HARWAN-na  
 a-i-a[-ḥa]  
 4. à[-wa] WAT[-NA ...? ...?..]-ḥa  
 5. [wa]-a-à +r RUWA-sa<sub>3</sub> à-ti-ma-i  
 HWA-a-sa ar+ḥa tà-a  
 6. wa -tā-à [a-ti-ma-i á]-pa[-sa]-à  
 a-i-a-ti  
 7. wa -tu-à <sup>URA-MASANA</sup>[ \*194] <sup>MASANA</sup>[WASU]  
 Ḥarsala-sa-tu-à]

the god of the sanctuary."  
 "Ruwas, grandson of  
 great king Tarhunta(suwas),  
 son of Tamlis, country-lord of the  
 town Malatya."  
 "And I have erected this niche  
 (and) socle,"  
 "and I have made this sculptured  
 (part of the) road,"  
 "and I have ...?.. the citadel's ...?"  
 "Who(ever) will wipe out for  
 himself the name of Ruwas,"  
 "and will change it into (his own  
 name?),"  
 "may the great god \*194  
 (and) the harvest god(dess be  
 angry) with him (forever)."

### Comments

(1) The identity of the divinities enumerated at the start of phrase 1 is not always clear. Least problematic are the second, <sup>MASANA</sup>WASU, and the fourth, <sup>MASANA</sup>TAPASA, which positively can be identified as the goddess of agricultural richness and the god of heaven, respectively.<sup>118</sup> About the third one, <sup>MASANA</sup>SÀ, it has been suggested by Bossert that this refers to the goddess Sausga—in my opinion rightly so, but this cannot be proved.<sup>119</sup> Even more insecure is the interpretation of the sixth, <sup>MASANA</sup>hi-la, which, for the resemblance of its root to Luwian *hila*- "enclosure, precinct", I am inclined to consider a cultic circumscription of the type "god(dess) of the sanctuary".<sup>120</sup> At first sight the case for the fifth divine name, <sup>MASANA</sup>\*142, appears to be entirely hopeless because of the obscurity of its final sign \*142.<sup>121</sup> However, if we realize that this sign may plausibly be analyzed as a variant of \*214 ná (perhaps in ligature with \*376 i), it obviously follows that we are dealing here with nothing but a common phonetic complement and that reference is made to "(the) god(s)" in general.<sup>122</sup> The nature of the one remaining divine name, then, definitely eludes us for the apparent lack of comparative data. With respect to the

<sup>118</sup> Meriggi 1975: 47; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 84, note 24 for the relationship of the first mentioned divine name to Etruscan *Vesuna*.

<sup>119</sup> Meriggi 1975: 47; note that Meriggi himself proposes <sup>MASANA</sup>ASUWA "horse god", but the final sign clearly reads \*104 sà instead of \*99 ASUWA.

<sup>120</sup> Laroche 1967: 55 relates Luwian *hila*- to Lycian *qla*- "enclosure, precinct".

<sup>121</sup> Laroche 1960: 82, sub \*142.

<sup>122</sup> Compare *masana*- "gods" in Kızıldağ 4 and Karadağ 1, discussed below and note that the addition of this general indication can easily be accounted for by the natural urge to preclude that some unknown god might feel offended by neglect and take revenge.



Fig. 6. Kötükale no. 104 [from Meriggi 1975].

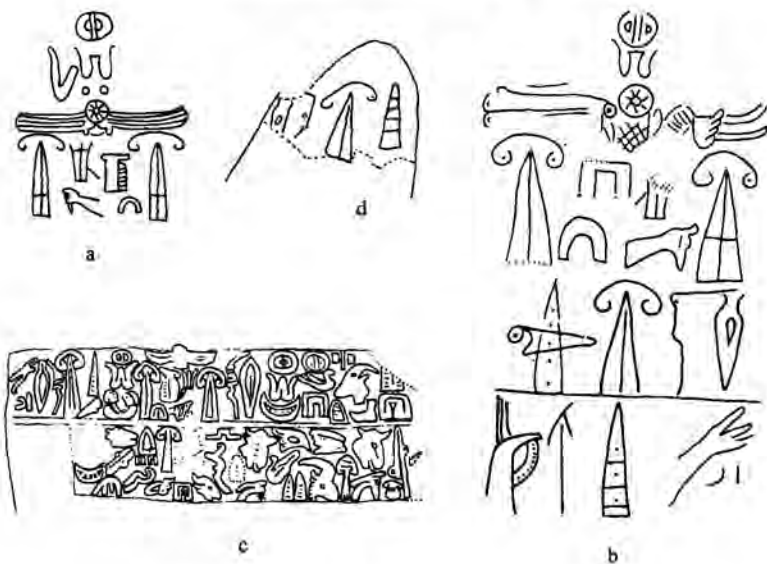


Fig. 7. Kızıldağ & Karadağ group of inscriptions (nos. 12-18); (a) Kızıldağ 2, (b) Kızıldağ 3, (c) Kızıldağ 4, (d) Kızıldağ 5, (e) Karadağ 1 [from Meriggi 1975].

genealogy of the dedicator, a problem is posed by the name of the grandfather. In his transliteration of the text, Meriggi renders only the last two syllables of this name, which read *-suwas*.<sup>123</sup> Hawkins, on the other hand, seems to emphasize the reading of its first sign as \*199 *TARHUNT*, *ha*. At any rate, he suggests that the name is identical with that of the grandfather in the related genealogies of the texts from Ispékçür and Gürün, *X-itarhuntas*.<sup>124</sup> However, the drawing leaves room only for two possible readings, *TARHUNT-su-wa* or *ha-su-wa*, depending on whether one applies the logographic or syllabic value of \*199.<sup>125</sup>

(2) Although alternative suggestions have been put forward, I believe that Meriggi rightly maintains that the first syllable *tà* of the verb in phrase 2 is actually to be analyzed as the determinative of action verbs, *TÀ*, and that the verbal form proper therefore reads *ar-na-ha*.<sup>126</sup> Along the same line of thought, it may reasonably be argued that the sign in form of a rectangular with rounded upper side (\*?) in front of *tá-tì* "place"<sup>127</sup> and \*264 *HUMATI* "socle" in front of the enigmatic sequence *na?-la?-wa-na* function as determinatives as well.

(3) The transliteration of phrase 3 follows the one presented by Meriggi except for a single detail.<sup>128</sup> This concerns the first sign of the first element of the object, \*268, which for its relationship in form to \*329-331 evidently reads *HWI*.<sup>129</sup>

(4) For the interpretation of *WATI-na* as an adjective of matters relating to the mountain, see the previous discussion of the Gürün inscription.

(5) Meriggi's transliteration of the first section of the protasis of the damnation formula is unsatisfactory only insofar as the two signs following the reconstructed introductory particle *wa-* are concerned, because the drawing definitely indicates that these read *a-à+r* instead of *†[t]a-à*.<sup>130</sup> This leaves us two options for the enclitic in question, which is a rhotacized variant of either the pronoun *-ta* or the reflexive particle *-ti*. On account of the context I think that the last mentioned identification is preferable.

(6) The central part of phrase 6, which forms the second section of the protasis of the damnation formula, is largely erased. As observed by

<sup>123</sup> Meriggi 1975: 46.

<sup>124</sup> Hawkins 1988: 77, Table 1.

<sup>125</sup> See Meriggi 1975, Tav. ix.

<sup>126</sup> Meriggi 1975: 49; note that the root of this verbal form is strikingly paralleled in Etruscan by *ar-* "to erect", see Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Laroche 1960: 110, *sub* \*201, II *TASUWAR* *tá-tì*.

<sup>128</sup> Meriggi 1975: 49.

<sup>129</sup> Laroche 1960: 141, *sub* \*268; 173, *sub* \*329. Cf. also note 112 above.

<sup>130</sup> Meriggi 1975: 50; Tav ix.

Bossert, this can be emended with the help of the otherwise closely comparable protasis of the damnation formula in an inscription from Boybeypinar.<sup>131</sup> Note, however, that in the latter case a different enclitic is used, namely the reflexive particle *-ti*, which ultimately may depend from slight variation in the wording as exemplified by the additional word *wa-li-na*.

(7) The final part of phrase 7 is seriously damaged. Nevertheless, enough of it remains to establish that it consists of a damnation formula which is closely comparable to the one of the text from Gürün. On the basis of this analogy, then, the verb *HARSALA-SA-tu-à* may safely be emended.

### *Historical remarks*

Having discussed the texts from the Malatya region in their entirety, we now come to the vexed question of the identity of the authors and their predecessors. To this purpose the evidence from the genealogies will be recapitulated here and an attempt will be made to determine how these are interrelated.

As we have seen in the foregoing discussion, the genealogies appear to be related because all are characterized by one and the same patronymic, *Tamilis*, which is consistently associated with the title "country-lord of the town Malatya". On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that for various reasons such uniformity is lacking in connection with the name of the grandfather. The latter, namely, is a compound of the onomastic element *TARHUNT* with a second component which differs in each instance or, at best, is altogether unidentifiable (see Table 1).

TEXT	AUTHOR	GRANDFATHER	TITLE(S)	PLACE
no. 98	<i>Arnuwantas</i>	<i>Uratarhuntas</i>		
no. 103	<i>Arnuwantis</i>	<i>X-itarhuntas</i>	<i>heros</i>	
no. 97	<i>Ruwas</i>	<i>X-itarhuntas</i>	<i>great king+heros</i>	<i>Karkemis</i>
no. 104	<i>Ruwas</i>	<i>Tarhuntasuwas</i>	<i>great king</i>	

Tabel 1. Group of genealogically connected inscriptions from the region of Malatya.

This being the case, one could in principle defend the thesis that the genealogies are entirely unrelated and that we are dealing here with four distinct authors, \*Arnuwants I-II and Ruwas I-II. Such a solution, though, is very unrealistic. As indicated in the introduction above, according to archaeological and epigraphical standards the inscriptions

<sup>131</sup> Meriggi 1975: 50; 80 (= Boybeypinar [text no. 130-1], phrase 14).

form a close knit group, which is datable to the late 10th or early 9th century BC.<sup>132</sup> Evidently, this period is too short to allow for so many unconnected generations of rulers.

The next option which comes into consideration is that the genealogies are only partly related. This is the position defended by Hawkins. On the one hand, he suggests that the author of the rock relief at Gürün, Ruwas, is identical with the one of the rock relief at Kötükale. On the other hand, he distinguishes the author of the stelai from Darende and Ispekçür, Arnuwantis, from a namesake grandfather who in his eyes is the brother of Ruwas. In effect, this means that according to Hawkins the differences in spelling of the name of the grandfather in the texts from Gürün, Kötükale and Ispekçür are insignificant and all bear reference to one and the same person, whereas that of Darende, which he reads as Arnuwantis, refers to a distant successor of the latter person.<sup>133</sup>

In the discussion of the Darende text above, I have tried to demonstrate that Hawkins' analysis of the name in the cartouche-like circle at one of the lateral sides of the stele is wrong in two respects: (1) it reads Uratarhuntas instead of †Arnuwantis, and (2) it refers to the grandfather instead of the author. If this is considered correct, the part of Hawkins' genealogical reconstruction concerning the two distinct rulers named Arnuwantis falls into ruin and with it the foundation for the partly successive nature of the genealogies.

This brings us to a third and final option, namely that all genealogies are related to each other. Along this line of approach the author of the stelai from Darende and Ispekçür, \*Arnuwantis, is the brother of the author of the rock reliefs at Gürün and Kötükale, Ruwas. It naturally follows from this analysis that all four different spellings of the name of the grandfather bear reference to one and the same person. The inherent plausibility of this solution is further emphasized by the fact that the zealous concern of \*Arnuwantis with reference to his grandfather is easily explained by the imperial dignity attributed to this grandfather by his brother Ruwas.

In my opinion this most simple solution that the four genealogies all have a bearing on just three generations of one dynasty also renders excellent services if we try to bring about a connection to personalities mentioned in other texts. It has already been mentioned earlier that the name of the father, Tamilis, is paralleled for other inscriptions from Malatya, of which the most famous is the Lion Gate relief.<sup>133</sup> This relief has come to light in the course of regular excavations and its dating to

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<sup>132</sup> See p. 169 above.

<sup>133</sup> See p. 182 above.

the late 10th century BC is firmly based on stratigraphical evidence.<sup>134</sup> It cannot be denied, therefore, that the identification of the father with the ruler of the Lion Gate relief perfectly fits the existing chronological framework.

Next, it is interesting to observe that the variant of the name of the grandfather from the Darende text is paralleled for the text on the stele from Karkemis treated at the beginning of this section. This relation is substantially enhanced by the fact that in the Gürün text the grandfather is straightforwardly identified as “great king of the town Karkemis”. As we have seen earlier, the Karkemis stele dates to the first half of the 10th century BC and has been erected by the founder of the Suhis dynasty, Suhis I, in honour of his (unrelated) predecessor, great king Uratarhuntas. We have also noted that some 50 years later the great-grandson of Suhis I, Katuwas, records a hostile action of the grandsons of Uratarhuntas. This proves that the change in dynasty has not been caused by the lack of a legitimate heir, but simply results from an ordinary struggle for power. But, what is much more important for our purposes, the wording used by Katuwas appears to be a reflection of the genealogies in the sense that it shares their preoccupation with reference to the grandfather. On the basis of this *tertium comparationis*, then, I think that the grandsons of Uratarhuntas as mentioned by Katuwas may safely be identified with the local dynasts of the Malatya region, Arnuwantas and Ruwas (see Table 2).

KARKEMIS	MARAŞ	MALATYA	ARGUMENT(S)
Uratarhuntas		Uratarhuntas X-itarhuntas	identity of name king of Karkemis
Astuwatimais	Astu[wati]mais		identity of name
Katuwas		Arnuwantas Ruwas	grandsons of Uratarhuntas
Sangaras	Muwatalis II Halparuntias III		year-annals of Shalmaneser III

Table 2. Interrelations between the dynasties of Karkemis, Maraş and Malatya.

If this is correct, the course of events may be reconstructed as follows. Under the rule of great king Uratarhuntas the territory of Karkemis is extended and fortifications are settled in the Malatya region to secure the important trade route to the Lower Land of the Anatolian plateau. When Suhis I seizes power over Karkemis, the legitimate heir to the throne,

<sup>134</sup> James 1991: 130 ff. [synchronous with sculpture Suhis II].



own son Muwatalis here (see Table 2).<sup>135</sup> The latter manages to become the founding father of an exceptionally longlived ruling house which survives well into the period of Assyrian dominance and, in doing so, provides the main branch of the Suhis dynasty with a firm footing in absolute chronology (see Table 3).<sup>136</sup>

To conclude this section, on the basis of the available evidence the great king which figures in the genealogies of the local dynasts of Malatya, Arnuwantas and Ruwas, may reasonably be assumed to be identical with Uratarhuntas of Karkemis and to have ruled in the first half of the 10th century BC.

### 3. WESTERN GROUP OF TEXTS

#### a. Nos. 12-18

On the summit of the Kızıldağ, a mountain dominating the plain of Karaman in the province of ancient Lycaonia, there have been found four rock inscriptions (nos. 14-17) and one fragmentarily preserved inscribed stele (no. 18). These five inscriptions form part of a group of texts characterized by the name of great king Hartapus which further comprises two rock inscriptions at Karadağ (nos. 12-3), a mountain southeast of Kızıldağ, and one rock inscription at Burunkaya (Alp 1974), a site at some distance northeast of Kızıldağ (see Fig. 7).

Three of the Kızıldağ rock inscriptions are associated with the remains of a structure considered to be a throne.<sup>138</sup> The first of these consists of the aedicula of great king Hartapus in simplified form without the winged sun-disc (\*190) on top of it. It is sculptured in relief directly in front of the incised image of a seated royal figure. As we have noted in the introduction, this image shows Assyrian influences in hairstyle and beard and is therefore generally assigned to the 10-8th century BC.<sup>139</sup> The second is incised on what is considered to be the seat of the throne. It presents the aedicula of great king Hartapus in true Late Bronze Age style with the winged sun-disc on top of it. Above this are added the name of the Luwian storm-god Tarhunt and the adjective *muwatali*- "strong"

<sup>135</sup> Meriggi 1975: 121, text no. 177 (= Kark. A14b); 89, text no. 139 (= Maraş 8); cf. Meriggi 1966-7: 126-7. It is interesting to note that the author of Maraş 8, Ilamas, reverses the natural order of his ancestors and puts the name of his grandfather, Astuwatimais, before that of his father, Muwatalis, because in this manner he duly expresses the preeminence of the rulers of Karkemis over their related colleagues at Maraş; for the reading of the name of the author, cf. my remarks on the participle *ilasa* from the Gürün text p. 195 and note 110 above.

<sup>136</sup> Meriggi 1966-7: 129-131, text no. 33 (= Maraş 1).

<sup>137</sup> Names in italic type are also mentioned in Assyrian sources; numbers in bold type refer to crucial Luwian hieroglyphic texts.

<sup>138</sup> Meriggi 1975: 268-270; Gonnet 1983.

<sup>139</sup> Alp 1974: Pl. iv, Abb. 7-8. Cf. p. 169 and note 10 above.

which qualifies it.<sup>140</sup> The third inscription, finally, which is also incised, renders the aedicula and the divine name on top of it in like manner as Kızıldağ 2. It further contains a patronymic, Mursilis—which name is also attested for the fragmentarily preserved stele (no. 18)—, and two more extra elements, a verb and an object, which transform this inscription into a proper phrase.

**Nos. 14-6** Rock inscriptions of the throne-like structure at Kızıldağ, dated c. 1150-950 BC

**Kızıldağ 1**

- |    |  |                                       |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>URA-ḪANTAWAT ḫa+r-tá-pu-sa</i><br><i>URA-ḪANTAWAT</i> | “Great king Hartapus,<br>great king.” |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|

**Kızıldağ 2**

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | <i>MASANA TARHUNT MUWATALI</i>  | “For the strong god Tarhunt;                         |
| 2. | <i>sol suus</i><br><i>URA-ḪANTAWAT ḫa+r-tá-pu-sa</i><br><i>URA-ḪANTAWAT</i> | his majesty,<br>great king Hartapus,<br>great king.” |

**Kızıldağ 3**

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | <i>MASANA TARHUNT</i>  | “For the god Tarhunt,   |
| 2. | <i>sol suus</i><br><i>URA-ḪANTAWAT ḫa+r-tá-pu-sa</i><br><i>URA-ḪANTAWAT</i><br><i>um[+ra]+li URA-ḪANTAWAT</i><br><i>heros infans</i> | his majesty,<br>great king Hartapus,<br>great king,<br>son of great king<br>Mursilis, the hero, |
| 3. | <i>UMINA+mi i TA+MI</i>  | has built this town.”   |

The fourth rock inscription is located at a distance of some 50 m of the foregoing throne-like structure. Gonnet convincingly demonstrates that it is associated with the remains of an open air sanctuary consisting of a rock-hewn throne, altar and water hole, which in the light of the known parallels likely originates from the Hittite Empire period.<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, she also duly acknowledges the fact that the inscription intersects the right lower side of the altar and therefore postdates the foundation of the sanctuary.<sup>142</sup> Exactly when the altar has been reconstructed in order to allow for the inscription to be sculptured in relief just beside it cannot be determined with certainty, but Gonnet is inclined to the opinion that this must have taken place in the immediate aftermath of the Hittite Empire period. Regardless the association of Kızıldağ 1 with the image of a ruler in Assyrian style, she therefore proposes to

<sup>140</sup> Gonnet 1983: 22, Fig. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Gonnet 1984: 120 ff.

<sup>142</sup> Gonnet 1984: 121; 123.

assign the entire group of texts by great king Hartapus to the late 12th or 11th century BC.<sup>143</sup>

Hawkins goes even further than this. While preparing the publication of recently discovered texts in honour of the Hittite great kings Tudhaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC) and Suppiluliumas II (1205-? BC) from Yalburt and Boğazköy, respectively, he experienced that these present useful clues for the understanding of the longer texts of our group, Kızıldağ 4 and Karadağ 1. Thus the latter texts turn out to share rare signs or sign variants with the former, and even the wording of entire expressions or phrases appears to be similar if not altogether identical.<sup>144</sup> On the basis of these striking similarities, then, Hawkins posits that the group of texts by great king Hartapus must be dated to the first half of the 12th century BC.<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, he suggests that within the framework of this early dating Hartapus' father, Mursilis, may very well be identified with Urhi-Tesup (= Mursilis III, 1271-1264 BC) or some as yet unrecorded namesake descendant of king Kuruntas of Tarhuntassa.<sup>146</sup> On the other hand, he frankly admits that the association of Kızıldağ 1 with the image of a ruler in Assyrian style cannot possibly be reconciled with this scenario. Therefore, he proposes to consider the representation a later addition by some 8th century BC ruler who in this manner wants to stress his lineage from an illustrious predecessor.<sup>147</sup>

Even though not all the relevant material has been published as yet,<sup>148</sup> I believe that Hawkins' ultra early dating is questionable. In the first place, namely, it runs up against the fact that the separation of Kızıldağ 1 from the image of a ruler in Assyrian style lacks proper archaeological foundation. Secondly, such an early dating fails to do justice to the fact that the inscriptions also contain a number of typical Early Iron Age features.

One of these features consists of the use of the nominative singular ending *-sa* for the royal name in the cartouche, which contrasts sharply with Late Bronze Age scribal practices. As noted by Hawkins, this phenomenon is paralleled for the archaizing inscription of great king Wasusarmas from Topada (no. 31).<sup>149</sup> Similar use of the nominative singular ending is also traceable in the texts of Arnuwantas on the stelai

<sup>143</sup> Gonnet 1984: 120.

<sup>144</sup> Hawkins 1992: 269, esp. notes 10, 11 and 12.

<sup>145</sup> Hawkins 1992: 269.

<sup>146</sup> Hawkins 1992: 270.

<sup>147</sup> Hawkins 1992: 272.

<sup>148</sup> The so-called Südburg inscription from Boğazköy has come to light two years after the discovery of the Bronze tablet, but, in contrast to the latter document (see Otten 1988), still awaits publication.

<sup>149</sup> Hawkins 1992: 265.

from Darende and Ispekçür (see discussion of nos. 97 and 104 above) and the rock inscriptions of some vassals of Wasusarmas at Suvasa (see discussion of no. 36 below). A second relationship with Early Iron Age documents is formed by the positioning of the name of the worshipped god at the start of the text, as it is the case in Kızıldağ 2 & 3. The sequence *divine name-dedicator-deeds of the dedicator* (present in full only in Kızıldağ 3) is first attested for the stele of Aritesup from Karahöyük-Elbistan (no. 101), which, as we have noted in the introduction, dates to the 12-10th century BC.<sup>150</sup> It next typifies the rock reliefs of Ruwas at Gürün and Kötükale, and, if combined with the earlier images in relief, the text of Arnuwantas on the stele from Darende. Finally, I would like to draw attention here to the fact that the postpositioning of the demonstrative in the final section of Kızıldağ 3 is possibly paralleled in the corresponding section of the first phrase of the rock relief at Gürün.

In order to allow some time, then, for the development of these Early Iron Age elements, I think that the group of texts in honour of great king Hartapus should be assigned to a more advanced stage of the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age, say to the period from the late 12th to early 10th century BC. Along this line of approach it also becomes possible to take the evidence of Kızıldağ 1 at face value and to use the image of a ruler in Assyrian style—indicating as we have seen a dating to the 10-8th century BC—as a lower limit for the dating of the entire group of texts.

**No. 17** Rock inscription near the altar of the sanctuary at Kızıldağ, dated c. 1150-950 BC

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1. URA-ḪANTAWAT <i>ha+r-tá-pu-sa</i><br/> URA-ḪANTAWAT <b>heros</b><br/> <sup>MASANA</sup> TARHUNT ASIA<br/> um[+r]+li URA-ḪANTAWAT<br/> <b>heros infans</b></p>        | <p>"Great king Hartapus,<br/> great king, the hero,<br/> beloved of the god Tarhunt,<br/> son of great king<br/> Mursilis, the hero,<br/> who, by the benevolence of<br/> the god Tarhunt of heaven (and) the gods,<br/> fortified the country's border<br/> (and) conquered the land of the Muski."</p> |
| <p>2. <sup>MASANA</sup> TARHUNT-TAPASA<br/> MASANA-na-sa <sup>WASU</sup> wa-sà[+r]-ti<br/> <b>regio-sa</b> WARPA? MUWA-IÁ<br/> ḪWA ma-sà-ka-na<sup>regio</sup> MUWA-IÁ</p> |  |

*Comments*

(1) Hawkins proposes that the sign \*430 reads *pu* because in the aedicula of great king Hartapus it once (in Kızıldağ 3) replaces the regular sign

<sup>150</sup> Meriggi 1975: 317-8; Masson 1979: 233-4; cf. p. 170 and note 14 above.

for *pu* (\*328). He further argues that this value is derived from the logographic value *PUNATI* “all” which can be assigned to \*430 on account of its use in the Late Empire and Early post-Empire texts.<sup>151</sup> As opposed to this, however, Laroche sets the case of Kızıldağ 3 aside as an exceptional one and considers the existing analysis of \*430 as an angular variant of \*415 *sa* well-founded.<sup>152</sup> Considering the existence of intermediate forms attesting to the process of rounding (see the variant at the end of the first line in Kızıldağ 4) and the occurrence of both signs in similar, mostly word-final, position (for the expression of the genitive case), I believe that one should stick to the verdict of Laroche. At any rate, Hawkins’ alternative reading is much less well-founded than the one it seeks to replace. Thus his claim that “\*430 [is not] found on any post-Empire inscriptions except the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group” (and that therefore his new reading does not collide with the resulting doublet \*366 *TANAMI* “all” attested for texts of later date)<sup>153</sup> is simply not true: the sign definitely occurs in the rock inscription from Suvasa dated to the third quarter of the 8th century BC.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, the resulting textual interpretations (“he conquered all the lands and he conquered the land of the Muski”) are downright opaque. Accordingly, then, the current transcription of \*430 as *sa* is maintained here.

(2) According to Hawkins the word <sup>WASU</sup>*wa-sà-ti* in phrase 2 is a noun in the ablative singular *-ti*. As the determinative *WASU* “good” indicates that the root of this noun renders a positive meaning, he thus arrives at the interpretation “by the goodness” or the like.<sup>155</sup> At this point I cannot help wondering whether we are not actually dealing here with the adverb <sup>WASU</sup>*wa-sà+r-ti* “in veneration, with grace or benevolence (or the like)” attested for texts from Karkemis and Hamath of later date.<sup>156</sup> If so, the missing thorn (\*383) may safely be emended.

(3) Hawkins suggests that the two divine names at the start of phrase 2, <sup>MASANA</sup>*TARHUNT-TAPASA* and *MASANA-sa*, are in the genitive case. The correctness of this analysis is proved by the fact that \*430 renders the genitive

<sup>151</sup> Hawkins 1992: 262.

<sup>152</sup> Laroche 1960: 223.

<sup>153</sup> Hawkins 1992: 262.

<sup>154</sup> Laroche: 1960: 223; see further discussion below.

<sup>155</sup> Hawkins 1992: 266.

<sup>156</sup> Meriggi 1967: 45 (no. 16, phrase 3); 61 (no. 21, phrase 18); 68 (no. 23, phrase 16), etc.; for a parallel in a Cypro-Minoan text on a cylinder seal from Kalavassos dated to c. 1200 BC, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 141.

ending *-sa*.<sup>157</sup> In the light of the parallels *MASANA-sa* is likely to be understood as a the genitive plural.<sup>158</sup>

(3) Hawkins takes \*273 *WARPA* in phrase 2 for a determinative of the verb *muwa-* and argues that this combination means “to conquer”.<sup>159</sup> The same verb, however, recurs later on in phrase 2 without the alleged determinative. It might therefore be suggested that the sign \*273 forms a separate element. As we have seen earlier, this sign means “shield” in the text by Suhis I from Karkemis.<sup>160</sup> If the same meaning is applied here, the sequence *regio-sa WARPA MUWA-tá* literally reads “he strengthened the shield of the country”, which refers to fortification works rather than conquests. Consequently, it seems that *warpa muwa-* “to fortify” should be distinguished from *muwa-* “to conquer”. The latter inference is further substantiated by the fact that *warpa muwatali-* is associated with Hartapus’ own realm, Tarhuntassa (see discussion of no. 12 below), but *muwa-* with a foreign country, the land of the Muski.

(4) The final section of the text is incomprehensible and for this reason left out of the discussion here.

## No. 12 Rock inscription at Karadağ, dated c. 1150-950 BC

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>i-ii TASHUWAR-a</i><br/> <i>MASANA TARHUNT-TAPASA</i><br/> <i>MASANA URA-WATI MASANA-ná-sa</i></p>  | <p>“At this place<br/> of the god Tarhunt of heaven,<br/> the divine great mountain (and)<br/> the gods,<br/> (it was) great king Hartapus,<br/> great king, who fortified<br/> the border of the country of<br/> Tarhuntassa<br/> thanks to the god Tarhunt of<br/> heaven and the gods.”</p> |
| <p>2. <i>URA-HANTAWAT ha+r-tá-pu-sa</i><br/> <i>URA-HANTAWAT TARKU<sup>regio</sup>-sa</i><br/> <i>HWA-SA WARPA MUWATALI-tá</i><br/> <br/> <i>MASANA TARHUNT-TAPASA</i><br/> <i>MASANA-NÁ -ha</i></p> |  |

### Comments

(1) According to Hawkins the divinities mentioned in phrase 1 are likely to be in the accusative.<sup>161</sup> However, as noted above in connection with the corresponding form from phrase 2 of Kızıldağ 4, *MASANA-ná-sa* is definitely a genitive in *-sa*. Consequently, the gods are considered to be the owners of the place or locus dedicated to them by great king Hartapus.

<sup>157</sup> Meriggi 1980: 281, § 22; note the disappearance of this ending when in another case as observable for phrase 2 of Karadağ 1, see below.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Lycian *me-ne trqas tubidi se muhāi huwedri* “Tarhunt and the confederate gods will strike him” (TL 93, 3), see Laroche 1967: 56.

<sup>159</sup> Hawkins 1992: 267.

<sup>160</sup> See p. 176 and esp. note 34 above.

<sup>161</sup> Hawkins 1992: 268.

(2) For structural reasons Hawkins proposes that the sign \*468 in phrase 2 might render a verb.<sup>162</sup> In fact, however, this sign is nothing but a variant of \*101 *TARKU* (note that the beard, distinctive for the goat head sign, is rudimentarily indicated)<sup>163</sup> and, in combination with the determinative *regio*, it therefore obviously refers to the country *Tarhuntassa*.

### No. 36

The last document to be discussed here is an inscription on an irregular stone block from Suvasa. The text consists of three distinct sections, labelled A, B, and C respectively, which are inscribed on various sides of the stone (see Fig. 8).<sup>164</sup> It is written in the archaizing style which characterizes the inscription of great king Wasusarmas from Topoda (no. 31). Each section is inscribed by a different author. Two of these authors identify themselves as functionaries of great king Wasusarmas of Tabal. For this reason the monument may safely be assigned to the third quarter of the 8th century BC.<sup>165</sup>

### No. 36 Inscription on an irregular stone block from Suvasa, dated c. 750-725 BC

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | <i>ARA-wa-tā-wa-sa<sub>6</sub></i><br><i>ta-ta-sa<sub>6</sub> infans-sa<sub>6</sub></i><br><i>wa-su-SARU+mi-ma<sub>5</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub></i><br><i>ARA+si-ZITI WARPA</i><br><i>URA-HANTAWAT mi-ti<sub>4</sub>(-sa)</i>                                       | <p>"Ar(nu)wantawas,<br/>son of Tatas,<br/>...?..man, priest,<br/>servant of great king<br/>Wasusarmas."</p>                                      |
| 2. | <i>um+r-zu+li-sa</i><br><i>MASANA SARU+mi-ma-sa<sub>6</sub></i><br><i>WARPA HANTAWAT *355-sa<sub>6</sub></i><br><i>wa-su-SARU+mi-ma-sa</i><br><i>URA-HANTAWAT-sa<sub>7</sub> TA?</i><br><i>heros-sa<sub>4</sub></i><br><i>PARA-na URA-*345-sa<sub>6</sub></i> | <p>"Mursilis,<br/>royal priest of the god<br/>Sarruma (and) ...?..<br/>vice-great cupbearer<br/>of great king<br/>Wasusarmas,<br/>the hero."</p> |
| 3. | <i>[?]-ti-ti-wa-sa UMINA [</i>  | <p>"X-titiwas, municipal ...?..."</p>  |

### Comments

(1) The names of the authors and, in some cases, even their titles are written in the nominative singular *-sa*. This practice is not very practical because it easily leads up to confusion with the genitive singular *-sa* as

<sup>162</sup> Hawkins 1992: 268.

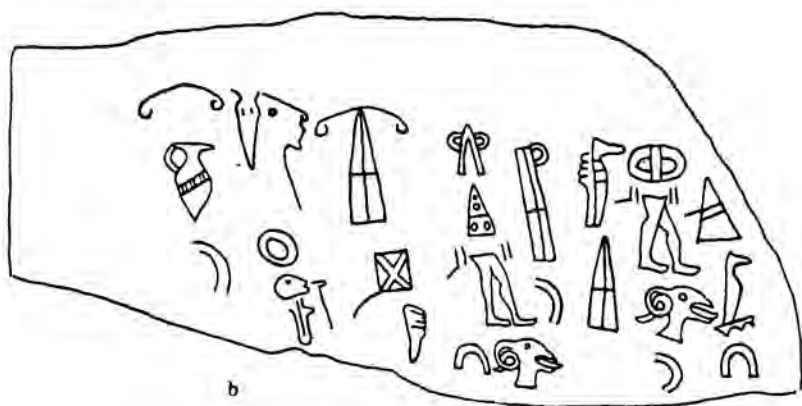
<sup>163</sup> Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 108-113; 128-137.

<sup>164</sup> Meriggi 1975: 283-5.

<sup>165</sup> See p. 168 and note 2 above; Wasusarmas is deposed by Tiglathpileser III in the year 730-29 BC and replaced by Hullis "son of a nobody", see Hawkins 1988: 107-8 and cf. Hawkins 1992: 271.



a



b



c

Fig. 8. Suvasa no. 36; (a) inscription A, (b) inscription B, (c) inscription C [from Meriggi 1975].

applied for the name and, in some cases again, even the titles of their overlord, great king Wasusarmas. As we have noted earlier, the same feature also characterizes the text of Wasusarmas from Topada.<sup>166</sup> Considering the fact that the nominative singular is sometimes indicated for personal names of earlier texts as well, like in the case of the Hartapus-group and the stelai of Arnuwantas from Darende & Ispekçür discussed above, this phenomenon may perhaps be explained in terms of a deliberate attempt to render an archaic flavour based on the model of still visible ancient monuments.<sup>167</sup>

(2) Meriggi does not translate the name of the author of the first section.<sup>168</sup> It must be admitted that the identification of this name is somewhat complicated by the exaggerate nature of the archaizing style. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that the first sign clearly renders the characteristic bird of prey (\*132-4 *ARA*), it definitely constitutes a variant of *Arnuwantas*. Next, Meriggi reads the name of the author of the second section as *su+r- \*145-sa*.<sup>169</sup> As opposed to this, I am inclined to identify its first sign as a ligature of \*225 *UMINA* with the thorn (\*383) and its second sign as a ligature of \*432 *zu* with \*278 *li*, in which manner I arrive at a likewise artificial variant of *Mursilis*.<sup>170</sup> The name of the author of the third section, finally, cannot be identified with certainty because its first sign is irreparably damaged. Note, however, that in this case the ending of the nominative singular is expressed by \*430, thus proving that we are dealing here with nothing but an angular variant of \*415 *sa*.

(3) Meriggi plausibly identifies the last word of the first section as the titular expression *mi-ti, [-sa]* "servant".<sup>171</sup> On the basis of comparison to the second section, where the titles of the author are placed antithetically on either side of the central royal name Wasusarmas, I believe that the sequence *ARA+si-ZITI WARPA* also renders an honorific title. If so, however, the nature of this function remains unclear for the apparent lack of comparative data. In connection with the second section Meriggi rightly distinguishes as much as three titles for its author, of which two precede and one follows the name and titles of great king Wasusarmas.<sup>172</sup> The third and last title is convincingly analyzed by Meriggi as a compound of *PÁRA-na* "prae-" and *URA- \*345-sa<sub>6</sub>* "great cupbearer". Concerning the

<sup>166</sup> Hawkins 1992: 265; see p. 206 and note 149 above.

<sup>167</sup> Hawkins 1992: 269; 271.

<sup>168</sup> Meriggi 1975: 384.

<sup>169</sup> Meriggi 1975: 384.

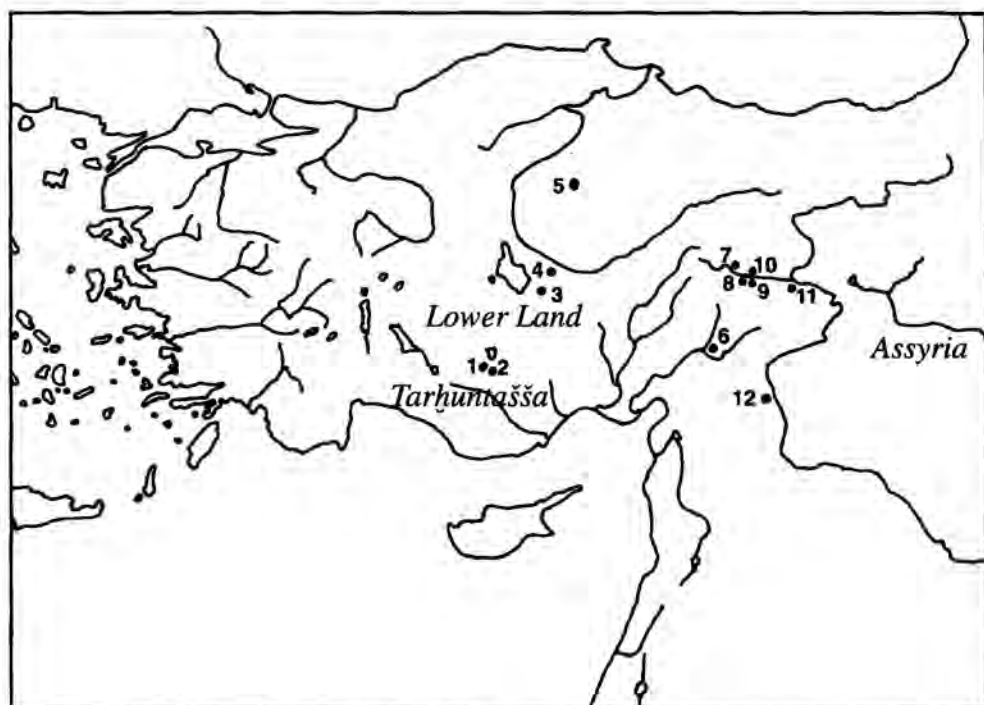
<sup>170</sup> The rare sign \*432 also typifies the text from Topada, where it is applied in the place name Parzuta, see Laroche 1960: 224.

<sup>171</sup> Meriggi 1975: 384; Laroche 1960, glossary s.v.

<sup>172</sup> Meriggi 1975: 384.

first and second title, on the other hand, I disagree with his analysis of the couple *WARPA HANTAWAT*. In my opinion this belongs to <sup>MASANA</sup>*SARU+mi-ma-sa<sub>6</sub>* and forms a complex titular expression of religious nature interpretable as “royal priest of the god Sarruma”. The nature of the second title, \*355-*sa<sub>6</sub>*, unfortunately eludes us.

(4) The second part of the first section is largely incomprehensible and therefore left out of the discussion here.



Map 1. Sites mentioned in the text.

1. Kizıladağ, 2. Karadağ, 3. Burunkaya, 4. Suvasa, 5. Boğazköy, 6. Maraş, 7. Gürün, 8. Darende, 9. Kötükale, 10. Ispickür, 11. Malatya, 12. Karkemis.

*East group*

1. Karkemis A4b (no. 163)
2. Darende (no. 98)
3. Ispekçur (no. 103)
4. Gürün (no. 97)
5. Kötükale (no. 104)

*West group*

6. Kızıldağ 1-3 (nos. 14-6)
7. Kızıldağ 4 (no. 17)
8. Karadağ 1 (no. 12)
9. Suvasa (no. 36)

LIST OF WORDS

*ā-*, *a-*, *ā-* (sentence introductory particle, see *a-wa-*) 103, B4.

*a-i-*, *a-i-a-* "to make" 103, B4; 104, 3, 6.

*ARA+si-ZITI* (honorific title?) 36, 1

*ARA-wa-tā-*, *ARA-wa-tā-wa-* "Arnuwantis" 36, 1; 98, 1.

*ar+ha* "out, from", postposition c. Abl. 97, 2.

*ar+ha* "de-, re-", adverb c. *li-pā-* 97, 8; c. *tā-* 104, 5.

*ar+ha* "frontier, border" 163, 2, 6.

*a+r-na-* "to erect" 104, 2.

*ā+r-nu-wa-ti-* "Arnuwantis" 103, C1, B1.

*ā-pa-sa-* "his" 104, 6.

*ASA-nu-wa-* "to settle" 97, 5, 7; 98, 2; 103, B2, A1.

*ASIA-* "beloved" 17, 1.

*ā-ti-ma-* "name" 104, 5, 6.

*a-wa-*, *ā-wa-*, *ā-wa-ā-* (sentence introductory particles, cf. *a-* and *-wa-*) 97, 7; 98, 2; 103, B3, B4, A2; 104, 4.

*dominus* "lord" 97, 1; 98, 1; 103, B1, 104, 1.

*heros-* "hero" 16, 2; 17, 1; 36, 2; 97, 1; 103, B1; 163, 1 (2x).

*-ha-* "and" 12, 2.

*ha-ma-sā-*, *{ha}-mi-sa-* "grandson" 98, 1; 103, C1, B1.

*HANTAWAT-* "king" 36, 2; 98, 1; 103, C1, B1; 163, 1.

*ha+r-na-sā-* "fortress" 97, 3.

*HARSALA-na-* "disputed" 163, 2, 6.

*HARSALA-sa-* "to be angry (forever)" 97, 9; 104, [7].

*ha+r-tā-pu-*, *ha+r-tā-pu?* "Hartapus" 12, 2; 14, 15, 2; 16, 2; 17, 1.

*HARWAN-* "road" 104, 3.

*-ha-wa* "and" (see also *-ha*) 104, 3.

*hi-la-* "sanctuary, enclosure" 104, 1.

*hi-pa-tu-* "Hepat" 97, 1, 9; 98, R2 (2x).

*HUMATI* (determinative of basis or stand, see *na?-la?-wa-*) 104, 2.

*HUWA-na-* "to sculpture" 103, A8.

*HUWA-na-* "sculptured" 104, 3.

*HWA-*, *HWA-a-* "who(ever)" 12, 2; 17, 2; 97, 8; 104, 5.

*HWA+r-sā-* "sculpture" 97, 8.

*i-*, *i-* "this" 12, 1; 16, 3; 97, 6, [7], 8; 98, 3; 103, A2, A5; 104, 2, 3; 163, 7.

*i+la-* "to favour" 97, [7].

*infans* (determinative of kinship) c. *nā-mu-wa-i* 97, 1; 98, 1; 104, 1; 163, 1, 7; c.

*ha-ma-sā-* 103, C1, B1 (2x).

*infans-* "son" 16, 2; 17, 1; 36, 1.

*infans-NA-300-488* "grandson" 97, 1; 104, 1.

*infans*-\*300-\*488 (determinative of kinship term *ḥa-ma-sá*) 98, 1.

*ka+r-ka-mi-sà-*, *ká+r-ka-mi-sà-*, *ka+r-ka-mi-sá-* "Karkemis" 97, 1; 163, 1, 7.

*ka-ma-nà-* "Kammanu" 98, 2.

*KULANA-la-na-* "army" 163, 3.

*ku-pá[-pa]-* "Kupapa" 163, 4, 7.

*li-pá-* c. *ar+ḥa* "to inflict damage" 97, 8.

*ma-lí-i-*, *ma-lí-i-* "Malatya" 97, 1; 98, 1; 103, B1; 104, 1.

*ma-sà-ka-na-* "Phrygian" 17, 2.

*MASANA* (determinative of divine name) 12, 1 (2x), 2; 15, 1; 16, 1; 17, 1, 2; 36, 2; 98,

R1, R2 (2x); 104, 1 (4x), 7; 163, 4 (2x), 7.

*MASANA-na-*, *MASANA-ná-*, *MASANA-nà-* "god(ess)" 12, 1, 2; 17, 2; 97, 6; 98, 3; 103, A2.

*mi-ti[-sa]-* "servant" 36, 1.

*-mu*, *-mu-à* "me, for me" 97, 4, 6; 103, A5.

*MUWA-* "to conquer" 17, 2.

*MUWA-* "to fortify" c. *WARPA* 17, 2.

*mu-wa-i* (= *nà-mu-wa-i*) 103, B1.

*MUWA-na-* "strong" 103, B3.

*MUWA-i-na-* "defence works, fortification" 97, 3.

*MUWATALI-* "to fortify" c. *WARPA* (cf. *muwa-*) 12, 2.

*MUWATALI-* "strong" 15, 1; 97, 4?; 163, 4 (2x), 6.

*MUWATALI-li-na-* "stronghold" 98, 2.

*MUWATALI-li-sa-* "to strengthen" 97, 3.

*ná-MUWA-i*, *ná-MUWA-i*, *nà-mu-wa-i*, *nà-mu-wa-i* "son" 97, 1; 98, 1; 104, 1; 163, 1, 7.

*na?-la?-wa-* "basis, stand" 104, 2.

*pa-* "he" (cf. *á-pa-sa-*) 97, 9.

*PÁRA-na* "pro-, vice-" 36, 2.

*PARNA-wa-* "to build" 163, 6.

*-pa-wa*, *-pa-wa-à* "but" 97, 8, 9; 98, 3.

*PIA* (determinative of action verb, see *li-pá-*) 97, 8.

*+r* "it [N-A(n)]" (see also *-tá-à*) 163, 7.

*+r* "for himself" (see also *-ti*) 104, 5.

*regio* (determinative of country name) 12, 2; 17, 2.

*regio-* "country" 17, 2; 97, 1; 98, 1; 103, B1; 104, 1; 163, 1.

*RUWA-* "Ruwas" 97, 1; 104, 1, 5.

*SÀ* "Sausga?" 104, 1.

*SARU+mi-*, *SARU+mi-ma-* "Sarruma" 36, 2; 97, 1, 9; 98, R1.

*sol suus* "his majesty" 15, 2; 16, 2.

*su-ḥi-* "Suhis" 163, 7.

*TA* (determinative of action verb, see *a+r-na-*) 104, 2.

*tà-* "to take", c. *ar+ḥa* "to wipe out, erase" 104, 5.

*-tá-à*, *-tá-a* "it [N-A(n)]" (see also *+r*) 97, 2; 104, 6; 163, 2, 3, 5, 6.

*TA+MI-* "to build" 16, 3.

*tà+mi-li-* "Tamilis" 97, 1; 98, 1; 103, B1; 104, 1.

*TANA+r-tà-* "Darende" 97, 2.

*ta-nú-wa-* "to erect" 163, 7.

*tà-pa(+r)-zi-ti-* "Taparzititis" 163, 1.

*TAPASA-* "heaven" 104, 1.

- TARHUNT- "Tarhunt [GN]" 15, 1; 16, 1; 17, 1; 97, 1, 9; 103, B1, 163, 4.  
 TARHUNT- "Tarhuntas [MN]" 104, 1 (c. *su-wa*-).  
 TARHUNT-TAPASA- "Tarhunt of heaven" 12, 1, 2; 17, 2.  
 TARKU- "Tarhuntassa" 12, 2.  
 TARWANA- "governor" 163, 7.  
 TASHUWAR- "place, locus" 12, 1.  
 ta-ta- "Tatas" 36, 1.  
 tá-ti- "niche, locus" 104, 2.  
 -ti "for himself" (see also +r) 163, 6.  
 -tu, -lu-à "for him" 98, 2; 104, 7; 163, 2, 7.  
 TUWA-, TUWA-wa- "to place" 97, 2; 98, 3; 163, 3, 4.  
 UMINA (determinative of town name) 97, 1 (2x), 2; 98, 1, 2; 103, B1; 104, 1.  
 UMINA+mi-, UMINA+mi-ná- "town" 16, 3; 97, 5.  
 UMINA+mi-na-li- "municipal" 36, [3]; 98, R2.  
 um[+r]+li-, um+r-zu+li- "Mursilis" 16, 2; 17, 1; 36, 2.  
 URA- "great" (in combination with HANTAWAT-, MASANA, TARHUNT-, WATI-, and \*345-, see below).  
 URA+HANTAWAT- "great king" 12, 2 (2x); 14 (2x); 15, 2 (2x); 16, 2 (3x); 17, 1 (3x); 36, 1, 2; 97, 1; 104, 1; 163, 1 (3x), 4.  
 URA+MASANA (determinative of divine name) 97, 1 (3x), 9 (3x); 104, 1, 7.  
 URA-nu- "to make great, raise" 97, 6.  
 URA+TARHUNT- "Uratarhuntas" 98, R3, [1]; 163, 1, 4.  
 URA-WATI- "great mountain [GN]" 12, 1.  
 URA-\*345- "great cupbearer" 36, 2.  
 wa-, wa-a-, wa-à- (sentence introductory particle, cf. -wa) 97, 2, 4, 5, 6; 104, 5, 6, 7; 163, 2, 3, 5, 6.  
 -wa (sentence introductory particle, see a-wa) 103, A5.  
 WANAI- "stele" 98, 3; 163, 7.  
 WARPA- "shield" 163, 4; c. MUWA-, MUWATALI- "to fortify" 12, 2; 17, 2; c. honorific title 36, 1, 2.  
 wa-sá[+r]-ti "in veneration, with benevolence", adverb 17, 2.  
 WASU (determinative of good thing) 17, 2.  
 WASU- "agricultural richness, harvest" 104, 1, [7].  
 WA-SU-SARU+mi-ma-, wa-su-saru+mi-ma<sub>3</sub>- "Wasusarmas" 36, 1, 2.  
 WATI (determinative of matters relating to the mountain) 103, A2.  
 WATI- "mountain (god)" 97, 1, 4, [7]; 103, B3.  
 WATI-na- "of the citadel, mountain [adj.]" 97, 2, 3 (2x); 104, 4?  
 x-i-TARHUNT- (MN) 97, 1; 103, 1.  
 x-ti- "to take" 163, 2, 5.  
 y(-)i "?" 103, B1.  
 [?]-ti-ti-wa- (personal name) 36, 3.  
 \*121 (enemy [N(m/f) sg]) 163, 2.  
 \*142 (GN) 104, 1.  
 \*194 (GN) 104, 1, [7].  
 \*202-na- "sculptured façade" 97, 7; 103, A4.  
 \*336 (determinative of sculptured object, see HWA+r-sà-) 97, 8.  
 \*345- (honorific title) 36, 2.  
 \*? (determinative of a place or site, see tá-ti-) 104, 2.

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