

5<sup>èmes</sup> RENCONTRES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE L'IFÉA

2014

## HITTITOLOGY TODAY:

Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia  
in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday

## L'HITTITOLOGIE AUJOURD'HUI :

Études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion  
du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche

Alice MOUTON (éd.)

RENCONTRES



Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges Dumézil - CNRS USR 3131

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# Hittitology today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday

*5<sup>e</sup> Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA, Istanbul 21-22 novembre 2014*

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Éditées par Alice MOUTON

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# ABREVIATIONS

ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri. Millî eğitim basımevi, İstanbul.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen.
AS	Assyriological Studies.
AT	Alalakh Text.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Bo	Fragments de tablettes inédits de Boğazköy/Hattuša.
BoHa	Boğazköy-Hattuša, von Zabern, Mayence.
BSIEL	Brill's Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics, Brill, Leyde.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris.
CAD	OPPENHEIM, A. L. et al. (éds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1964-2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, Brill, Leyde.
CHD	GÜTERBOCK, H. G. / HOFFNER, H. A. / VAN DEN HOUT, T. (éds.), <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1989-.
CHLI 1	HAWKINS, J. D., <i>Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age</i> (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft NF 8/1). de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2000.
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, Multigrafica editrice, Rome.
CTH	LAROCHE, E., <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Klincksieck, Paris, 1971.
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
dupl.	Duplicat
EA	Tablettes provenant d'el-Amarna.
Eothen	Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico, LoGisma, Florence.
FGrHist	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
GrHL	HOFFNER, H. A., Jr. / MELCHERT, H. C., <i>A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar</i> (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1). Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 2008.
HE	FRIEDRICH, J., <i>Hethitisches Elementarbuch, 1. Teil: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition. Winter, Heidelberg, 1960.

HED	PUHVEL, J., <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> , Trends in Linguistics. De Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1984.
HEG	TISCHLER, J., <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20-). Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck, 1977-.
hethiter.net	<a href="http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/">http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/</a> .
HKM	ALP, S., <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat</i> (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VI/34). Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991.
HS	<i>Historische Sprachforschung</i> .
HW	FRIEDRICH, J., <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Kurzgefasste kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter</i> , Winter, Heidelberg, 1952.
HW <sup>2</sup>	FRIEDRICH, J. / KAMMENHUBER, A. / HOFFMANN, I. (éd.s.), <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch, zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte</i> , Indogermanische Bibliothek. Winter, Heidelberg, 1975-.
HZI	NEU, E. / RÜSTER, Chr., <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon</i> (StBoT Beiheft 2). Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1989.
IBOT	<i>İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> . Millî Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> .
InL	<i>Incontri Linguistici</i> .
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i> .
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> .
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> .
KASKAL	KASKAL. <i>Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente antico</i> , LoGisma, Florence.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin.
Konkordanz	KOŠAK, S., <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte</i> , hethiter.net:/hetkonk (v. 1.91).
Kp	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Kayalıpinar/Şamuha mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin.
Kt	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Kültepe mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
L.	Numéros des signes hiéroglyphiques de LAROCHE, E., 1960: <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites, I – L'écriture</i> . Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
LHK	RÜSTER, Chr. / WILHELM, G., <i>Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige</i> (StBoT Beiheft 4). Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2012.
LIMC	KAHIL, L. (éd.), <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Artemis, Munich, 1981-2009.
LGNP	FRASER, P. M. (éd.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987-2000.
LSU	RIEMSCHNEIDER, K., „Die hethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden“, <i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> 6, 1958: 321-381.
Luwian Corpus	<i>Luwian Corpus – “Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts / Hieroglyphic Vocabulary”</i> (I. Yakubovich) online: <a href="http://web.corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/">web.corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/</a> (last accessed September 3rd, 2015).
MH	Middle Hittite
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> .
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> .
MS	Middle Hittite Script
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i> .
N	NEUMANN, G., <i>Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901</i> (Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris Nr. 7, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 135. Band). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienne, 1979.
N.A.B.U.	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i> , Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien, Paris.
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i> .
NH	New Hittite

NS	New Hittite Script
obv.	Obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Oriental Institute, Chicago.
Or NS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series.</i>
OS	Old Hittite Script
PEG 2.1	BERNABÉ, A. P. (éd.), <i>Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta II, Orphicorum et orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Fasciculus 1</i> (Bibliotheca scriptorium Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana). Saur, Leipzig, 2004.
PNAE 3/1	BAKER, H. D. (éd.), <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 3/1. The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project</i> , Helsinki, 2002.
PRU	SCHAEFFER, C. (éd.), <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit, Mission de Ras Shamra</i> , Paris, 1956-.
PW	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
r. col.	right column
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie.</i>
rev.	Reverse
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie.</i>
Ro	Recto
RS	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Ras-Shamra/Ugarit mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
SBo	GÜTERBOCK, H. G., <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy I, II</i> (Afo Beiheft 5, 7). H. G. Güterbock, Berlin, 1940, 1942.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i>
SGO	MERKELBACH, R. / STAUBER, J. (éds), <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> . Teubner, Munich, 1998-2004.
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.</i>
SNG	<i>Sylloge nummorum graecorum</i> , Bibliothèque nationale de France – Numismatica ars classica, Paris – Zurich, 1931-.
StBoT	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten</i> , Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
TB	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Tell Brak mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
THeth	<i>Texte der Hethiter</i> , Heidelberg, Winter.
TL	KALINKA, E., <i>Tituli Lyciae lingua lycia conscripti</i> . Hoelder, Vienne, 1901.
TTC	CONTENAU, G., <i>Trente tablettes cappadociennes</i> . Geuthner, Paris, 1919.
TUAT	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments.</i>
UEM	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Tell Umm el-Marra mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
VAT	<i>Tablets preserved at the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin.</i>
Vo	Verso
VS (NF)	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Neue Folge)</i> . Ph. von Zabern, Mayence.
WAW	<i>Writings from the Ancient World</i> , Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients.</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.</i>
zBoTU	FORRER, E., <i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift 2. Geschichtliche Texte aus Boghazköi</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 42). O. Zeller, Osnabrück, 1969.





# INTRODUCTION

Alice Mouton

Emmanuel Laroche a sans conteste été l'un des plus grands hittitologues français. Ses nombreuses contributions scientifiques ont durablement marqué la discipline hittitologique. Celles-ci sont principalement de deux types : des outils de travail qui sont encore utilisés par les chercheurs d'aujourd'hui et des études aux thèmes plus ciblés. Emmanuel Laroche était un hittitologue érudit qui s'intéressait à tous les domaines de l'hittitologie : I. la linguistique, la grammaire et l'épigraphie ; II. la philologie et l'histoire des religions ; III. l'Histoire et la géographie historique et IV. l'archéologie, notamment. Chacun de ces champs est toujours d'actualité, comme le montreront les contributions de ce volume. Nous ajouterons à ces domaines celui de l'historiographie qui illustre, entre autres choses, l'impact des travaux d'Emmanuel Laroche dans l'hittitologie d'aujourd'hui.

## I. Linguistique, grammaire et épigraphie

Emmanuel Laroche était avant tout un linguiste de par sa formation et sa sensibilité scientifique, et c'est sans conteste le domaine dans lequel il a été le plus prolifique. C'est, somme toute, l'ensemble de la famille des langues anatoliennes qui retinrent l'attention du savant. Il réalisa d'ailleurs plusieurs études sur ce qu'il appela simplement l'anatolien, ce qui lui permettait d'englober le hittite, le louvite, le palaïte, mais aussi les langues indo-européennes de l'Anatolie du 1<sup>er</sup> millénaire avant J.-C. : le lycien, le lydien, le carien et le pisidien. Son intérêt s'étendant à toutes les langues de l'Anatolie hittite, le savant nous a aussi offert un dictionnaire de langue louvite et un glossaire de hourrite, qui sont parmi les seuls outils lexicographiques en langue française. Le premier s'intitulait « Dictionnaire de la langue louvite ». Cet ouvrage publié par la future IFEA parut en 1959.

Le second livre de référence s'intitulait « Glossaire de la langue hourrite » et parut en premier lieu sous la forme de deux fascicules séparés de la *Revue Hittite et Asianique* en 1976 et 1977 pour être, dans un second temps, rassemblé en un seul ouvrage publié en 1980. Le lycien devint par la suite l'un de ses domaines de prédilection avec, notamment, sa publication des documents inscrits dans cette langue et mis au jour au Letôon de Xanthos. Aujourd'hui, les linguistes de l'anatolien, les grammairiens et les épigraphistes poursuivent ses travaux. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. et Craig H. Melchert, d'une part, et Elisabeth Rieken, d'autre part, se penchent sur certains points de la grammaire hittite, alors que Rukiye Akdoğan édite neuf fragments de tablettes hittites de fêtes

culturelles inédits jusqu'à présent. Ilya Yakubovich et Massimo Poetto étudient divers aspects du louvite hiéroglyphique. Ilya Yakubovich analyse la présence de l'élément louvite *ura/i* aussi bien dans les noms de titres que dans l'onomastique, alors que Massimo Poetto édite de nouvelles inscriptions hiéroglyphiques sur pierre. Enfin, Recai Tekoğlu présente de nouvelles données dans le domaine de l'épigraphie lycienne.

## II. Philologie et histoire des religions

Dans le domaine de la philologie cunéiforme du hittite et des autres langues du Pays de Hatti, le premier ouvrage d'Emmanuel Laroche qui nous vient à l'esprit est probablement le précieux *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* dont la numérotation des textes est toujours suivie aujourd'hui. Ce long et rigoureux travail vit le jour en 1956 sous la forme d'un premier fascicule paru dans la *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* et se prolongea par trois autres fascicules avant d'être réédité sous la forme d'une monographie en 1971. Emmanuel Laroche continua à classer les textes hittites après cette date, ajoutant deux suppléments à son ouvrage. Bien sûr, des tablettes ont été attribuées à d'autres numéros et certaines entrées ont été ajoutées au *Catalogue*, ce qui est attendu dans une discipline jeune et dynamique comme la nôtre. Mais à travers son CTH, comme nous avons l'habitude de l'appeler, c'est un outil indispensable qu'Emmanuel Laroche nous a légué.

Par ailleurs, en tant que professeur à la section des Sciences Religieuses de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Emmanuel Laroche contribua amplement aux débats sur les religions de l'Anatolie hittite. Il collecta les noms des dieux hittites, étudia les pratiques hittites de l'haruspicine (la divination par le foie animal), les divinités lunaires, le dieu Šarruma, les différentes formes de prières, ce qu'il appela la réforme religieuse de Tudhaliya IV (notion qui est remise en question de nos jours) et les panthéons hourrites, entre autres choses. Willemijn Waal examine l'expression hittite *šarā ar-* dans le contexte de l'archivage de tablettes. Quant à Ian Rutherford, Manfred Hutter et moi-même, nous examinons certains aspects des religions anatoliennes, contributions qui illustrent la tendance actuelle consistant à confronter les données hittites aux modèles interprétatifs issus des études classiques ou de l'anthropologie.

## III. Histoire et géographie historique

Emmanuel Laroche s'intéressa également à l'histoire géo-politique du Pays de Hatti. Il étudia notamment les personnages d'Urhi-Tešub et de šuppiliuma II, ainsi que les problèmes de chronologie. L'histoire géo-politique reste un domaine très prisé dans l'hittitologie d'aujourd'hui. Massimo Forlanini, Stefano de Martino, Max Gander, Yiğit Erbil et Zsolt Simon exploreront ce domaine pour nous dans ce volume. Massimo Forlanini étudiera l'importance de la ville de Purušhanda dans l'histoire de la dynastie régnante de Hattuša. Stefano de Martino reviendra sur la présence de la langue hourrite en Anatolie hittite, notamment à Šapinuwa. Max Gander donnera sa vision de la géographie de l'Anatolie occidentale et plus particulièrement de l'Arzawa et du pays du fleuve Šeha. Yiğit Erbil proposera quelques réflexions préliminaires sur le réseau de routes hittites de la région sise entre le site de Fasillar et celui d'Eflatunpınar. Quant à Zsolt Simon, il examinera la nature de la relation entre la région du Kızılırmak et le royaume du Tabal entre le IX<sup>e</sup> et le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

## IV. Archéologie

Emmanuel Laroche suivait de près les découvertes archéologiques faites aussi bien en Anatolie qu'en Syrie sous domination hittite, ayant même été sollicité pour la publication du matériel épigraphique d'Emar et d'Ougarit pour la période hittite, notamment. Pour cette raison, il est légitime d'inclure dans ce volume des contributions sur l'archéologie hittite et néo-hittite. Aslihan Yener présente les nouvelles découvertes faites sur le site d'Alalah, un important centre religieux à l'époque hittite. Belkıs Dinçol prolonge cette excursion à Alalah par l'étude du matériel épigraphique du site. Dominique Beyer et Françoise Laroche-Traunecker décrivent les travaux archéologiques de l'équipe française de Porsuk, vraisemblablement la ville hittite de Dunna.

## V. Historiographie

J. David Hawkins met en évidence les contributions d'Emmanuel Laroche dans le domaine du louvite hiéroglyphique à travers ses notes inédites sur les impressions de sceaux d'Emar. Susanne Görke montre, quant à elle, les avancées des études hourrites après la disparition du savant français. Heiner Eichner revient sur les nombreuses contributions d'Emmanuel Laroche dans l'étude du lycien.

Ainsi, cet hommage à Emmanuel Laroche constitue, me semble-t-il, l'occasion idéale d'établir un bilan des dernières avancées dans les principaux domaines de l'hittitologie. Ce colloque a été organisé dans le cadre des cinquièmes rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA en l'honneur du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche. L'IFEA et Françoise Laroche, qui sont à l'origine de cette initiative, m'ont fait l'amitié de me confier cette tâche. Je souhaite remercier chaleureusement Françoise Laroche pour la confiance qu'elle m'a témoignée, ainsi que toute l'équipe de l'IFEA et plus particulièrement Jean-François Pérouse, Olivier Henry et Martin Godon. Je remercie également les collègues qui ont accepté à ma demande de faire partie du comité scientifique du colloque, à savoir Meltem et Metin Alparslan, Yiğit Erbil et Ilya Yakubovich. Leurs contributions dans l'organisation de ce colloque, ainsi que leurs conseils m'ont été précieux.



# I. LINGUISTIQUE, GRAMMAIRE ET ÉPIGRAPHIE



# SYNTAX OF THE HITTITE “SUPINE” CONSTRUCTION\*

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.† and H. Craig Melchert  
University of Chicago/University of California, Los Angeles

As is well-known, the Hittite verbal form ending in *-(u)wan*, labeled now for more than half a century the “supine”, occurs only in a construction with either *dai-* ‘to put’ or *tiya-* ‘to step’ that expresses the notion ‘begin/undertake to do X’:<sup>1</sup>

(1) KBo 5.8 iii 3-5 (CTH 61, Annals of Muršili; NH)

*namma=šmaš=kan ÉRIN.MEŠ išḫiḫun nu=mu ÉRIN.MEŠ piškewan dāir  
n=at=mu laḫḫi kattan paišgauwan tiyēr*

“Then I imposed (a commitment for) troops on them, and they began to give me troops and began to go on campaign with me.”

It is clear that in older Hittite the auxiliary was *dai-* ‘to put’ (note *iššuwān daišten* and *piyanniwan daišten* at KBo 8.42 Vo 2-3; OH/OS). However, likely due to the ambiguity of plural forms such as *Pres3Pl ti(y)anzi*, we find also in later Hittite use of *tiya-* ‘to step’ as the auxiliary. In the example cited as (1), both auxiliaries occur side by side.

Our focus in the present discussion will be on the use or non-use of third-person enclitic subject pronouns in the supine construction.<sup>2</sup> As first observed by Calvert Watkins and confirmed by Andrew Garrett, such subject enclitic pronouns never occur with transitive verbs in Hittite.<sup>3</sup> In the case of intransitive verbs, their use is governed by the lexical semantics of the verb: so-called “unaccusative” verbs regularly take third-person enclitic subject

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\* Both authors were most grateful to Alice Mouton and other organizers of the IFEA conference for allowing us to participate in this volume honoring the centennial of Emmanuel Laroche, although we were unable to attend the conference itself. Professor Laroche was not only one of the giants of Hittitology, but also a pioneer in the study of other languages of ancient Anatolia, both Indo-European (Luvian and Lycian) and non-Indo-European (Hattic and Hurrian), and he generously assisted both of us early in our careers, as he did so many others. Professor Hoffner’s sudden and unexpected death on March 10, 2015, prevented him from participating in the final preparation of this joint paper. He had furnished many of the crucial examples and had seen and approved with changes an initial draft, but responsibility for the version published here necessarily rests with me—HCM.

1 The modern terminology follows Kammenhuber 1955: 31-57. For older literature see HE: 142-143 and for a recent summary *GrHL*: 338.

2 We are indebted to Hans Bork of UCLA for calling our attention to this issue by asking during class instruction about the pattern shown by example (1).

3 Garrett 1990, following Watkins.

pronouns, while “unergative” verbs do not.<sup>4</sup> Since *dai-* is a transitive verb, it does not in its usual use as ‘to put, place’ ever take an enclitic subject pronoun. As an “unaccusative” intransitive verb, *tiya-* ‘to step, take up a position’ regularly does so. Readers will notice that in example (1) *piškewan dāir* is not accompanied by a subject pronoun, while *paišgauwan tiyēr* is. The question then becomes: is the use or non-use of the enclitic subject pronoun governed by the lexical semantics of the auxiliary verbs or of the verb in the supine?

A survey of all examples known to us clearly shows that it is the latter. First of all, if the verb in the supine is transitive, there is no enclitic subject pronoun, whether the auxiliary is *dai-* or *tiya-*:

(2) VS 28.111 rev. 5-6 (CTH 530, Cult Inventory; NH)

*nu=šši EZEN<sub>4</sub> DUMU.SAL.ḫI.A [e]ššūwan tiēzzi*

“And one undertakes to perform for him/her the festival of the daughters.”

(3) KBo 29.86 obv. 10-11 with dupl. KUB 20.16 i 10-11 (CTH 694, Festival fragment; NS)

*[(nu<sup>GIŠ</sup>arg)]ami galgaltūri<sup>GIŠ.dI</sup>INANNA.ḫI.A [(ḫazz)]iyēškewan tianzi*

“They begin to play the *argami*, *galgalturi*, and Ishtar-instruments.”

Example (2) with no subject enclitic pronoun even with an unambiguous form of *tiya-* shows that likewise its absence with a transitive verb in the supine plus *dai-* (as in the first clause of example (1) above) and in the ambiguous example (3) is due to the supine, not the auxiliary. See further the second clause of example (9) below.<sup>5</sup>

Naturally, the supine of a transitive verb can take an object enclitic pronoun, but this has nothing to do with the choice of auxiliary:

(4) KUB 32.133 i 4-7 (CTH 482, Cult Reform of Muršili; NH)

*nu=za ḫazziwita išḫiul<sup>ḫI.A</sup>=ya kue INA É.DINGIR-LUM kattan ḫamankatta wēr=ma=at=kan LÚ.MEŠ DUB.SAR.GIŠ LÚ.MEŠ É.DINGIR-LIM=ya waḫnuškewan dāir n=at<sup>m</sup> Murši-DINGIR-LIM-iš LUGAL.GAL tuppiyaz EGIR-pa aniyānun*

“The scribes on wood and the men of the temple proceeded to begin to alter the ritual prescriptions and regulations that he (Tuthaliya) had mandated in the temple. I, Muršili, the Great King, restored them by means of a clay tablet.”

The same remark applies to the examples with transitive *ē[šš]ūwan tiyanzi* in KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 i 23 and KUB 56.19 i 39.

As predicted, when the supine is an unaccusative intransitive verb, an enclitic subject pronoun is required:

(5) KBo 3.67 i 8-9 with dupl. KUB 11.5 obv. 4 (CTH 19, Edict of Telipinu; OH/NS)

*mān<sup>m</sup> ḫantiliš«š»=a<sup>LÚŠU</sup>.GI [kiša(t n=aš DINGIR-L)IM-iš] kikkiššūwan dāiš*

“But when Hantili became an old man, and he began to become a god.” (i.e., to die)

(6) KUB 14.8 obv. 26-28 (CTH 378.2.A, Plague Prayer of Muršili; NH)

*nu<sup>LÚ</sup>[(<sup>MEŠ</sup>appa)ntan] kuin ēpper n=an maḫḫan INA KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḫat[(ti)] EGIR-pa uwate[(r)] nu=kan INA ŠÀ-BI<sup>LÚ.MEŠŠU</sup>.DIB.BI.ḫI.A ḫinkan kišat n=aš akkiškewan da[iš]*

“A plague broke out among the prisoners whom they took, when they brought them back to Hatti, and they began to die.”

4 See in extenso Garrett 1996 and for a summary GrHL: 280-281. The dividing line between the two classes of verbs is notoriously fluid, but by and large the patterns observed in Hittite match those found elsewhere.

5 Further transitive examples occur in KUB 14.16 ii 22, KBo 4.4 iv 35 and 47, and Bo 86/299 ii 27 (‘give’), KUB 1.1 ii 6 and 10 (‘strike’), KUB 1.1 ii 43 (‘attack’), KUB 1.1 iv 52-53 (‘send’), KBo 11.1 obv. 37, KUB 5.6 i 17 and 23 and KUB 16.77 ii 40 (‘perform’), and KUB 16.32 ii 7 (‘sacrifice’).



Both *kiš-* ‘to become, happen’ and *akk-* ‘to die’, as change-of-state verbs, are well established to be unaccusative in Hittite and thus require an enclitic subject pronoun, despite the fact that the auxiliary here is *dai-* ‘to put’. Likewise, as a verb expressing emotion, *duške-* ‘to rejoice’ is unaccusative and requires an enclitic subject pronoun also in the supine:<sup>6</sup>

(7) KBo 26.65 iv 15-16 (CTH 345.3A, Song of Ullikummi; pre-NH/NS)

<sup>d</sup>Tašmišuš [iš]tamašta n=aš=za duškiškewan daiš  
“Tašmišu heard, and he began to rejoice.”

Likewise in KUB 33.112 + KUB 33.114 + KUB 36.2 ii 3. So also it is the verb of directed motion *pai-* ‘go’ that demands an enclitic subject pronoun in the second clause of example (1), not the auxiliary *tiya-*.

In a few cases where we have no finite examples of intransitive verbs with pronominal subjects the supine construction is diagnostic:

(8) KUB 12.44 ii 27-28 (CTH 392, Ritual of Anna; MH/NS)

mān SAR.GEŠTIN kuiš UL miyēškezzi [... k]iššan aniyami n=aš miškewan dāi  
“If some vineyard is not growing, I treat [it] as follows, and it will begin to grow.”

(9) KBo 3.1 i 21-22 (CTH 19, Edict of Telipinu; OH/NS)

išḫa[ašš]=a=šmaš=šan [(t)]aštašeškeuwan dāir (22) nu ēšḫar=š«um»mit ēššuwān tiyēr  
“They also began to conspire (whisper) against their lords and began to shed their blood.”

The evidence of example (8) for *mai-* ‘to grow’ as an unaccusative verb has been recognized,<sup>7</sup> but example (9) is thus far unique in showing by its absence of a subject pronoun (-e in Old Hittite or -at in a New Script copy) that *taštašiya-* ‘to whisper, conspire’ is unergative.

As expected, “detransitives”, that is, transitive verbs that are used intransitively without a direct object,<sup>8</sup> also behave as unergative in the supine construction:

(10) KUB 9.4 + ii 22-23 (CTH 760.1.2, <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI Ritual; NS)

nu=za namma kī ḫukmai ēpzi nu ḫukkiskewan dāi  
“He again takes up this incantation and begins to recite the incantation.”

Likewise KUB 9.34 + iii 7 and KUB 53.4 rev. 9 without enclitic subject.

We have found only one exception to this very regular distribution, and it is surely specially conditioned. In the only occurrence in a native Hittite composition, the intransitive verb *w(iy)ai-* ‘to wail, weep’ behaves as an unergative, as is to be expected for a *verbum dicendi* (compare *taštašiya-* ‘to whisper’ above):

(11) KUB 30.15 + KUB 39.19 obv. 34-36 (CTH 450, Royal Funeral Rite; OH/NS)

[nu <sup>ḫ</sup>RIŃ ZI.B[A.NA arb]a duwarniyaizzi n=at=kan <sup>d</sup>UTU-i menahḫ[anda ... ] [nu kalga]linaizzi nu weškewan [dai]

“One breaks the scales and [...] it facing the Sun-god. It clangs(?), and one begins to wail.”<sup>9</sup>

6 See Neu 1968: 181. The fact is acknowledged in Garrett 1996: 91, but with an incorrect meaning ‘to please’ for the verb.

7 Garrett 1996: 94. This example is also cited in GrHL: 281, note 16, as contrasting with the absence of an enclitic subject pronoun when there is no referential subject.

8 For the concept and the label see Garrett 1996: 98-100.

9 For the tentative interpretation of *kalkalinai-* as ‘clang’, referring to the lugubrious sound made by the breaking of the scales see HED K: 25 and the similar passage cited there.

Predictably, it also takes no enclitic subject pronoun in the secondary transitive use ‘to bewail’:<sup>10</sup>

(12) KUB 19.4 + KBo 19.45 i 7-8 (CTH 40, Deeds of Šuppiluliuma; NH)  
*nu mahḥan ABU=YA ŠA* <sup>m</sup>Zannanza kunātar išt[amašta nu] <sup>m</sup>Zannanzan wēškewan daiš  
 “When my father heard about the killing of Zannanza, he began to bewail Zannanza.”

However, in the Hurro-Hittite translation literature the same verb behaves as an unaccusative and consistently takes an enclitic subject pronoun. One example will suffice for illustration:

(13) KUB 33.120 ii 53-54 (CTH 344, Theogony; MH/NS)  
 [m]ān=ši=kan ZU<sub>9</sub>.HI.A-uš anda iškalliyanta [<sup>d</sup>Kumarbiya n]=aš weiškeuwan [dāi]š  
 “When his, Kumarbi’s, teeth began to be torn inside, he began to wail.”

Likewise showing an enclitic subject pronoun are KUB 33.106 iii 4-6 (CTH 345.3A, Song of Ullikummi) and KUB 17.4:7 (CTH 364.3A, Song of Silver). While the motivation for use of the enclitic subject pronoun here is unclear, we must in view of other non-native usages in the translation literature attribute it to “translationese” and follow the evidence of the native example (11) for this verb being unergative in Hittite.

Our finding that in the supine construction it is the lexical verb that determines the use or non-use of enclitic subject pronouns with intransitive verbs is of interest in confirming that *dai-* and *tiya-* have been fully reduced to the status of auxiliaries. Their behavior is thus entirely parallel to that of *pai-* ‘to go’ and *uwa-* ‘to come’ in the “serial” construction, where it has long been clear that it is the lexical verb that determines the behavior of subject enclitic pronouns as well as local particles.<sup>11</sup> We may therefore henceforth confidently use any new examples of the supine construction in non-translation literature with intransitive verbs and expressed or unexpressed pronominal subject as diagnostic for unaccusativity in Hittite.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The available space at the beginning of line 8 permits only restoration of [nu], not [na-aš].

<sup>11</sup> See *GrHL*: 325, following van den Hout 2003.

<sup>12</sup> The conclusions just presented for the supine construction with *dai-* and *tiya-* raise the question of what the facts are for the competing construction with *-za épp-* plus the infinitive (see *GrHL*: 335 and 338 on its distribution). Based on all examples known to us (see the collection in *HW<sup>3</sup> E*: 64), the answer is that *-za épp-* plus the infinitive appears to be restricted to collocations with transitive verbs, a limitation not previously noted. The distinction of unaccusative versus unergative is thus irrelevant for this construction.

# AGREEMENT PATTERNS OF COLLECTIVE NOUNS IN HITTITE

Elisabeth Rieken  
University of Marburg

## I. Introduction

The honorand of this volume, Emmanuel Laroche, was the first one to draw attention to the close connection between the animacy of a given subject referent and its morpho-syntactic marking with *-anza* (plural *-anteš*). Nevertheless, Laroche (1962) regarded the use of these morphemes as a mainly syntactic phenomenon related to the transitivity of the verb. Following Laroche, words containing *-anza* or *-anteš* are called “ergatives” in most publications on the topic.<sup>1</sup>

Another area where animacy and transitivity come into play in many languages is number agreement (cf. Corbett 2006: 182f., 185-193; Joosten *et al.* 2007: 89f. with further references). The same is true for the related semantic concepts of individuation and agentivity. The following pages will deal with Hittite evidence for the role played by both animacy (together with individuation and agentivity) and syntactic categories such as ergativity and transitivity in number agreement between subject and verb. The aim is to find out whether or not some of these categories are relevant for subject – verb agreement in this language, and if so then in which combination and to what degree.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> After Laroche, the dispute has been mainly on the putative semantic value and the question of categorizing the morpheme. There is no agreement on whether *-ant-* in *-anza* (plural *-anteš*) is a derivational suffix combined with the normal nominative case endings without a meaning, or *-ant-* is derivational with a semantic value in addition to the specific syntactic function (animatizing, individualizing, personifying), or the morphemes *-anza* and *-anteš* have to be analyzed as endings; cf. Benveniste 1962; Kronasser 1966; Neu 1989; Garrett 1990; Carruba 1992; Luraghi 1997; Oettinger 2001; Josephson 2004; Patri 2007; GrHL; Dardano 2010; Shatskov 2011; Rizza 2010; Melchert 2011. Most recently, Goedegebuure (2012) has argued that the solution to the problem of the contradictory evidence lies in the switch from an originally derivative suffix with a semantic function to a purely syntactic case ending during the Middle Hittite period.

<sup>2</sup> The research underlying this paper is part of the project „Diachrone Entwicklung von Kongruenzsystemen in fünf flektierenden indogermanischen Sprachen“ conducted jointly by Jürg Fleischer, Paul Widmer and the author and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in 2011-2014 (RI 1730/3-1). – I am grateful to Ilya Yakubovich for improving my English style and providing additional bibliographic references.

## II. Terminology and background

As per Steele (1978: 610), “[t]he term agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another.” According to Corbett’s (2006: 4-8, 207) terminology, the element that possesses the semantic or formal property is called the *Controller*, while the element that features the co-varying values is referred to as the *Target*. In the case of the subject – verb agreement in Hittite, the number values of a common gender subject (singular/plural) determine the values of the verb (singular/plural). Differently, a neuter plural subject is followed by a verb featuring a default value (singular); cf. *GrHL* 238, 240.

However, the relationship between the values of the *Controller* and the *Target* can be influenced by certain *Conditions*. One factor that may have an impact on the target values is the collective meaning of the subject. As defined by Joosten *et al.* (2007: 85), collective nouns “refer to a multiplicity that is conceptualized as a unity”, e.g., English *committee*, which denotes a multiplicity of individuals, but also a single, unified group. As a consequence, the mismatch arises in the *Controller* between semantic reference (multiplicity) and form (singular), which may also lead to a conflict in the choice of the agreement values for the *Target*. There are various common solutions to this kind of conflict (Corbett 2006: 147-165):

- Morpho-syntactic agreement (*constructio ad formam*) is preferred, i.e. the *Target* has the same morphological value as the *Controller* (American English *the committee has decided*).
- Semantic agreement (*constructio ad sensum*, κατὰ σύνεσιν) is chosen, i.e. the *Target* features the morphological value that is demanded by the meaning of the *Controller* (British English *the committee have decided*).
- A default form is used, mostly the singular.

A look into modern languages shows us that collective nouns need not all behave the same way even within a single language with regard to the accessibility of the conceptual collection and member levels. In their study on Dutch collective nouns, Joosten *et al.* (2007: 89f., 111) have shown that additional factors can increase the accessibility of the member level:

- relationality, i.e. contextual identification of the members (e.g., English *a swarm of wasps*)
- properties expressed by adjectives that profile through their meaning either the conceptual member level or the collection level (e.g., English *a big team* vs. *a young team*)
- animacy of the referent (e.g., English *committee*)
- lexical differences (e.g., in Dutch, collective nouns such as *trio* with a small fixed number of members tend to profile the member level)

Both relationality and properties expressed by adjectives represent features that may change the degree of individuation in the semantic reading of a given lexeme, while it is stable with regard to animacy being determined by the referent(s). Also lexical differences seem to arise depending on referential features.

In the present context, an interesting fact about number agreement between collective subjects and verbs is that, in such constructions, there is a good deal of variation between formal and semantic agreement to be found in many languages, as exemplified by Dutch. If any category beyond number and gender play a role in Hittite agreement (i.e. animacy, agentivity, transitivity and ergativity), subject – verb agreement of collectives will probably show the effect. The same may be expected of relationality, properties expressed by adjectives, and lexical differences.



“The *parwala*-men of the king **gave** one talent of copper (and) three animal-shaped vessels of beads (containing) one-half BĀN of beads. In addition, the *parwala*-men of the king **gave** three talents of copper, x talents of tin, two copper pipes, six copper sickles, five copper *wakšur*-vessels, and two ox-shaped vessels of beads (containing) one-half BĀN of beads.”

## IV. Hittite data

For purposes of the present study, lexemes with collective meaning have been collected from the dictionaries and their attestations were checked in the Arbeitsstelle “Hethitische Forschungen” of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz.<sup>3</sup> As a result, 29 examples of collective subjects in the singular (*Controller*) followed by plural predicate verbs (*Target*) have been found:

KUB 21.1 i 63' (hist.)	KUB 46.22 i 7'f. (inv.)
KUB 6.41 i 25 (hist.)	KBo 2.13 obv. 10 (inv.)
KBo 5.6 i 15f. (hist.)	KBo 2.13 obv. 11 (inv.)
KUB 1.1 i 30 (hist.)	KBo 2.13 obv. 19 (inv.)
KUB 19.10 i 6' (hist.)	KBo 2.13 rev. 3f. (inv.)
KBo 3.4 iv 36'f. (hist.)	KBo 2.7 obv. 26' (inv.)
KUB 11.13 v 25' (rit.)	KUB 17.35 i 5' (inv.)
KUB 1.14 ii 8'f. (rit.)	KUB 17.35 i 33' (inv.)
KUB 46.27 i 13' (rit.)	KUB 17.35 ii 27'f. (inv.)
KUB 39.4+ rev. 27f. (rit.)	KUB 17.35 iv 13 (inv.)
KUB 22.70 rev. 51f. (or.)	KUB 17.35 iv 24' (inv.)
KUB 22.70 rev. 54f. (or.)	KUB 17.35 iv 25' (inv.)
KUB 16.16 obv. 13' (or.)	KUB 41.34 i 6'f. (inv.)
KUB 40.95 ii 5f. (inv.)	KBo 2.8 ii 2 (inv.)
KUB 40.95 ii 6-8 (inv.)	

The distribution of the above data within the Hittite corpus is significant. The phenomenon of semantic agreement is rare and occurs only in New Hittite (including Late New Hittite) texts. Six attestations come from historical texts, five from ritual descriptions, three from oracle texts about the cult, and the rest from cult inventories. The two latter genres (containing 19 out of 29 examples) consist of ephemeral texts not meant to be preserved over time. Within these, the examples tend to cluster in some of the texts. On account of this distribution, we may tentatively conclude that the construction was not well accepted and tended to be avoided by the scribes. In the process of passing down the texts, examples of semantic agreement were mostly “corrected”. This could not happen in the ephemeral texts and therefore “mistakes” of individual scribes reflecting their sub-standard Hittite have been preserved.

In the following sections, these examples will be analyzed with reference to the semantic and syntactic categories listed in section 2 (animacy, agentivity, transitivity, and ergativity), as well as relationality, properties expressed by adjectives, and lexical differences.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Gernot Wilhelm and Dr. Francesco Fuscagni for the opportunity of using the collections.





“([ ... ] he (*scil.* my father) brought the population, each one, back into his city.)  
[A(nd the p)]**people took back** their cities.”

(10) KUB 22.70 rev. 51f. (CHD Š: 48); cf. also *ibid.* rev. 54f.

**UN.MEŠ-tar=pat=kan** kuit                      *šaknuwant-eš*                      **anda šaliki-šk-er**  
 people(N).NOM.SG                      impure.NOM.PL.C                      intrude-IPFV-PST.3PL  
 “Because the above mentioned **people used to intrude** upon (the utensils of deity) (being)  
 impure”

On account of the lack of examples for modifying adjectives and the low numbers of positive examples for contextual individuation, it can be assumed that neither factor has a significant impact on the grammar of agreement.

### IV.3. Agentivity

Agents are willful, controlling, instigating participants in states of affairs. Therefore, agentivity strongly correlates with animacy.

According to Dowty (1991: 572), Proto-Agents are characterized by the following uncontroversial properties:

- (11) a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)
- c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
- d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)

Along the same lines, van Valin (2005: 53) listed verb-specific semantic roles that cluster as thematic relations, which, in turn, can be arranged on a scale of decreasing eligibility for the actor macrorole in a state of affairs:

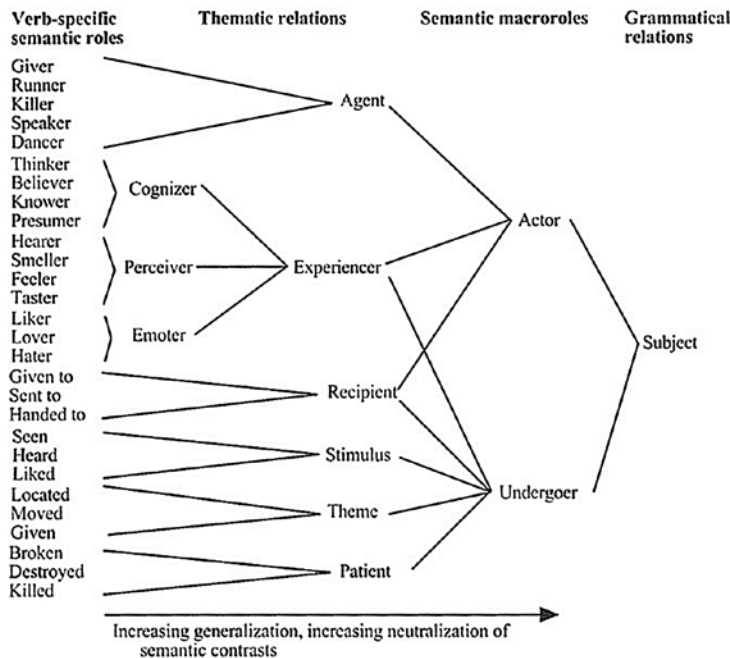


Fig. 1:  
Continuum from  
verb-specific semantic  
roles to grammatical relations,  
taken from van Valin 2005, 53.



Out of the 29 Hittite examples of collective nouns that trigger plural agreement on the verb, 28 represent subjects of verbs that have a slot for an argument with typical agent properties:

- give (2x), place, bring (*peda-*) (8x), bring (*uda-*), seize (3x), hold: AGENT (like Giver)
- create: AGENT (like Killer)
- sing, mourn: AGENT (like Speaker)
- stand up, intrude upon (2x), come, make an uprising (2x): AGENT (like Runner)
- gladden (4x): AGENT

Hittite *duškiške/a-* ‘gladden’<sup>5</sup> doesn’t have a closely related semantic equivalent in van Valin’s list, but there is no doubt about the fact that gladdening a deity in ritual amounts to causing a change of state in another participant (cf. c. in Dowty’s list) and, therefore, the verb in question describes the action of a prototypical agent. An apparent exception is example (11) with the verb *au-* ‘see’ calling for an EXPERIENCER subject:

(12) KUB 1.1 i 30-32 (Otten 1981: 6f.)

*nu=mu=kan GIM-an UN.ME.EŠ-ann-aza ŠA ʹIŠTAR GAŠAN-YA kaniššūwar*  
 people(N)-ERG.SG  
*ŠA ŠEŠ-YA-ya [aš]šulan au-ēr nu=mu :aršaniyēr*  
 see-PST.3.PL

“But when **the people saw** the acknowledgment of Ištar, my lady, and the benevolence of my brother towards me, they envied me.”

Although *au-* ‘see’ is generally categorized as a perception verb that is neutral regarding the notion of control, it can also express a volitional action (‘observe, take notice of’), which would fit the context of example (11) even better than ‘see’.

Considering the complete lack of counter-examples, we may conclude that agentivity, together with the animacy of the subject referent, represents a highly relevant factor for the agreement of plural verbs with collective subjects.

#### IV.4. Transitivity (and ergativity)

Following Haspelmath (2015: 136, with references),

“[a] verb is considered transitive if it contains an A[gent] and a P[atient] argument. A and P are defined as the arguments of a verb with at least two arguments that are coded like the ‘breaker’ and the ‘broken thing’ micro-roles of the ‘break’ verb.”

In Hittite, as in most other Indo-European languages, this prototypical transitive construction consists of a verb with a nominative subject and a direct object in the accusative case.

21 of the above examples contain transitive verbs (cf. section 4.3) against nine examples with intransitive verbs. While these numbers certainly indicate that transitivity has an impact on the agreement of the verbal target, the evidence of the sentences with subject <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*hazkara(iya)-*/<sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*hazkara(n)za* is considerably more suggestive (see Hoffner 1998, on the analysis of the ergative morpheme in this word, and Soysal 2010, for attestations). With few exceptions (KBo 2.8 ii 2, KUB 17.35 ii 24’f.), all sentences with non-ergative neuter plural <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*hazkara(iya)-* have the expected intransitive verbs in the singular; cf. example (13). By contrast, the examples of ergative <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*hazkara(n)za* tend to trigger plural forms of the targeted transitive verbs; cf. example (14).

<sup>5</sup> For a different syntactic and semantic analysis of the verb frame, see Cammarosano 2014.

(13) KUB 20.25 + KUB 10.78(+) i 18' (Hoffner 1998: 38)

MUNUS.MEŠ *ḥazqara-i* EGIR-*an* *ar-ta*  
 ḥ.-woman(N)-NOM.PL behind stand-PRS.M/P.3SG  
 “The *ḥazqara*-women stand behind.”

(14) KBo 2.7 ro. 26' (Carter 1962: 92, 98)

lukat=ma=kan NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA DU<sup>G</sup>[ḥaršiaš] MUNUS.]MEŠ *ḥazkarāya-aza*  
 ḥ.-woman(N)-ERG.SG  
 INA É.DINGIR-LIM UGU *uta-nzi*  
 bring-PRS.3PL

“In the morning, the *ḥazkarāya*-women bring the thick bread of the [ḥaršī-]vessel up to the temple.”

The strong correlation of transitivity and plural agreement of the verbal target after the ergative form MUNUS.MEŠ *ḥazkara(n)za* and the opposite correlation of intransitivity and singular agreement after the neuter nominative plural MUNUS.MEŠ *ḥazkara(iya)* implies that although the syntactic condition of transitivity and, as a consequence, of ergativity is no prerequisite of plural agreement in the case of neuters, it represents a significant factor favouring such agreement.

#### IV.4. Lexical differences

The examples of singular collective nouns that can trigger plural agreement on the verb cluster around two semantic fields, according to their genres. The historical texts feature ‘mankind, people’ and ‘country, population’, while ‘assembly’ and groups of cult functionaries occur in the religious texts (including the records of cult administration). Although all of them qualify as [+human] animates and willful agents, the difference in the percentage of examples of plural verb agreement is obvious.

While UN.MEŠ-*anza*, *antuḥšannanz(a)* ‘people’ is attested three times in complete contexts and followed by a plural verb twice, ÉRIN.MEŠ ‘soldiers, troops’, a *singulare tantum* with an animate referent which could theoretically belong here, is frequently attested (also as an agentive subject of transitive sentences), but never triggers plural agreement.

The word for ‘assembly’ *ašeššar* plays an important role in many Hittite ritual descriptions (mostly in intransitive sentences), but occurs only once with a plural verb (also intransitive). However, for the names of certain functionary groups, especially the *ḥazkara(iya)*-women, the degree of member level accessibility is very high and, apparently, strongly correlating with transitivity (and ergativity). Other words for cult functionaries behave differently. For instance, in addition to its collective use in the nominative singular as seen in example (3), LÚ.(MEŠ) *zillipuriyatalla*- ‘zillipuri-man’ is attested also in the plural nominative triggering the expected plural verb agreement (KBo 23.92 ii 9’f., KUB 46.1 iii 6’, KUB 43.29 iii 5’).

Thus the Hittite verb agreement can be typologically compared to the situation in Dutch. The diversity of the collective nouns with regard to the frequency of singular subject – plural verb agreement and the use of alternative constructions represents an argument in favour of variable member level accessibility of the relevant lexemes.

## V. Conclusion

The evidence adduced in this study is conducive to the conclusion that the Hittite collective subjects rarely trigger semantic plural agreement of the targeted verbs. However, when it does occur, two conditions can be regarded as pre-requisites, which are animacy and agentivity of the collective noun referent. Transitivity of the verb and, in the instance of neuters, the ergative form of the collective noun must be regarded as important factors that are highly in favour of member level accessibility and, hence, semantic agreement in the targeted verb. But the effect of these parameters is dependent upon lexical differences. While some

collective nouns seem to be entirely resistant to semantic agreement, others clearly react to the impact of the factors mentioned above. Unexpectedly, contextual information (relationality, properties of adjectival modifiers) does not seem to play a role for individuation and member level accessibility of collectives.

Thus, the Hittite texts overall display here their normative character, with formal agreement being part of the norm. The exceptions are triggered by categories that are typologically well-known for this effect. It is, however, remarkable that the lexical differences, which have been focused upon only recently, play such an important role.

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# YAYINLANMAMIŞ BAZI Bo TABLETLERİNE YENİ DUPLİKAT VE PARALEL METİNLER\*

Rukiye Akdoğan  
Çukurova Üniversitesi, Adana

Makalenin konusunu, yayınlanmamış Bo tabletlerine yeni tespit edilen duplikat ve paralel metinler oluşturmaktadır.<sup>1</sup> Bu tabletler çeşitli konuları içermektedir: Bayram ritüeli fragmanları (Bo 4682, Bo 4877, Bo 4936), ritüel fragman (Bo 4716), ay bayramı (Bo 4868), yeraltı tanrıları için bayram fragmanı (Bo 4881), Zıparwa tanrısının anıldığı fragman (Bo 4902) ve Zıparwa tanrısı için bayram ritüeli (Bo 4998). Söz konusu tabletler, orijinal tabletlerden yapılmış kopyaları ile sunulmaktadır.<sup>2</sup>

## 1) Bo 4682 (CTH 670.2205)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 5 cm. genişlik: 4,6 cm. kalınlık: 1,4 cm.

Öy<sup>3</sup> II<sup>2</sup>

x+1 t[u-un-na-kiš-na-aš-kán]<sup>3</sup>

2' GAL<sup>HLA</sup> 4[aš-š]a[-nu-an-zi]<sup>5</sup>

3' LÚSANGA IGI-zi pal-š[i]<sup>6</sup>

4' D<sup>U</sup> URUHa-na-ši-pa []

5' D<sup>U</sup> URUHa-la-ap D<sup>Hé</sup>-p[át]

6' III-ŠU e-ku-zi III NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R[A]<sup>7</sup>

\* Doç.Dr. Rukiye Akdoğan, Çukurova Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Sarıçam-Adana.

1 2011 Haziran-Temmuz aylarında Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz'da Bo tabletleriyle ilgili olarak çalışma yapıldı. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz'da çalışma iznini veren Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. G. Wilhelm'e teşekkür ederim. Ayrıca bazı müşkül yerlerin transkripsiyonlarında yardımını esirgemeyen Dr. S. Koşak'a, yardımlarından ve dostane tavırlarından dolayı Dr. F. Fuscagni'ye, Dr. G. Stivala ve PD Dr. G. Müller'e teşekkür ederim. Mainz'da çalışma süresince maddi destek sağlayan Yükseköğretim Kurulu'na teşekkürlerimi sunuyorum.

2 Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nde çalışırken her türlü yardımlarından dolayı Müze Müdürü E. Sağır'a, Müdür yardımcıları E. Yurttagül'e, H. Demirdelen'e, Tablet Arşivi uzmanları B. Yıldız'a, S. Delioğlu'na, İ. Aykut'a, Dr. Ş. Yılmaz'a ve M. Çifçi'ye teşekkürlerimi sunuyorum.

3 KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 8'-16' satırlar arasında paraleldir; krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 8'; ayrıca bu ve bundan sonraki satırların transkripsiyonu için bkz. Groddek 2005: 166.

4 Kutsal nesnelerin envanterine ait bir metin olan KUB 48.114 Ay. IV'de 50 adet GAL söz konusudur:

7' L GAL<sup>HLA</sup> x-x[]

5 Krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 9'.

6 Krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 10'.

7 Krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 12', 13'.

7' pá-r-ši- ya []

8' EGIR-ŠÚ-ma<sup>D</sup>UTU GUB-aš I-ŠU []<sup>8</sup>

9' e-ku-zi I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA NU.GÁL[]<sup>9</sup>

10' EGIR-ŠÚ-ma<sup>D</sup>U<sup>URU</sup>Te-ša-ma[-<sup>10</sup> III-ŠU e-ku-zi]

Tercüme: x+1-2': İç evin kaplarını tedarik ederler. 3'-7': İlk olarak rahip, Hanaşıpa şehrinin fırtına tanrısını, Halap şehrinin fırtına tanrısını, tanrıça Hepat'ı 3 kere içer. 3 kalın ekmeği böler. 8'-9'-10': Daha sonra o ayakta durarak güneş tanrısını 1 kere içer. (Bu arada) 1 kalın ekmeği mevcut değil. Daha sonra Teşama[- ] şehri fırtına tanrısını [3 kere içer.]<sup>11</sup>

Bo 4682 Öy<sup>2</sup> II' x+1-10', büyük deniz ve tarmana- denizi için ritüel bir metin olan KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 8'-16' satırlar arasına paraleldir.

### Öy<sup>2</sup> II'ye ait açıklamalar:

x+1 t[u-un-na-kiš-na-aš-kán]: *tunnakeššar*- “iç oda, iç bölüm, yatak odası”<sup>12</sup> anlamlarına gelen kelime, bayram ritüelleri dışında, É.ŠÀ.KÙ.GA “kutsal iç oda”, É.ŠÀ DINGIR<sup>UM</sup>, *šunaš* É.ŠÀ, *taknaš*<sup>D</sup>UTU-aš É.ŠÀ (KBo 22.111 II 8') kült alanları için kullanılır.<sup>13</sup> *tunnakeššar*- ile É.ŠÀ'nın dönüşümlü olarak kullanıldığını KUB 55.39 I 12'-13' satırlarda görmek mümkün:<sup>14</sup>

11' ... LUGAL-uš UŠ-GI-EN na-aš-kán šu-uh-ha-az GAM ú-iz-zi

12' na-aš<sup>É</sup>du-un-na-ak-ki-iš-na pa-iz-zi

13' LUGAL-uš-kán É.ŠÀ-az ú-iz-zi ta-aš<sup>É</sup>ha-li-in-tu-u-i

14' ti-ya-zi...

Tercüme:

11' ... Kral reverans yapar (tanrının huzurunda). O, damdan aşağı iner.

12' İç odaya gider.

13' Kral iç odadan gelir ve *halentuwa*'ya

14' geçer. ...

## 2) Bo 4716 (CTH 470.325)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 8 cm. genişlik: 2,9 cm. kalınlık: 2,1 cm.

Öy.

x+1 [ -]x-šu-ma<sup>2</sup>-x[

2' x-aš-ša E[N.SISKUR

3' IŠ-TU<sup>UZ</sup>[U

8 Krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 14'.

9 Krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a+ Ay. IV 15'.

10 Krş. KUB 58.62 + KUB 58.62a + Ay. IV 16'; ayrıca KBo 13.68 Öy. 12'de bu şehir, “ ... URU Te-ša-ma-ya-kán ... ” şeklinde yer almaktadır.

11 Tercümeyi krş. Yoshida 1996: 229.

12 Bkz. HEG T: 434-436; Ünal 2007: 735; Alp 1993: 368-376.

13 Krş. Alp 1993: 368.

14 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. HEG T: 435; Arkan 2003: 25-26.



- 4' še-er ar-ha[  
 5' ʾnuʾ[ -]li-x[-  
 6' <sup>TU7</sup>pu-ul[-la-<sup>15</sup>  
 7' x-ah-e-x[-  
 8' <sup>FD1UG</sup>aš-ša-w[a-  
 9' ma-ah-ha-an-m[a LÚ <sup>D</sup>U ud-da-a-ar]<sup>16</sup>  
 10' me-mi-ja-u-w[a-an-zi zi-in-na-a-i<sup>17</sup>  
 11' na-aš-ta MUNUS[.LUGAL<sup>18</sup>  
 12' A-NA EN.SISKUR[  
 13' nam-ma A-N[A  
 14' ʾna-a<sup>1</sup>n al-x[-  
 15' [ ]x[

Bo 4716 Öy. 9'-11' ile "Fırtına Tanrısının adamı"ndan (LÚ <sup>D</sup>U) bahsedildiği bayram fragmanı olan, KUB 59.15 II 6'-8' paraleldir.

Bo 4716'nın arka yüzünün sol alt kenarının baş kısımları korunmuş olup, yazısızdır.

#### Öy.'e ait açıklamalar:

**Öy. 6'** <sup>TU7</sup>pu-ul[-la-: TU<sub>7</sub> çorba, çorba önüne gelen determinatiftir. pu(l)la- kelimesi, <sup>NINDA</sup>pu[la-...<sup>19</sup> (bir ekmeğin çeşidi), É pull[la-... (É DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-an)<sup>20</sup> (çocukların evi), É pull[la-... (bir yapı, ev)<sup>21</sup> ve <sup>DUG</sup>pulla- (bir kap<sup>22</sup>, bir ekmeğin kabı<sup>23</sup>) şeklinde belgelenmektedir. TU<sub>7</sub> determinatifi ile ilk kez belgelenmektedir ve pulla çorbası olarak tercüme edilmelidir. pul-/pulla- kelimesi ise fal, talih, kader anlamına gelmektedir.<sup>24</sup>

**Öy. 8'** <sup>FD1UG</sup>aš-ša-w[a-: KUB 42.69 Rs. 6' satırda bu kelime şöyle belgelenmektedir: ]x III ga-aš-ša-u-wa-aš GUŠKIN NA<sub>4</sub>[; krş. Ünal 2007: 328. Bo 4716 Öy. 8. satırda "DUG" işareti olduğu açıktır, bu nedenle <sup>FD1UG</sup>aš-ša-w[a- şeklinde transkripsiyonu yapılmıştır. KUB 42.69 Ay. 6'da yer alan "ga-aš-ša-u-wa-aš" kelimesindeki baştaki işaretin "ga" olduğu, Ağustos 2012'de Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nde orijinal tablet üzerinde teyit edilmiştir.

Ünal 2007: 328'de, gaššawa-/gaššauwa-/gaššawar, başlığında sunulan kelimenin anlamı "altından bir süs eşyası veya kap" şeklindedir.

Öy. 9', 10', 11'in tercümesi: Fakat, Fırtına tanrısının adamı sözleri söylemeyi bitirir bitirmez, sonra o [kral]içe[

15 <sup>DUG</sup>pulla-, burada ilk kez TU<sub>7</sub> (çorba) determinatifi ile birlikte kullanılmıştır; <sup>DUG</sup>pulla- için bkz. CHD P: 374, 375.

16 Bo 4716 Öy. 9'-11' ile KUB 59.15 I x+1-2' II 6'-8', III 2-3 paraleldir. Krş. KUB 59.15 II 6' ve III 2, 8; ayrıca bkz. Velhartická 2009: 332, 333; Groddek 2004b: 27 vd. Yine VBoT 55 x+1-2' satırlarda da aynı ifadeler yer almaktadır: x+1 ma-ah-ha-a[n-ma LÚ <sup>D</sup>U ud-da-a-ar] 2' me-mi-ya-u-wa-an-z[i zi-in-na-a-i, transkripsiyon için bkz. Velhartická 2009: 333.

17 Krş. KUB 59.15 II 7' ve III 3, 9; ayrıca bkz. Velhartická 2009: 333; Groddek 2004b: 27 vd.

18 Krş. KUB 59.15 II 8' ve III 10; KUB 59.15 II 8' satır "na-aš-ta LUGAL-x[" olarak belgelenmesine dayanarak, Bo 4716 Öy. 11' na-aš-ta MUNUS[.LUGAL şeklinde tamamlandı; ayrıca bkz. Velhartická 2009: 333; Groddek 2004b: 27 vd.

19 Ünal 2007: 551.

20 Tischler 2001: 220.

21 CHD P: 374.

22 Ünal 2007: 551.

23 Tischler 2001: 220.

24 Ünal 2007: 551, CHD P: 373, 374.

## 3) Bo 4868 (CTH 591?)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 7,3 cm. genişlik: 8,8 cm. kalınlık: 3,6 cm.

Öy. I

x+1 -]x-x  
 2' -]x  
 3' -]x da-a-i

Öy. II

x+1 x[-  
 2' SÌR<sup>RU</sup> x-x[-  
 3' a-aš-ga-az ú-d[a-i  
 4' LUGAL-uš pá-r-š[i-ya(-) (na-aš-ta)]  
 5' NINDA<sup>25</sup>zi-ip-pu-la[(-aš-na-az I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA GE<sub>6</sub> da-a-i na-an A-NA  
 LÚSAGI pa-a-i)]<sup>25</sup>  
 6' pá-r-aš-na-u-aš-kán<sup>26</sup> ú[(-iz-zi)]  
 7' [g]i-nu-wa-aš-kán GADA<sup>HIA</sup> d[(a-an-zi)]<sup>27</sup>  
 8' [LUG]AL MUNUS.LUGAL GUB-aš UŠ-KE-E[N-NU]  
 9' <sup>[D]</sup>Ne-ra-ak<sup>28</sup> a-ku-an-z[(i hu-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-ti LÚ<sup>MES</sup>GALA SÌR<sup>RU</sup>  
 GIŠar-ga-mi gal-gal-tu-u-ri)]  
 10' [(wa-a)]l-ha-an-zi iš-š[a<sup>29</sup>  
 11' [ ]x-x x<sup>r</sup>SÌR<sup>TRU</sup> x[-

Ay. III

x+1 pa-a-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> [  
 2' GAL ME-ŠE-DI<sup>NINDA</sup>[  
 3' tar-kum-mi-ya-iz-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>30</sup>  
 4' nam-ma-an šar-ra-an[  
 5' pá-r-aš-na-u-aš-kán ú-iz[-zi<sup>31</sup>  
 6' LUGAL MUNUS.GAL TUŠ-aš<sup>D</sup>ZA-B[A<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub>  
 7' a-ku-wa-an-zi GIŠ<sup>D</sup>INAN[NA.GAL

25 Bo 4868 Öy. II 5'-10'. satırlar arası ile KBo 20.67+++ II 63-III 3 paraleldir; transkripsiyon için krş. Klinger 1996: 314.

26 KBo 20.67+++ II 64: pá-r-aš-na-u-wa-aš-kán.

27 KBo 20.67+++ II 65: [DUMU<sup>MES</sup> É.GAL g]i-nu-wa-aš GADA-an da-an-zi.28 Aynı zamanda şehir ismi de olan kelime, del Monte/Tischler 1978: 287'de şu yazım şekilleri ile yer almaktadır: URU<sup>2</sup>Ne-ra-ak: KUB 10.35 x+1;KBo 20.35 6; KUB 28.73 5'de ... URU<sup>2</sup>Na-ra-ak ... ; krş. Yoshida 1996: 291. Tanrı ismi olarak yer aldığı metin yerleri için bkz. van Gessel 1998: 332.29 KBo 20.67+++ III 1 LUGAL-uš MUNUS.LUGAL-aš-ša<sup>D</sup>Ne-r[<sup>a</sup>-ak 2 a-ku-an-zi hu-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-t[i L]Ú<sup>MES</sup>G[ALA SÌR<sup>RU</sup>] 3 GIŠar-ga-mi gal-gal-tu-u-ri w[a-a]l-ha-a[n-ni-an-zi]; krş. Klinger 1996: 314.30 KUB 20.78 III 3' GAL ME-ŠE-DI<sup>NINDA</sup>ta-pár-wa-š-u-un 4' LUGAL-i tar-kum-mi-ya-iz-zi; krş. Klinger 1996: 486 ve Groddek 2004c: 135.

31 Krş. KUB 20.78 III 8 pá-r-aš-na-u-wa-aš-kán 9' LÚSAGI-aš ú-iz-zi; bkz. Klinger 1996: 486 ve Groddek 2004c: 135.

8' LÚ<sup>MES</sup>hal-li-ya-ri-eš S[İR<sup>RU</sup> 32  
 9' ʾwa-al<sup>1</sup>-ha-an-ʾzi<sup>1</sup> i[š-ša-  
 10' [ ]x x-x[  
 11' [ ]x[

Ay. IV

x+1 -z]i  
 2' ]  
 3' UŠ-K]E-EN-NU  
 4' -]x-zi  
 5' -]x-zi

Tercüme: Öy. II 5', 6', 7', 8', 9': Sonra o, zippulašna- ekmeğinden bir siyah kalın ekmeği alır ve onu sâkiye verir. Çömelmenin (sâkisi) gelir. Diz örtüsünü alırlar (Paralel satırlara sahip olan, ay bayramına ait, KBo 20.67++ II 65. satırda [DUMU<sup>MES</sup> É.GAL g]i-nu-wa-aš GADA-an da-an-zi cümlesinde “saray görevlileri diz örtüsünü alırlar” şeklinde özne yer almaktadır.). Kral, kraliçe ayakta huzurda eğilirler. Tanrı Nerak'ı içerler. Bir kâseyi sunarlar. Kült şarkıcıları şarkı söylerler. argami- ve galgalturi- müzik aletlerini çalarlar.

**Öy. III'e ait açıklamalar:**

**Öy. III 3' a-aš-ga-az ú-d[a-i:** Genellikle bayramlarda “(ekmek) getirmek” anlamında uda- fiili ile kullanılır. aškaz ise “dışarıdan” anlamında zarftır ve bu kısım “dışarıdan getirir” şeklinde tercüme edilir. KBo 10.29'da şöyle belgelenir:

II 9 [LÚS]AGI.A I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŠA 10 [a-aš-k]a-az ú-da-i ...

Tercüme: 9-10 Saki, 1 ekşi kalın ekmeği dışarıdan getirir.<sup>33</sup>

ABoT 2.148 Ay. 7' satırda <sup>G1</sup>]ŠBANŠUR-aš I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŠA a-aš-ka[-az ú-da-i] ve ABoT 2.211 6' satırda I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA E)]M-ŠA a-aš-ka-a[z ú-da-i yine ekşi kalın ekmeğin dışarıdan getirilmesi söz konusu.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4) Bo 4877<sup>35</sup> (CTH 670.21.B)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 5,2 cm. genişlik: 5,7 cm. kalınlık: 2,4 cm.

Öy.

x+1 ]<sup>rDZA-BA-BA I-ŠU e-ku-zi</sup>[i<sup>36</sup>  
 2' ŠİR<sup>R</sup>]U I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pá-r-ši-ya<sup>37</sup>  


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 3' ]<sup>rD1UD<sup>AM</sup> I-ŠU e-ku-zi</sup>38  
 4' NI]NDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pá-r-ši-ya<sup>39</sup>  


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 5' <sup>DGA</sup>]L.ZU I-ŠU e-ku-zi<sup>40</sup>  
 6' I NINDA.GU]R<sub>4</sub>.RA pá-r-ši-ya<sup>41</sup>

32 Bo 4868 Ay. III 6', 7', 8'. satırlar için krş. KUB 20.78 III 10'-13'; bkz. Klinger 1996: 486.

33 Bkz. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 420.

34 Metinlerin transkripsiyonları için bkz. Akdoğan 2010: 72, 99.

35 Bo 4877 Öy. x+1-6', KBo 34.207 x+1-7' ile duplikattır.

36 KBo 34.207 x+1 <sup>D1</sup>]ZA-BA<sup>1</sup>-BA I-ŠU e[-ku-zi.

37 KBo 34.207 2' ŠİR<sup>R</sup>]U I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pá-r-ši-ya[...]

38 KBo 34.207 3' ]<sup>rD1UD<sup>AM</sup> I-ŠU e-ku-zi.</sup>

39 KBo 34.207 4' [<sup>L1</sup>NAR<sup>URU</sup> Ka]-ni-iš ŠİR<sup>RU</sup>, tamamlama için bkz. Archi 2004: 22 [67]; 5' NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pá-r-ši-ya[...]

40 KBo 34.207 6' ]<sup>rD1</sup>GAL.ZU I-ŠU e[-ku-zi

41 KBo 34.207 7' ]x I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R[A pá-r-ši-ya; bu satırdan sonra kıraktır.

7' <sup>D</sup>U<sup>URUN</sup>]e-ri-ik [I-ŠU]  
8' e-ku-zi ]I<sup>2</sup> NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ṽpár-š<sup>1</sup>[i-y]a

9' ]x x-x-x

Bo 4877 Öy. x+1-6', bayram ritüeline ait bir metin olan KBo 34.207 x+1-7' ile duplikattır.

### Öy.'e ait açıklamalar:

Öy. 3' ]<sup>ΓD1</sup>UD<sup>AM</sup> için, Ünal 2007: 750'de, <sup>D</sup>UD<sup>(KAM)</sup> başlığında, “tanrılaştırılmış gün” anlamı yer almaktadır. Belgelendiği bazı metinler şöyledir:

KUB 25.1 VI 25 LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL GUB-aš <sup>D</sup>UD<sup>AM</sup>

26 a-ku-wa-an-zi<sup>42</sup> ...;

IBoT 3.4 III 3 LUGAL-uš GUB-aš <sup>D</sup>UD<sup>MA-AM</sup> e-ku-zi ... “Kral, ayakta tanrılaştırılmış günü içer”<sup>43</sup>;

KBo 38.34++ Ay.<sup>2</sup> 8' DUMU-aš <sup>D</sup>UD<sup>AM</sup> e-ku-zi...

Ölü ritüeline ait KUB 34.66 + KUB 39.7 Ay. III<sup>44</sup>'de şöyle belgelenmektedir:

39 I-NA IX KASKAL<sup>N1</sup>-ma-aš-ša-an an-da <sup>D</sup>UD<sup>MA-AM</sup> e-ku-zi ... “Dokuzuncu kere ise tanrılaştırılmış günü içer.”

Yine aynı metnin Ay. III 43. satırında belgelenmektedir:

[(da-a-i) NINDA.GU]R<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŠA-ma-aš-ša-an ŠA <sup>D</sup>UD<sup>AM</sup> A-NA NINDA ÉRIN<sup>MES</sup> da-a-i ṽṽṽ “Ekşi somun ekmeğini ise tanrılaştırılmış günün asker ekmeğine koyar.”

Kelimenin belgelendiği diğer yerler için bkz. van Gessel 1998: 841, 842.

UD “gün” kelimesinin Akadcası ÜMU'dur ve onun Akkusativ hali ÜMAM şeklindedir.

UD<sup>MA-AM</sup> kelimesinde ise, Akadca ses tamamlayıcısı olarak yer almaktadır.<sup>45</sup>

Öy. 5' <sup>D</sup>GAL.ZU:. Tanrı determinatifi olmaksızın KUB 32.65 l'de şöyle belgelenmektedir: 16 [Š]A <sup>D</sup>Li-lu-ri GAL.ZU 17 [ ... šu-un-n]a-an-zi. Burada gördüğümüz gibi doldurmak fiili ile beraber kullanılmıştır ve “kap” anlamındadır. <sup>D</sup>GAL.ZU'nun ise, Akadcası kāsū'dur ve belki “tanrılaştırılmış kap” anlamında olabilir.<sup>46</sup> <sup>D</sup>GAL.ZU'nun geçtiği metin yerleri için bkz. van Gessel 1998: 628, 629; Haas 1970: 224.

### 5) Bo 4881 (CTH 645.7.B)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 2,5 cm. genişlik: 3,1 cm. kalınlık: 0,6 cm.

x+1 [UGULA LÚ<sup>MES</sup> MUHALDIM GEŠTI]N-aš iš-pa-an-t[u-zi-aš-šar]<sup>47</sup>

2' [LUGAL-i pa-r]a-a e-ep-z[i]

3' [LUGAL-uš Q]A-TAM da-a-i [(UGULA LÚ<sup>MES</sup> MUHALDIM kur-ša-aš pī-ra-an  
GİS<sup>BANŠUR</sup> kat-ta)]<sup>48</sup>

4' [III-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti UGULA LÚ<sup>MES</sup> GİS<sup>BANŠUR</sup> ša-ra-]ṽa<sup>1</sup> šu-u-ṽup<sup>1</sup>-[pī-ya-ah-hi]<sup>49</sup>

5' -]x[

42 Transkripsiyon için bkz. Badalı 1991: 58.

43 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. de Martino 1989: 52.

44 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Otten 1958: 42, 43.

45 Daha geniş açıklama için bkz. Otten 1958: 135, 136.

46 Güterbock 1964: 98.

47 Bo 4881 x+1-4' ile KUB 43.30 II 12'-14' arası duplikattır. KUB 43.30 II 12' ... GEŠTIN-aš iš-pa-an-tu-zi-aš-šar LUGAL-i pa-r[a-a] e-ep-zi; KUB 43.30 II x+1-22' arasının transkripsiyonu için bkz. Neu 1980: 76-77; KUB 43.30 II 12'-17' arasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Yoshida 1996: 89.

48 KUB 43.30 II 13' [LUGAL]-uš QA-TAM da-a-i UGULA ...

49 KUB 43.30 II 14' ... GİS<sup>BANŠUR</sup> ša-ra-a šu-u-[p-pī-ya-ah-hi].

Bo 4881 x+1-4' ile yer altı tanrıları için bayram metni olan KUB 43.30 II 12'-14' arasına duplikattır.  
KUB 43.30 II

- 12' [UGULA LÚ<sup>M</sup>]<sup>EŠ</sup>MUHALDIM GEŠTIN-aš iš-pa-an-tu-zi-aš-šar LUGAL-i pa-r[a-a  
e]-ep-zi  
13' [LUGAL-uš] QA-TAM da-a-i UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>MUHALDIM kur-ša-aš pí-ra-an  
GİŠ<sup>S</sup>BANŠUR kat-ta]  
14' [II]I-<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup> ši-pa-an-ti UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> GİŠ<sup>S</sup>BANŠUR ša-ra-a šu-u[p-pí-ya-ah-hi]

Tercüme:

- x+1-2 Aşçıların başı, krala bir libasyon kabı şarabı uzatır.  
3' Kral elini (onun bitişiğine) koyar. Aşçıların başı, masanın yanındaki çantanın önünde  
4' üç defa libasyon yapar. Masa adamları yukarıyı temizler.

Aynı zamanda, Bo 4881 x+1-4' satırlar, ABoT 2.164 2'-5' satırlarla benzerlik göstermektedir.<sup>50</sup> Benzerlik gösteren metinlerde Bo 4881 3' satırdaki "kur-ša-aš" yerine "iš-ta-na-ni" (ıştana- sunak, adak masası) yer almaktadır:

- ABoT 2.164 4' UGULA)] LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>MUHALDIM iš-ta-na-ni pí-r[a-an,  
KUB 57.99 IV 5' UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>MUHALDIM iš-ta-na-ni pí-ra-an,  
KBo 39.86 II 16' [UGULA L]Ú<sup>MEŠ</sup>MUHALDIM iš-ta-na-ni pí-ra[-an.

#### Açıklamalar:

**3' kur-ša-aš:** Metinde Sg. N. halinde KUŠ determinatifi olmasızın kuršaš şeklinde belgelenmiştir. KUŠ ile beraber HW: 118'de, "deri, post" olarak tercüme edilmiştir. HED K: 270 vd.'da, kurša-, kurši-'nin genellikle KUŠ determinatifi ile kullanıldığını, "deri, post, koyun postu, (deri) çanta" anlamlarının yanı sıra da, nadiren GİŠ "ağaç" ya da GI "kamış" determinatifi ile belgendiğini ve VBoT 95 I 10'da <sup>D</sup>KUŠ<sup>S</sup>kuršin şeklinde geçtiğini açıklamaktadır. Ayrıca <sup>D</sup>KUŠ<sup>S</sup>kur-ša-[aš] "kutsal kalkan" için bkz. Güterbock 1961: 92.

KUB 21.11 II 5-6. satırlarda KUŠ "deri" determinatifi ile beraber belgelenmektedir:<sup>51</sup>

- 5 <sup>KU</sup>]Škur-ša-aš UG.TUR UR.MAH  
6 [... ] pé-e har-kán-zi

Tercüme:

- 5 ] leopar, arslan derilerini  
6 [... ] tedarik ederler.

kurša- ile ilgili en iyi bilinen tanım, kaybolan tanrı mitinde karşımıza çıkar. Bu hikayede bir koyun kurša-'sının yaprağını dökmeyen bir ağaca asılı olduğu, içininse "koyun yağı, (bol miktarda) tahıl, (vahşi) hayvanlar, şarap, sığır, uzun yaşam ve döl" gibi iyi şeylerle dolu olduğundan bahsetmektedir. Söz konusu kurša-'nın çanta gibi dikilmiş bir koyun derisi olma olasılığı bulunmaktadır.<sup>52</sup>

## 6) Bo 4902 (CTH 643.2.B)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 9,6 cm. genişlik: 10,9 cm. kalınlık: 3 cm.

Ay. III<sup>2</sup>

x+1 [ ]x-x[-

<sup>50</sup> ABoT 2.164'ün transkripsiyonu için bkz. Akdoğan 2010: 79.

<sup>51</sup> Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. HED K: 274.

<sup>52</sup> Bkz. Güterbock 1989: 115 vd.; kurša- ile ilgili daha detaylı bilgi için bkz. Akdoğan 2005: 103.

2' EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>D</sup>Ka-tah[-zi-pu-ri]<sup>53</sup>  
 3' I-ŠU e-ku-zi I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-k[ar-mu-un]  
 4' pá-r-ši- ya []

5' EGIR-ŠU-<ma> <sup>D</sup>Wa<sub>a</sub>-aš-hu-la-aš-x[ ]  
 6' I-ŠU e-ku-zi I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-ka[r-mu-un]  
 7' pá-r-ši- ya []

8' EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>D</sup>I-la-li-y[a-an-ta-aš]<sup>54</sup>  
 9' I-ŠU e-ku-zi I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar[-mu-un]  
 10' pá-r-ši- ya []

11' EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>D</sup>Ha-ša-me-li[-ya-aš]<sup>55</sup>  
 12' I-ŠU e-ku-zi I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar[-mu-un]  
 13' pá-r-ši- ya []

14' EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>D</sup>Ha-ša-u-wa[-an-za]<sup>56</sup>  
 15' I-ŠU e-ku-zi []  
 16' I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar-mu-un pá-r-ši-ya

17' EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>D</sup>Ša-a-a[š-hi-la-aš]<sup>57</sup>  
 18' I-ŠU e-ku-zi I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta[-kar-mu-un pá-r-ši-ya]

19' EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>D</sup>Hi-I[a-an-zi-pa-aš]  
 20' I-ŠU e-ku-zi []  
 21' I <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar-m[u-un pá-r-ši-ya]

22' EGIR-Š[U-ma <sup>D</sup>  
 23' x[-

Tanrı Zıparwa'nın adının anıldığı Bo 4902 Ay. III<sup>2</sup> sütündeki tanrı isimleri ile Tanrı Zıparwa için bayram ritüeli olan Bo 4998 Ay. IV. sütündeki tanrı isimlerinin sıralaması neredeyse aynı olması dolayısıyla Bo 4902 Ay. III'deki kırık olan yerlerin tamamlaması Bo 4998 Ay. IV'e göre yapılmıştır. Aynı zamanda Bo 4902 Ay. IV x+1-10' ile KUB 57.62 sağ sütun 2'-13' satırlar duplikattır.

Tercüme:

Ay. III<sup>2</sup>

x+1 [ ]x-x[-

53 Tamamlama için bkz. Bo 4998 Ay. IV 9'.

54 Bu ve bu yüzde geçen diğer tanrılar için bkz. Otten 1944: 126. Tamamlama için bkz. Bo 4998 Ay. IV 13.

55 Tamamlama için bkz. Bo 4998 Ay. IV 15: <sup>D</sup>Ha-ša-am-mi-li-ya-aš; ayrıca bu yüzdeki bazı tanrı isimleri için Fuscagni 2007: 81 vd. bakılabilir.

56 Tamamlama için bkz. Bo 4998 Ay. IV 18: <sup>D</sup>Ha-a-ša-u-wa-an-za.

57 Bo 4998 Ay. IV 21 satırda <sup>D</sup>Ša-a-wa-aš-hi-la-aš şeklinde belgelenmektedir.



8'	nu EGIR-an-da GEŠT]IN ŠA <sup>D</sup> Zi-pár-wa <sub>a</sub> -a
9'	<sup>DUG</sup> iš-nu-u-ri p]í-ra-an A-NA <sup>D</sup> Zi-pár-wa <sub>a</sub> -a
10'	DINGIR <sup>MES</sup> -aš-ša hu-u-m]a-an-da-aš
11'	ši-pa-an-tu-uz-zi -]x-wa-an-zi ir-ha-a-iz-zi <sup>63</sup>
12'	EGIR-an-da-ma ]mar-nu-wa-an
13'	pé-e]r <sup>š</sup> -šar <sup>164</sup> A-NA <sup>D</sup> Zi-pár-wa <sub>a</sub> -a
14'	-]x-an-da-aš
15'	-z]i QA-TAM-MA
16'	]
<hr/>	
17'	]x <sup>UTUL</sup> tu-u-ni-ša
18'	-z]i
<hr/>	
19'	]r <sup>D1</sup> Zi-pár-wa <sub>a</sub> -a-an
20'	-]x-an-du-uš
21'	]x[ ]

**Açıklamalar:**

Boğazköy devlet arşivinde ele geçen Hititçe tercümesiz Palaca metinlerde en çok Tanrı Zıparwa kültüne yer verilmiştir. <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI “yaşlı kadın” tarafından bu tanrıya ilahiler söylenmektedir. Bu tanrıdan başka önemli tanrılar arasında Katahziwuri, Tiyaz (Güneş Tanrısı), Ilaliyant(ik)eš, Hašamili, Kamama, Šaušhalla, Hilanzipa, Kullzannikeš ve Uliliyantikeš kaydedilmektedir.<sup>65</sup>

Pala pantheonu, Hatti kültürünün etkisi altındadır. Tepede Zıparwa/Zaparwa ve Hatti tanrıçası Katahziwuri bulunur. Ayrıca Hašammili, Kamama ile Šaušhalla tanrısı, saray koruyucusu Hilanzipa, kader tanrıçası Gulzanikeš ve de ilkinin ismi Hititçe *ilaliya*- “istemek, dilemek” fiilinden ve ikincisinin ismi de *ulili*- “yeşil, yeşillik”ten türetilmiş (*uliliya*- yeşermek) olan iki tanrı grubu Ilaliyantikeš ve Uliliyantikeš sayılır.<sup>66</sup>

Hatti büyü tanrıçası olan Katahziwuri, Hatti kültürü büyü ritüellerinde Hannahanna, Papaya ve güneş tanrıcaları ve Šulinkatte, Wurunkatte ve Šaru/Taru ile ilişkilidir. Katahziwuri, Pala bitki tanrısı Zaparwa/ Zıparwa ile birlikte palaca ritüellerin merkezinde yer alır, bazen de Hašammili, Kamama, Hilanzipa, Gulzanikeš ve Uliliyantikeš ile birlikte anılır. O, daha Eski Hitit zamanında Kamrušepa ile bir tutulmuştur veya Katahziwuri adı, Kamrušepa ile değiştirilmiştir.<sup>67</sup>

**7) Bo 4936 (CTH 670.2245)**

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 9,3 cm. genişlik: 6 cm. kalınlık: 3,3 cm.

Öy.

x+1	[	-]x[ ]
2'	[	pé] <sup>r</sup> -e <sup>r</sup> -da <sup>r</sup> -i[ ]

3' [na-aš-ta pár-aš-n]a-a-u-wa-aš

4' [<sup>LÜ</sup>SAGI.A ú]-iz-zi

63 KUB 57.62 sağ sütun 10'. satır ile duplikat.

64 KUB 57.62 sağ sütun 11' [ -]x x-x-ma pé-<sup>r</sup>eš<sup>r</sup>[-

65 Ertem 1980: 7.

66 Bkz. Haas 1994: 611-612.

67 Haas 1994: 438-439.



5' [LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš]<sup>D</sup>DAG-un  
 6' [a-ku-wa-an-zi GIŠ]<sup>D</sup>INANNA.GAL<sup>68</sup>  
 7' [LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>hal-li-y]a<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-eš SİR<sup>RU</sup>

8' [LÚSAGI.A I NINDA.GU]<sup>R</sup><sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>1</sup> EM-ŞA  
 9' [a-aš-ka-az ú-da-i LU]GAL-i  
 10' [ ]x-x[ ]

Ay.

x+1 [ ]x-aš  
 2' [ ]  
 3' [ ]

4' [ ]x-e-eš<sup>i</sup>  
 5' [ ]a  
 6' [ ]x  
 7' [ ]x  
 8' [ ]x pé-e-da[-i]

9' [ ]x.GAL<sup>T</sup>[<sup>M</sup> ]  
 10' [ ]g][(-) [ ]x-a  
 11' [ ]x-aš

Bo 4936 Öy. 3'-4' ile Bo 4937 Ay. III<sup>2</sup> 3-4 ve Bo 4937 Ay. III<sup>2</sup> 14-15. satırlar paraleldir. Bo 4936 Öy. 5', 6', 7', 8', 9'. satırlar, Bo 4937 Ay. III<sup>2</sup> 16, 17, 18, 19 satırları ile paraleldir;  
 Bo 4937 Ay. III<sup>2</sup>

16 [LUGAL] MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš<sup>D</sup>DAG-un a-ku-wa-an-zi  
 17 [GIŠ]<sup>D</sup>INANNA.GAL LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>hal-li-ya-re-eš SİR<sup>RU</sup>  
 18 [LÚS]AGI.A I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŞA  
 19 [a-aš-k]<sup>r</sup>a-az<sup>1</sup> ú-da-i

## 8) Bo 4998<sup>69</sup> (CTH 750)

Ölçüler: uzunluk: 12,5 cm. genişlik: 9 cm. kalınlık: 3,9 cm.

Öy. III

x+1 [ ]x[ ]  
 2' [ ]x-zi  
 3' [ ]x-an<sup>D</sup>GUL-ša-aš  
 4' [ ZAG.GAR.R]A-ni hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri-kán<sup>70</sup>

68 GIŠ<sup>D</sup>INANNA.GAL, ABoT 2.195 4' ve 6' satırlarda da belgelenmektedir, transkripsiyon için bkz. Akdoğan 2010: 93; tabletin kopyası için bkz. Akdoğan 2011: Levha 36; GIŠ<sup>D</sup>INANNA için bkz. Weeden 2011: 252-253.

69 Bo 4998 ile ilgili literatür için bkz. Groddek 2002: 181.

70 Bo 4998 Ay. IV 8'-16' satırları, KBo 44.197 sağ sütun x+1-7' satırlarına duplikattır. Ancak korunan diğer yüzlerde benzerlik yoktur, benzerlik sadece "hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri-kán" ile sınırlıdır: KBo 44.197 sol sütun 6' hal-hal-tu]-ma-ri-kán, Bo 4998 Öy. III 4' hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri-kán. KBo 44.197'nin transkripsiyonu için bkz. Roszkowska-Mutschler 2007: 179-180.

- 5' [ -]x-x da-a-i  
 6' [ -]x-x-ma NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA KU<sub>7</sub>  
 7' [ h]u-u-i-nu-zi
- 
- 8' [ ]<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŠA  
 9' [ -]x pa-ra-a e-ep-zi  
 10' [ -]x-ša-an QA-TAM da-a-i  
 11' [ GA]L<sup>?</sup> DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL  
 12' [ <sup>D</sup>Aš-š]a-nu-an-da-aš pá-r-ši-ya  
 13' [ -]x-kán ta-ma-iš DUMU É.GAL  
 14' [e-e]p-zi nu-uš-kán<sup>71</sup>  
 15' [h]a-aš-ši-ya a-ap-pí-iz-zi  
 16' ki-iz-za tar-ša-an-zi-pí[ ]  
 17' II BÁN<sup>HIA</sup> da-a-i  
 18' ki-iz-zi-ja tar-ša-an[-zi-pí]  
 19' II BÁN<sup>HIA</sup> da-a-i
- 
- 20' [k]u-it-ma-an-ma x[-  
 21' [NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R]A<sup>HIA</sup> pá-r[-  
 22' [ ]x-x x[-

## Ay. IV

- 1 [me-ma-la-aš]<sup>72</sup> ud-da-<sup>r</sup>a-ar<sup>1</sup>  
 2 [<sup>URU</sup>Pa-l]a-um-ni-li  
 3 [me-mi-]eš-ki-iz-zi
- 
- 4 [EG]IR-ŠU-ma DUMU É.GAL  
 5 <sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-ma-al iš-ta-na-ni  
 6 pí-ra-an III-ŠU šu-uh-ha-[a-i]  
 7 iš-ta-na-ni-ja-aš-ša-an [ ]  
 8 ša-ra-a II-ŠU šu-uh-ha-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>[-i]<sup>73</sup>  
 9 <sup>D</sup>Ka-tah-zi-pu-ri<sup>74</sup>  
 10 <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIDRU<sup>HIA</sup>-aš pí-ra-an  
 11 I-ŠU šu-uh-ha-a-i  
 12 <sup>D</sup>UTU-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB-ya pí-ra-a[n]  
 13 I-ŠU <sup>D</sup>I-la-li-ya-an-<sup>r</sup>ta-aš<sup>75</sup>

71 Bo 4998 III 14'-19' arasının transkripsiyonu için bkz. Otten 1971: 40 d. not 69.

72 Tamamlama için bkz. Ay. IV 2. satırda <sup>URU</sup>Pa-la-um-ni-li ile ilgili "Açıklamalar" kısmında yer alan KUB 2.4 IV 10.

73 Bo 4998 Ay. IV 8'-16' satırlar, KBo 44.197 sağ sütun x+1-7' satırlar arasına duplikattır.

74 KBo 44.197 sağ sütun 2': <sup>D</sup>Ka-[tah-zi-pu-u-ri. Ziparwa tanlığı için bayram ritüeli olan Bo 4902' Ay. III' 2'-14' satırlar arası ile yine aynı konuyu içeren Bo 4998 Ay. IV 9'-21' satırlar arasında belgelenen tanrılar aynı sıra ile devam etmektedir; sadece Bo 4902 Ay. III' 5' satırdaki <sup>D</sup>Wa-aš-hu-la-aš-x[, Bo 4998 Ay. IV'de yer almamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Bo 4998 Ay. IV 9-19 satırlar arası KUB 58.44 III' 4'-14' satırlar arasına duplikattır; KUB 58.44 III'ün transkripsiyonu için bkz. Groddek 2005: 117-118.

75 Bo 4998 Ay. IV 13', 18' ve 21' satırlardaki tanrı isimleri için bkz. Otten 1944: 128 d. not 19.

- 14 <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB-ya pí-ra-an I-ŠU  
 15 <sup>D</sup>Ha-ša-am-mi-li-ya-aš  
 16 <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB-ya I-ŠU ha-aš-ši-i  
 17 ha-an-te-ez-zi-ya-az  
 18 [Z]AG-az <sup>D</sup>Ha-a-ša-u-wa-an-za <sup><D></sup>Kam-ma-ma<sup>76</sup>  
 19 [I-Š]U EGIR-pa-ma ha-aš-ši-i  
 20 [ha-an]-te-ez-zi-az GÜB-la-az  
 21 [ <sup>D</sup>Ša-a-wa-aš-hi-la-aš

- 22 [                   ]-]ši-ya-aš  
 23 [                   ] [ ]  
 24 [                   ]x[ ]

## Ay. V

- x+1 [                   ]-]x-mi<sup>2</sup>  
 2' [                   ] ]  
 3' [                   ]-a]z  
 4' [                   ]-]x

- 5' [                   ] ]  
 6' [                   ]-]x  
 7' [                   ] ]  
 8' [                   ]-]x

## Tercüme:

## Öy. III

- 14'           .... Ve onu  
 15' sonuncu ocağın  
 16' bu tarafına taršanzipi'ye[ ]  
 17' 2 BÁN koyar.  
 18' Diğer tarafına taršanzipi'ye  
 19' 2 BÁN koyar.

## Açıklamalar:

**Öy. III 16' tar-ša-an-zi-pi[ ], 18' tar-ša-an[-zi-pi]:** taršanzipa- “tapınakta bir yer, sahne?”<sup>77</sup>, fakat kesin anlamı belli değildir. KUB 10.21 II 12' tar-ša-an-zi-pi EGIR <sup>GIŠ</sup>IG I-ŠU h[a-at-tal-wa-aš] 13' GIŠ-ru-i I-ŠU ši-pa-an-[ti] “O, kapının arkasında taršanzipa'ya bir kere, ahşap sürgüye bir kere içki sunar.”<sup>78</sup>

Ay. IV 1 [me-ma-la-aš]: memal: iri öğütülmüş un, irmik, bulgur<sup>79</sup>, metinde Sg.Gen. haldedir.

<sup>76</sup> <sup>D</sup>Hašauwanza <sup>D</sup>Kammama'nın beraber belgelendiği metin yerleri için bkz. van Gessel 1998: 104; Bo 4998 Ay. IV 18' satırda ise Kammama'nın “D” determinatifinin unutulduğu görülmektedir.

<sup>77</sup> HEG T: 222-224; Ünal 2007: 701.

<sup>78</sup> Krş. HEG T: 223.

<sup>79</sup> Krş. HED M: 140; Ünal 2007: 444.

Tanrı Ziparwa için bayram ritüellerinde “<sup>URU</sup>Pa-la-um-ni-li” ifadesinin belgelendiği görülmektedir:

**Ay. IV 2** [<sup>URU</sup>Pa-l]a-um-ni-li: palaumnili zarfı, bir şehir veya ülke ismi olan Pala’ya aittir.

-umna- etniklik oluşturur. palaumna- “Palalı”dan, palaumnili- türemiştir. Belgelendiği metin yerleri şöyledir:

KBo 13.267 Öy. 3’ -]x <sup>URU</sup>Pa-la-um-ni-l[i];

KUB 2.4 IV	9	<sup>MUNUS</sup> ŠU.GI <sup>D</sup> Zi-pár-wa <sub>a</sub> -a
	10	me-ma-la-aš ud-da-a-ar
	11	<sup>URU</sup> Pa-la-um-ni-li
	12	me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi

Tercüme: Yaşlı kadın, Ziparwa için iri öğütölmüş un sözlerini Palaca söyler.<sup>80</sup>

IBoT 2.37 IV	3	<sup>MUNUS</sup> ŠU.GI <sup>D</sup> Zi-pár-wa <sub>a</sub> [-a]
	4	me-ma-al-aš ud-da-a-a[r]
	5	<sup>URU</sup> Pa-la-um-ni-li me[-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi]

IBoT 2.38 <sup>81</sup> III	3	<sup>MUNUS</sup> ŠU.GI-ma ŠA <sup>D</sup> Zi-pár-w[a <sub>a</sub> -a]
	4	ŠA NINDA.GUR <sub>4</sub> .RA <sup>MEŠ</sup> ud-da-a-ar []
	5	<sup>URU</sup> Pa-la-um-ni-li me-mi-iš-k[i-iz-zi]

IBoT 2.38 III 4-5 satırda “kalın ekmeğin (somunun) sözlerini Palaca söyler”<sup>82</sup> yer almaktadır.

Büyük İmparatorluğun başlangıcından itibaren Pala bir Hitit ili olarak görünür. Anadolu’da kuvvetli Hatti dili etkisinden bildiğimiz Palacanın ilk olarak Hatti bölgesine işaret ettiği görülmektedir. Çünkü, Orta Anadolu’nun kuzeyinde Hattice konuşuluyordu, buradan da Pala için kuzey ve kuzey batı konumu kendiliğinden ortaya çıkmaktadır.<sup>83</sup> Ayrıca başlangıçta Hitit Devletine düşman olan bu ülke, sonraki devirlerde devamlı olarak Hitit Devletine bağlı ve dost kalmıştır.<sup>84</sup> Ertem’e göre, Pala ülkesi, Osmancık ile Saraycık kasabaları arası, Çaldağı-Tavşandağı ve İnegöl arasındaki küçük, kuytu bölgedir.<sup>85</sup>

80 Tercüme için bkz. Otten 1944: 119; HED M: 140; ayrıca bkz. Klinger 1996: 156.

81 Transkripsiyon için bkz. Otten 1944: 120, d.not 3.

82 Krş. Otten 1944: 120, d.not 3.

83 Ünal 1974: 207.

84 Ertem 1980: 8.

85 Ertem 1980: 13.

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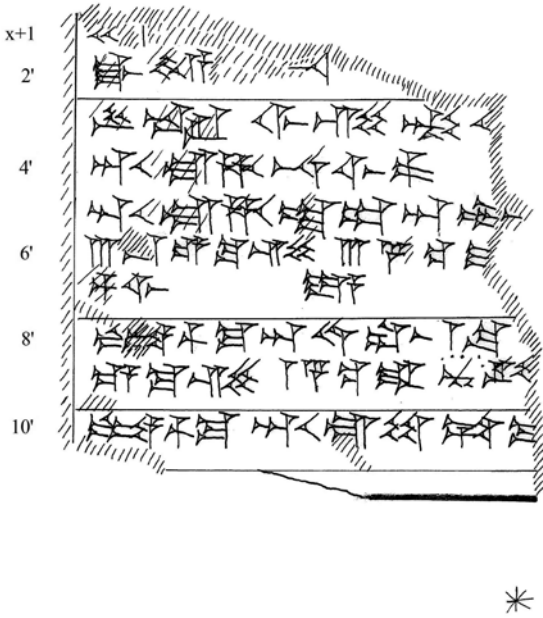
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**Bo 4682**

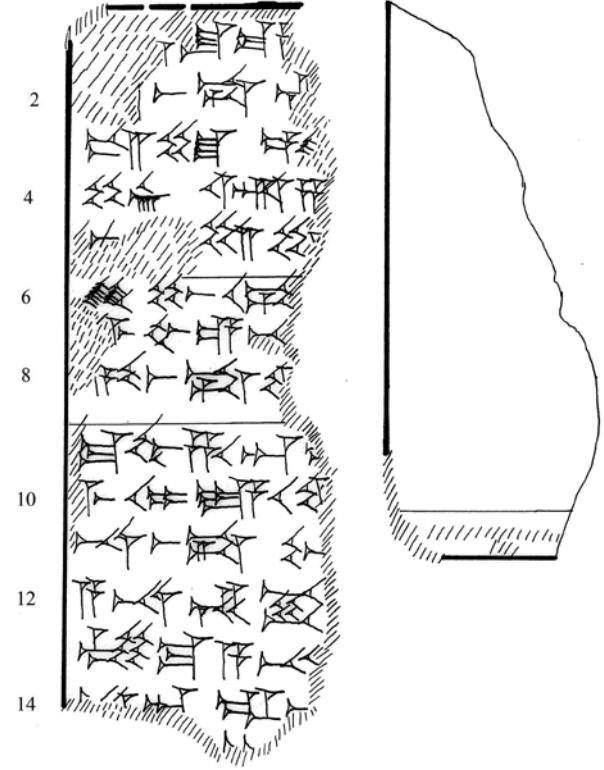
Öy.² II²



**Bo 4716**

Öy.

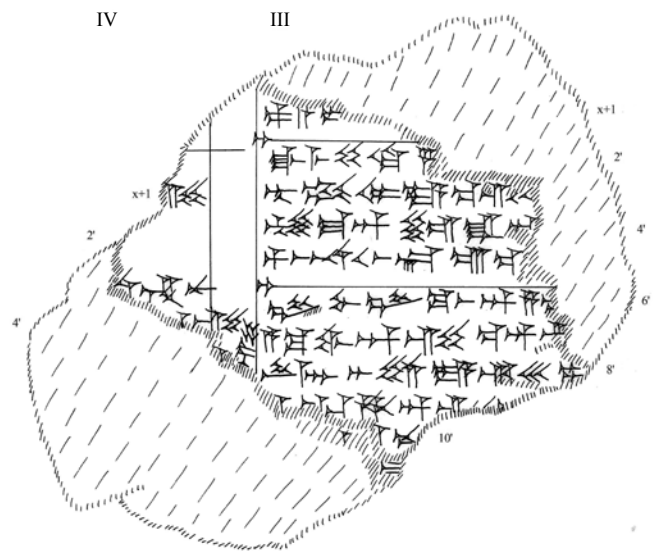
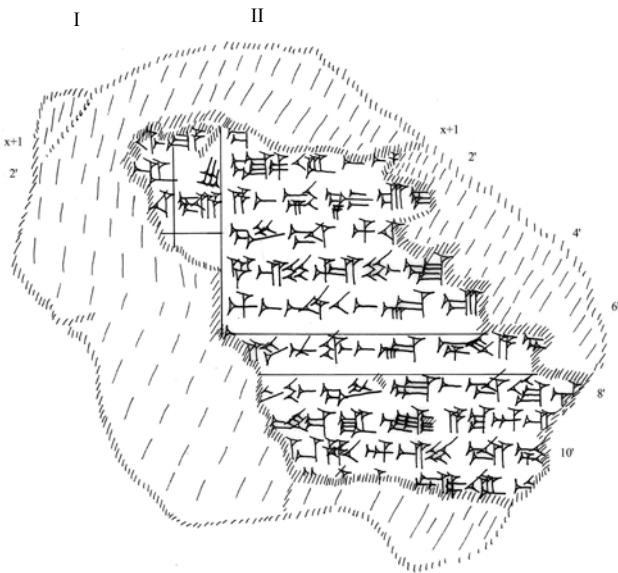
Ay.



**Bo 4868**

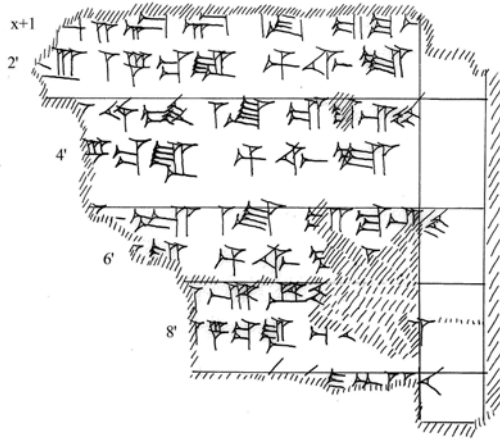
Öy.

Ay.





**Bo 4877**  
Öy.

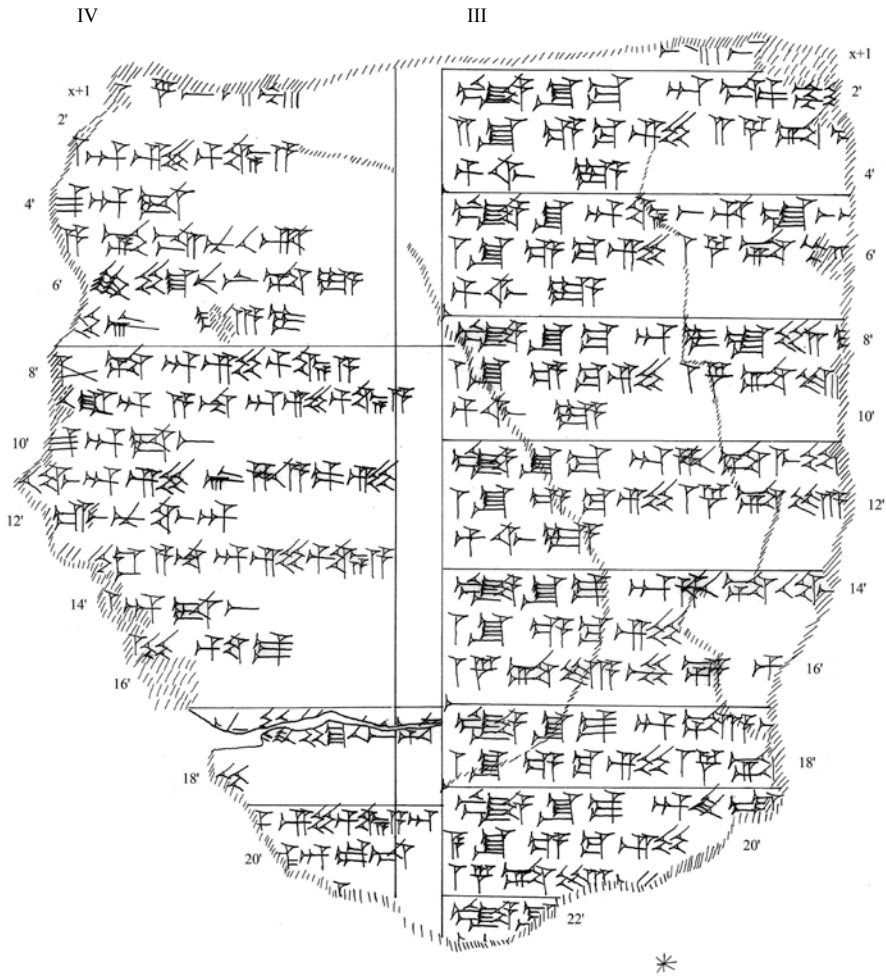


**Bo 4881**



**Bo 4902**  
Ay.

\*

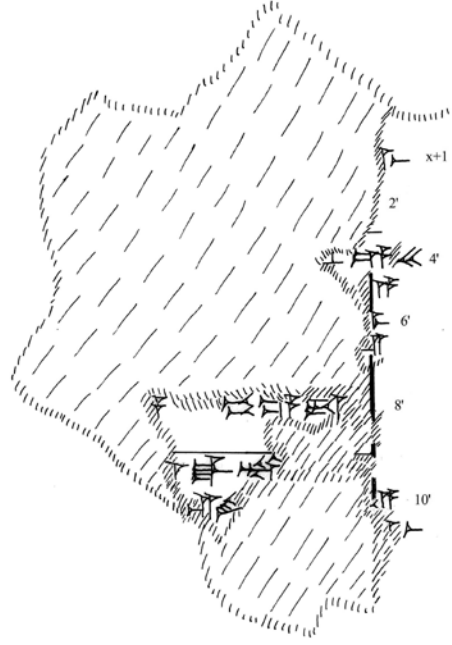
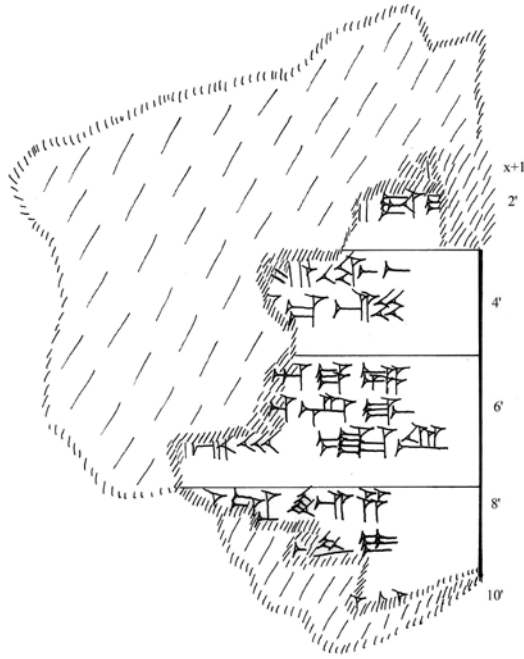




Bo 4936

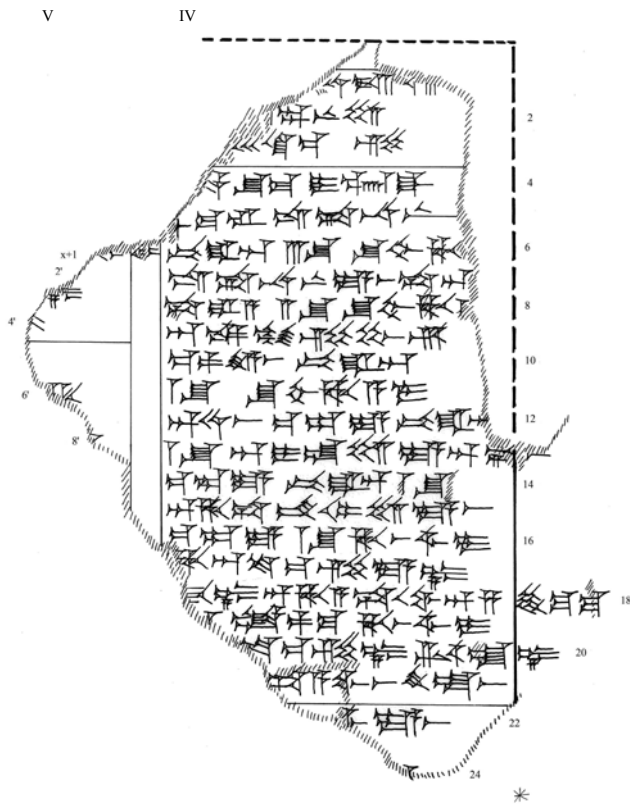
Öy.

Ay.



Bo 4998

Ay.



Yayınlanamamış Bazı Bo Tabletlerine Yeni Duplikat ve Paralel Metinler



# THE LUWIAN TITLE OF THE GREAT KING

Ilya Yakubovich  
University of Moscow / University of Marburg

## I. Introduction

The title Great King was understood in the Late Bronze Age Near East as a king who is powerful enough to secure the loyalty of the neighbouring kings.<sup>1</sup> It was apparently quasi-synonymous with the somewhat later title King of Kings. Thus the 13<sup>th</sup> century Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I, who was the first one to use the title King of Kings, was also the first ruler of Assyria to extract a grudging recognition of his status as a Great King from the rulers of Hattusa.<sup>2</sup> In the Apology of Hattusili III the title ‘great king’ is contrasted with the expression ‘king of one province’. This contrast also speaks for the hierarchical interpretation of the title under discussion.<sup>3</sup>

The Hittite or Luwian designations of the Great King are never spelled fully phonetically in the published texts. Usually they are hidden under the spurious Sumerogram LUGAL.GAL in the cuneiform and the complex logogram MAGNUS.REX in the Anatolian hieroglyphic corpus. The conventional Hittite reading of LUGAL.GAL as *salli-hassu-*, lit. “great king” will be discussed in Section 8. Since the Luwian words *ura(i)-* ‘great’ and *hantawatt(i)-* ‘king’ are both known in syllabic transmission, it is likewise assumed that the Luwian reading of MAGNUS.REX represents their combination.<sup>4</sup> It is, furthermore, usually taken for granted that the order of the Luwian constituents is the same as that of the corresponding logograms. Thus Federico Giusfredi affirms that “[t]he reading of the two logograms MAGNUS.REX may be postulated as *\*ura(zza)-\*ha<sup>n</sup>dawati-*”<sup>5</sup> and a similar reading *ura-hantawat(i)-* is offered in the latest manual of Hieroglyphic Luwian prepared by Annick Payne.<sup>6</sup>

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1 Artzi/Malamat 1993: 31.

2 Cf. Hoffner 2009: 323 with en. 322.

3 Otten 1981: 22, iii 69-70. Note, however, that Otten understood the Akkadogram HALŠJ as ‘fortress’. For its correct understanding as ‘province’, see Klinger 1996: 200 w. ref.

4 Whether *ura(i)-* ‘great’ should be analyzed as an *a*-stem or semi-vocalic stem is somewhat unclear because the “mutated” stem *uri-* is attested only once in a Hittite context (see HEG U: 87-88). This dilemma is ultimately irrelevant for the conclusions of the present paper and will not be addressed here in any further detail.

5 Giusfredi 2010: 81.

6 Payne 2014: 156.

Contrary to the present consensus, I intend to propose a new reading *hantawatt-(an)-ura/(i)-*, lit. “the great(est) of kings” for the Luwian title in question. I shall begin my analysis by addressing the syntactic and semantic structure of various classes of compounds containing the morpheme *ura/(i)-* ‘great’. The proposed interpretation of the complex logogram MAGNUS.REX ‘great king’ identifies this title as a member of a particular compound class described for the first time by Emmanuel Laroche. This identification is corroborated through adducing additional titles belonging to the same class, as well as through combinatory analysis of Luwian compounds containing the elements ‘great’ and ‘king’. In conclusion I will argue that the phonetic interpretation of the Sumerographic title LUGAL.GAL need not impact the proposed understanding of the matching hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.REX, since no Hittite reading of LUGAL.GAL can be regarded as certain.

## II. Compounds beginning in *ura/(i)-*

The compounds of the Empire period beginning with *ura/(i)-* ‘great’ are restricted to personal names.<sup>7</sup> Recently the members of this group attested in cuneiform transmission received summary interpretative treatment as descriptive compounds.<sup>8</sup> In my opinion, such an analysis is assured only for <sup>m</sup>*Ura-walkui-* “great lion”, a fitting name for a warrior.<sup>9</sup> As for the theophoric names, <sup>m</sup>*Ura-d*U and <sup>m</sup>GAL.<sup>d</sup>ŠTAR-a,<sup>10</sup> their interpretations as predicative compounds, respectively “Tarhunt (is) great” and “Šawoška (is) great”, appear to be pragmatically more attractive. The first of these two names may represent a calque of Hurrian *Talmi-Teššub* “Teššub (is) great”, while the second one can be either Luwian-Hurrian (i.e. *Ura-Šawoška-*) or completely Hurrian (i.e. *Talmi-Šawoška*). Although their interpretations as “great Tarhunt” or “great Šawoška” would not require Hurrian inspiration, they seem rather unlikely on semantic grounds, as few individuals would dare give such hubristic names to themselves or their children. Continuing the same line of reasoning, I would propose interpreting <sup>m</sup>*Ura-Hattusa* not as “great Hattusa”, but either as “Hattusa (is) great” or, more likely, as an elliptic theophoric compound “(the Storm-god of) Hattusa (is) great”.<sup>11</sup>

The compound names beginning in *ura/(i)-* ‘great’ that survived into the Early Iron Age are likewise restricted to personal names. The predicative compounds, which continue the earlier pattern of likely Hurrian inspiration, are found in Carchemish. These are *Ura-Tarhunt-* “Tarhunt (is) great” (KARKAMIŠ A4b, KARKAMIŠ A11b+C, CEKKE), *Ura-Sarma-* “Šarruma (is) great” (KARKAMIŠ A4a), and its close variant *Urahi-Sarma-* “Šarruma (is) greatness” (KARKAMIŠ A2+3).<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, several personal names coming from other Neo-Hittite states can be analyzed as possessive compounds. The most obvious among them is *Ura-muwa-* “(having) great might” (KULULU lead strip 1). I had a chance to propose the same syntactic analysis for the name of *Ura-hilana-* / *Ura-hilina-*, king of Hama, which, in my opinion, could be synchronically interpreted as “(having a) great gate” regardless of its original Hurrian etymology.<sup>13</sup> A consideration that supports this analysis is the possibility to interpret the name *Ura-dam(i)-*, which belongs to Urahilina’s son and likewise occurs in Hama inscriptions, as “(having a) great building”. Apparently the kings of Hama had a weak spot for architectural forms.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Most of the relevant examples can already be found in Laroche 1966.

<sup>8</sup> Melchert 2013: 41.

<sup>9</sup> For the assumed meaning of *walkuwa/i-* ‘lion’ see Lehrman 1987, but the *i*-mutation reconstructed in this noun speaks against its being a Hittite cognate of Luw. *walw(i)-* ‘lion’. One wonders whether the alternation /walgwV-/ ~ /walwV-/ might reflect Luwian dialectal variation.

<sup>10</sup> This personal name (KBo 47.11 obv. 7), not yet found in Laroche 1966, is listed in the online supplement to Laroche’s work prepared by Marie-Claude Trémouille and known as *Répertoire onomastique* (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html>).

<sup>11</sup> For the productive pattern of Luwian “topophoric” names with theophoric interpretation, see Yakubovich 2013a: 103-107.

<sup>12</sup> Here and below, the precise citations of all the Iron Age Luwian forms in hieroglyphic transmission can be found in the Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts (ACLT), sponsored by a research grant of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences, at the address <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Yakubovich 2010b: 396, fn. 9., where the name under discussion is erroneously analyzed as Luwian in origin. For the convincing Hurrian etymology of *Ura-hilana* see Wilhelm 1998: 124. It is, however, unlikely that the Hurrian language was still spoken in Hama in the first millennium BC.

<sup>14</sup> These onomastic compounds can be typologically compared with Italian last names of the type *Casa-grande* or *Casa-nova*. I am grateful to Stefano de Martino for this parallel. Compare also the last names the French Anatolianist Olivier Casabonne and Adrien Maisonneuve, the publisher of Laroche 1959.

### III. Compounds ending in *ura/(i)-*

When one turns to compounds ending in *-ura/(i)-*, a different picture emerges. In this group, too, one occasionally encounters personal names, for example, *Massana-ura* “great among the gods”.<sup>15</sup> More frequently, however, the determinative compounds of this structure appear to denote administrative titles. It was the honorand of this volume, Emmanuel Laroche, who identified the first Anatolian titles in *-ura/(i)-* in Akkadian texts from Ugarit. These are RS 11.732 <sup>LÚ</sup>*tu-up-pa-nu-ri*, RS 11.732, <sup>LÚ</sup>*ḫu-bur-ta-nu-ri*, RS 16.180 <sup>LÚ</sup>*ḫu-bur-ta-nu-ru*, RS 17.382+380 <sup>LÚ</sup>*tu-up-pa-nu-ri* and RS 17.227 <sup>LÚ</sup>*tu-up-pa-la-nu-ri* (var. *-ra*). Laroche compared these titles with the personal name <sup>m</sup>*ḫa-aš-ta-nu-ri*, occurring in the same corpus (RS 17.251).<sup>16</sup> He made the following etymological observation: “Il suffit d’attribuer ces noms à la langue hittite pour en apercevoir aussitôt la structure. Ce sont les composés, plus exactement des juxtaposés, d’un nom au génitif pluriel en *-an + uri* « grand ». *tuppan-uri* est « le grand des tablettes », tandis que *tuppalan-uri* est « le grand des scribes » ; le sens de *ḫuburtan* n’est pas connu. Pour *ḫaštan-uri* se rapportant à un personnage de rang royal, on songe à hitt. *ḫaššant* « né, e.g. légitime, du sang »”.<sup>17</sup> Nine years later Laroche had a chance to reaffirm the same hypothesis.<sup>18</sup>

Later research demonstrated that Laroche’s basic insight has fully stood the test of time. The late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup>-century tablet RS 94.2523, found in Ugarit in 1994, contains the pair of titles <sup>LÚ</sup>*tu-up-pi-nu-ra ḫu-pu-ur-ti-nu-ra* that is attached to the name of a certain Penti-Šarruma.<sup>19</sup> It turns out that there are bullae from the same region and period containing the hieroglyphic imprints of same name Penti-Šarruma alongside official titles MAGNUS.SCRIBA ‘Chief Scribe’, MAGNUS.AURIGA ‘Chief Charioteer’, and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS ‘Chief Palace Attendant’.<sup>20</sup> On the likely assumption that there was just one high-ranked official named Penti-Šarruma, one can propose a direct equation between the titles *tu-up-pi-nu-ra* and MAGNUS.SCRIBA. The comparison between the first element of *tuppan-uri* / *tuppin-ura* and Hittite *tuppi* ‘tablet’, implied in Laroche’s reasoning, remains as valid as ever, and so is the comparison between the first element of *tuppalan-uri* and Luwian SCRIBA-*la* = *tuppala* ‘scribe’. One may, however, doubt, that *tuppalan-uri* and *tuppan-uri* represent two different titles, since the functional distinction between “great of the scribes” and “great of the tablets” is not easy to grasp, and at any rate it would not correspond to any meaningful distinction between Sumerographic or hieroglyphic titles. It is easier to assume that *tuppan-uri* and similar forms came about as an abbreviation of *tuppalan-uri* ‘Chief Scribe’, lit. “great of the scribes”, while “great of the tablets” may have represented a convenient folk etymology.

The hypothesis of a morphologically conditioned abbreviation also comes in handy in dealing with the personal name <sup>m</sup>*ḫa-aš-ta-nu-ri*. Laroche’s idea of syncope *\*hassant-* > *hast-* is not supported by any parallels and therefore appears to have little to recommend itself. On the other hand, the hypothesis that *Hastan-uri* represents a shortened variant of *\*Hastallan-uri* immediately yields an auspicious name with plausible semantics “great(est) of the heroes”. In this case, too, the shortening of the name might have been mediated by Luw. *hast-* ‘bone’, of which Luw. *hastall(i)-* ‘hero’ represents a derivative.<sup>21</sup> Only in the instance of the title *ḫuburtan-uri* are we as much in the dark regarding the first element of this compound as at the time of Laroche. The etymology of the element *ḫuburt(V)-* remains unknown, while the combinatory method does not offer a way to decide whether *ḫu-pu-ur-ti-nu-ra* as a title of Penti-Šarruma corresponds

15 Melchert (2013: 41) interprets the same name differently, as “great (one) of the gods”. I analyze this personal name as reflecting a wish that the gods perceive its carrier as a great person. This interpretation is in line with the likely meanings of other personal names of the same structure, e.g. Late Luwian TONITRUS.HALPA-*pa-wasu* “dear to (the Storm-god) of Aleppo” or Carian πον-σωλλος “dear to all”.

16 Cf. HED H: 238. On the prosopography of <sup>m</sup>*ḫa-aš-ta-nu-ri* see Singer 2003: 343-344.

17 Laroche 1956: 28. Note also RS 34.126 <sup>LÚ</sup>*tu-pal-nu-ri* and RS 92.2007 *tup-pa-la-nu-ri* (Gordin 2008: 158).

18 Laroche 1965: 37.

19 Malbran-Labat/Lackenbacher 2005: 9. The phonetically sensitive rendering of this Hurrian name would be Fendi-Šarruma, literally “Šarruma (is) just” (cf. Richter 2012: 293b with ref.). For the *i*-vocalism of <sup>LÚ</sup>*tu-up-pi-nu-ra ḫu-pu-ur-ti-nu-ra* cf. fn. 14 above.

20 Singer 2006: 244. It is worth noting that this equation represents an argument for the traditional interpretation of <SCRIBA> as ‘scribe’ and against the reinterpretation of this sign as the generic term ‘official’, which was advanced by Theo van den Hout at the Ninth International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum, Turkey (September 2014). This new argument is, however, less strong than the existence of Luw. SCRIBA-*lalli(ya)-* ‘writing, script’, which Theo van den Hout himself acknowledged as a problem for his hypothesis.

21 On the etymology of Luw. *hastall(i)-* ‘hero’ see Starke 1990: 122, 124.

to MAGNUS.AURIGA ‘Chief Charioteer’ or MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS ‘Chief Palace Attendant’. In fact, it may correspond to neither of the two hieroglyphic titles, since all three of them may ultimately represent different stages in Penti-Šarruma’s career.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV. Language of titles ending in *ura/(i)-*

Another point where Laroche’s analysis can be improved concerns the language of compounds in *-ura/(i)-*. It is true that at the time when Laroche originally labelled them as “hittite” little distinction was generally made between Hittite proper and other members of the Anatolian language family. Now, of course, we know that *ura/(i)-* is the standard term meaning ‘great’ in Luwian, while its standard Hittite equivalent is *salli-* ‘great’. Accordingly, all the compounds in *ura/(i)-* can be taken as Luwian formations unless proven otherwise. This is in line with their prominence in the onomastics of the Empire of Hattusa, which was dominated by names of Luwian origin. It is, however, interesting that Laroche insisted on the Hittite character of the compound *tuppalan-ura-* not only in his pioneering article but also in the dictionary of the Luwian language, where *ura/(i)-* in its other occurrences is properly analyzed as a Luwian adjective.<sup>23</sup> There are two considerations that could sway him in favour of such a solution: the oddity of a Luwian title embedded in Akkadian discourse and the possibility of interpreting the element *-an-* in *tuppal-an-ura-* as a Hittite genitive plural marker.

The first consideration, perfectly understandable within the context of mid-twentieth-century Anatolian studies, loses its cogency in the face of recent advances in understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in Bronze Age Asia Minor. As long as Luwian was taken as a peripheral language of the Empire of Hattusa, while the Luwian forms embedded in Hittite texts were attributed to the mediation of semi-literate provincial scribes, it would indeed remain unclear why Luwian and not Hittite was chosen for rendering imperial titles in official Akkadian texts. The perspective changes completely if one admits that Luwian and not Hittite was the main spoken language in Hattusa in the thirteenth century BC, while the king and members of the royal family were bilingual in Hittite and Luwian in the period under discussion.<sup>24</sup> The titles embedded in Akkadian texts were free of the conventions of Hittite orthography, and as long as the scribes were unwilling or unable to render them in Akkadian, it was only natural for them to fall back upon the main colloquial language of the Empire, which happened to be Luwian. Indeed, it would be the use of Hittite, as opposed to Luwian, to require special pleading under such conditions.

The second potential objection is based on the contrastive synchronic analysis of Hittite and Luwian grammars. The genitive plural ending *-an* is attested in Old Hittite, but the Luwian grammar shows no formal distinction between the expression of singular and plural genitive: the same ending *-a-si-i* can be deployed for both in hieroglyphic transmission.<sup>25</sup> Only in the Luwian dialect of Kizzuwadna, where genitive endings were completely replaced with possessive suffixes, an innovative suffix *-assanz-* was calqued on a Hurrian model to indicate plural possession.<sup>26</sup> But from the historical viewpoint, the Hittite morpheme *-an* under discussion clearly represents an archaism, because it continues the Early Indo-European genitive plural ending *\*-om*. Furthermore, the Lycian genitive plural ending *-ē* assures that the reflexes of *\*-om* also existed in Proto-Luwic, the common ancestor of Luwian and Lycian.<sup>27</sup> Therefore the Luwian interfix *-an-* in determinative compounds can simply be taken as a vestige of the genitive plural maker, which outlived the generalization of genitive singular endings in word-final position.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Singer 2006: 244.

<sup>23</sup> Laroche 1959: 102

<sup>24</sup> Yakubovich 2010a, Chapter 5.

<sup>25</sup> Yakubovich 2010a: 45-46.

<sup>26</sup> Yakubovich 2010a: 47-53.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Melchert 2012: 275.

<sup>28</sup> As a parallel for a genitive case marker developing into an interfix, one can consider the situation in German. While the German genitive ending *-s* is normally restricted to masculine and neuter nouns, its cognate in determinative compounds can also link feminine nouns to their syntactic heads, e.g. *Sicherheit-s-dienst* ‘security service’, *Forschung-s-gemeinschaft* ‘research team’.





(2) MARAŞ 14 § 1<sup>32</sup>

[E]GO [ ... ]-si-i-sa |IUDEX-ni-sa |HEROS-sa  
 I.NOM ? .NOM.SG.C of.ruler.NOM.SG.C of.hero.NOM.SG.C  
 (“\*474”)u-[si]-na-su-MAGNUS+ra/i-sa  
 chief.eunuch.NOM.SG  
 ‘I [am Astiwasu], Chief Eunuch of [X], the ruler, the hero’.

The interpretation of the compounds *amurallura/(i)-* and *astaruri(ya)-* (vel sim.) as titles in *-ura/(i)* also imposes itself in the two cases below, even though the precise functions of these titles remains elusive.<sup>33</sup>

(3) ASSUR f+g § 33<sup>34</sup>

‘|a`-wa/i |á`-pi [|DOMUS]-ni-wa/i+ra/i-ia  
 PTCL=PTCL then Parniwarri.DAT.SG  
 [| (X)]á-mu+ra/i-la/i/u+ra/i-’ |a`-sa-ti  
 Amurallura.DAT.SG be.3SG.PRS  
 ‘(Send us any *kapara*, and if you do not have it), but Parniwarri the *amurallura* has it, (then buy it from him and send it to us)’.

(4) KULULU lead strip 1, #43<sup>35</sup>

200 “\*179”-za-’ ‘hu-li-ia-ia |CUM-ni |á-`sa<sup>2</sup>-tara/i<sup>2</sup>-MAGNUS+ra/i<sup>2</sup>-ia  
 200 grain.ACC.SG Huliya.DAT.SG for *astaruriya*.DAT.SG  
 ‘200 (measures of) grain for Huliya, the *astaruri*’.

In purely formal terms, the first component of *á-mu+ra/i-la/i/u+ra/i-* in (3) appears to be cognate with the noun *á-mu+ra/i-* of unclear meaning (KULULU 1 § 11).<sup>36</sup> It is tempting to reconstruct it as *amurall(i)-* on the assumption that it is derived from *amura/(i)-* on the same model as e.g. *hastall(i)-* ‘hero’ from *hast-* ‘bone’. In the instance of *á-`sa<sup>2</sup>-tara/i<sup>2</sup>-MAGNUS+ra/i<sup>2</sup>-* it does not even seem productive to speculate about the etymological connections of its first morpheme in view of its fragmentary state of preservation. But both contexts (3) and (4) are well compatible with the mentions of official titles, since the forms under discussion follow personal names and agree with them in case in both passages. The absence of personal determinatives rules out the interpretation of the same forms as additional names.

In the case of (4) there are, of course, certain complications. The position of *CUM-ni* is easy to explain, because this postposition regularly separates personal names from the accompanying titles in the allocation list KULULU lead strip 1. More intriguing is the dative-locative ending *-ia* attached to the stem *á-`sa<sup>2</sup>-tara/i<sup>2</sup>-MAGNUS+ra/i<sup>2</sup>-*, which implies an etymological *ya*-stem adjective derived from base noun *astarura-* (vel sim.). I prefer to think that this derivation did not radically alter the sense of the form in question and is compatible with its translation along the lines ‘having the function of *astarura-*’,<sup>37</sup> but one cannot altogether exclude the possessive reading ‘belonging to *astarura-*’. The last interpretation is grammatically more straightforward but yields a unique interpretation, since the recipients of grain in

32 Cf. Hawkins 2000, I: 265 and Hawkins 2002: 230.

33 Cf. the previous analysis of *amurallura/(i)-* in Giusfredi 2010: 162: “No etymology can be provided for the word. The stem ending in *-(al=)ura/i-* is quite surprising, and, although it appears also in the mysterious title *a`satar<sup>2</sup>ura/i-*, it provides no clue to an interpretation”. *Ibid. sub astaruri(ya)-*: “No interpretation of this word can be attempted, since the context is, in this case, no help at all. For the *-(al=)ura/i-* ending see *amurallura/i-*”.

34 Cf. Hawkins 2000, II: 537.

35 Cf. Hawkins 2000, II: 508-509.

36 Cf. Hawkins 2000, II: 443.

37 Compare the title *uryall(i)-* of a certain Nunuya mentioned as a recipient of sheep in KULULU lead strip 2 #4 (Hawkins 2000: 510).



KULULU lead strip 1 are normally defined through patronymics, title or places of origin, but not through the titles of individuals they belong or are related to.

Despite the difficulties stated above, we have obtained a clear proof that the compounds ending in *ura/(i)-* are well at home in Late Luwian, which in turn corroborates the Luwian character of the similar compounds attested in Akkadian texts. The disappearance of the linker *-an-* in the first millennium BC need not amaze us, since we have seen that it represents an isolated archaism even in the forms of the late second millennium BC. Furthermore, the comparison between Bronze and Iron Age forms yielded five titles ending in *ura/(i)-*, as opposed to two personal names, *Massanaura* and *Hastanuri*, having the same structure. This is in stark contrast to the group of compounds beginning in *ura/(i)-* treated in Section 2, which entirely consists of personal names.

## VII. Back to MAGNUS.REX

Against such a background we can return to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.REX ‘great king’. The structure of other Luwian titles *ura/(i)-* treated in this paper would suggest that if this title was indeed a compound, its Luwian reading must have been *\*hantawatt-an-ura/(i)-* lit. “great(est) among the kings” in the Empire period and probably *\*hantawatt-ura/(i)-* in the Neo-Hittite period. Nonetheless, one should not a priori exclude a theoretical possibility that the Luwian title for the Great King did not form a compound, but represented a noun phrase *urazza- hantawatt(i)-* “the greatest king”, or something similar. In order to refute such a reconstruction, one should turn to positive arguments pertaining to Anatolian compounds with elements ‘great’ and ‘king’.

The most important piece of evidence is a passage from the Late Luwian AKSARAY inscription, which contains a unique instance of the title under discussion spelled with phonetic complementation. The fact that only one of its stems is provided with an inflectional ending speaks strongly for its compound character, because the inflectional morphology is otherwise overtly expressed in the sentence under discussion. The drawing in (5) below reproduces a fragment that has been read up to now as |MAGNUS-RA/I-REX-zi |REX-ti-zi ‘great kings (and) kings’.<sup>38</sup> The proponents of this reading failed, however, to explain why the first stem of the compound MAGNUS.REX acquires a phonetic complement, whereas the second one does not. The contrast between the complements (-)REX-zi REX-ti-zi in the two immediately adjacent words likewise remains begging a question under the traditional interpretation. Therefore I would like to propose that the same group of signs is to be read as |REX.MAGNUS+ra/i-zi |REX-ti-zi. Under such a reading, each of the two coordinated nouns acquires a phonetic complement pointing to the last consonant of its lexical representation and its inflectional ending. The implied phonetic reading of the coordinated pair is *hantawatturinzi hantawattinzi*.

### (5) AKSARAY § 6

za-ti-pa-wa/i-ta                      URBS-ni                      |REX.MAGNUS+ra/i-zi  
 this.DAT.SG=but=PTCL=PTCL    town.DAT.SG    great.king.NOM.PL  
 |REX-ti-zi                      |OMNIS-mí-zi    INFRA-tá-ta    OCLUS(-)zá-ni-ta  
 king.NOM.PL all.NOM.PL.C    below                      admire 3PL.PRT  
 ‘And all the great kings and kings admired this town’



It is true that the order of the signs <REX> and <MAGNUS+ra/i> is a non-canonical one under the new interpretation. This irregularity, however, finds a close match in the divergent order of the signs <zi> and <ti> in the following noun. This does not, of course, imply that the scribe strove for a symmetrical pattern of inversion in the two coordinated nouns. One should rather acknowledge that the order of signs in Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions can be inverted for a variety of reasons and generally represents a weaker guide to arriving at their correct transliteration than combinatory constraints. One reason for the

<sup>38</sup> For the most recent edition of the AKSARAY inscription see Hawkins 2000, II: 475-478, where the earlier editions of the same text are also cited.

graphically inverted sequence of graphemes for ‘king’ and ‘great’ is the fact that the logogram <MAGNUS> is consistently placed on top of <REX> when the two signs form a ligature.<sup>39</sup>

The other relevant piece of evidence comes from Lycian. Although the personal name *xñtabura* occurs twice in the Lycian A corpus (TL 103,2; 125b),<sup>40</sup> its origin can be safely assigned to the Lycian B (“Milyan”) language based on its formal features.<sup>41</sup> The first part of this compound is probably not to be separated from Lyc. (B) *xñtaba-*, a noun pertaining to the sphere of kingship and cognate with Luw. *hantawatt(i)-* ‘king’, while its second part is the familiar element *ura-* ‘great’. Whether Lyc. (B) *xñtaba-* means ‘ruler’ or ‘rule’ is still a matter of debate,<sup>42</sup> but even if the second opinion should be given more weight, this need not fundamentally alter the analysis of the name *xñtabura*. Since the nouns *xñtawat(i)-* ‘ruler, king’ and *xñtawata-* ‘kingship’ coexist in the Lycian A language, it is intrinsically likely that the situation in the closely related Lycian B language was roughly the same. This is to say, even if Lyc. (B) *xñtaba-* meant something like ‘kingship’, there probably existed also a cognate Lyc. (B) *xñtab(i)-* meaning ‘king’ or ‘ruler’.

The precise meaning of the compound *xñtabura-* cannot be determined with certainty. The auspicious name ‘great king’, lit. “(the) greatest of kings” remains a distinct possibility, especially given the fact that the brother of its carrier was called *lusāñtra-* “Lysander” in the Lycian inscription TL 103.<sup>43</sup> As a more mundane alternative, one can envisage the interpretation “great among the kings”, which implies a wish for the favourable disposition toward *xñtabura-* on the part of the rulers of this world. Under the latter interpretation, the compound under discussion is typologically similar to the Empire Luwian name *Massana-ura-* “great among the gods”, discussed in Section 3. But whichever of these two solutions one prefers, one winds up with a determinative compound that represents a close formal match of the reconstructed Luwian *\*hantawatt-ura/(i)-*. Given the combined positive evidence of Late Luwian and Lycian B, which is typologically in agreement with the structure of other Luwian compounds for superior officials, the proposed reading of the complex logogram MAGNUS.REX can be regarded as substantiated.

## VIII. The title LUGAL.GAL

It is appropriate to conclude this paper by preempting a possible objection coming from the side of cuneiformists. The Anatolian hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.REX was used for the Great King of Hattusa alongside the Sumerographic cuneiform title LUGAL.GAL ‘Great King’. It is frequently assumed that the Hittite reading of LUGAL.GAL was *\*sallis hassus*, lit. “great king”.<sup>44</sup> The apparent morphosyntactic mismatch between the Hittite and Luwian titles would stand incongruous with the progressive grammatical convergence between Hittite and Luwian in the Empire Period.<sup>45</sup>

In order to obviate this difficulty it is necessary to discuss the genesis of the Sumerogram LUGAL.GAL. It was first introduced into Anatolia in the Assyrian colony period as an equivalent of the Akkadian title *rubā’um rabūm*, which is conventionally translated as ‘Great Prince’. The only sovereign attested with such a title before Anitta’s conquests was a ruler of Purushanda, even though the reading of the relevant passage is not altogether assured (TTC 27 7 *ru-ba-im* GA[L<sup>2</sup>]). After the conquests of Anitta, ruler of Kaneš/Nesa, which culminated in a peaceful submission of the principality of Purushanda, the title ‘Great Prince’ came to be attached to the rulers of Nesa. Thus the genitive form *rubā’im rabīm* appears next to Anitta’s name in OIP 27 49 (A: 24-25; B: 26-27) while the Sumerographic title LUGAL.GAL accompanies the name of

39 For the role of aesthetic considerations in determining the order of Anatolian hieroglyphs, which reflects their erstwhile use for rendering names and titles on official seals, see lately Rieken 2014.

40 The same name also occurs in Greek transmission as *Κενδαβυρα / Κινδαβυρις* (Melchert 2004: 109).

41 This is not the only cases when personal names of Lycian B origin are embedded in Lycian A texts. Compare, for example, the names *Masasa* and *Masauwēti* (Melchert 2004: 98), which both apparently contain the Lycian B element *masa-* ‘god’, a cognate of Lyc. (A) *maha(na)-* ‘id’.

42 The first interpretation is advocated by Schürr (2001: 105) and endorsed by Shevoroshkin (2011: 594, 598, 605), while the second one can be found in Melchert 2004: 136. Given our present level of the knowledge of the Lycian B language, I hesitate about making a choice between these two options. Cf. Neumann 2007: 126-127 and, for a different segmentation of the compound name under discussion, Eichner 2006: 234, fn. 25.

43 Neumann 2007: 240.

44 Thus e.g. Steiner 1999: 428, Vanséveren 2006: 125. Weeden (2011: 571) reconstructs the Hittite noun phrase *\*salli- hassu-* on the basis of KBo 16.45 rev. 5 LUGAL.GAL-uš (OS/MS?). It is not, however, to be ruled out that the heterogram LUGAL.GAL had the plain reading *hassu-* in this hapax, arguably pertaining to the period when the Akkadogram LUGAL.GAL had not yet been calqued into Hittite.

45 On which see Rieken 2006.

Anitta's successor Zuzzu (Kt 89/k 369 1). Finally the Deeds of Anitta in the Hittite language also refer to him once as LUGAL.GAL (KBo 3.22 obv. 41).<sup>46</sup> But as far as one can judge, the use of this title never became fully consistent in the Colony period, as we also find the plain *rubā'u-* 'Prince' as the title of Zuzzu, the last known ruler of Nesa (Kt 89/k 370 35).

On the other hand, the metropolitan Assyrian and Syrian traditions apparently connected the Sumerogram LUGAL.GAL with the Akkadian title *šarrum rabûm* 'Great King'. Although the first attestation of this title is found in a flattering letter sent to the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad I emanating from Mari (circa 1800 BCE), somewhat later it is attested at Alalakh with reference to the rulers of Yamhad.<sup>47</sup> The destruction of the Kingdom of Yamhad and the sack of its capital Aleppo was the accomplishment of Mursili I, King of Hattusa. The later historical tradition of Hattusa, reflected in the preamble to the Talmi-Šarruma Treaty, preserved the recollection of the fact that the rulers of Yamhad were Great Kings, and may have even hinted at the connection between the expedition of Mursili II against Yamhad and the emerging Great Kingship of the rulers of Hattusa.<sup>48</sup> It is therefore likely that the Sumerogram LUGAL.GAL in the bulk of Hittite texts does not represent a carry-over from the Old Assyrian colonial tradition but rather reflects the influence of Syrian scribal culture. But whichever of the two scenarios one chooses, it is clear that the spurious Sumerogram LUGAL.GAL represents a calque of an Akkadian royal title, which emerged within a Semitic scribal milieu. Its internal structure is ultimately irrelevant for the issue of reconstructing the underlying Hittite or Luwian forms.

Can one, then, offer any clues that could help us to approach the structure of the Hittite term for the 'great king'? On a plausible assumption that this title was coined on the same model as the other Hittite designations of superior officials, one can attempt to use their structure as a typological parallel. A sober synopsis of templates for hierarchical titles can be found in CHD Š: 100. It turns out that the Sumerograms GAL and UGULA, traditionally translated as 'chief', and 'overseer, superintendent' respectively, were frequently placed in front of plural forms in Hittite texts. Thus one finds GAL LÚ.MEŠA.ZU 'chief physician' alongside UGULA LÚ.MEŠA.ZU 'overseer of physicians', GAL LÚ.MEŠAŠGAB 'chief leatherworker' alongside UGULA LÚ.MEŠAŠGAB 'overseer of leatherworkers', GAL LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR 'chief pantler' alongside UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR 'overseer of pantlers' etc.<sup>49</sup> Differences in English translation need not obfuscate the fact that both titles in GAL and titles in UGULA adduced above match the structure of the Luw. *tuppal-an-uri-* 'Chief Scribe' and similar determinative compounds, except for the head-dependent word order, which is expected of the Sumerographic syntax. Although the Hittite readings of the titles headed by GAL and UGULA remain, strictly speaking, unknown, the hypothesis that they also represented determinative compounds or possessive noun phrases emerges as the simplest solution.

As has already been noted at the beginning of this paper, the title LUGAL.GAL had the hierarchical meaning 'overking'. As such, it was semantically different, for example, from the expression LÚ.MEŠ GAL 'grandees, notables', lit. "great people", but resembled the Sumerographic titles discussed in the previous paragraph. Therefore its Hittite reconstruction as *\*hassuwan sallī-* lit. "(the) great(est) of kings" appears to be in no way worse, and perhaps even preferable, in comparison with *\*sallī-hassu-*, lit. "great king". Being far from claiming that we have enough data to advocate a particular Hittite reading for the title 'great king', I maintain that Hittite offers no arguments against the interpretation of MAGNUS.REX as Luw. *\*hantawatt(-an)-ura/(i)-* "(the) great(est) of kings". It is rather the new Luwian reading of MAGNUS.REX that should be used from now on as one of the considerations in determining the Hittite reading of LUGAL.GAL.

46 The interpretation of this piece of evidence depends, of course, on the date of the Deeds of Anitta. If one assumes that it was first put in writing in Hattusa at the time of Hattusili I or later, then the use of the title LUGAL.GAL in this text may reflect a different tradition coming from Syria (see immediately below). The most recent paper defending the early date of the Anitta text is Archi 2015, which can also be consulted for the history of the debate.

47 Artzi/Malamat 1993: 30.

48 Steiner 1999: 428-429.

49 For the representative lists of hierarchical titles in GAL and UGULA see Peccholi Daddi 1982: 526-528.

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# A NEW HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN EPIGRAPH: URFA-KÜLAFLI TEPE

Massimo Poetto\*  
University of Bari (emeritus)

In the broad range of Emmanuel Laroche's scientific interests in the field of Ancient Anatolia, Hieroglyphic Luwian played a primary role, as is widely known. It has thus seemed appropriate to remember such a *maître* by treating a new (albeit incomplete) document belonging to that linguistic domain.

The stone with which we are here concerned was found at Külaflı Tepe, a north-western neighborhood of the city of Şanlıurfa – whence its designation as URFA-KÜLAFLI TEPE –, and purchased by the Şanlıurfa Archaeological Museum in 2000. I was able to inspect and photograph it in September 2002 and 2005 in the yard of that Museum at the friendly invitation of Professor Fikri Kulakoğlu and by courtesy of the former Director, Bay Eyyüp Bucak. The authorization to publish this document – hitherto without inventory number – is still effective thanks to the present Director, Bay Müslüm Ercan, and the Museum Assistant, the archaeologist Nedim Dervişoğlu, through the kind intervention (September 2014) of Dr. Meltem Doğan-Alparslan.

The base (Pl. 1 figs. 1a-c), originally a rectangular basalt block, measuring 36 cm in height and 60 cm in width, has a square hole on its top to support a stele or a statue. The three heavily damaged sides encircling the inscription show the lower remains of bulls in relief.<sup>1</sup> The inscribed section (Pl. 2 figs. 2a-b) is also partly obliterated and not entirely readable or understandable.<sup>2</sup> It is nonetheless evident that the segment preserved on this side – between considerable lacunae – is a continuation of a text, possibly starting on the lost stele (or orthostat) originally fixed on the upper hole of the base, in a similar manner to, for example, the inscription on the JISR EL HADID 4 block just published by Dinçol/Dinçol/Hawkins/Peker 2014.

The script, as is usual on such monuments, is *boustrophedon*: the first line runs here dextroverse, the second sinistroverse and the third again dextroverse.

The signs – in relief – are monumental, with cursive intrusions: *á* (middle of l. 1), *mu* (beginning of l. 2) and *u* (middle of l. 2). The word-dividers are intermittently used.

\* For valuable and constructive comments (e-mail of August 20th, 2015) I am deeply grateful to Professor H. Craig Melchert.

1 Cf. the concise archaeological presentation of the piece by Kulakoğlu 2003: 70 sub 3 and pl. 4, figs. 7-8.

2 Some preliminary interpretative details supplied by me to Kulakoğlu are given in his report of 2003: 76.





The context is clearly cultic, a sacrificial ceremony is being performed, specifically a holocaust, given the verb that governs the sentence, *lu/lá/lí-s<sub>3</sub>-lu/lá/lí-s<sub>3</sub>*, characterized by the ideogram for “flames” (204 / L 477), so that the meaning ‘to burn’ appears inescapable.

The literal interpretation ‘ox-pure / ox-sacred’ is perfectly paralleled by Avest. *gaospanta* (vocative sg.) < *gav-* + *spanta-* ‘ox-purified’.<sup>7</sup> One might however wonder why in HAMA 4 side A l. 4 § 14 also *WAW<sub>1</sub>-n* ‘bovem’ occurs if this is already included in the preceding *WAW<sub>1</sub>-su-pa-ti-n*. My view was (and still is) that a pleonasm – literally ‘consecrated-ox ox’ – and, diachronically, a redefinition, are perfectly conceivable. In other words, *u(w(i))-* in *usupa<sup>n</sup>t-* would not have retained the autonomous meaning ‘ox’, so that the original compound would have become an apposition and then a simple attribute with a religious connotation: ‘unblemished’.<sup>8</sup>

As to the secondary *-tâ-* in *u-su-pa-ta-tâ-*, a substantial parallelism to an *nt-*stem derived with a suffix *-ant-* is produced by *hu-pi-tâ-ta-tâ-* of BOYBEYPINARI 2 (°*-ti*, dative / ablative / instrumental sg. + *-wa/wi* in IV D1 § 4b; °*rx<sup>1</sup>-ha-wa/wi* in IV C1 § 2<sup>9</sup>), which Rieken 2008: 642, 644<sup>10</sup> cogently explicated as “*hupidant-ada-* [...] ‘Verschleierung’” by adducing Cun. Luw. *hupidant(i)-* ‘veiled(?)’ for the first enlargement with the adjoined further formant reflecting “*uridg. \*/-o-to-/\**”.<sup>11</sup> It is therefore arguable that *usupa<sup>n</sup>t-* could also be substantivized by means of this morpheme and thus used independently, without the aid of the word ‘ox’.

Turning to the “PERSONAGE”, a full-height figure, facing right, wearing an ankle-length garment, with bent arms pointing upwards: from the iconographic viewpoint, irrespective of the uncommon headgear, one is reminded of the individual on the well-known dedicatory stele base BOĞAZKÖY 2 (Pl. 3 fig. 4)<sup>12</sup> – though belonging to the Empire Period – which in a way represents a “self-portrait” / “self-introduction” phonetically expressed by the adjacent personal name.

Worth mentioning might also be the first individual within the zoomorphic procession in TULEIL 2 l. 1 (Pl. 3 fig. 5),<sup>13</sup> and we should not omit the standing person at the foot of the ladder in the famous depiction on one of the orthostats at Alaca Höyük (Pl. 3 fig. 6), inserted in a ritualistic ensemble;<sup>14</sup> it is interesting to note that in Masson’s opinion (1996: 30-31 with n.1) this man – like the curious one on an edge of the ladder<sup>15</sup> – “*paré [...] d’un déguisement particulier [...], semble porter le même masque, celui d’un bœuf ?*”. Actually, also the face of our “PERSONAGE” resembles a muzzle – in all probability a mask too –, with a sort of curl along the cheek. A further image – although not in full shape – of an individual with arms turned upwards is offered by 3a / L 6 ‘adorer’ of KARKAMIŞ 31 l. 3 § 8 (complemented by *-suna*, infinitive [Pl. 3 fig. 7]) ‘to pray’, referring to the goddess Kubaba; analogously TULEIL 1 l. 3 (fragmentary context [Pl. 3 fig. 8]).<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless none of these iconographies show any atypical headgear, which is instead worn by two figures: the first on the extraordinary silver vessel in the form of a fist of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston – interpreted, within a ceremonial scene, as a vegetation or mountain deity adorned with large leaves, with arms upraised in front of the face (Pl. 4 figs. 9a-b);<sup>17</sup> the second in TELL AHMAR 5 l. 4 § 11: a human head wearing a close-fitting cap provided with two horn-shaped elements (Pl. 4 fig. 10), “shown by context to be acting as the god’s spokesman, thus some kind of priest or prophet”.<sup>18</sup>

7 In this respect it must be remarked that HEG Š: 1190 and 1193 improperly attributed to me the genetic relationship between *supa<sup>n</sup>t-* and *spanta-*: my parallel patently concerned only the identity of structure (noun + adjective) and the significance of such nominal compounds!

8 Whence my exegesis of the whole clause (Poetto 1979: 674): “E in nessuna occasione (essi [scil. my father and grandfather]) immolarono alla dea buoi puri (e) destinati (letteralm. ‘alcun bue puro (e) destinato’) al sacrificio”.

9 Hawkins 2000: 336 and pl. 165.

10 With the admissible emendation (n. 22) *hu-pi-tâ-<ta>-tâ-n-<<n>>*, accusative sg., in III C 1 § 7.

11 Along the lines of Melchert 1999: 368-373 for this suffix. – Utterly different presentation in *Luwian Corpus*: “*hubidattad-* ‘hubida-block’ (N) ins” and, unemended, “*hubidadannan* ‘at the hubida-block’ (o, ton)”.

12 Bittel 1937: pl. 9.1.

13 Hawkins 2000: 382 and pls. 201-202.

14 See recently Taracha 2011 and 2012, with references.

15 Specifically dealt with by Masson 1996: 30-31 and Baltacioğlu 1998, with bibliography.

16 Hawkins 2000: 142 and pl. 41; 381-382 and pl. 200 respectively.

17 Cf. Güterbock/Kendall 1995: 52-54 and fig. 3.7, and the latest picture put forth by Savaş 2008: 668-670.

18 Hawkins 2000: 231, 233 ad “CORNU + CAPUT-mi-i-” and pls. 95-96. On its equivalent written DINGIR-n-mi-a/i- (= *massanami*-) in TELL AHMAR 6 side D l. 6 § 22 see Hawkins 2006: 14, 15 (‘the god-inspired (one)’), 27 and 146-147 figs. 21-22; on the function of this image cf. Bunnens 2006: 82-83; Prechel 2008: 219-220 in particular.

While the precise office of the “PERSONAGE” under discussion remains to be elucidated, still it appears plausible that (1) such a pictogram should represent the subject of the sentence, otherwise missing, and that (2) the context must in its turn be sacral, so that a reference for this dog-faced individual to the cultic functionaries<sup>19</sup> in Cuneiform religious records <sup>LÚ</sup>UR(.G<sub>17</sub>) ‘dog-man’ / Hitt. <sup>LÚ</sup>kuwa(n)- ‘hound-man’<sup>20</sup> and <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.BAR.RA ‘wolf-man’<sup>21</sup>, likewise concerned with offerings,<sup>22</sup> comes straightaway to mind.

The *crampon* “κ” (386[.2] / L 386.(2)) placed before this figure deserves a special mention. I assume that it should not be considered a word-divider, but a “determinativo onorifico”, years ago identified as such,<sup>23</sup> at least when preceding – as regards the post-Empire and Late period (KARAHÖYÜK and KARKAMIŞ), leaving here aside the Imperial use – designations / functions of human beings, e.g. <sup>K</sup>SAG-ti- ‘person’ and <sup>K</sup>tá-ti- ‘father’. In relation to our “PERSONAGE”, particularly revealing appears its position in front of 350[.1]-s ‘priest, minister’ of KARKAMIŞ 4b l. 8 end, § 6.<sup>24</sup>

Returning to the pictogram of the “LADDER” (<sup>GIŠ</sup>KUN<sub>4/5</sub> / Hitt. (<sup>GIŠ</sup>)ilan(a)-<sup>25</sup> – here schematically three-runged), other occurrences of this implement / structure (ideally for climbing / ascending to – i.e. devoutly approaching – a divinity?), in addition to the aforesaid representation on the relief from Alaca Höyük, are: (1) in identical vertical position (with numerous rungs, as on the Alaca Höyük block) on a golden signet ring from Ugarit (RS 24.145) at the sides of a Hieroglyphic legend (Pl. 4 fig. 11);<sup>26</sup> (2) inside the ru sign (188 / L 412 [Pl. 4 fig. 12]); (3) inside the pictogram symbolizing ‘house’ = <sup>É</sup>+KUN<sub>4/5</sub>(-)ha-ti-a/i (dative / ablative sg.) of ŞIRZI l. 2 end, § 3,<sup>27</sup> and <sup>É</sup>+KUN<sub>4/5</sub>(-) tá-wa/wi-na/ni-zi (accusative pl.) of KARKAMIŞ 11a l. 5 § 19, explained as “*tawani*-apartments,” which “would be the women’s quarters located on an upper floor, reached by a ladder, like the Homeric [τὸ] ὑπερφῶν”;<sup>28</sup> (4) in the combination consisting of a “foot” surmounted by some sort of “ladder” or “stairs, steps” (Pl. 4 fig. 14) at times above “2 wheels” (76 / 77 / 78.1-3 / L 91 / 92 / 94<sup>29</sup>). Add zá (329 / L 335) and 331 / L 338.

But how is our pictogram employed here? It might either determine or belong to the aforesaid next preterite(?) (-)s-pa-tá which, if referred to the following u-su-pa-ta-, should likewise appropriately pertain to the sacrificial sphere:

‘(to / for) me the “PERSONAGE” LADDER(-)sapata-ed with a holy-ox’.

**Lines 2c-3a:** After wa/wi-tá-à (= wa + ata pronoun 3rd sg.<sup>30</sup> N, subject + ta locative particle)<sup>31</sup> we find the town name <sup>r</sup>Ma<sup>1</sup>-x-la<sup>URU</sup> (in absolute form) followed by the temporal adverb zi-la which concludes the clause.

Provided that <sup>r</sup>Ma<sup>1</sup>- (the “ram” head [104(.1) / L 110(.1)], with the point of the protruding horn still visible) is correctly recognized at the break of the vertical left edge of the text, the attested toponyms consisting of three syllabograms – the first of which Ma- and the last -la – are definitely scanty: one is *Matila*

19 On which cf. Jakob-Rost 1966.

20 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 376-378; Melchert 1989. The long since recognized term for ‘dog’ in Hieroglyphic Luwian is *šuwā/ina/i-* (Meriggi 1962: 112).

21 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 373-375.

22 Comparable to the <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.MAḪ ‘lion-man’ (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 375-376) and the <sup>LÚ</sup>hartagga- ‘bear-man’ (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 233-234; against the meaning ‘bear’ for *hartagga-* see the considerations of Tischler 2006: 150-151, who opts for a generic ‘Raubtier’).

23 Poetto 1993: 29.

24 Hawkins 2000: pl. 1, autography, and Hawkins 2010: 6 (but neglected in Hawkins 2000: 80, transliteration, and Hawkins 2010: 10). For an overall reassessment cf. Hawkins 2010, with evaluation of the usages of this notation (rendered by “VIR.”) before diverse terms.

25 Cf. HW<sup>2</sup> I: 42-45.

26 A feminine personal name containing the assured signs pa-ti and à surrounded by sundry decorative motives plus the generic designation ‘good (to the) woman’ (Yon 1997: 109 and fig. 59 = Yon 2006: 99 and fig. 59 – reading: “Patilou-wa / Patili” / “Patilu-wa / Patili”; Kabatiarova 2006: 80 and 133-134 fig. 3c: “Patili”, with a hint at the “vertical ladder like motives, a feature not seen on any other signet”. The object is also cited by Bordreuil/Pardee 1989: 298 and fig 39, 299; Helft 2010: 46, 48, 261 no. 70: “Patiluwa? A/l-x-x-pa-ti-lu-tu PONERE-wa?”; Saadé 2011: 156 and fig. 41: “Patilou-wa”!).

27 Hawkins 2000: 323, 324 commentary (“DOMUS+SCALA”) and pls. 157-158; for the full preservation of the marker cf. Dillo 2013: 347-348 and fig. 7, with the word tentatively interpreted as “a ‘look-out tower(?)’ for the wild animals”.

28 Hawkins 2000: 96, 99 commentary and pls. 10-11.

29 Numbering to be gathered under a single heading since it marks the same lexeme *zala-* ‘cart’: cf. Hawkins 2000: 135 § 1 commentary. A peculiar shape is shown by TELL AHMAR 6 side B l. 6 § 24 (see Poetto 2014: 795-796).

30 Less likely pl., by context.

31 For an assessment of such graphic sequences cf. Rieken 2008: 640-641.

(<sup>URU</sup>*Ma-ti-la* alongside <sup>URU</sup>*Ma-ti/di-il-la*<sup>32</sup>), a prominent cult-center between Hattusa and Arinna,<sup>33</sup> hence to be discarded as excessively distant; the other is *Maşula*,<sup>34</sup> in the relatively nearby Mardin area, conquered by Aššurnāširpal II (who reigned from 883 to 859 BC) during his fifth military campaign (879 BC).<sup>35</sup> A solution will perhaps turn up with the identification and phonetic reading of the cryptic medial glyph. Instead, with regard to the initial pictogram, it is worth noting its logographic function in the complemented word for ‘ram’ itself, 104[.1]-*na/ni-s* (nominative sg.) in the above-quoted fragment JISR EL HADID 4 side D l. 2 § 5.<sup>36</sup>

As a result of the absence of the verb, a nominal sentence looks here in order:  
‘It [*scil.* the oblation(?)] (will be) in *M.* thereafter’.

Subsequently (**line 3b**) the text reads as follows:

-*mu-‘1* / (for / to) me’ (in *wa/wi-mu-ta*), ‘200 sheep(?)(-)*za-la-[x]-za*’ and ‘200 ....’ (other animals or commodities – only unintelligible traces of signs).

(-)*za-la-[x]-za* should indicate some kind of sheep, if my recognition of the preposed ideogram (the animal protome with rounded element below [the bulge of the fur? or a pendulous ear?] = 105 / L 111[.1]) is valid. It is however indeterminable whether the ending *-za* expresses here a nominative / accusative sg. nt., or a dative pl. (‘sheep(?) for / to ... [various purposes]’).

Finally, a consideration concerning the numerals. The quantity 200 + 200 seems excessive if referred to a cultic act / a sacrificial rite, unless it serves as a hyperbole, just as is the case with Greek ἐκατόμβη ‘an offering of 100 oxen’, then ‘large sacrifice’ (of heterogeneous animals): in the Iliad used for 12 oxen, for bulls and goats, for 50 rams, and in Miletus just for 3 victims.<sup>37</sup> Alternatively, perhaps more realistically, a tribute or a tax might be implied.

### III. Conclusions

Despite some intricacies, the present epigraph is not uninteresting in many respects:

- (1) The uncommon / unprecedented glyphs employed (l. 2);
- (2) The fact of being one of the three monuments written in Hieroglyphic Luwian – currently kept in the Museum of Şanlıurfa – until now found in this zone; the other two – a bull base<sup>38</sup> and a stele bearing on the obverse the image of a typical Storm-God<sup>39</sup> – come from the Siverek-Şekerli district, north-east of Şanlıurfa.<sup>40</sup>

The Neo-Hittite presence increases thus the importance of this territory east of the Euphrates, otherwise known only through the accounts of some military campaigns (the second [882 BC], the fifth [879 BC], the ninth [between 875 and 867 BC] and the tenth [866 BC]) of Aššurnāširpal II.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, also on the strength of other non-inscribed Late-Hittite sculptures from this same region,<sup>42</sup> all these monuments should be dated prior to the conquest by this Assyrian king, namely within the late 10th-early 9th century BC.<sup>43</sup>

32 del Monte/Tischler 1978: 266; del Monte 1992: 103-104.

33 Cf. recently Forlanini 2008: 151, 185 nn. 54-56 with bibliography.

34 Friendly pointed out to me by Massimo Forlanini.

35 See, e.g., Grayson 1991: 259 l. 53: “<sup>URU</sup>*ma-‘šu<sup>1</sup>-la*”.

36 See Dinçol/Dinçol/Hawkins/Peker 2014: 63, 65 commentary, 68 fig. 2, 70 fig. 5 D.

37 See, e.g., Chantraine 1970: 329; Liddell/Scott/Stuart Jones/McKenzie 1996: 500; Oettinger 2008: 409, 411; Beekes 2010: 396. Unconvincing the new etymology by Stefanelli 2014: 38-58.

38 Çelik 2005.

39 See Poetto 2015: 182, 187 pl. 3 apropos a specific point of the text.

40 Both stones are presently being studied by Dr. Meltem Doğan-Alparslan and Dr. Metin Alparslan.

41 Cf., e.g., Liverani 1992: 34-44; 89 and fig. 3; 57-62; 92-93 and fig. 6; 73-80; 95-96 and fig. 10; 81-86; 96 and fig. 11 respectively.

42 Published by Kulakoğlu 2003.

43 Cf. also Kulakoğlu 2003: 76-77 with references; add Çelik 2005: 20.

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Pl. 1



Fig. 1a



Fig. 1b



Fig. 1c

Pl. 2



Fig. 2a

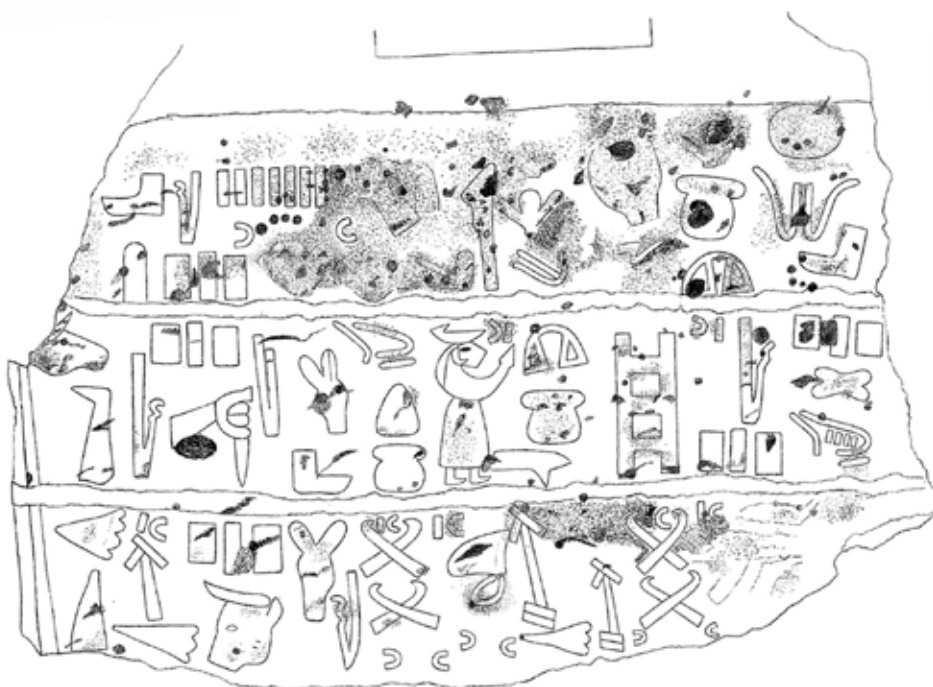


Fig. 2b

A New Hieroglyphic Luwian Epigraph: URFA-KÜLAFLI TEPE



Pl. 3

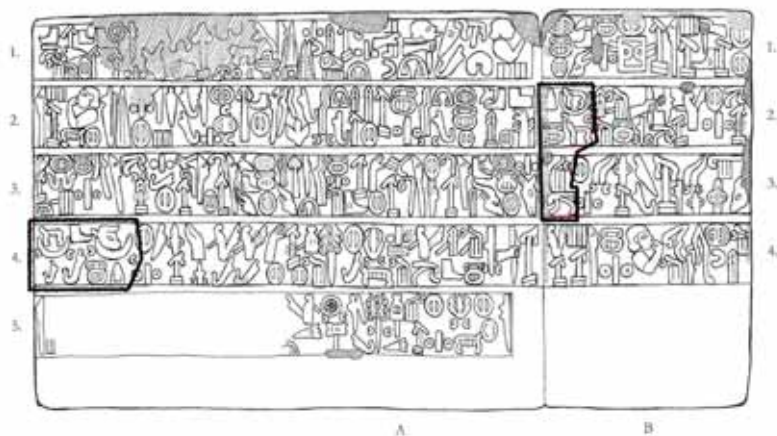


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

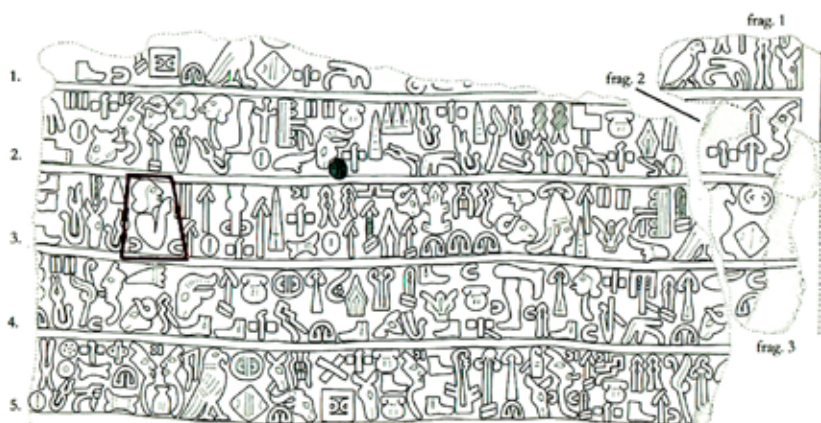


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Pl. 4



Fig. 9a



Fig. 9b



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

# OLD AND NEWLY DISCOVERED LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM TLOS

Recai Tekođlu  
Dokuz Eylöl University, Izmir

Taner Korkut, from Akdeniz University, Antalya, has conducted systematic archaeological excavations in Tlos for the last seven years<sup>1</sup>. I have taken part in the excavations as the epigraphist for the last four years<sup>2</sup>. At this symposium commemorating Emmanuel Laroche's achievements on the understanding of the ancient languages of Asia Minor, I would like to provide a provisional evaluation on the Lycian inscriptions from Tlos.

Before the archaeological campaigns began in Tlos, the number of Lycian inscriptions already known was eleven. Kalinka<sup>3</sup> published nine of them in *Tituli Asiae Minoris* and I added two new ones<sup>4</sup>. In the last seven years, important field works were carried out at the theater, the stadium, the basilica and the bath. The theater, especially, was a prolific site for the discovery of new Lycian inscriptions. Thanks to those researches and excavations, we found four new fragments and two new inscriptions so far.

The current situation of the Lycian epigraphic material from Tlos is as follows:

- The old inscriptions TL 22, TL 23, TL 26, TL 29, TL 30 and N 334 are still *in situ* in Tlos;  
TL 24 and N 333 are now in the Fethiye Archaeological Museum;
- TL 27 is in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums;
- TL 25 was among the ruins of the theater building and it was transported to the field next to the theater;
- TL 28 has not yet been found.

I have neither new readings nor corrigenda to provide for those inscriptions, but I would like to remind the reader of TL 29, whose new reading appeared in the *Omaggio di Roberto Gusmani*<sup>5</sup>. In the present article, I will offer

1 Korkut 2015.

2 The present study was supported by the Turkish Scientific and Technical Research Council - TÜBİTAK (Project number 111K227).

3 Kalinka 1901, TL 22-30.

4 Tekođlu 2002-2003. See also Raimond 2005: 164ff.

5 Tekođlu 2006.

a parallel text for TL 28 in the light of a newly found inscription from Tlos. Most of the new epigraphic finds are very small and fragmentary.

- 1- The first fragment may belong to a funerary inscription (pl. 1). On it, ]eñte[ can be read. This may be a part of a formula which may go as *me-n]e-ñte[...* or *se-ij]e-ñte[...*, or it can be interpreted as the initial part of *ñtepi*, or else it can be a word beginning with *ñte...*
- 2- The second fragment may also belong to a funerary inscription (pl. 2). Only two lines are preserved. In the first line, the dead's and his father's names were recorded. The father's name ends in -]jereh, whereas the dead's name begins with *De[-*. In the second line, only the *h* and *i* letters can be read.
- 3- The third inscription is very fragmentary and does not give any clue about its content (pl. 3).
- 4- The fourth fragment was found among the ruins of Zindan, a country of ancient Tlos in the mountain (pl. 4). Our colleagues consider it to be a part of an architectural building which is not funerary in character. We plan to dig the area in the coming years. On the block, only three letters remain. Their reading as ]ele[ does not allow any lexical interpretation.
- 5- The fifth inscription is a partly broken inscribed marble block found among the ruins near to the great bath (pl. 5). On the marble block, which measures 110 x 80 x 52 cm, two inscriptions (A and B) were observed. The right side of inscription A and the left side of inscription B are lost. Both inscriptions have five lines and the transcription of inscription A goes as follows (pl. 6):

- 1 ] putin[e]zi tuwete  
-]buhāmah kbatru ehbi  
-]tiweh tezi puwejeñ  
-]u uwitahñ ḫahbu
- 5 -]zahi prñezijehi

The transcription of inscription B goes as follows (pl. 7):

- 1 ñ[-  
prij[-  
hrppi[  
ladu u[-
- 5 apuwaza[-

A quick analysis shows a parallelism between TL 28 and the present group of inscriptions. The transcription of TL 28 as made by Kalinka goes as follows:

- 1 ñtene putinezi tuw[etê  
prijabuhāmah kbatru n[-  
mlttaimi mrbbanada[  
ladu uwitahñ ḫahb[i
- 5 apuwazahi p[r]ñnezijeh[i d]i[

Thus, we can restore inscriptions A and B with the help of TL 28 as follows:

- | A   | B   |
|---|---|
| 1 [ñtene] putin[e]zi tuwete<br>[prij]abuhāmah kbatru ehbi<br>[....]tiweh tezi puwejeñ<br>[lad]u uwitahñ ḫahbu | 1 ñ[te-ne putinezi tuwete]<br>prij[abuhāmah kbatru]<br>hrppi [.... puwejeñ]<br>ladu u[witahñ ḫahbu] |
| 5 [apuwa]zahi prñezijehi  | 5 apuwaza[hi prñezijehi]  |

The inscriptions seem to belong to a collective burial, as no deceased seem to be connected with each other by name. The defunct persons are described as *daughter of Prijabuhāma, wife of Puweje, grandchild of Uwita and member of Apuwaza's household*. Their personal names are not mentioned. The deceased are only daughter, wife, grandchild and member of the household. The restoration of the third line of each of the three inscriptions is problematic. We read *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[ in TL 28, ]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ* in A and a *hrppi*[ in B. It seems that only the husbands' names were modified in TL 28 and inscription A. They are *Mrbbanada* in TL 28 and *Puweje* in inscription A.

Another question revolves around the locations mentioned in line 3: *hrppi* appears in line 3 of inscription B, whereas we read *tezi* in inscription A. *Tezi* is generally translated by “monument; sarcophagus, coffin, chamber”<sup>6</sup>. Does *tezi* in inscription A refer to the kind of monument in which it is situated, or does it designate something to be placed inside the building? *Tezi* was mentioned among the dead persons. It is possible that some of the deceased were buried with or without *tezi*. But where were these deceased and *tezi* placed? In the first line, we see the word *putinezi*, which was considered to be a personal name by Melchert<sup>7</sup>, thus following Zgusta's *KPN*<sup>8</sup>. However, Neumann doubted it, suggesting an etymology deriving from a place name in his *Lexikon*<sup>9</sup>. We do not have good reasons to consider *putinezi* to be a personal name. If it designates a person, we should wonder who this person can be and what his relation with the other persons is. There is no evidence of kinship between *putinezi* and the other characters in the inscriptions. We suggest that *putinezi* rather refers to a kind of monument that is neither a *χupa*, a *prñnawa* nor a *ñtata*.<sup>10</sup>

As for the grammatical attestations and vocabulary, there is little to say. The accusative singular of genitival adjectives in *-hñ* are frequent in the Tlos testimonia, like *Urtaqijahñ kbatru* and *Prijenubehñ tuhesñ* in TL 25. *Puweje* is identical with *Puwejehñ tupelijā* in TL 44 line 39 and it obviously is a personal name.

Based on the restoration, I would like to suggest a reading for TL 28 as follows:

ñtene putinezi tuw[ete]  
 prijabuhāmah kbatru  
 mlttaimi mrbbanada[hñ]  
 ladu uwitahñ χahb[u]  
 apuwazahi p[ñ]nezijehi

The translation should be “They placed Prijabuhāma's daughter, mlttaimi, wife of Mrbbanada, grandchild of Uwita (and) member of Apuwaza's household inside *putinezi*”.

6- The last inscription that I will present here was found during the early acropolis excavations (pl. 8). It measures 120 x14 cm and was read as follows:

*Sixeriwale: Ddew[ele]deh:tideimi:atli*  
*se-(e)sedē[ñ]newi:χñnahi:aladahali:ada*

*esedē[ñ]newi:χñnahi* is parallel to TL 39.3 : *hrppi esedeñnewi:χñnahi*.

Translation: “Sikheriwale, son of Ddeweledede, for himself and for the grand-mother's descendents. *aladahali ada*.”

6 Neumann 2007: 355.

7 Melchert 2004: 99Z.

8 Zgusta 1964, § 1295.1.

9 Neumann 2007: 293-294.

10 Schürr 2009: 161 suggested that it designated an erection of statues.



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Pl. 1: A fragment of funerary inscription from the stadium.



Pl. 2: A fragment.



Pl. 3: A fragment.



Pl. 4: A fragment from Zindan.



Pl. 5: An inscribed marble block.



Pl. 6: Inscription A.



Pl. 7: Inscription B



Pl. 8: A funerary inscription in rock-cut tomb



## **II. PHILOGIE ET HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS**



# A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE HITTITE EXPRESSION ŠARĀ AR-

Willemijn Waal  
Leiden University

## Introduction

In the last chapter (*Débris de fichier*) of his invaluable work *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Emmanuel Laroche included an edition of the texts grouped under CTH 276-282 (*Catalogues des tablettes*).<sup>1</sup> These catalogues, also called ‘tablet inventories’ or ‘shelf lists’ consist of titles of compositions. Laroche instantly recognized the importance of these texts, which are a great source of information regarding the functioning and organization of the Hittite tablet collections.<sup>2</sup>

Altogether, a bit under 70 (fragments of) these catalogue texts or shelf lists have been preserved. Although the exact function of these compositions is still unclear, it is generally agreed that the lists represent inventories of tablets that were present in (certain parts of) the tablet collections.<sup>3</sup> I will therefore henceforth refer to them as ‘tablet inventories’.

An important indication that we are dealing with inventories is given by the remarks that are occasionally added about the presence, absence or condition of the tablets. Paola Dardano (2006: 8-9) has listed these types of remarks, which include the following expressions:<sup>4</sup>

- NU.GÁL: e.g. MAḪ-RU-Ú ṬUP-PU NU.[GÁL] (KUB 30.6, obv. l.c. 21’)  
‘the first tablet is not th[ere]’
- wemiya-: e.g. MAḪ-RU-Ú ṬUP-PU na-ú-i ú-e-mi-ia-mi (KBo 31.7, obv. 7)  
‘the first tablet I haven’t found yet’
- wak-: IGI-zi ṬUP-PA<sup>H.A</sup> [ ]/[EGIR-z]i ṬUP<sup>1</sup>-PA<sup>H.A</sup> wa-ṛaq<sup>1</sup>-qa-a-ri  
‘the first tablet (and) the [las]t tablet are missing’

1 I thank Theo van den Hout and Alwin Kloekhorst for their valuable comments on this paper.

2 The edition of Laroche has been the only complete edition of this corpus until the publication of Paola Dardano (2006).

3 Dardano 2006: 13.

4 Dardano 2006: 8 also includes the expression *anda handae-* occurring in KBo 31.8 obv. 6-7 (*ša-pa-an-ta-al-la-ma* DUB.Ṭ<sup>KAM</sup><sup>H.A</sup> *an-da ú-UL ḫa-an-da[-an]*), but the meaning hereof is not completely certain. Dardano 2006: 23 translates: ‘aber das erste auf der Libation bezogene Tafelwerk ist nicht zugeordnet’, noting that it could also be taken to mean ‘aber šapantalla ist nicht auf einem ersten Tafelwerk eingeordnet/angeordnet’ (n. 4). Dardano 2006: 8 further lists the expression ‘[NU].TIL’ in KUB 8.72 obv. 10’, but this in all likelihood refers to the fact that the composition written on the tablet is not complete. With respect to remarks about the condition of the tablets, one may add KBo 31.8 rev. iv 3, which may mention that a tablet is damaged ([ki-i ṬUP-PU a]r-ḫa ḫar-ra-an), a statement which is also found in several colophons.

In addition, we find the expression *šarā ar-* in KUB 30.43:

1. **KUB 30.43 rev. iii** 2'-5', 15'-16' (CTH 276.2)

- 2' DUB.1[(+x)<sup>KAM</sup> Š]A A.AB.BA *ša-ra-a-ma-at*  
 3' Ú-UL *ar-ta-ri*
- 4' DUB.2<sup>KAM</sup> LÚ *za-li-pu-úr-ra-tal-la-aš ša-ra-a-ma-at*  
 5' 'Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL *ar-ta-ri*  
 [...]
- 15' DUB.3<sup>KAM</sup> ŠA [SISKUR *šar-r*]*a-aš-ši-ia-an-za*  
 16' *ša-ra-a-m[a-at Ú-UL] ar-ta-ri*

Over the years, several proposals have been made for the translation of the phrase *šarā ar-*. Initially, this expression was taken literally, in the meaning 'to stand upright'.<sup>5</sup> Later, Hans Güterbock (1991-1992: 134) proposed that this expression did not refer so much to the physical act of standing, but that it should rather be taken metaphorically, in the sense of 'to be present, available' ('ist nicht verfügbar'). This meaning has been accepted ever since and nowadays it is generally assumed that the expression *šarā ar-* means 'to be available' or 'to be at hand'.<sup>6</sup>

In the case of KUB 30.43, this would mean that the tablets listed were not available at the time the list was compiled:

(1.) **KUB 30.43 rev. iii** 2'-5', 15'-16' (CTH 276.2)

- 2'-3' DUB.1[(+x)<sup>KAM</sup> Š]A A.AB.BA *ša-ra-a-ma-at Ú-UL ar-ta-ri*  
 1[+<sup>2</sup>] tablet(s): [o]f the sea. But they are / it is not available.
- 4'-5' DUB.2<sup>KAM</sup> LÚ *za-li-pu-úr-ra-tal-la-aš ša-ra-a-ma-at 'Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL ar-ta-ri*  
 2 tablets: of the *zalipuratalla*-man. But they are not available.
- 15'-16' DUB.3<sup>KAM</sup> ŠA [SISKUR *šar-r*]*a-aš-ši-ia-an-za ša-ra-a-m[a-at Ú-UL] ar-ta-ri*  
 3 tablets: of the [*šar*]*ašši* [sacrifice]. B[ut they are not] available.

If one accepts the above translation, the remark *šarā ar-* differs from the above-mentioned remarks in tablet inventories about the presence or absence of tablets in one respect: whereas the other remarks refer to some missing tablets within a series, in the case of *šarā ar-*, not just one or two tablets, but all tablets of the series are absent. This may seem like a small difference, but it has some important consequences for the organization of the Hittite tablet collections.

As mentioned above, the tablet inventories are generally taken to represent lists of tablets that were present in a certain (selection of an) archive. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the title descriptions are for the most part a direct and literal rendering of the colophons of the tablet. The remarks in these inventories about tablet series that are not completely present would suggest that the tablets belonging to the same series were stored together – although theoretically it cannot be excluded that they assembled the tablets from different locations when making the inventory. The notation that a complete series is missing, however, has some further implications: though the tablets were not there when the inventory was being made, they were apparently expected to be there. This would mean that the

5 See e.g. 'Sie steht aber nicht aufrecht' (HW<sup>2</sup> A: 205a s.v. *ar-*, thus also Neu 1968: 10); 'but it does not stand upright' (HED A, E/I: 105 s.v. *ar-*); 'Mais elle ne tient pas debout' (CTH: 177); 'steht nicht aufrecht' in the meaning 'ist nicht mehr erhalten' (Friedrich 1939-1941: 155 n. 5).

6 See also Dardano 2006: 42; CHD Š: 225 s.v. *šarā*.

tablet inventories were not just based on the tablets that were physically present, but also on additional information about the tablets' whereabouts and/or that the tablets had a fixed position in the archives.<sup>7</sup> Though it cannot be excluded that such a highly structured record management system indeed existed, in this particular case, however, a more simple and elegant solution is at hand. I would like to propose that the expression 'šarā ar-' does not mean 'to be available' but rather 'to be complete', which would solve the above-mentioned difficulties and is in line with other attestations of the preverb šarā.

## I. The preverb šarā

The basic meaning of šarā, which may be used as an adverb, preverb and postposition, is 'up(wards)' or 'above'. In addition, it may also be used idiomatically. The CHD Š: 210 lists the following meanings of šarā (s.v. šarā B):

1. up, upwards
2. above, upon, over, on top
3. (idiomatically) available, at hand, at one's disposal, stand ready
4. (idiomatically, indicating completeness): a. š. *anš-* 'to wipe up', b. š. *ed-* 'to eat up'<sup>8</sup>, c. š. *lukk-* 'to burn up'<sup>9</sup>, d. š. *šannapilahḫ-* 'to empty (completely) out', e. š. *šanḫ-* 'to clean (completely) out', f. š. *šart-* 'to smear (up)', g. š. *šunnai-* 'to fill up', h. š. *šuppiyaḫḫ-* 'to consecrate completely', i. š. *tiya-* 'to be completed, covered, completely (fully) provided', j. š. *tittanu-* 'to finish, complete, fulfill', k. š. *warišša-* 'to come to help'.

The idiomatic usage of šarā mentioned under number 4 is comparable to the usage of the productive preverbs *auf* and *op* in German and Dutch respectively (and to a lesser extent English *up*), which may also indicate completeness (e.g. German *auftrinken*, Dutch *opdrinken* – 'to drink up').

### I.1. The expression šarā ar- in the meaning 'to be complete'

If we look at the attestations of šarā ar- in the meaning of 'to be available' given by the CHD a meaning 'to be complete' seems to be more accurate. This is most evident in the following example:

#### 2. IBoT 1.36 obv. i 11-12 (CTH 262)

(Then the bodyguards take (their) place in the courtyard of the bodyguard and 12 bodyguards stand by the inside of the wall in the direction of the palace, and they hold spears)

*ma-a-an 12 LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI-ma ša-ra-a Ú-UL ar-ta*

If, however, 12 bodyguards *are not all there / not complete* (– either someone has been sent on a journey or someone is at home on leave – and there are too many spears, then they carry away the spears that are left, and they place them with the gatekeepers).

This passage from the Instructions to the Royal Bodyguards addresses the potential problem that there are more spears than bodyguards, because some bodyguards are absent for reasons which are explained in what follows. It is thus not so much the fact that there are no 12 bodyguards *available*, but that they are not

7 Alternatively, one could take the remark *šarā ar-* to mean that the tablets were in fact present, but not 'available', but this would raise new questions and complications; one wonders, for example, for what reason these tablets would not have been available. In addition, this would imply that the tablets were needed for a specific purpose. Though it is certainly possible that (some of) these lists were composed for special occasions (see e.g. Christiansen 2008: 306) and van den Hout (2005: 285) this is far from self-evident. In any case, this scenario would also suggest a more complex archival administration.

8 Note that a different interpretation is possible as well, see CHD Š: 213 s.v. *šarā* (no. 12').

9 Here as well, a different interpretation is possible, see CHD Š: 216 s.v. *šarā* (no. 28').

*all* there, which is also suggested by the translation of Güterbock and van den Hout: ‘But if (the number of) twelve guards is not available’.<sup>10</sup>

If we look at the next example from the prayer of Muršili regarding the misbehaviours of his stepmother Tawannana, translation ‘to be complete’ is also more fitting:

### 3. KBo 4.8 obv. ii 8-10 (CTH 70)

(Nothing is lacking that she desires)

NINDA-aš-ši wa-a-tar nu ḥu-u-ma-an ša-ra-a a-ar-ta-ri Ú-UL-aš-ši-ša-an ku-it-ki wa-aq-qa-a-ri

She has bread and water, everything is *all there*;<sup>11</sup> she lacks nothing.

The main point that Muršili is making here is that Tawannana whom he has banished from the palace (instead of executing her) lacks nothing but has *everything* and leads a comfortable life – this in contrast to the daily agony Muršili himself is suffering because of the death of his wife Gaššuliyawiya, for which he holds Tawannana responsible.

The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the next passage from the Testament of Ḫattušili:

### 4. KUB 1.16 rev. iii 50-51 (CTH 6)

(You must be reverent towards the word of the gods)

nu NINDA.GUR.RA<sup>HI-A</sup> ŠU-<NU> iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-iš-me-e[t pá-r-šu-u]r-še-me-et-ta me-ma-al-še-me-et ša-ra-a ar-ta-ru

Let their thick bread, their libation wine, their [ste]w and their meal *all be there*.<sup>12</sup>

Ḫattušili gives instructions to his subjects that the gods should be taken care of properly; their offerings should be complete without anything being omitted.

In addition to the above passages cited by the CHD under meaning 4 s.v. *šarā B*, one may include the attestations of *šarā ar-* in the hippological texts:

### 5. KBo 3.5 obv. i 55-57 (CTH 284)

(They give them one SŪTU of meal mixed together with chaff)

ŠÀ.GAL-ŠU-NU-ia ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri

and their food is complete.

### 6. KBo 3.5 rev. iii 63-64 (CTH 284)

(They eat one SŪTU of meal with chaff)

ḪA.LA-ŠU-NU-ia ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri

and their ration is complete.

10 Güterbock/van den Hout 1991: 7. Other translations include: ‘If, however, 12 bodyguards are not available’ (Miller 2013: 103); ‘But if twelve guards are not available’ (CHD Š: 225); ‘Wenn die 12 M. aber nicht dastehen’ (HW<sup>2</sup> A: 205a).

11 Other translations include: CHD Š: 225: ‘Everything is at (her) disposal’; HW<sup>2</sup> A: 205a: ‘alles steht da’; HED A, E/I: 105: ‘everything is provided’; Neu 1968: 10: ‘Alles ist vorhanden’; Singer 2002: 78: ‘Everything stands at her disposal’, thus also Miller 2014: 517.

12 Previous translations include: ‘Ihr Brotanteil ... muß aufgetischt sein!’ (Sommer/Falkenstein 1938: 15); ‘Ihr Brot... sollen (stets) vorhanden sein’ (Neu 1968: 10); ‘Their sacrificial loaves ... must (always) be kept available for them’(Beckman 2003: 81); ‘Let thick bread ... be at their disposal’ (CHD Š: 225); ‘Ihre Brote ... müssen immer bereitgestellt sein’ (Klinger 2005: 145); ‘Ihre Dickbrote ... soll da/bereit stehen’ (HW<sup>2</sup> A: 205a); ‘Let their meal dish stand ready’ (HED A, E/I: 107); ‘Let their thick bread ... stand ready’ (Goedegebuure 2006: 227).

Annelies Kammenhuber has translated these lines as ‘to raise up/replenish the food/portion’<sup>13</sup> but the meaning ‘to be complete’ would make better sense here, all the more because it is not indicated how much the portion or the food is upgraded. This text – a manual for the training of horses – includes quite precise instructions regarding the quantity and types of rations and exercises necessary. The amounts of food that are to be given are usually specified, so if *šarā ar-* would mean that the ration is to be augmented, one would expect the text to indicate with what amount the food is to be raised. If we take *šarā ar-* to mean ‘to be complete’ however, no such addition would be required.

## I.2. The expression *šarā ar-* used in uncertain meaning

In some cases it is questionable if we should understand *šarā ar-* as ‘to be complete’ or that we are rather dealing with a metaphorical meaning. The following passage comes from the Testament of Ḫattušili I, like example 4 above.

### 7. KUB 1.16 rev. iii 46-47 (CTH 6, cf. rev iii 35)

(You must keep my, the king’s, words)

nu<sup>URU</sup> ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš ša-ra-a ar-ta

then Ḫattuša will be whole(some)<sup>2/</sup> / will stand tall<sup>P</sup> (and you will keep the land pacified).

Several translations have been proposed for this sentence.<sup>14</sup> The message Ḫattušili is sending out is clear: if his subjects obey his words, all will go well for Ḫattuša. It is attractive to take *šarā ar-* ‘to be complete’ in the meaning ‘to be whole’, i.e. ‘in an unbroken or undamaged state’, compare English ‘wholesome’, but other interpretations are possible as well.<sup>15</sup> One can in any case conclude that the meaning ‘to be available’ is certainly not the most likely translation here.

In the next example the precise meaning of *šarā ar-* (in combination with *peran*) is also difficult to determine:

### 8. KUB 13.4 obv. i 22’-23 (CTH 264)

ÌR-ŠU ku-wa-pí A-NA EN-ŠU pé-ra-an ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri

When a servant is completely there before his master / When a slave stands upright before his master, (he is washed and wears pure (cloths) and he gives him (something) to eat or he gives him (something) to drink.

It is unclear if this passage refers to a slave who is standing upright before his master, or if the phrase should be taken more metaphorically.<sup>16</sup> As in the previous case, the meaning ‘to be available’ is – though possible – certainly not the most attractive translation.

In conclusion, for most attestations of *šarā ar-* discussed above a translation ‘to be complete’ is more fitting than a translation ‘to be available’ or ‘to be at hand’. In the last two examples the precise meaning of *šarā ar-* cannot be decided, but it is clear that a translation ‘to be at hand’ is not the most obvious choice. Bearing this in mind, let us now have a fresh look at the idiomatic use of *šarā* listed in the CHD under the meaning ‘to be at hand’ in combination with other verbs:

13 Kammenhuber 1961: 85: ‘und ihr Futter wird aufgeschüttet; Kammenhuber 1961: 99: ‘und ihre Ration wird aufgeschüttet’, thus also Neu 1968: 10. Note that HW<sup>2</sup> A: 205a translates: ‘Ihre Ration steht da’.

14 See e.g.: ‘wird die Stadt Ḫattuša ragend dastehen’ (Sommer/Falkenstein 1938: 15); ‘wird [die Stadt Ḫ.] Bestand haben’ [rev. iii 35] (Neu 1968, 10); ‘steht auch die Stadt H. aufrecht’ [rev iii 35] (HW<sup>2</sup> A, 205a); ‘Hattusas shall stand prominent’ (HED A, I/E, 105); ‘then Hatti will be at your disposal’ (CHD Š: 225 s.v. *šarā*); ‘Ḫattuša will stand tall’ (Beckman 2003, 81, thus also Goedegebuure 2006: 226); Klinger 2005: 145: ‘wird Ḫattuša aufrecht stehen’.

15 Kindly suggested to me by Theo van den Hout.

16 Previous translations include: ‘When a slave is standing ready (lit: upright) before his master’ (CHD Š: 226); ‘When the servant stands before his master’ (McMahon 1997: 217); ‘Wenn ein Diener vor seinen Herr tritt’ (Klinger 2001: 74); ‘When a servant stands up before his master’ (Miller 2013: 249); ‘Solange sein Sklave vor seinem Herr dastehet’ (HW<sup>2</sup> A: 205a/b).

### I.3. The expression *šarā eš-/aš-* ‘to be complete/ to be completely present’?

The text KUB 42.84 is an inventory, listing various luxury goods. The entries indicate that the goods are present, or they mention that they have been taken away by certain individuals. In this text, the remark *ašanzi* (‘they are present’) is attested with and without the preverb *šarā*:

#### 9. KUB 42.84 obv. 1-2 (CTH 247)

<sup>1</sup><sub>3</sub><sup>21</sup> URU<sup>LUM</sup> *an-dur-za KÙ.BABBAR a-ra-aḫ-za [...]* / [*š*]*a-ra-a a-ša-an-zi*

[Thre]e<sup>2</sup> (models of) cities, silver on the inside [ ] on the outside, are completely present.<sup>17</sup>

#### 10. KUB 42.84 rev. 18, 22 (CTH 247)

18 3 DUG URUDU *a-ša-an-zi* [ ]

3 copper jugs are present [ ]

[...]

(Thus says TÚL-pa-x, son of [ ]

22 2<sup>GI</sup>PISAN-wa *a-ša-an-zi* [ ]

“Two baskets are present” [ ]

It is of interest that the expression *šarā eš-* is used in connection to objects that apparently consist of an inner and outer part, as opposed to objects consisting of a single piece, in which *eš-/aš-* without the preverb *šarā* is used. The preverb *šarā* appears to indicate that the objects are completely present.

### I.4. The expression *šarā ḫantae-* ‘to prepare completely’?

In the Maṣat letter no. 24 we find the expression *šarā ḫantae-*:

#### 11. HKM 24 rev. 53-56 (CTH 186)

*nam-ma a-pu-un ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> URUka-še-pu-u-ra EGIR-an-pát ti-ia nu-za NINDA tu-u-ma-ti-in ša-ra-a me-ek-ki ḫa-an-da-a-ed-du ŠA MU-za-kán an-ku NINDA tu-u-ma-ti-in ša-ra-a ha-an-da-ed-du*

Furthermore, station those troops behind Kašepura. Let them *prepare*<sup>2</sup> / *fix (up)*<sup>2</sup> for themselves *tumati*-bread in great quantity, let them *prepare*<sup>2</sup> / *fix (up)*<sup>2</sup> for themselves *tumati*-bread for a full year.<sup>18</sup>

The gist of the message is that the troops need to prepare themselves thoroughly and make sure to supply a large amount of bread to be able to outlast for at least a year. The preverb *šarā* could indicate completeness, but since the precise meaning of the expression is undecided, other interpretations cannot be excluded.<sup>19</sup>

17 See also: ‘Three(?) (models of) cities ... remain at hand’ (CHD Š: 226); ‘D[re]i Broschen [reading SÚ<sup>LUM</sup> instead of URU<sup>LUM</sup>] ... sind oben vorhanden’ (Siegelová 1986: 127); ‘The city, the silver outside [ ] are on top’ (Košak 1982: 155).

18 Previous translations include: ‘and let it lay(?) up for itself much *tumati*-bread, let it lay (?) up for itself even a year’s supply of *tumati*-bread’ (CHD Š: 227); ‘Let them prepare (i.e. store up?) for themselves much *tumati*-bread, let them prepare for themselves even a year’s supply of *tumati*-bread’ (Hoffner 2009: 139); ‘Den Provianten soll sie reichlich zurüsten. Den Jahres-provianten soll sie unbedingt aufbereiten.’ (Alp 1991: 163).

19 We may here also mention the following passage from the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguards, IBoT 1.36 obv. i 56-57: If, however, bodyguard tricks the gatekeeper and he carries down (*katta*) a spear, but the gatekeeper does not see him, then the bodyguard will catch the gatekeeper in (his) delinquency (saying): <sup>18</sup>SUKUR-wa Ú-UL *ku-it a-uš-ta ma-a-an-wa-[a]t<sup>2</sup> ša-ra-a-ma ku-iš an-tu-u-wa-ah-ha-aš ḫa-an-da-a-ez-zi nu-wa-ra-an ku-wa-pí a-ut-ti* – Since you did not see the spear, if some man *brings (it) up / manages (to go) up*<sup>2</sup> will you ever notice him? Though the general drift is clear, the exact meaning of the sentence escapes us. Possibly, *šarā* indicates completeness here, but, as suggested to me by Theo van den Hout, it seems more likely that *šarā* here stands in opposition to *katta* in the previous lines: if a bodyguard is able to carry a spear down unseen, how will the



## I.5. The expression *šarā warišša-* ‘to come to help, to lend assistance’?

The last example discussed here is the verbal expression *šarā warišša-* in combination with *peran*, which is found in the treaty of Muwatalli II with Alakšandu of Wiluša:

### 12. KUB 21.1 iii 50-52 (CTH 76)<sup>20</sup>

*na-aš-ma*<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR GUL-*aḫ*-zi nu pé-e ḫar-zi zi-ik-ma pé-ra-an ša-ra-a Ú-UL wa-a[(r-ri-iš-š)]a-at-ti

Or if an enemy attacks and holds (his gains), but you do not lend any assistance *at all* (and you do not fight the enemy).<sup>21</sup>

Though it is not entirely clear how *šarā* (and *peran*) should be interpreted here, we seem to be dealing with an idiomatic expression meaning ‘to offer help’. The verb *warišša-* is also used without the preverb *šarā*.<sup>22</sup> Possibly, the preverb *šarā* adds the connotation ‘to fully / completely assist’, in this particular case in a negative sense, ‘to not assist *at all*’. As in the previous two examples, however, this has to remain a suggestion. With respect to *peran*, a translation ‘beforehand’ seems implausible in this context because the enemy apparently has already attacked.

## II. Concluding remarks

In the above examples, the preverb *šarā* is in most cases better explained as indicating completeness, rather than availability, although the two can of course be closely connected. In some cases, the precise meaning cannot be established, but the context does not necessarily demand for a translation ‘to be available’. Therefore, the meaning no. 3 of *šarā* of the CHD ‘(idiomatically) available, at hand, at one’s disposal, stand ready’ may be given up and the examples mentioned there (examples nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 in this article) can move to *šarā* meaning no. 4 ‘(idiomatically, indicating completeness)’.

Let us now return to the tablet inventories. If we look at the examples of *šarā ar-* in KUB 30.43, it makes more sense to assume that the expression *šarā ar-* indicates that the series is not there *completely*:

### (1.) KUB 30.43 rev. iii 2’-5’, 15’-16’ (CTH 276.2)

2’-3’: 1[+<sup>3</sup>] tablet(s): o]f the sea. But they *are not complete (as a series)*.

4’-5’: 2 tablets: of the *zalipuratalla*-man. But they *are not complete (as a series)*.

15’-6’: 3 tablets: of the [šar]ašši [sacrifice]. But they *are not complete (as a series)*.

The remark *šarā ar-* is thus in line with the other remarks on the tablet inventories discussed above, indicating that some (it is not indicated which ones) tablets within a series are missing, and not the complete series, solving the above-discussed awkward implications for Hittite record management. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the expression is only attested referring to more than one tablet (although in KUB 30.43 rev. iii 2’-3’ this is not completely certain).

To some extent, this is a somewhat disappointing outcome; *šarā ar-* does not give any clues about the (physical) organization of the tablets. It does not mean that they were standing ‘upright’, nor does it necessarily point to the existence of an archival system recording absent tablets. As mentioned above, this is not to say that no such system could have existed. One may, for instance imagine that labels, small tablets containing only the titles of a composition, could function as library slips when certain tablets were

gatekeeper ever see someone attempting to bring it up? For this passages, see also CHD Š: 213 s.v. *šarā* (no. 15’); Miller 2013: 107; Güterbock/van den Hout 1991: 11.

<sup>20</sup> See also KUB 21.5 rev iii 66-69, a duplicate of this text and KBo 5.4 rev. 46 (CTH 67).

<sup>21</sup> Compare also: ‘but you do not show up in advance available with help’ (CHD Š: 227); ‘du aber nicht vorher Hilfe leistest’ (Friedrich 1930: 75); ‘but you did not muster help’ (Kitchen/Lawrence 2012: 559); ‘but you do not lend assistance in advance’ (Beckman 1999: 91).

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. KBo 5.13 rev. iii 20 (CTH 68), KBo 5.9 obv. ii 17, 19 (CTH 62) and (probably) KBo 5.4 rev. 45 (CTH 67).

taken out temporarily. However, this is pure speculation and the labels may just as well have served other purposes.<sup>23</sup>

The new interpretation of *šarā ar-* rather confirms the status of KUB 30.43 containing this remark as an ‘inventory’.<sup>24</sup> This does not, however, solve all problems surrounding the tablet inventories, as many uncertainties still remain. It is unclear, for instance, if they represent the content of one tablet collection or only a section thereof, if they represent the shelf order of the tablets, or for what purposes(s) they were made. Until further evidence comes to light, these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered.

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<sup>23</sup> For the organization of the Hittite tablet collections in general, see Waal 2015: 182-198 with references.

<sup>24</sup> However, this does not necessarily have to apply to all texts that are currently categorized under CTH 276-282. It is conceivable that they had divergent functions (see also van den Hout 2005: 284-285; Christiansen 2008: 305-306; Waal 2010: 556-557).

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# SANDAS IN TRANSLATION\*

Ian Rutherford  
Reading University

## Introduction: From Santa(s) to Sandas/Sandon

Few deities of Late Bronze Age Anatolia have been shown to continue down to the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1</sup> The one with the most conspicuous reception in the Greco-Roman period seems to be Santa(s), who is known to have survived in different forms from the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC till the mid 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD, attested principally in the same general area of central and southern Anatolia.<sup>2</sup> In the Greco-Roman period the god is known either as “Sandas” (Ionic “Sandēs”) or “Sandon”,<sup>3</sup> especially associated with the city of Tarsos, and often equated with a Greek deity, Heracles. A key factor in the survival of Santa(s) from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, when so many deities disappeared, may have been the long-term stability of areas where he was located, Tarsus in particular; somehow, the cult resisted external political and religious pressures. The conservative onomastics of the region suggest that Luwian culture survived particularly well in Cilicia, and it may also be that the resilience of Santa(s)/Sandas is due to the fact that he remained deeply embedded in the local religious traditions of the region.<sup>4</sup>

Sandas has fascinated many generations of scholars, and exotic links have been alleged between him and various ancient cultures including Armenia,

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1 See e.g., Lebrun 1987b.

2 The closest comparandum is Kubaba of Carchemish, though in that case the Greco-Roman reception is less clear because the precise relationship between Kubaba and Cybele remains unknown: see Hutter this volume. Another comparable case is Maliya, who survives in epichoric texts of Lycia, apparently equated with Greek Athene, although it is unclear to what extent Greco-Roman writers were aware of the name Maliya/Malia. Watkins 2007: 122-125 argues that 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium goddesses were connected in name only. For Maliya see also Neumann 1967: 36; Lebrun 1982: 124; Keen 1998: 202-204 and Lebrun/Raimond 2015: 93.

3 “Sandēs” is found in Nonnus, *Dion.* 34.192, Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἰσάννα and the Byzantine historian Agathias (Appendix #6, #2, #7). Sandon occurs as a theonym only in John the Lydian (Appendix #1); more commonly it is an anthroponym. Less certain is Sandan, which occurs only as the name of the founder of Tarsus in Ammianus Marcellinus (Appendix #3) it may also appear as a man’s name in a Roman epitaph from Diokaisareia: see SEG 53: 1727. Sandan never seems to occur as the name of the god, despite being so used by J. G. Frazer (see below p. 85) and other scholars. Finally, note that West 1971: 51-52 posited that the Greek theonym Zas/Zantos, used by the 6<sup>th</sup> century theologian and philosopher Pherecydes of Syros, may have been based on Luwian Santa(s).

4 For the onomastics, see below p. 84.

Minoan Crete and India.<sup>5</sup> It has even been claimed the Sandas of Tarsos influenced early Christian doctrine.<sup>6</sup> On the Greco-Roman reception of Santa(s), the fundamental work remains that of Emmanuel Laroche in his contribution to the volume *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine* (Laroche 1973). Laroche was well equipped for the task, having done important work on ancient Greek language in his early career.<sup>7</sup> The first pages of his article present a masterly survey of syncretism between Anatolian and Greek religion in the West. While his general position on the subject is that little can be proved, especially in the West, Laroche saw Sandas-Heracles as a rare example of a successful syncretism between the cultures. However, he refrained from speculation about on the circumstances by which the syncretism came about.

The purpose of this paper is to fill in the part omitted by Laroche, looking at how the identification with Heracles may have come about. I shall also take the opportunity of mentioning some new evidence, discovered in the last forty years, which complicates the picture. My emphasis will be less on “syncretism”, which implies some degree of fusion between two deities from different religious traditions, and more on “translation”, which is the practical convention using the name of a deity from one religious tradition as an equivalent of a deity in another one. Such a practice of “translating gods” may have implied the deities are the same at some level, despite the differences in their local manifestations, though it does not imply fusion between them.<sup>8</sup>

## I. A history of Santa(s)

### I.1. The second millennium: Santa(s)-Marduk

Santa(s) was already a complex deity in the second millennium.<sup>9</sup> He can be traced back as far as the Old Hittite period, and personal names based on the theonym are found as far back as the Assyrian Trading Colonies.<sup>10</sup> Hittite texts refer to a cult of his in Sarissa in the Sivas province,<sup>11</sup> and the fact that in one text his cult is associated with two forms of sea deity suggests the vicinity of the southern coast.<sup>12</sup> It seems likely that Santa(s) either was originally a Luwian deity, or became one since he appears in the Luwian ritual of Zarpiya, associated with the Innarawantes or Annarummenzi-deities as well as the Lulahi-deities; in addition, some theophoric names containing his name seem to be Luwian.<sup>13</sup> In Zarpiya’s ritual he seems to be associated with plague and war, but otherwise it is difficult to characterize him.<sup>14</sup> According to a cult inventory from the otherwise unknown town of Tapparutani he was represented as a standing male figure standing with a seated partner Iyaya.<sup>15</sup>

His name was more often than not written AMAR.UTU-*aš*, AMAR.UTU (“calf of the sun”) being the conventional sumerogram for the Babylonian god Marduk, and the ending -*aš* indicating that the name is to be read as “Santa(s)”. Marduk had become known to the Hittites in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the writing AMAR.UTU without the suffix also occurs in Hittite texts.<sup>16</sup> Such a writing surely implies a perceived equivalence between two deities: the most obvious point of similarity is that both are young male gods whose principal attribute is physical force. Polvani has suggested that another point of contact was that

5 Armenia: Greppin 1978; Minoan Crete: see below n. 22; India: Hrozný 1941: 228; Carruba 2000: 61-63.

6 Christianity: Böhlig 1913; Schoeps 1959: 165, Hengel 1997: 167; cf. Nock 1961: 582-583.

7 See, for example, Laroche’s study of the etymology of the Greek Word for ivory (1965), subsequently vindicated by West 1992.

8 See Smith 2008.

9 The bibliography is large: for the second millennium see, besides Laroche 1973, Kammenhuber 1990, Dalley 1999, Polvani 2002, Melchert 2002, Beckman in *RIA* 12: 6; and for the Greco-Roman period see Höfer 1909-15, Böhlig 1913, Philipp 1923, Salvatori 1975, Pohl 2004 and Mastrocinque 2007.

10 Laroche 1966: 156-157; Polvani 2002: 646 (Siege of Uršu CTH 7).

11 KUB 54.24; Polvani 2002: 646.

12 Popko 1987; Haas 1994: 467.

13 Beckman in *RIA* 12: 6; Polvani 2002: 645-646. Another text with Luwian content in which he appears is KUB 35.145, on which see Bachvarova 2013: 150.

14 Polvani 2002: 647 and 652. Laroche 1973: 111 and n. 2 suggested the name meant “angry”; *contra* Kammenhuber 1990: 191-192. See HEG Š: 839-841.

15 KUB 38.10 iii 9-13. Mastrocinque 2007: 202-203 suggests that a later resonance of the name Iyaya can be found in a Roman gem which has an image resembling the Hellenistic representation of Sandas (see below) and the Greek inscription YOYO (i.e. υοοο), but that seems unlikely on philological grounds.

16 In theory, Marduk might have become known when Mursili I sacked Babylon; the “Marduk Prophecy” (see Borger 1971; Foster 2005: 388-391) implies that Marduk’s statue was carried off to Hatti, though that is not confirmed by any Hittite source: see *RIA* 8: 414 *sub* Mursili I.

both deities were associated with exorcism and magic, as we find them in Zarpiya's ritual.<sup>17</sup> A further question is how widespread was this "interpretatio Babyloniaca" of Santa(s) as Marduk: was it confined to scribes, or was scribal practice reflecting a much broader currency? Laroche himself was cautious about seeing anything beyond mechanical "allographie" (Laroche 1973: 110-111). Notice, however, that one of the Luwian incantations in Zarpiya's ritual is addressed to Ea, Marduk's father (§ 21), which, as Polvani has pointed out, suggests that the "Mardukisation" of Santa(s) was not just a textual phenomenon.<sup>18</sup>

## 1.2. The early first millennium: Santa(s)-Marduk redivivus?

After the end of the Hittite kingdom, nothing is known about Santa(s) until the early Neo-Assyrian period, from when we have two types of evidence. The first type is inscriptions:

- a stone bowl, perhaps from 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (BEIRUT), has an inscription "I am Iya, beloved servant of Santa(s)", and a curse formula in the name of Karhuha, Kubaba and Santa(s).<sup>19</sup>

- A hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Kululu in Cappadocia (KULULU 2) (mid 8<sup>th</sup> BC) mentions the "dark deities (*marwainzi*) of Santa(s)".<sup>20</sup> This can be compared to a Lydian inscription from the necropolis of Sardes (Achaemenid period), which invokes as protecting deities Santa(s), Kuwawa (Kubaba) and the Marivdas.<sup>21</sup> The Marivdas must be same as the Luwian *marwainzi*, and the combination of these with Santa(s) in a curse formula is thus a striking religious meme linking central and western Anatolia.<sup>22</sup> Late Bronze Age attestations of the *marwainzi* deities follow a similar distribution.<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, we have indirect onomastic evidence from the 7<sup>th</sup> century: an Assyrian tablet from Tarsus records the name Sandapi.<sup>24</sup> Assurbanipal's Annals (7<sup>th</sup> BC) mention a king of Hilakku called Sandasarme, a name which combines the names of the gods Santa(s) and Šarruma.<sup>25</sup> Before that there is reference to a Sandauarri ("Santa(s) is my help"), a king of Kundi and Sissu who rebelled against Esarhaddon.<sup>26</sup>

Stephanie Dalley<sup>27</sup> has argued that the equation between Santa(s) and Marduk continued into the Neo-Assyrian period, and that the cult of Santa(s)-Marduk was promoted in Tarsus by Sennacherib around 700 BC after he was informed by prophets that the death of his father Sargon II in battle in South East Anatolia was a consequence of his neglecting the gods of Babylon in favour of those of Assyria.<sup>28</sup> She points to a statement in the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), which may go back to Berossos, that Sennacherib, having defeated the Greeks in Cilicia, built Tarsus "in the image of Babylon", a phrase which she interprets as a translation of Akkadian terminology.<sup>29</sup> In her view, the Assyrians chose Tarsus because of the pre-existing equation there between Santa(s) and Marduk. She argues that the Assyrians must have rebuilt the temple and the cult-image, which is why the iconography of Santa(s) as known from later sources looks Assyrian.<sup>30</sup>

17 Polvani 2002. Also one of Maštigga's rituals: see Miller 2004: 151; Smith 2008.

18 Laroche 1973: 110-111; Polvani 2002: 652.

19 CHLI 1.2, 558-9 (X.3); Hawkins 1981: 174, no 31b.

20 CHLI 1.2, 488 (X.21), line § 6. Notice also ERKILET 1 (CHLI 1.2: 494) which refers to the deity ma-ru-ti-ka-sa, generally interpreted as Marduk, who may still be identified with Santa(s)/Sandas.

21 4a in Gusmani 1964-86; see Melchert 2002. For these deities see also Archi 2010: 25.

22 See Melchert 2002. The combination of Santi (Santa(s)) and Kapupi (Kubaba?) may also occur in an incantation in the language of the Keftiu (usually thought to be Minoan) in the Egyptian London Medical Papyrus: incantation 20 in Leitz 1999: 63; see Goedicke 1984: 102; earlier Bossert 1932; Billigmeier 1981; Harmatta 1985-88: 259-261. Contra Kyriakidis 2002: 216 n. 23.

23 There is an instance in the ritual of Allī of Arzawa, and in KUB 54.65 ii 11, which is now supposed to be from Zarpiya's ritual, we find the formula "the Marwainzi deities of Iyarri" (ŠA <sup>9</sup>Iyarri DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> Marwainzi). The Markuwaya-deities, who seem to be a Hittite equivalent of the Marwainzi-deities, are found twice in Arzawa rituals, associated with Iyarri (Bawanypeck 2005: 260) and the <sup>9</sup>LAMMA of the *kurša* (KUB 7.38; Bawanypeck 2005: 122).

24 Goetze 1939: no 7.5; Pruzsinszky in PNAE 3.1: 1087-1088, mentions also another Sandapi who was a vegetable gardener under Sargon II.

25 cf. Melchert 2013: 36; RIA s.v.

26 Pruzsinszky in PNAE 3.1: 1087-1088; ead. in RIA; for the meaning of the name see Starke 1990: 155-157; Melchert 2013: 38.

27 Dalley 1999; endorsed by Haider 2006.

28 The source is the "Sin of Sargon" text: Livingstone 1989: 77-79.

29 Dalley 1999: 73-74; Jacoby 680 F7 (IIC, 386, 23).

30 She points to images of Assyrian gods standing on a horned creature such as one of the rock-inscriptions from Maltai in North Iraq (Dalley 1999: 74-75); she sees the horned creature as Marduk's red dragon, the *mushussu*. Notice that according to another Armenian version of Eusebius which may go back to the historian Abydenos (2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) and then to Berossos (Jacoby 685 F5), Sennacherib built a temple "of the Athenians" in Tarsus. Bing 1971 suggests that the phrase "temple of the Athenians" here reflects the involvement of Lindians from Rhodes, whose main deity



### I.3. The Hellenistic and Roman periods: Sandas-Heracles

For the fifth-fourth centuries, there is little or no evidence, with one significant exception: it is possible that some deities represented on coins from Tarsus in this period represent Sandas albeit under a different name; I shall discuss this evidence in section I.4.<sup>31</sup>

The deity is much better attested for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. From the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC names based on the theonym are found in Cilicia, Caria and Lycia:<sup>32</sup> Sandatis from Corycus (2<sup>nd</sup> BC), Sandis from Caria (3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> BC), Sandon from Tarsus (2<sup>nd</sup> BC) and Corycus (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> BC). Around this time Sandon may have become an alternative form of the god's name, and the tradition that Celenderis in Cilicia was founded by Sandokos of Syria may go back to this period as well.<sup>33</sup>

In the Roman period many more personal names based on the god's name are found, mostly from Cilicia, but also from Lycaonia and Lycia. These even survive into the Christian period, e.g. Sandogenes from Anazarbos (524 AD).<sup>34</sup> Sandon was the name of the father of Athenodorus from Cana near Tarsus, one of Augustus' teachers and a friend of Strabo the geographer.<sup>35</sup>

Second, we have a number of literary sources, some of them already presupposing the identification with Heracles. These are all from the Roman or early Byzantine periods, but it is likely that some of the information is reproduced from much earlier traditions. I have collected these in the Appendix. Some of the information in these seems fantastic, for example the report in John the Lydian (6<sup>th</sup> century AD; apparently based on much earlier Roman sources) that the name Sandas goes back to the dress (*sandux*) worn by Heracles when he was serving as a slave to Omphale in Lydia (see Appendix #1). Particularly valuable is the evidence provided by Stephanos of Byzantium (6<sup>th</sup> century AD), who places Sandes in the context of a genealogy of the gods: Adanos (eponym of the city of Adana) was son of Earth and Heaven, along with Ostasos, Sandes, Kronos, Rhea, Iapetos and Olumbros. Sandes is thus a Titan, on a par with Kronos and Rhea. This genealogy could perhaps go back to Athenodorus of Cana (see the discussion in Appendix #2).

For the idea of Sandas being a Titan, there is supporting evidence in the proem of *Tarsian Oratation* (Or.33) by Dio "Chrysostomos" of Prusa (about 100 AD). Dio does not mention Sandas by name, but he refers to Heracles as one of the gods of the city, between Perseus and "he of the trident" (the last seems to be a local form of Apollo, Apollo Tarsios).<sup>36</sup> He says of the Tarsians: "you have as founders heroes or demigods – or should I say Titans". The idea that the founders were Titans, and that one of them was Sandas/Heracles could thus be an authentic Tarsian tradition.

Later on Dio refers to the "founder" Heracles being summoned by a pyre.<sup>37</sup> Pyres have various uses in the ritual practice of Greece and the Ancient Near East,<sup>38</sup> but in the context of Heracles, one thinks first of his mythical immolation on the pyre on Mt Oeta, which may have had a ritual correlate.<sup>39</sup> Another writer

was Athene. Other historians have doubted the text here (see Jacoby 3C: 44, apparatus). Burstein 1978: 24 plausibly emends "temple of Athenians" to "temple of Sandes who is Heracles"; Dalley 1999: 73 n. 2 calls this suggestion "gratuitous".

31 Melchert 2002 has argued for a Lycian reflex, suggesting that *hatahe* in the Xanthos stele might reflect a Lycianized form of the theonym. Cau 2003 is cautious, but cf. Watkins 2007: 122-123.

32 LGPN 5B: 377-378.

33 Apollodorus, Library 3.14.3 (Appendix #4). A deity called Sanerges seems to have been worshipped in the Bosporan Kingdom in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC along with a goddess called Astara (Astarte?), and it has been suggested that Sanerges might be related to Santa(s), but that does not seem particularly likely. For references see Ustinova 1999: 51-53.

34 See Houwink ten Cate 1961: 136-137; Jasink 1991. Examples are: Sandazamis: Olba (1BC). Craig Melchert, *per litteras*, suggests to me that the second element is the participle of Luvian (LITUUS)aza- 'to favor, love', which would mean 'loved by Santa(s)'. In Melchert's view, compound theonyms of this sort were influenced by Greek (see Melchert 2013: 48). Sandaios, apparently, in the dialogue epigram from Kanytelis: SGO 19/10/01; Sandas: territory of Elaioussa-Sebaste (imperial); Sandemias SEG 48 1764: Hamaxia (1BC-AD); this looks like the same name as Sa(n)tamuwa which Laroche 1966: 156, no 1099 read in the stele from Cekke rev. 7, but Hawkins, *CHLI* 1.1: 146, reads this as Santa(m)us(?); Sandes: Hamaxia (1BC-2AD) (multiple), Sivasti, Zenopolis; Lycaonia; Sandios: Limyra; Sandogenes: Anazarbos (524 AD); Sandos: Olba (2<sup>nd</sup> AD); Sandon: Anazarbos (1-2 AD); Tarsus (1 AD); Hamaxia (1 BC-1 AD); Olba (2-3 AD); Seleukeia (imp); Sivasti (imp); also Tynna SEG 50 1367.

35 See Grimal 1945-46. Sandon may also have been the name of a scholar on the Orphic Poems (West 1983: 176-177).

36 Apollo of the Trident is the subject of a study by Chuvin 1981, who argues that this is an ancient form of Apollo at Tarsus, going right back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but in the time of Dio soon to be supplanted by Argive Apollo.

37 Or. 33.47. Heracles is also designated "Founder" on coins: see Chuvin 1981: 319 and SNG France 2, 1546 and 1547. Ammianus Marcellinus attributed the foundation of Tarsus to a human Sandan (Appendix #3) and Apollodorus says that Celenderis was founded by Sandokos (Appendix #4).

38 Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* 49 with Lightfoot 2003: 503-504; Nilsson 1923.

39 For this, see PW s.v. Oeta 2298 and Jones 1984. Not all scholars have accepted the idea of a self-immolating Heracles at Tarsus: Nock 1961: 583 n. 1, and also by Laroche 1973. However, they were not aware of Jones 1984.



of the early Roman Emperor, Lucian of Samosata in his *Amores* refers to a pyre burned for Heracles which he says resembles the mythical immolation of Heracles on Mt. Oeta, and Christopher Jones has argued that the *Amores* is set in Tarsus. If that is right, it suggests that an immolation ritual of Heracles-Sandas may have been practiced at Tarsus in the Roman period, though it falls short of proof (this may just have been Lucian's interpretation), and it certainly does prove that there was an immolation ritual centuries earlier.<sup>40</sup>

#### I.4. The 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC: Sandas-Nergal?

Fragments of terracotta plaques found at the site of Gözlükule (i.e. Hellenistic Tarsus) represent a deity with axe and bow-case, standing on a horned and apparently hybrid animal resembling a horned lion, framed by a triangular structure resting on a rectangular structure, which together have become known as the "Sandon-Monument".<sup>41</sup> A similar figure, appears on local coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, sometimes without the framing of the structures.<sup>42</sup> The figure is not named, but the scholarly consensus is that it represents Sandas, who was without doubt the most important Tarsian deity of this period.<sup>43</sup> The Hittites already represented gods standing on animals, but the apparently hybrid nature of the animal has suggested scholars that the iconography is influenced by (though perhaps not directly modelled on) 1<sup>st</sup> millennium Assyrian iconography.<sup>44</sup> The iconography of the deity also seems in general to point towards Assyria, though some elements have good Hittite antecedents.<sup>45</sup>

Even before the discovery of the plaques, scholars were speculating on the meaning of the structure depicted on the coins. James Frazer argued that it represented the pyre on which "Sandan" underwent ritual immolation, as Heracles is supposed to have done in myth and possibly ritual on Mt. Oeta.<sup>46</sup> But even if the immolation of Sandas-Heracles was enacted at Tarsus, it is far from certain that it is represented in the official iconography in this way. For A. B. Cook, the structure resembled a sacred mountain. For Henri Seyrig it was a pyramid structure framing the dedication.<sup>47</sup> More recently Kay Ehling has suggested that it is the central part of an altar-construction.<sup>48</sup>

In the early 1970s numismatologists drew attention to a group of five coins from the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century Tarsus which depict a deity similar in appearance to the one from the "Sandon-Monument", although the monument itself is not depicted.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes the figure is standing on an animal (apparently a lion), sometimes he is not, and in one case he is holding a double axe.<sup>50</sup> Accompanying captions identify the figure as NRGL TRZ, attesting the presence at Tarsus of Nergal, the ancient Mesopotamian and Assyrian deity of war and death.<sup>51</sup> Probably we should assume an otherwise unattested Tarsian cult of Nergal with Assyrianizing iconography, introduced either under the Persian Empire or before.

One possibility that immediately arises is that the iconography of Nergal of Tarsus is in some way connected with the Hellenistic iconography of Sandas (assuming he is indeed the deity of the Sandon-Monument). Perhaps Sandas was reshaped in this period on the model of Nergal of Tarsus. Some scholars have gone further and suggested that Nergal of Tarsus is a translation of the local Sandas, who there

40 *Amores* 1, 54.

41 See Goldman 1950-63: 1.337-338 and Goldman 1940.

42 An early example is SNG Paris 1327 (= 1154) (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC). See Pohl 2004: 74-75; for coins from the Roman period, see Ehling 2004a: 141.

43 On one coin, the monument has ΣΑΝ written next to it, which might perhaps be an abbreviation for "Sandas/don" or the name of a magistrate incorporating the theonym. The coin is SNG Switzerland 1 n. 938 (NB the description seems to belong to the next coin). Augé 1994: 664 is sceptical. See also Seyrig 1939: 40.

44 Pohl 2004: 77; Goldman 1940: 550; Dalley 1999: 74-75 suggests a resemblance to Marduk's *mushussu*-dragon, but see Pohl.

45 See Pohl 2004: 80, who sees the bow-case as a clear Assyrian trait, although the *polos* head-gear he wears looks rather Anatolian (Pohl 2004: 77-78), and the axe could be either (Pohl 2004: 79-80). For his occasional nudity (Pohl 2004: 79) the best parallels are Greek.

46 Frazer 1927: 126-127; for earlier reference see Cook 1914-40: I 600 n. 7; cf. Bonnet 1988: 154.

47 Cook 1914-40: I 600-603; Goldman 1940; Seyrig 1959: 48.

48 Ehling 2004a: 142.

49 Jenkins 1972 and Jenkins 1973; Mildenberg 1973; Chuvin 1981: 321, n. 48. See Pohl 2004: 84-85 for a clear discussion of the similarities and differences.

50 The one with the double axe is Chuvin type 3, Mildenberg no 5.

51 For Nergal, Lipinski 1995: 243-244. Schwartz 2005 had argued that the Persian theonym Khshathrapati in the Xanthos Trilingual is a calque of Nergal, intended there apparently as an equivalent to Apollo.

is every reason to assume was already worshipped in the region in some form in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>52</sup> This makes sense in so far as Nergal has a similar divine personality to Late Bronze Age Santa(s), who is accompanied by the Innarawantes/Annarummenzi deities, just as Nergal, likewise a god of plague and war, is accompanied by the Sibitti.<sup>53</sup> Not all scholars have accepted the Nergal-Sandas equivalence, however; Daniela Pohl, in particular, has urged caution, pointing to differences between the iconographies of the two deities and the gap of two centuries that separates the Nergal-coins from the first attested representations of the Sandon-Monument.<sup>54</sup>

In fact, even more complex networks of divine translation have been reconstructed for Tarsus 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Another deity attested on coins from the period of the Satraps (early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) is Ba'altars ("Baal of Tarsus"), who could be a local form of the Luwian Tarhunt and perhaps the same as the deity the Erastosthenes (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) called "Zeus Tersios".<sup>55</sup> Some scholars see Ba'altars as the chief deity at Tarsus during the period of the Persian period, but speculate that he subsequently lost this status, allowing Sandas (who may already have become identified with Nergal or Heracles) to take over the dominant position.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, Olivier Casabonne has suggested that Sandas/Nergal and Ba'altars were identified, and that this Tarsian deity was also regarded as a translation of Phoenician Melqart of Tyre. On that hypothesis the deity had no less than seven allomorphs: Baal, Tarhunt, Zeus, Sandas, Nergal, Melqart and Heracles.<sup>57</sup>

## II. The Identification with Heracles: when, where, how?

### II.1. Heracles as a translatable god

In the second section I shall turn to the question about why Sandas was identified with Heracles. To begin with, we ought to bear mind that the Greeks recognised several figures with that name.<sup>58</sup> The most famous was Heracles the hero of Thebes who performed the famous Twelve Labours and, uniquely for a mortal, underwent apotheosis after his immolation on Mt. Oeta. He is first attested in the works of the poets Homer and Hesiod, i.e. around 700 BC, and was worshipped throughout the Greek world (i.e. his status was "panhellenic"), though he was specially associated with parts of Greece that were identified as Dorian (e.g. Sparta).<sup>59</sup> It has long been suspected that the mythology and iconography of Heracles's Labours was to some extent shaped by Near Eastern models, especially as regards the god Ninurta.<sup>60</sup> There was also a second mortal Heracles, one of the so-called "Idaeon Dactyls" or craftsmen heroes, associated with Crete and Olympia.<sup>61</sup> The third Heracles was a primordial god, referred to by Herodotus in his discussion of Egyptian religion (*Hist.* 2.44-5), where he claims that Heracles is the name of one of the original Twelve Egyptian gods,<sup>62</sup> who is in his view the same as Melqart of Tyre and Heracles of Thasos. According to

52 Chuvin 1981 suggests that Nergal is the Aramaic *interpretatio* of Sandas, just as Hercules was the Greek interpretation; see further Lebrun 1987a: 31-32, Lebrun 1987b: 247, 258; Casabonne 2002: 322.

53 See Pohl 2004: 83-84; Mastrocinque 2008: 204. Nergal and the Sibitti: *RIA* 9: 221. For groups of deities accompanying Santa(s), see above p. 82. In Hittite texts, Nergal is generally believed to be the equivalent of the deity written U.GUR, whose primary Hittite reading is Šulinkatte or Zilipuri; for the latter see Pecchioli-Daddi 2004. U.GUR occurs next to Santa(s) in a few texts, e.g. KUB 35.145: 12; see Polvani 2002: 649, and Lebrun 1987a: 31-32 suggests that this equation might already have existed in Late Bronze Age since U.GUR sometimes has the phonetic complement -a; but see Kammenhuber 1990: 192.

54 Pohl 2004: 85, 88, 92-93 ("Es kann jedoch nicht von einem Sandan als hethitisch-luwischen Pendant zum sumerisch-babylonischen Nergal gesprochen werden"); see also Burkert 1985: 432 n. 21 ("Nergal in Tarsos ... does not seem to be identical to Sandon").

55 See Stephanos of Byzantium s. v. Ταρσός. Chuvin 1981: 314 identifies him with the well-known Tarhunt of Ivriz, and he may also perhaps continue the Bronze Age Storm-god: Lebrun 2001: 92-93.

56 Chuvin 1981. So Lebrun 1987b: 247 equates Sandas with Herakles, Nergal and Melqart, but not with Ba'altars.

57 Casabonne 2002: 31; for Melqart, see below p. 88. Against that, it should be remembered that in the later Greek sources (which could reflect local Tarsian religious knowledge that goes back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century), Sandas is a Titan, which would put him the generation before Zeus (i.e. Ba'altars).

58 Greek writers have six or seven Heracleses: Gruppe 1918: 1109-1110.

59 See Kowalzig 2007: 141-142.

60 Heracles' Twelve Labours resemble the exploits of Ninurta as described in a Sumerian poem: see van Dijk 1983: 1.17-18; note in particular the parallel between the many-headed Hydra of Lerna slain by Herakles and the *musmahhu* or seven-headed snake slain by Ninurta (Childs 2003: 63-64; West 1997: 461). The parallel between Heracles and Ninurta was already made by Levy 1934: 46. See further on Nergal below.

61 Paus. 8.31.3 = PEG 2.1.351; Hubbard 2007.

62 Lloyd 1975-88: 2.43 thinks that the Twelve means the Egyptian Ennead, and that Heracles is being identified with the Egyptian deity Shu.

sources from the Roman period the esoteric branch of Greek religion known as Orphism also knew of a divine Heracles, identified with the primordial deity Time (Kronos); the reason for that identification, paradoxically, may have been that Heracles' performance of the Twelve Labours was imagined as the course of the sun through the twelve divisions of the sky.<sup>63</sup>

"Heracles" often appears as a translation of foreign deities.<sup>64</sup> The best attested example is Melqart of Tyre, now believed to have been identified with Heracles since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, when Greeks and Phoenicians were competing to set up colonies throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>65</sup> He was also identified with various Egyptian deities<sup>66</sup>, with Nergal in Palmyra;<sup>67</sup> with the rider-god Kakasbos in Lycia;<sup>68</sup> with Verethragna in Hellenistic Nimrud Dağ and elsewhere, and with the related Vahagn in Armenia.<sup>69</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC Megasthenes identified Heracles with one of the chief gods of India, most likely Krishna.<sup>70</sup> One factor in some of these cases may have been the impact of Alexander the Great, who may have stimulated interest in Heracles since the Macedonian royal family was believed to be descended from him.<sup>71</sup> However, this cannot account for the identification with Melqart, the grounds for which are hard to determine since we know so little about his divine personality and mythology, which may for all we know have included a cycle of labours like those of the hero Heracles.<sup>72</sup> Another point of connection may have been a pyre-ritual: Heracles underwent a fiery self-immolation on Mt Oeta in myth and perhaps in ritual as well,<sup>73</sup> and Melqart was associated with a ritual called "awakening" ("egersis"), one aspect of which may have been a pyre-ritual.<sup>74</sup> Heracles' ability to triumph over death is also seen in the myth of his Twelfth Labour, visiting the Underworld to retrieve the chthonic dog Cerberus.

## II.2 Sandas and Heracles

The equation of Sandas with Heracles is not certainly attested before the Roman period,<sup>75</sup> but it is likely to be older than that, especially since Heracles is already found on coins from Tarsus in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>76</sup> Goldman's view was that he did not reach Tarsus until Alexander the Great passed through in 333 BC.<sup>77</sup> Again, Chuvin suggested that Heracles might have come in with the Persian satrap Pharnabazus,<sup>78</sup> who he believed struck coins with the figure of the successful conqueror Heracles (modeled on types from Heraclea Pontica and Syracuse)<sup>79</sup> at Tarsus before his campaign in Egypt in the 370s BC. Thus, the Persian Empire could have been a catalyst for the diffusion and syncretism of religious ideas.

But the identification could be much older than this. A *terminus post quem* would be when Greeks first get to Cilicia. Recently the possibility has emerged that the kingdom of Hiyawa, which included Tarsus, and which is now attested in the 10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>80</sup> might be a late version of Ahhiyawa. If the Submycenaean

63 West 1983: 192-194; PEG 2.1.76, 79 = Damascius, *De Princ.* 123 (3.161-2 Westerink).

64 Robert 1963: 499-500: Heracles "recouvre le plus souvent en Asie-Mineure, et ailleurs en dehors du monde grec classique ... un dieu indigène auquel le rattachait l'un ou l'autre de ses attributs"; see also Gruppe 1918: 1103 and Bonnet 1992.

65 See Malkin 2011: 119-141.

66 On Shu above; for others von Lieven 2016.

67 See below n.84.

68 Deleman 1999: 5-38.

69 See Robert cited above; Bonnet 1992: 184-189.

70 Possibly also Indra: Dahquist 1962. He may also have been identified with Vajrapani, one of the guardians of the Buddha (Flood 1989).

71 See Bonnet 1992: 167-172.

72 Doubted by Bonnet 1988: 400-404.

73 For the evidence, see Winiarczyk 2000.

74 Bonnet 1988: 104-112; the key evidence is the ritual term "egersis" (awakening), attested in Josephus (*AJ* 8.5.3; c. *Apion* 1.117-119). The evidence for burning on a pyre is late and indirect: *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* 10.24; Nonnus, *Dion.* 40.394-398 (cf. Bonnet 1988: 67, 73), but Bonnet argues that there is no alternative but to see the *egersis* as in some way involving fire.

75 The Agathias fragment (Appendix #7) may go back to Berossos; Jacoby in fact classes it as a fragment of Berossos (680 F12). See, however, Pohl 2004: 89.

76 Chuvin 1981: 319, e.g. SNG France 2, 235 (wrestling Nemean lion).

77 Goldman 1949: 152. Other cities in the region probably altered their foundation stories at the same time. For Aspendos and Alcaion, see Rutherford 2013: 275. Could the tradition about Perseus have arisen at the same time?

78 Chuvin 1981: 325 n. 61.

79 Chuvin 1981: 309 n. 13; cf. Kraay 1976: 283.

80 Dinçol et al. 2015.

reached Cilicia, they might perhaps have linked indigenous Santa(s) to Heracles. A problem with that hypothesis, however, is that Heracles is not thus far attested in Linear B texts.

Heracles was certainly in the Greek pantheon by 700 BC, which is around when Sennacherib defeated Greeks in Cilicia according to Berossos (see above).<sup>81</sup> Though Tarsus is never said to have been a Greek colony,<sup>82</sup> other cities in Cilicia are, for example Soloi which is supposed to have been colonized from Rhodes and which could possibly have been the site of the first Greek encounter with Sandas and the earliest equation with Heracles. Heracles was an important deity for the Rhodians whose island was said to have been founded by his son Tlepolemus.<sup>83</sup> He would thus have seemed a good fit for the warrior god Sandas of Tarsus, whether or not a pyre ritual of Sandas existed at this time.<sup>84</sup>

Another possibility is that the catalyst for the equation between Heracles and Sandas was a rapprochement that had already been made between him and another deity. One obvious candidate is Melqart of Tyre, discussed above. If it was known in Cilicia that Tyre had equated its chief deity with Heracles, that might have motivated the Cilicians to do the same, particularly if Melqart and Sandas were at some point identified. If there was already a similar pyre-ritual at Tarsus, that might be a factor as well. Knowledge of the religion of Tyre would have been facilitated by the presence of Phoenicians in Cilicia, attested from the 8<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>85</sup> and the Karatepe bilingual already equates Anatolian and Phoenician deities,<sup>86</sup> though Melqart is not among them. He is, however, represented on some coins of Tarsus from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and some think Melqart was another equivalent of Sandas.<sup>87</sup>

Influence of this sort from Phoenicia in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC thus seems a plausible hypothesis based on what we know, but we must be aware how limited our knowledge is. Yet another possibility is that some part was played by Nergal, who we saw earlier appears on Tarsian coins, with iconography that has suggested to some that he was related to Sandas. Nergal rarely intrudes into Greco-Roman religion, but he is known to have been worshipped in Hellenistic and Roman Syria – in Palmyra and Hatra, and it may be significant that there he seems to have been identified with Heracles.<sup>88</sup> It has been suggested that the equation would have to do with the fact that Nergal, like Heracles, conquers death,<sup>89</sup> or that both are warrior-gods,<sup>90</sup> or in particular that both, like Marduk and Sandas as well, are archers.<sup>91</sup> That equation is usually seen as late, but it is not impossible that it had earlier roots, established perhaps on the fringes of the Assyrian Empire in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, or in the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>92</sup> Thus, Nergal could already

81 Tiglath-Pileser II, Sargon II and Esarhaddon are said in Assyrian records to have encountered Ionians; Sargon claimed to have defeated them. For references, see Brinkmann 1989: 54-57 and Haubold 2013: 100-101.

82 Bing 1971 suggested that it might nevertheless have been colonized Lindos on Rhodes, as Soloi is supposed to have been.

83 Notice also that the equation between the Anatolian Malia/Maliya and the Greek Athene, which we find in Lycia from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, is attested from the Rhodian cities of Rhodiapolis and Phaselis, and may well reflect the central importance of the goddess Athene at Lindos on Rhodes: see Keen 1998: 203. Bing 1971 suggested that Eusebius-Abydenos' "temple of the Athenians" might be a temple of Athene founded by Rhodes (see above, n. 30)

84 Mastrocinque 2007 has recently suggested that the key element in the translation of Sandas as Heracles was the animal Sandas stands on, which the Greeks interpreted as the Chimaera, so that they understood the deity as Bellerophon; but that does not seem to explain the identification with Heracles, who was not associated with the Chimaera.

85 See Lebrun 1987a. Yakubovich 2015 has recently suggested that some Phoenician texts from this period might in fact have been written by Greeks. Notice also Eusebius's statement (possibly deriving from Berossos) that one of the areas where Sandas was known as Heracles was Phoenicia (see Appendix #5).

86 See Karatepe inscription 38-44 where Tarhunt is equated with Baal and Runtiya is equated with "Reshep of the Goats", "presumably as a god of wild beasts" (Payne 2012: 41).

87 Casabonne 2002: 31 believes that Melqart, the "Baal of Tyre" was the same as the Baal of Tarsus, who in his view was also Sandas; Lebrun 1987b: 247 equates Melqart with Sandas, but not with Ba'altars (so Ehling 2004a: 140). Chuvin 1981: 317 thinks that in the mentality of Tarsian numismatics Melqart was a separate deity, equated with an unknown local deity who was also equated with Greek Bellerophon, and distinct from both the "Baal of Tarsus" and Sandas.

88 For the important evidence of an altar from Palmyra (157 AD), see Gawlikowski 2000. For earlier work on Heracles and Nergal in Palmyra, see Seyrig 1944; for Hatra, al-Salihi 1971. Some scholars have been sceptical, including Kaizer 2000.

89 Gawlikowski 2000 suggests that the common feature was that Nergal was associated with a dog (cf. "Nergol the dog" at Hatra: al-Salihi 1971: 113-115), as Heracles was associated with Cerberus. Haider 2008: 196 says that both gods were deliverers and conquerors of death (NB "Nergal and Ereshkigal"). Wiggermann in *RIA* 9: 221: "In a way [Nergal] becomes a dying god".

90 See Pohl 2004: 83.

91 See Haas 1989: 28-29.

92 For Nergal in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, see von Weiher 1971: 99-100. For the possibility of Neo-Babylonian influence see Haider 2006: 47 with n. 34.

have been identified with Heracles before he was introduced into Tarsus, and this identification could have been the catalyst for the secondary equation between Heracles and Sandas.<sup>93</sup>

This last model gains an extra dimension if we consider the possibility that the relationship between Nergal and Heracles was not merely an ordinary case of translation. It has in fact been suggested that Heracles originated as a form of Nergal, and that the name “Heracles” (for which there is no convincing etymology in Greek) is a garbled form of one of Nergal’s alternative names. The name in question is Erragal, i.e. “great Erra” (Erra-gal),<sup>94</sup> Erra being a semitic deity of war, plague and death with which Nergal had at an earlier point been identified.<sup>95</sup> For most of the Greeks, at least from about 700 BC, Heracles was a distinctively Greek deity, but it may be that before that, and afterwards in parts of the Ancient Near East, he was simply “the non-semitic pronunciation of Nergal”.<sup>96</sup>

To conclude, we have evidence that at different times Santa(s)/Sandas was identified with two foreign deities: Babylonian Marduk in the Late Bronze Age (and perhaps the Iron Age as well, if Dalley is right); and Greek Heracles, at least in the Roman period, but more likely from the mid-fifth century BC, if not earlier. Two further identifications are possible: first, it has been suggested that “Nergal of Tarsus” was an Aramaic interpretation of Sandas. That might explain why the Hellenistic iconography of Sandas shows Assyrian influence (unless it is an echo of the ancient identification with Marduk). Secondly, the hypothesis of an early identification with Phoenician Melqart could account for the pyre-ritual which Sandas and Melqart may share and also provide an explanation for why Heracles is identified with Sandas.

Ideally, we would be able to determine what identification amounted to in each of these cases: whether it was merely a matter of superficial and convenient “translatability”, or a deep, syncretic relationship involving some degree of merging of divine personalities. The only case we know very much about is that of Sandas and Heracles (although we are not well-informed about even this in what may have been its earliest stages), and here we can say that the Greco-Roman sources show no sign of syncretism and give the impression that Heracles is just a convenient Greco-Roman translation for an oriental deity who retains at all points an independent identity and schema.<sup>97</sup>

## Appendix: Greek and Latin references

- #1. The 6<sup>th</sup> century AD writer John the Lydian (*De mag.* 64; Bandy 1983: 232-235), quoting apparently Suetonius (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD) and Apuleius (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), mentioned an aetiology of the theonym Sandon applied to Heracles: it came about because Omphale, the mythological queen of Lydia, dressed him in a robe called a *sandux*. This suggests that the equation Heracles = Sandon was associated with Lydia (cf. the evidence for Lydian Sandas above). Malis (cf. the goddess Malia/Maliya) was said by the historian Hellanikos to be a slave of Omphale.<sup>98</sup>
- #2. The entry for Adana in the lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium states that Adana was founded by Adanos and (the river) Saros, and then gives a genealogy: ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ἄδανος Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖς, καὶ Ὅστασος καὶ Σάνδης καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἰαπετός καὶ Ὀλυμβρος “Adanos is son of Earth and Heaven, along with Ostasos, Sandes, Kronos, Rhea, Iapetos and Olumbros”. Three of the children

93 Lipinski 1995: 242 also suggests an established equation between Nergal and Heracles, pointing to representations of Heracles from 5<sup>th</sup> century Lapethos on Cyprus.

94 Schretter 1974: 170 with 235 n. 56, suggesting that the equation between Nergal and Heracles had already been proposed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; Dalley 1987: 65; Kingsley 1995: 395; supported now by L’Allier 2015; Burkert 1979: 82-83 and 179 n. 16; Donnay 1985, West 1997: 471 n. 101. Bonnet 1988: 413 n. 45 is sceptical. For the name, compare Burkert’s hypothesis (Burkert 1992: 75-79) that Azu-gal, the “great doctor” comes into Greek religion as Asklepios. Another indication of Heracles’ Eastern origins is the resemblance between his Labours mentioned above, and Ninurta was related to Nergal.

95 Cf. Wiggermann, *RIA* 9: 215-216 and Dalley 1987: 64.

96 Dalley 1987: 65. It is also possible that the equation between Melqart and Heracles is a secondary development from an earlier one between Nergal and Melqart, though no evidence for that seems to survive, despite Seyrig 1944: 70. See Dalley 1987: 65.

97 So, Pohl 2004: 145 says that with respect to Heracles Sandas “blieb immer ein ‘inkommensurabler’ Gott, dessen Wesen eben nicht ‘restlos’ in einem griechischen Gott aufging”.

98 *FGrHist* fr.112, 112a Fowler.



(Kronos, Rhea, Iapetos) are Hesiodic Titans.<sup>99</sup> Three are there because of their Cilician connections: Adanos is the eponym Adana and a founder of it,<sup>100</sup> Sandes is chief god of Tarsus, and perhaps its founder.<sup>101</sup> Olymbros, whose name suggests the Cilician epithet of Zeus Olybris, may perhaps have been linked to a specific Cilician city as well.<sup>102</sup> Ostasos remains mysterious, but it seems likely that he too is connected to Cilicia in some way.<sup>103</sup> In this context, it seems virtually certain that Iapetos owes his presence here to interference with the Jewish tradition (*Genesis* 10.2-4) that Japeth, the son of Noah and his descendants colonised Anatolia;<sup>104</sup> according to Josephus, Tarsus was named after one of Japeth's grandsons Tharsos (Tarshish).<sup>105</sup> It is hard to say how old this genealogy is, but it might perhaps go back to the above-mentioned Athenodorus, whom Stephanus of Byzantium elsewhere quotes for local mythology about Tarsus: that Anchiale, daughter of Iapetus, founded Anchiale, the port of Tarsus, that her son was Cydnus, eponym of the river, and that the son of Cydnus was Parthenius, after whom Tarsus was first called Parthenia.<sup>106</sup>

- #3. Ammianus Marcellinus (4<sup>th</sup> century AD) records that Tarsus was founded either by Perseus or by a certain Sandan, a "rich man" ("*vir opulentus*"), said in the manuscripts to come "*ex aithio*" or "*ex aichio*", both meaningless. Many suggestions have been made about how to restore this, the most popular being "*ex Aithiopia*".<sup>107</sup> This could be a euhemeristic version of an original foundation by Sandas.
- #4. According to the Library attributed to Ps. Apollodorus (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD), Celenderis in Cilicia was founded by Sandokos of Syria. He is said to have married the Pharnace, daughter of Megassares, king of Hyrie, and their son was Cinyras of Cyprus.<sup>108</sup> Hyria (a dialectal variant of Hyrie) is one of the names applied by Stephanus of Byzantium to Seleukeia in Cilicia, appropriately close to Celenderis, and in any case the name may contain a resonance of the Late Bronze Age Ura.<sup>109</sup> This too could be a garbled version of a foundation by Sandas.
- #5. Eusebius (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) in his *Canons* is now believed to have said that Heracles under name of Sandas was well known in Phoenicia, from where he was still called "Sandes" by Cappadocians and Cilicians.<sup>110</sup>

99 On this genealogy, see Ehling 2004c.

100 Adanos is represented on a coin from Adana (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD): see Weiss 1997 and Levante 1984: 81.

101 See n. 40. Sandes is possibly also a Titan in the late epic fragment studied by Meliadi 2014.

102 Olumbros has been linked to Ellibra, known from KUB 20.52+ i 26 and to be identified with the town Illubra known from Assyrian texts (Laroche 1959: 295). Some have identified this with Byzantine Lampron, modern day Namrun north of Mersin: Houwink ten Cate 1961: 25-26; Goetze 1962: 512, n. 19; Laroche 1973: 112 n. 4. Forlanini 1988: 144 thinks of a position further West, Soli/Pompeiopolis or Viranşehir (followed by Trémouille 2001: 62). A Greek dedication from Rome links Zeus Olybris to "Anazarbos mother city of the nation of the Cilicians" (IGUR I.131, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD). Von Domaszewski 1911 suggested that Olybrios was an ethnic deity for the Cilicians, specially associated with the region of Anazarbos; and Robert and Robert 1950: 68 suggested that Olumbros was founder of Anazarbos. The same deity is found in other inscriptions from Anazarbos: IK Anazarbos 44-47; and SEG 54.490 (an acclamation from Mt. Hemite). For other references to Zeus Olybris, see Isaac 1997: 127; Sayar 2004: 174-175.

103 Connected with the name of king Azatiwata of Karatepe at one point (see Barnett/Leveen/Moss 1948: 59), but that now seems unlikely.

104 So Barnett 1945: 101, n. 7. For parallels between Japeth and Iapetos, see Brown 1995: 82-83 and Loudon 2013. West 1997: 289-290 is sceptical, but he does not consider the possibility that Iapetos was associated with Anatolia.

105 *Genesis* 10.4; Josephus, *JA* 1.127. Tarshish has often been regarded as the eponym of Tartessos, but some scholars believe he may have been linked to Tarsus: see van der Kooij 1998: 44-45. Notice that according to the Armenian version of Eusebius, which purports to transmit Berossus, Esarhaddon, when he rebuilt Tarsus on the image of Babylon, gave it the name "Tharsin" (Jacoby 680 F7 (IIC, 386, 24)). This could indicate that Berossus already connected the grandson of Noah with Tarsus.

106 FHG 3.485; von Arnim in PW 2045 is doubtful. The tradition that Tarsus (Tarsos) was so called because it was the first place that became dry (Greek *terso*) after the flood may be part of the same tradition. Since *tarš-* means "dry" in Hittite, it is not impossible that the same etymological connection was made in the Late Bronze Age: see Lebrun 2001: 91. Tischler 1987: 350 (cf. Lebrun 2001: 91, n. 18) observes that according to Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Ταρσός*, the former name of Tarsus was *Krania*, from Greek *kranion* "skull", and that "*taršama/taršma*" seems to be Luwian for skull (cf. also HEG T: 221-22). Ehling 2004b: 153-154 suggests that this explains the iconography of series of coins from Tarsus which depict a bovine skull.

107 *Hist.* 14.8.3. There is a good discussion of the text in De Jonge 1939: 59-60.

108 *Library* 3.14.3. According to Hesychius, *Lex* s.v. *Κινύρας* the parents of Cinyras are Pharnake and Apollo, who is thus an equivalent of Sandokos.

109 See Haider 1995: 106. The implication in Ps. Apollodorus that Hyrie is close to Kelenderis adds credibility to Stephanos' statement that Hyria was a name of Seleukeia, something which has been called into question by some: see Casabonne 2005.

110 The text of Eusebius survives in an Armenian translation, in Jerome and in a fragment of Syncellus. These give the name as Desandas, Desanaus, and Disandan. Huxley 1982 rightly emends to Sandas. This renders obsolete Dostalova 1967's identification of Desandas with Hesychius' Dorsanes, for which Eggermont 1986 in any case has an alternative explanation. For Sandas in Cappadocia, cf. Robert 1963: 499-500 on Heracles in the town of Hanisa (supposedly the Greek form of Kanesh); Santa(s) had been worshipped in Sarissa in the Sivas province in the Late Bronze Age (see above).

- #6. The epic poet Nonnus of Panopolis (4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) in his *Dionysiaca* (34.1920) reports the identification of Sandes and Heracles at Tarsus, and playfully suggests a third identification with the dark Indian hero Morrheus/Morrhenos (... ὄθεν Κιλίκων ἐνὶ γαίῃ/ Σάνδης Ἡρακλῆς κικλήσκειται εἰσέτι Μορρεύς). Could the implication be that Morrheus was a (-n otherwise unattested) local cult title of Sandas at Tarsus?<sup>111</sup>
- #7. The historian Agathias (6<sup>th</sup> century AD) says that the present religion of the Persians was introduced by Zoroaster, but in ancient times they worshipped the same gods as the Greeks, though they used different names, e.g. Belos for Zeus, Sandes for Heracles and Anaitis for Aphrodite (*Hist.* 2.24.8). This seems to be evidence that at least in time of Agathias the cult of Sandes was established in some area of the Persian (i.e. Sassanian) Empire.<sup>112</sup> Agathias attributes this information to Berossos (FGr Hist 680 F12) and two otherwise unknown historians Athenokles and Simakos.<sup>113</sup>
- #8. The *Life and Miracles of St. Thecla* (5<sup>th</sup> century AD) mentions the town of Damalis and “Sandas - Heracles the son of Amphitryon” (*Mir.* 30). It seems likely that a real place is intended, and the reference is usually taken to be Dalisandos/Dalisanda in Isauria, which sounds like Damali-Sanda, but it could just as easily be somewhere else (Tarsus?).<sup>114</sup> In any case, *prima facie* this indicates that Sandas was worshipped somewhere alongside a goddess Damalis, and in fact this is the only clear evidence for a *paredros* of Sandas.<sup>115</sup> Damalis (“the Calf”) is an otherwise unattested theonym which in a Christian context perhaps suggests the two sacred golden calves (*damaleis*) to which the Israelites sacrificed under Jeroboam.<sup>116</sup>

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111 Note that Morrheus’ name resembles the *marwainzi*-deities associated with Sandas; the singular *marwaiza* is also found in Alli’s ritual (Late Bronze Age). On Sandas in Nonnus see Dostálová 1967; Keydell 1944 and Lefteratou 2015 n. 37 (the last with bibliography).

112 See Cameron 1969-70: 83. It is possible the name of Persian Sandokes in Herodotus 7, 194 and 196 could reflect a Persian reception of the deity; see also Sandani in 1.71.

113 See, however, Pohl 2004: 89, who suggests that the information about Sandas may go back to Athenokles.

114 Dagron 1978: 371; Johnson 2006: 141. An indication of the location may be provided by a recently published epitaph for a woman called Damalis, dedicated by her husband Sandon, was recently published (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD), now in the Museum at Ereğli; see French 2007: 96, no 38 = SEG 57.1697.

115 For Iyaya, the partner of Late Bronze Age Santa(s), see above p. 82 with n. 15. The tradition that Heracles was a slave of Omphale in Lydia and had a son Akeles by Malis, slave of Omphale (Hellanicus, FGrHist 4F112), may indicate that Heracles-Sandas was worshipped somewhere alongside Omphale or Malia (cf. Masson 1962: 129), but this is not certain.

116 1 Kings 12.28; Tobit 1.5. See Höfer 1909-15: 320-321 (note). Böhlig 1914 links this to 5<sup>th</sup> century coins that have Heracles on one side and a heffer on the other. The thesis, reported by Höfer, that “Damalis” is somehow related to the theonym Maliya/Malia seems unlikely.



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# L'INDIVIDU ET SON CORPS EN ANATOLIE HITTITE: UN NOUVEAU PROJET

Alice Mouton  
CNRS Ivry sur Seine et Institut Catholique de Paris

Le corps d'un individu relie celui-ci aux autres membres de sa communauté, il constitue un support physique commode pour interagir avec eux. Sans corps, pas de sens ; sans sens, pas de communication possible. Toutefois, le corps sépare aussi l'individu de ses contemporains : par ses particularismes innés ou acquis, il le différencie des autres. Il est donc à la fois un facteur de cohésion et de discrimination sociale. Cette problématique, très explorée en anthropologie sociale, a été presque complètement ignorée dans les études sur le Proche-Orient cunéiforme. En hittitologie, seule la lexicographie des parties du corps humain a été étudiée en détail jusqu'à présent<sup>1</sup>.

Le projet présenté ici se propose de combler au mieux cette lacune pour les textes hittites. Il s'articulera autour de cinq grands axes : I. le corps humain et le langage, ou l'étude de ses fonctions dans les stratégies de communication ; II. le corps, les perceptions et la société, en incluant une étude des sens tels qu'ils sont décrits par les textes ; III. le corps comme symbole d'appartenance à un groupe social, avec une étude des vêtements, coiffures et parures en tant que témoins des statuts sociaux ; IV. le corps comme support de l'expérience religieuse, où l'on verra que les gestes, les postures et les mouvements de l'individu sont tout autant signifiants que ses mots dans le processus rituel ; V. le corps et la mort, ou comment traiter rituellement un corps mort et quelles sont les conséquences sur l'esprit.

## I. Le corps et le langage

Les relations que le corps entretient avec le langage sont multiples. En premier lieu, le corps constitue un répertoire naturel de symboles et d'expressions idiomatiques, répertoire qui est propre à une communauté humaine et la révèle en partie. Dans son article de 2002, Paola Dardano<sup>2</sup> a déjà mis en lumière quelques exemples d'usages métaphoriques de noms hittites de parties du corps. On remarquera notamment le passage d'un texte de rituel à pratiquer à la frontière d'un pays ennemi, passage qui indique :

*nu=za apenzan GÉŠPU haštai walliškanzi*

<sup>1</sup> Voir, notamment, Hoffner 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Dardano 2002.

« Ils louent leur poing (et) leur os. »<sup>3</sup>, où le logogramme du poing GÉŠPU prend le sens de « force » et le terme « os » *haštai-* fait allusion à la résistance des ennemis. Paola Dardano relève d'ailleurs un autre cas d'utilisation métaphorique de *haštai-* dans le traité d'Arnuwanda I<sup>er</sup> avec les Gašgas<sup>4</sup>.

À la suite de Harry Hoffner<sup>5</sup>, Paola Dardano met en avant les emplois du hittite *pata-* « pied » pour désigner les extrémités inférieures et de *haršar* « tête » pour le haut des meubles<sup>6</sup>, usage qui se retrouve dans de très nombreuses langues et qui illustre l'utilisation de noms de parties du corps pour exprimer la spatialité. En outre, nombreuses sont les expressions idiomatiques hittites impliquant un nom de partie du corps. Harry Hoffner et Paola Dardano après lui citent, par exemple, les expressions suivantes en relation avec la bouche : *KAxU-az weriya-* « appeler avec la bouche », c'est-à-dire sans doute « revendiquer »<sup>7</sup>, *KAxU-iš tuwarnai-* « casser la bouche » dans le sens de « rompre le silence »<sup>8</sup>, *KAxU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš anda hamenk-* « lier les bouches » qui signifie « obliger (quelqu'un) à se taire »<sup>9</sup>, ou encore *=kan iššaz karap-* « lever de la bouche » pour « contredire, contester »<sup>10</sup>.

À côté des métaphores et expressions idiomatiques, on peut également s'interroger sur les euphémismes employés, dans les textes hittites, pour désigner l'organe sexuel masculin et féminin, car ces euphémismes révèlent d'éventuels tabous linguistiques. Le terme *genu-* « genou » est, par exemple, très fréquemment employé pour désigner l'organe sexuel masculin<sup>11</sup>, mais il n'est pas le seul. Le sexe masculin *lalu-* « pénis » (le terme enseigné aux enfants selon Harry Hoffner<sup>12</sup>) est également désigné par les euphémismes « virilité » (*pešnatar*) ou « membre » (*<sup>UZU</sup>ÚR*)<sup>13</sup>.

Quant au sexe féminin, il peut être désigné par l'expression « ce qu'elle a en dessous » (*katta=kan kuit harzi*), comme c'est le cas dans le mythe d'Ullikummi<sup>14</sup>, ou encore par l'euphémisme « féminité » (*MUNUS-natar*)<sup>15</sup>, à comparer à celui de « virilité » employé pour le sexe masculin. Derrière l'étude de ces tabous linguistiques se cache la perception indigène du corps sexué et, plus généralement, de la sexualité, deux aspects cruciaux de l'anthropologie du corps.

Par ailleurs, le corps est un instrument de communication bien connu : aussi bien les gestes, les postures que les expressions du visage sont autant de composantes de ce que l'on appelle la communication non verbale. Birgit Christiansen<sup>16</sup> a mis en avant cette notion issue des sciences cognitives pour les textes hittites décrivant les serments, les malédictions et les bénédictions. Par cette communication non verbale, le corps donne à la parole une épaisseur émotionnelle. Tous les contextes connus sont envisageables, et il serait même intéressant de diversifier à dessein ces contextes pour mettre en lumière les différentes stratégies de communication non verbale utilisées et leur impact sur le discours.

Pour ne prendre qu'un seul exemple de contexte, j'ai eu l'occasion de remarquer les très nombreux éléments de communication non verbale décrits dans ce qu'on appelle traditionnellement le Cycle de Kumarbi, à commencer par le texte de la Théogonie. On peut, dans ce texte, relever les postures de l'échanson du roi des dieux, qui est décrit à la fois comme « se tenant debout devant » son suzerain (KUB 33.120++ i 9-10 : *daššuš=a=(š)šj<sup>D</sup>Anuš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš hantezziyaš=(š)meiš peran=še[t] arta*), ce qui est très

3 Dardano 2002: 335 (KUB 4.1 i 17-18).

4 Dardano 2002: 335 (KUB 13.27++ Vo 93-95).

5 Hoffner 1996: 250.

6 Dardano 2002: 337.

7 Mentionné par Dardano 2002: 343-344 avec une traduction légèrement différente.

8 Hoffner 1996: 251 et Dardano 2002: 344.

9 Hoffner 1996: 251 et Dardano 2002: 344.

10 Hoffner 1996: 251. Pour une étude analogue autour du champ sémantique de la main, voir Görke 2014.

11 HED K: 146.

12 Hoffner 1996: 250.

13 J'exclus de cette liste *hapuša(š)*- qui désigne sans doute plutôt la jambe : voir en dernier lieu Kloekhorst 2008: 299. En revanche, le hittite *paršina-* au pluriel, « joues », doit vraisemblablement désigner aussi les testicules, d'après le célèbre passage du mythe de Kumarbi : voir CHD P: 187.

14 À moins que l'on accepte la proposition de Mary Bachvarova de voir dans la roche monstrueuse avec laquelle Kumarbi a des relations sexuelles une entité de sexe masculin : voir Bachvarova 2017.

15 Hoffner 2010: 427.

16 Christiansen 2010.

probablement conçu comme un privilège, et « se prosternant à ses pieds » (KUB 33.120++ i 11 et 17 :  $\text{G}\ddot{\text{I}}\text{R}^{\text{ME}\ddot{\text{S}}}\text{-a}\check{\text{s}}=(\check{\text{s}})\text{a}/\text{G}\ddot{\text{I}}\text{R}^{\text{ME}\ddot{\text{S}}}\text{-a}\check{\text{s}}=\check{\text{s}}\text{a}\check{\text{s}} \text{GAM-an hinki}\check{\text{s}}\text{k}\text{e}\text{t}\text{t}\text{a}$ ), posture exprimant clairement sa soumission. L'échanson est également décrit comme plaçant « les coupes à boire dans sa main » (KUB 33.120++ i 11 et 17 :  $\text{NAG-na}\check{\text{s}}=(\check{\text{s}})\check{\text{s}}\text{i}=\text{kan GAL}^{\text{H}\ddot{\text{A}}}\text{-u}\check{\text{s}} \text{ŠU-i}=(\check{\text{s}})\check{\text{s}}\text{i} \text{zikkezzi}$ ), geste dénotant à la fois sa position privilégiée et subalterne, alors que le roi des dieux est, lui, décrit trônant (KUB 33.120++ i 8-9 et 16 :  $^{\text{D}}\text{Alalu}\check{\text{s}}=\check{\text{s}}\text{an}/^{\text{D}}\text{Anu}\check{\text{s}}=\check{\text{s}}\text{an}^{\text{G}\ddot{\text{I}}\text{S}}\text{ŠU.A-ki}/^{\text{G}\ddot{\text{I}}\text{S}}\text{ŠU.A-i}=(\check{\text{s}})\check{\text{s}}\text{i} \text{ē}\check{\text{s}}\text{zi}$ ). Le fait de s'asseoir sur le trône représente, dans les textes hittites historiques et religieux, l'accession au pouvoir royal : on pensera plus particulièrement à l'expression « s'asseoir sur le trône de son père/dans la royauté », si courante dans les textes d'Annales royales, ainsi qu'à la cérémonie appelée « du fait de s'asseoir (dans la royauté) » (EZEN<sub>4</sub> ašannaš)<sup>17</sup>. Dans le mythe d'Ullikummi, on remarque le geste du dieu Soleil qui met sa main devant son front (KUB 33.93++ iv 38' :  $^{\text{D}}\text{UTU}=\text{za ŠU-an SAG.KI-i}=(\check{\text{s}})\check{\text{s}}\text{i} \text{p}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-an ē}\text{p}\text{t}\text{a}$ ), un geste que nous aurions tendance à attribuer aujourd'hui au besoin de mieux voir dans une lumière aveuglante – celle du dieu lui-même ! Harry Hoffner, associait quant à lui ce geste à « l'étonnement, l'horreur et la colère » du dieu Soleil<sup>18</sup>. Notons toutefois que l'expression « tendre sa main devant son front » semble n'apparaître que dans ce texte, d'après le *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*<sup>19</sup>, ce qui doit nous inciter à la prudence quant à l'interprétation du geste correspondant.

## II. Le corps, les perceptions et la société

Le corps est aussi créateur de perceptions par le biais des sens, et la manière dont ces perceptions sont décrites dans les textes reflète elle-même l'organisation sociale d'une communauté humaine. Par exemple, dans le Chant de l'Émergence, le dieu vaincu Anu ne peut plus supporter le regard de son rival Kumarbi (KUB 33.120++ i 20-21 :  $^{\text{D}}\text{Kumarbiya}\check{\text{s}} \text{IGI}^{\text{H}\ddot{\text{A}}}\text{-wa UL namma manzazzi}$ ), ce qui dénote clairement la domination de Kumarbi sur lui. Dans le même ordre d'idées, Ainsley Dicks<sup>20</sup> a montré la différence de perception séparant, dans les textes littéraires mésopotamiens, les dieux et les hommes : les dieux « regardent », les hommes « voient ». Le regard actif des dieux sur les hommes qui sont, eux, relégués au simple rôle de spectateurs, reflète la relation de pouvoir liant ces deux groupes. Une relation comparable peut aussi être observée dans les textes hittites entre les hommes qui subissent les rêves qu'ils « voient » (*tešhan/zašhain auš-*) et leurs dieux qui, eux, sont acteurs de ces songes en y « apparaissant » (*tešhaniya-*)<sup>21</sup>. En outre, il est fort possible qu'une relation de pouvoir analogue à celle liant les dieux aux hommes, mais cette fois-ci entre le roi et ses sujets, soit également exprimée à travers le lexique des perceptions et des sens.

Ainsi, il me semble qu'une étude lexicographique et contextuelle sur les cinq sens mériterait d'être menée pour les textes « littéraires » hittites, à savoir les textes de prières et les mythes. Si l'on reprend l'exemple du champ sémantique de la vue, il serait, par exemple, intéressant d'établir l'inventaire des verbes liés à la vue qui sont utilisés en relation avec les divinités : ces verbes reflètent-ils une domination de ces divinités sur les hommes, à l'instar des textes littéraires sumériens ? Le rôle des préverbes associés à ce verbe (*anda, katta, parā*, etc.) serait, pour cette étude, déterminant. Je me contente, pour l'instant, d'évoquer cette piste sans prendre le temps de l'explorer<sup>22</sup>.

Un autre aspect à envisager est la façon dont les Hittites percevaient les corps humains aux sens déficients. En d'autres termes, quelle place la société hittite attribuait-elle aux personnes à handicap ? Ces personnages, dont les non-voyants et les malentendants, ont été étudiés par Harry Hoffner et Yasemin Arkan<sup>23</sup>. Harry Hoffner a, notamment, insisté sur le fait que les textes hittites ne mentionnaient pas les personnes infirmes de naissance, mais se concentraient au contraire sur la possibilité pour un criminel, un parjure ou un esclave désobéissant d'être aveuglé ou mutilé. Comme je l'ai argué récemment dans mon

17 Voir en dernier lieu Gilan/Mouton 2014.

18 Hoffner 1998: 56. Alaura 2011: 11, à la suite de Harry Hoffner, y voit aussi un geste d'étonnement.

19 HW<sup>2</sup> E: 83.

20 Dicks, à paraître.

21 Voir Mouton 2007: 8-11.

22 Pour une étude sur le thème de la vue et, notamment, son lien avec la notion de pouvoir : voir Mouton, à paraître.

23 Hoffner 2003, Arkan 2003-2004 et Arkan 2006.

étude sur les actes de violence ritualisée<sup>24</sup>, la mutilation voire la simple présence de cicatrices semble rendre une personne inapte à entrer dans un temple, l'excluant ainsi des activités cultuelles. C'est du moins ce que semble indiquer un passage de compte rendu oraculaire :

[ŠĀ É.DING]IR-LIM=kan kukuršanteš iškallanteš antuhšeš iyantat nu<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI<sup>URU</sup>HATTI mahhan anniškezzi [ANA DIN]GIR-LIM QĀTAMMA aniyazi MUŠEN HURRI SIG<sub>5</sub>

« Des personnes mutilées (ou) balafrees sont entrées [dans le templ]e. Une Vieille Femme de Hattuša pratiquera-t-elle [pour la div]inité (un rituel) comme elle (le) pratique habituellement ? L'oiseau-de-trou (est) favorable<sup>25</sup>. »

Le corps ensorcelé et ses sensations peuvent également être explorés en détails, étant donnés les nombreux textes hittites faisant allusion aux maux provoqués par un acte de sorcellerie : le corps de la victime d'un ensorcellement est décrit comme entravé voire symboliquement cloué dans le sol, ses sens paralysés<sup>26</sup>.

### III. Le corps comme symbole d'appartenance à un groupe social

Les vêtements, la coiffure et la parure constituent la vitrine du statut social d'un individu. Le Grand Roi hittite est immédiatement reconnaissable à ses habits royaux, ainsi qu'à ses insignes. On pourrait citer à titre d'illustration un passage du rituel d'évocation des dieux d'une ville ennemie :

[(nu mahh)]an DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU-LIM LÚKÚR KASKAL-az talliyauwanzi zinnai nu=za LUGAL-uš LUGAL-uēznaš iwar waššiyazi

« Quand elle (= la prêtresse) a fini d'évoquer de la frontière les divinités de la ville ennemie, le roi s'habille comme un roi<sup>27</sup>. »

Quand il est nécessaire de sauver le roi d'une mort annoncée par présage, un substitut humain s'approprie ses vêtements et insignes royaux et s'identifie ainsi pleinement à lui. Cette identification détourne la mort du souverain sur son substitut. Ainsi, lors du rituel de substitution royale KUB 24.5 + KUB 9.13, le roi dit :

[kā]ša=wa kāš LUGAL-uš ŠUM LUGAL-UTTI=ya=[wa]=kan kēdani [tehhun TÚG LU]GAL-UTTI=ya kēdani waššiyanut<sup>TÚG</sup>lupannin=a=wa=kan kēdani šiyant[un]

« [V]ois ! Celui-ci (est) le roi. [J'ai placé] sur celui-ci le nom de la royauté et j'ai vêtu celui-ci [de l'habit de la royauté]. J'ai mis sur celui-ci le bonnet lupanni<sup>-28</sup> ! »

À côté du bonnet *lupanni*- cité dans ce texte, d'autres vêtements royaux sont décrits dans les textes, que Theo van den Hout a énumérés en 1995<sup>29</sup>. Comme on peut s'y attendre, les habits du souverain varient selon les circonstances et probablement aussi selon les périodes. Le roi est, par exemple, décrit en manteau blanc et chaussures noires pendant la fête du KI.LAM<sup>30</sup>. Le témoignage qui semble nous donner le plus d'informations est le fragment de texte rituel KUB 42.98 :

[...]x<sup>TÚG</sup>NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ LUGAL-UTTI waššiyanzi wašš[ianzi=ma ...] 1-NUTUM<sup>TÚG</sup>GÚ.È.A HURRI 1<sup>TÚG</sup>E.ÍB 1<sup>TÚG</sup>lu[panni ...]<sup>M</sup>EŠ 1-NUTUM<sup>TÚG</sup>GADA.DAM<sup>MEŠ</sup> 1-NUTUM<sup>KUŠE</sup>.SIR [...]

« [...] on vê[t ...] des habits luxueux de la royauté, [on] vê[t ...] d'une tunique hourrite, d'un vêtement E.ÍB, d'un bonnet lu[panni, de ...], d'une paire de jambières, d'une paire de chaussures [...]»<sup>31</sup>. »

24 Mouton 2015a.

25 KUB 5.7 Ro 36'-37'. Voir en dernier lieu Tognon 2004: 63 et 69.

26 Mouton 2010: 115-116.

27 KUB 7.60 iii 5'-8' et duplicat KUB 59.59 ii 8-10, CTH 423. Fuscagni 2013, § 10''''.

28 KUB 24.5 + KUB 9.13 Ro 20'-22' : Kümmel 1967: 10-11. Aussi cité par van den Hout 1995: 552-553.

29 Van den Hout 1995. Goetze 1947 a étudié ce qu'il a considéré comme l'habit sacerdotal du souverain.

30 Van den Hout 1995: 551 et CHD Š.: 271.

31 KUB 42.98 i 10'-12' : Kümmel 1967: 31, Alp 1993: 116-117 et van den Hout 1995: 552.

Ces différents vêtements semblent bel et bien correspondre à ce que le texte appelle les « habits luxueux de la royauté », parmi lesquels on retrouve le bonnet *lupanni-* déjà cité dans le passage précédent.

Outre les vêtements qui représentent sa fonction de souverain, il arrive que le roi ou le prince mette sur lui ce que les textes hittites appellent les « habits de la divinité ». Cette expression se retrouve dans un texte décrivant une fête célébrée par le « prince », texte qui indique :

*mān lukkatta nu=za DUMU.LUGAL TÚG DINGIR-LIM [šarā] waššiēzzi<sup>KUŠ</sup>E.SIR<sup>HÁ</sup> BABBAR-TIM šarkuzi*  
« Quand c'est le lendemain, le prince se vêt de l'habit de la divinité (et) il chausse des chaussures blanches<sup>32</sup>. »

On peut également citer le passage d'un texte de fête culturelle de Nerik :

*mān lukkatta<sup>URU</sup>Nerikki haššanzi LUGAL-uš=za TÚG DINGIR-LIM TÚG<sup>GÚ</sup>.È.A aduplit=a [w]aššiyazi*  
*išhuzzin=a=za=kan [i]šhuzziyaizzi [TÚG<sup>ka</sup>]ttiluri<sup>33</sup> ŠA DINGIR-LIM [kal]muš<sup>KUŠ</sup>E.SIR<sup>HÁ</sup> [šark]ueyazi*  
« Quand, le lendemain, on ouvre à Nerik, le roi se [v]êt de l'habit de la divinité, (à savoir) d'une tunique et d'un vêtement *adupli-*, et il se ceint d'une ceinture. Il met le [vêtement *ka*]ttiluri- de la divinité, (son) [li]tuus (et ses) chaussures<sup>34</sup>. »

Tout comme, dans le cas des rituels de substitution royale, le substitut humain est identifié au roi par le port de ses vêtements, on peut penser qu'en portant les vêtements de la divinité, le roi ou le prince cherche à s'identifier à cette dernière. Ada Taggar-Cohen, qui a étudié les différents contextes culturels dans lesquels le roi ou le prince porte les vêtements de la divinité, pense que cette pratique pourrait être spécifique au culte de Nerik<sup>35</sup>.

Les attributs des autres membres de l'élite sociale hittite, notamment les prêtres, prêtresses, scribes et devins, doivent encore être étudiés de manière systématique. Il y a tout lieu de penser que chaque groupe de prêtres ou prêtresses se distingue au moins par ses habits et sa coiffure, car ces deux éléments sont des marqueurs visuels d'identité sociale qui sont rarement négligés dans une communauté humaine. On peut, par exemple, citer le passage du texte KUB 44.21 qui indique :

*nu=za iwar<sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA waššiyazi*  
« Il s'habille comme un prêtre SANGA<sup>36</sup>. », ce qui montre bien que ces prêtres étaient reconnaissables à leurs vêtements.

À travers ses recherches sur le clergé hittite, Ada Taggar-Cohen<sup>37</sup> a déjà relevé ici et là quelques-unes des données relatives à l'habillement des prêtres et prêtresses. On peut notamment citer le passage suivant :

*mān=ma lēlaš U<sub>4</sub>.KAM<sup>HÁ</sup> kišandari nu=kan mān ŠÀ URU-LIM ALAM DUMU<sup>DU</sup> našma É.DINGIR-LIM DUMU<sup>DU</sup> ēšzi nu=šmaš peran [p]arā<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SANGA<sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>AMA.DINGIR-[LIM] š warpanzi KILĪLU=ma=šmaš=kan*  
*SAG.DU-az arha danzi nu=šmaš SAG.DU<sup>MEŠ</sup> IŠTU<sup>TÚG</sup>BAR.SI BABBAR anda išhiyanzi TÚG<sup>HÁ</sup>*  
*BABBAR=ya=šmaš waššiyanzi*  
« Quand les jours de (la fête de) la conciliation ont lieu et s'il y a en ville une statue du fils du dieu de l'orage ou un temple du fils du dieu de l'orage, alors, au préalable, les prêtres SANGA et les prêtresses 'mères de la divinité' se š lavent. Ils enlèvent la couronne/le diadème de leurs têtes, ils enroulent leurs têtes d'une bande de tissu blanc et ils s'habillent de vêtements blancs<sup>38</sup>. »

32 KUB 56.35:1-2 : Taggar-Cohen 2006: 262-263. Bo 3649 iii 1'-2' est un parallèle : voir Fuscagni 2007: 49.

33 Nom de vêtement qui n'apparaît qu'ici et dans Bo 6833 i 5 selon Únal 2007: 332. Pour cette seconde attestation, voir Fuscagni 2007: 152.

34 KUB 58.33 iii 24'-31' : Haas 1970: 260-263 et Taggar-Cohen 2006: 423-424.

35 Taggar-Cohen 2006: 423-434 et plus particulièrement p. 433.

36 KUB 44.21 ii 12 : Taggar-Cohen 2002: 141.

37 Taggar-Cohen 2006.

38 KUB 39.52+ ii 24'-iii 4 : Taggar-Cohen 2006: 18-19.



Ce passage montre qu'à l'instar du roi les prêtres et prêtresses mettent des vêtements différents en fonction des circonstances. Nous apprenons en outre que la tenue traditionnelle des prêtres SANGA et des prêtresses 'mères de la divinité' comprend un KILĪLU, une couronne végétale ou en laine ou encore un diadème métallique, cet akkadoگرامme pouvant indifféremment désigner ces types de parure<sup>39</sup>.

À cela s'ajoute la mention, dans un texte relevant de la fête du KI.LAM<sup>40</sup>, de vêtements de premier rang (TÚG hantezzi-) qui sont donnés à des prêtres SANGA et de vêtements de second rang (TÚG dān) donnés à des personnages subalternes (prêtres oints, hommes *tazzelli-* et *hamina-*), mention qui illustre mieux que tout le reste comment la tenue vestimentaire d'un membre du clergé reflète son rang au sein de la hiérarchie de l'institution religieuse.

Les vêtements, la coiffure et la parure sont également sexués. Habiller un homme en femme est, pour cette raison, un geste social fort dont il faut étudier la signification contexte par contexte. *A priori*, on peut imaginer que ce geste tend à humilier l'individu masculin dans sa condition d'homme, comme cela est d'ailleurs clairement exprimé dans l'incantation suivante prononcée lors d'un rituel pour Ištar de Ninive au caractère guerrier évident :

n=ašta ANA LÚ<sup>MES</sup> arha LÚ-natar tarhuilatar haddulatar māl=(l)a<sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL<sup>HÁ</sup> GIS<sup>BAN</sup>HÁ GIS<sup>GAG</sup>.Ú.TAG.GA<sup>HÁ</sup>  
GÍR dā n=at INA<sup>URU</sup>HATTI uda apedaš=ma=kan ŠU-i ŠA MUNUS-TI<sup>GIS</sup>hūlali<sup>GIS</sup>huišan=(n)a dāi n=uš  
MUNUS-nili ueššiya nu=šmaš=kan<sup>TÚG</sup>kureššar šai nu=šmaš=kan tuēl aššul arha dā

« Retire des hommes la virilité, la force, la santé et le courage, (ainsi que) les armes, les arcs, les flèches (et) le couteau et apporte-les à Hattuša ! Mets dans la main de ceux-là la quenouille et le fuseau de la femme ! Habille-les en femmes ! Mets-leur le couvre-chef *kureššar* ! Retire-leur ta faveur<sup>41</sup> ! »

Le couvre-chef *kureššar* est bien connu comme étant l'apparat des femmes. Il est mentionné à de nombreuses reprises dans les textes hittites, notamment dans le texte du rituel d'Alli où on le retrouve dans l'habillement des figurines féminines de contre-empoisonnement<sup>42</sup>.

Enfin, le corps peut aussi parfois être marqué dans le cadre d'un rite de passage. Lors du changement de statut, de classe d'âge ou simplement d'état d'un individu, celui-ci peut recevoir un marquage physique, tel qu'un tatouage, une scarification, une mutilation, etc. Dans le cas des textes hittites, j'ai récemment proposé que les prêtresses appelées « femmes au nez percé » – et non pas « coupé », contrairement à ce que suggérait Volkert Haas – (KIR<sup>14</sup> hattanteš) se faisaient peut-être percer le nez d'un anneau ou d'un autre bijou lors de leur rituel d'installation en tant que prêtresses<sup>43</sup>. Dans un contexte très différent, les lettres moyen-hittites de Mašat Höyük font allusion à l'aveuglement volontaire de nouveaux esclaves, comme l'a montré Harry Hoffner<sup>44</sup>.

## IV. Le corps comme support de l'expérience religieuse

Je souhaite également examiner les rôles du corps dans l'expérience religieuse d'après les textes hittites. Il est notamment utile d'étudier en contexte les gestes, les postures et les mouvements (processions incluses) effectués par tel ou tel participant pendant la cérémonie, car ces actions physiques participent du discours rituel. On rejoint ici le problème de la communication non verbale, mais aussi celle de la notion de personne. En faisant intervenir aussi bien la parole que le corps dans l'acte rituel, c'est la personne toute entière qui est impliquée. Il faut, en outre, se rappeler que le terme hittite pour « corps », à savoir *tuekka-*, est également utilisé pour désigner la personne elle-même et ce fait reflète vraisemblablement une conception du corps qui se démarque de celle de « corps-objet » de l'Occident actuel.

39 CAD K, 358. L'équivalence proposée par Ünal 2007: 341 entre KILĪLU et *lupanni-* paraît étonnante.

40 Taggar-Cohen 2006: 269 qui se réfère à KBo 25.176 Vo 4' et lignes suivantes : Singer 1984: 93.

41 KBo 2.9+ i 53-58 : Fuscagni 2012, § 8.

42 Voir Mouton 2013, § 2.

43 Mouton 2015a: 117-118.

44 Hoffner 2002: 67-68.

En contexte rituel, le corps peut être volontairement dénudé (on parle alors de nudité rituelle, phénomène déjà étudié par Stefano de Martino en 1985<sup>45</sup>), mais il peut aussi être maltraité. La violence ritualisée permet à l'individu qui la subit d'atteindre un certain degré de pureté, comme j'ai récemment tenté de le démontrer<sup>46</sup>. Outre les exemples de flagellations et de bastonnades, des danses rituelles au caractère extrême sont également décrites ici et là, la plus spectaculaire étant celle impliquant l'utilisation d'aiguilles transperçant le corps du danseur. Je ne reviens pas sur ce point que j'ai déjà examiné.

Par la purification – violente ou non – du corps, on cherche manifestement à purifier l'individu tout entier. La relation entre la propreté physique et la pureté rituelle est centrale dans le système religieux de l'Anatolie hittite, système qui implique plusieurs degrés de pureté et d'impureté<sup>47</sup>. Le degré le plus haut de pureté autorise l'Homme à vivre l'expérience physique du divin : il peut alors rencontrer la divinité sans intermédiaire soit par certains de ses sens (théophanie rêvée, par exemple), soit avec tout son corps (*hieros gamos*). C'est ce dont témoigne, notamment, le célèbre passage du rituel de Paškuwatti contre l'impuissance sexuelle :

*nu=za BĒL SÍSKUR šešzi nu=za=kan mān DINGIR-LUM zašhiya tuēkki=(š)ši aušzi katti=(š)š[i] paizzi n=aš=ši katti=ši šešzi kuitman=ma DINGIR-LUM INA U<sub>4</sub>.3.KAM mug[āmi] nu=za=kan zašhimuš kuiēš uškizz[i] n=aš memiškezzi mān=ši DINGIR-LUM IGI<sup>HÁ</sup>-wa parā tekkušnuškezz[i] nu=(š)ši mān DINGIR-LUM katti=(š)ši šešzi*  
 « Le patient dort. (Ensuite, il dira) s'il voit dans un rêve l'incarnation de la déesse, (si) elle vient à lui et couche avec lui. Lors des trois jours pendant lesquels j'invoque la déesse, il rapporte les rêves qu'il voit (et) dit si la déesse lui montre ses yeux (ou bien) si la déesse couche avec lui<sup>48</sup>. »

Comme je l'ai déjà indiqué ailleurs<sup>49</sup>, il me paraît clair que la proximité plus ou moins grande de la déesse « dans son corps » (*tuēkki=(š)ši*), pour reprendre l'expression du texte, reflète le degré de pureté acquis par le patient.

## V. Le corps et la mort

Enfin, le corps est une problématique centrale lors d'un décès. Le corps mort, en premier lieu, doit être « traité » : en tant que support matériel du défunt, il est préparé rituellement pour faciliter le passage de ce défunt dans le monde des morts. Ici, l'archéologie a sa part à jouer dans l'enquête, fournissant des informations de première importance sur le traitement du corps mort, informations qui sont absentes des textes. Les cimetières hittites à inhumation fournissent un corpus archéologique non négligeable. Quant aux textes eux-mêmes, ils attestent de la crémation du corps du Grand Roi hittite, crémation qu'il faut, à mes yeux, considérer comme une opération destinée à faciliter le « destin divin » du Grand Roi<sup>50</sup>. Derrière le traitement ritualisé du corps mort se cache la problématique universelle de la relation entre le corps et l'esprit – sujet central en histoire des religions, notamment à cause de l'influence judéo-chrétienne sur cette discipline. Il s'agit donc d'essayer de mieux définir cette relation pour l'Anatolie hittite. Lors des funérailles royales hittites, appelées *šalliš waštaiš* (expression que je propose de traduire par « grande anomalie »), on repère le passage suivant :

*DINGIR-LIM-iš=ma=aš kuedani U<sub>4</sub>-ti kišari nu apēda[ni] U<sub>4</sub>-ti kišan iyanzi 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ šarlu[m]aš=kan apel ZI-ni šipandanzi § n=an kitkar=ši haddanzi [nu k]iššan memanzi zik=wa=za GIM-an k[iš]tat kāša=wa=z QĀTAMMA ki[š]aru nu=wa=(š)šan ZI=KA kīdani GU<sub>4</sub>-i [ka]tta tarnā*  
 « Le jour où il devient un dieu, ce jour-là, on fait ceci : on sacrifie un bœuf de labour pour l'exaltation de son esprit. On lui perce la tête [et] on dit : 'Qu'il devienne comme tu es devenu ! Relâche ton esprit dans ce bœuf<sup>51</sup> !' »

45 De Martino 1985.

46 Mouton 2015a.

47 Voir, notamment, Hutter 2013 et Mouton 2015b.

48 KUB 7.5++ iv 1-10 : voir en dernier lieu Mouton 2012, § 18.

49 Mouton 2007: 65.

50 Arnette/Greco/Mouton 2014.

51 KUB 30.16+ i 6-12 : Kassian/Korolëv/Sidel'tsev 2002: 46. Voir également Masson 1989: 45.

La dernière phrase de ce passage semble indiquer que le bœuf de labour tient lieu d'entité psychopompe, avec un transfert de l'esprit du défunt roi dans la tête de l'animal induit par le percement de celle-ci. Cela indiquerait que, dans ce contexte particulier du rituel *šalliš waštaiš*, l'esprit a la capacité de se séparer du corps du roi et de lui survivre. Cette séparation provoquée rituellement serait rendue définitive par la crémation du corps. Notons toutefois que cet épisode relève du « destin divin » du Grand Roi hittite et des membres de sa famille nucléaire, et le scénario peut différer grandement pour les autres habitants du pays de Hatti.

Lors d'un décès, le corps du défunt n'est pas le seul à recevoir un traitement rituel. Celui des endeuillés est souvent, lui aussi, mis à contribution pendant les funérailles voire pendant la période dite de deuil. Les textes de funérailles royales hittites témoignent de la présence de pleureuses (les femmes *taptara-*) qui crient de douleur<sup>52</sup>. Cette action est décrite par deux verbes distincts :

1. le verbe *wiya-* qui désigne aussi le bruit émis par certains animaux, tels que des oiseaux ou le cochon<sup>53</sup> et doit par conséquent décrire un cri inarticulé accompagné ou non de pleurs et qui peut, par extension, désigner aussi l'action de pleurer bruyamment, comme nous le verrons ci-après ;
2. le verbe *alamniya-* qui ne semble attesté que dans deux compositions<sup>54</sup>, à savoir le *šalliš waštaiš* et le mythe de Gurparanzah où ce personnage fait cette action. Ce second verbe est clairement lié à des pleurs dans le mythe en question, qui indique :

*nu=za 'Gurparanzahuš alamniškezzi šargauēš=ši kattan ar[k]uiškanzi nu 'Aranzahaš ANA 'Gurpazanzahu IQBI kuwat=wa ueškeši nu=wa=ta=(k)kan šuppayaza [IGI<sup>H</sup>]<sup>A</sup>-waza išhahru parā āraš*  
 « Gurparanzah *alamniya-*, les grands l'accompagnent<sup>55</sup>. Le fleuve Tigre dit à Gurparanzah : 'Pourquoi pleures-tu de sorte que des larmes sont sorties de tes [yeu]x sacrés<sup>56</sup> ? »

Un sens spécifique de « se lamenter » paraît donc envisageable pour *alamniya-*. Ainsi, les femmes *taptara-* des funérailles royales hittites ne font pas forcément, lors de ces manifestations sonores, appel aux mots, mais expriment plutôt leur douleur par le son lui-même. La principale fonction de cette performance rituelle est vraisemblablement d'ajouter une dimension fortement émotionnelle à la cérémonie. Cette action n'est d'ailleurs pas effectuée par les *taptara-* seules, comme l'indique le début du texte du *šalliš waštaiš* :

*nu=za=kan hūmanza šalliš ammiyanza G<sup>1</sup>ŠULPATE<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠUNU arha danzi nu ueiškiuwan tianzi*  
 « Tous, grand(s) et) jeune(s), retirent leurs ŠULPATU de roseau et se mettent à crier de douleur<sup>57</sup>. »

## Conclusion

Le corps humain est omniprésent dans les textes hittites, mais les raisons de sa présence n'ont jamais été examinées en détail jusqu'à maintenant. Le projet décrit ici cherchera à montrer à quel point le corps constitue un concept central aussi bien pour la problématique de la communication que pour celle des rapports sociaux en général. Les enquêtes thématiques qui seront menées aboutiront pour cette raison à une meilleure compréhension des mécanismes sociaux du Pays de Hatti. Cette étude sera conduite de manière individuelle dans un premier temps, avant d'être ouverte et élargie à un groupe de collaborateurs dans un second temps. Le dialogue entre hittitologues, autres spécialistes de l'Antiquité et anthropologues sera ainsi encouragé.

Contact : [alice.mouton@cnr.fr](mailto:alice.mouton@cnr.fr)

<sup>52</sup> Kassian/Korolëv/Sidel'tsev 2002: 774 *sub alamniya-* et Rutherford 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Voir KUB 14.1+ ii 91-93 : Kloekhorst 2008: 938.

<sup>54</sup> Selon le HW<sup>2</sup> A: 55.

<sup>55</sup> Pour le sens de *arku-* : voir Melchert 1998.

<sup>56</sup> KUB 17.9 i 17-22 : Rieken et al. 2009, § 3.

<sup>57</sup> KUB 30.16+ i 3-5 : Kassian/Korolëv/Sidel'tsev 2002: 46-47.

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# KUBABA IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR HER EXPANSION TO WESTERN ANATOLIA

Manfred Hutter  
University of Bonn

In his famous study from 1960, Emmanuel Laroche gave a well balanced analysis of the then knowledge of the goddess Kubaba. He also summarised the main problems concerning her relationship to Kybele (known from Greek and Roman sources) and the Phrygian Matar. Due to research of further inscriptional and epigraphic material Laroche's observation that Kubaba has been known from the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the 7<sup>th</sup> century in western Asia<sup>1</sup> can be updated by some more sources in Oriental or Anatolian languages. Some of them date to centuries as late as the fifth century as e.g. the Aramaic inscription from Bahadırlı in Cilicia.

Many of the materials collected and analysed by Laroche more than half a century ago are still the basis for any reconstruction of the history of Kubaba. But his conclusion<sup>2</sup> that Kubaba was adopted by the Phrygians and transmitted by them to the Hellenistic world has been questioned since then. My paper therefore takes up these questions. First we have to take a look at the references to Kubaba in the texts from the Hittite Empire and the Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the early first millennium before discussing the possibility of the "meeting" of Kubaba and the Phrygian Matar in Lydia and the consequences for the formation of the goddess Kybele.

## I. Kubaba in the Traditions from the Hittite Period

Judging from texts of the archives of Ḫattuša, mainly in the Hittite Empire period, it is often said that Kubaba was a "fairly minor deity, at home in southeastern Anatolia, particularly in Karkamiš".<sup>3</sup> But looking to the textual evidence from cuneiform sources, this conclusion is too simple, having mainly Kubaba's position in Karkamiš in the first millennium in mind; at that time she was without doubt the most important goddess in Karkamiš. But for the second millennium this was less the case. So let us first look at Karkamiš.

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1 Laroche 1960: 115.

2 Cf. Laroche 1960: 122.

3 Roller 1999: 45; cf. Laroche 1960: 119.

There are only a few references to her as goddess of Karkamiš.<sup>4</sup> A decree of Ini-Teššub regulating the relations between Ugarit and Karkamiš mentions her as the “Lady of (the land of) Karkamiš” (PRU IV 157), and Ini-Teššub of Karkamiš entitles himself as “servant of Kubaba” in his seal. One can also restore the name of the goddess (together with Karḫuḫa) among the gods who are witnesses of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I. and Šarri-Kušuh of Karkamiš (KUB 19.27, left edge 4): “Karḫuḫa, Kubaba and the gods of the land of Karkamiš”.<sup>5</sup> Another reference referring to Šuppiluliuma is the mentioning of her temple in the citadel of Karkamiš. H. G. Güterbock has reconstructed the passage in the “Deeds of Suppiluliuma” as follows (A iii 33-35): “On the upper citadel he let no one in[to the presence (?)] of (the deity) [Kubaba(?)] and of (the deity) KAL.”<sup>6</sup> A further fragmentary text is a treaty – according to the joining and restoration of two texts (KUB 26.33 (+) KBo 13.225) – of Šuppiluliuma II with Karkamiš; after the sequence of divine witnesses from the Ḫatti side, KBo 13.225, line 8 mentions Kubaba and Karḫuḫa as gods of Karkamiš.<sup>7</sup> Besides these short references from texts of the historiographic and diplomatic field, there are two other references to Kubaba of Karkamiš in texts of the cultic sphere. A very fragmentary festival text (VS 12.50,6f.) for various tutelary deities however mentions Kubaba of Karkamiš explicitly side by side with <sup>d</sup>LAMMA as part of a standard god-drinking rite and afterwards, 2<sup>3</sup> thick breads are broken. The context does not give further information about the location or the reason for this festival. The sequence [... <sup>d</sup>] LAMMA <sup>d</sup>Ku-pa-pa ŠA <sup>URU</sup>K[ar-ga-miš]<sup>8</sup> makes it plausible to identify this tutelary deity with Karḫuḫa. This corresponds to an offering list for various gods, where again <sup>d</sup>LAMMA <sup>d</sup>Ku-pa-pa ŠA <sup>URU</sup>Kar-ga-[miš] are mentioned side by side (KBo 47.127,14).

Contrary to this limited evidence for Kubaba in Karkamiš, most texts found in Ḫattuša however connect the goddess with the Kizzuwatnaean area – and with Hurrian (or Hurrianised) traditions from there. So we find her – often stereotyped – in the *kaluti*-lists of the *išuwā*-festival (CTH 628), where Kubaba – together with Adamma – is mentioned (cf. e.g. KUB 20.74 i 3,6; KUB 25.42 v 9; KUB 25.43,10; KUB 60.51,4; KBo 15.37 ii 29.32. iv 38.41). Other lists in festivals connect her with Adamma and Ḫašuntarḫi. They refer either to the cult of Teššub and Ḫebat of Aleppo (e.g. KUB 27.13 i 19; KBo 20.113 i 23), or are lists of gods in other Hurrian(ised) festivals (e.g. KUB 20.93 vi 6; KUB 27.8 obv. 14; KUB 32.91 rev. 11) or Hurrian offering lists (e.g. KUB 45.41 ii 11). Also the ritual of Ammiḫatna from Kizzuwatna mentions the three gods, Adamma, Kubaba and Ḫašuntarḫi, and refers to them as female deities.<sup>9</sup>

A few of these texts give at least some ritual contexts, as we can see from the following examples: There is an interesting passage about Kubaba in Allaituraḫḫi’s ritual, where we read this sequence (KUB 24.13 iii 1-5):<sup>10</sup>

... the angry looking eyes of Ninatta and Kulitta, the angry looking eyes of the tutelary deity and Kubaba, the angry looking eyes of the Guš- and Kunuštalla-goddesses I wiped off.

The roughly corresponding Hurrian version of this ritual<sup>11</sup> mentions at the beginning of this list of gods Teššub, Ḫebat and Šaušga of Nineveh, preceding Ninatta and Kulitta in KUB 24.13 and thus filling the lacuna. We know that Allaituraḫḫi can be located in Mukiš in northern Syria, therefore the passages referring to Kubaba in her rituals are interesting also for determining the places more exactly where Kubaba has been known and venerated.

4 Cf. the short overview by Hawkins 1980-1983: 258, who does not mention all texts referred to in this paragraph.

5 See the restored text by Singer 2001: 639: <sup>d</sup>Kar-[ḫu-ḫa <sup>d</sup>K]u-pa-pa DINGIR<sup>ME5</sup>-aš-ša Š[A KUR <sup>URU</sup>Kar-ga-miš].

6 Güterbock 1956: 95: [(nu)] ša-ra-a-az-zi gur-ti ŠA <sup>d</sup>[Ku-ba-ba(?)] (Ú ŠA) <sup>d</sup>LAMMA ma[ ... ] Ú-UL ku-in-ki tar-na-aš. – cf. del Monte 2008: 89, 117.

7 Singer 2001: 639: [... DINGIR<sup>ME5</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup>Kar-g]a-miš <sup>d</sup>Ku-[pa-pa <sup>d</sup>K]ar-ḫu-u-ḫi-iš.

8 Cf. Groddek/Hagenbuchner/Hoffmann 2002: 87.

9 KBo 5.2 iii 15; cf. Strauß 2006: 161, 227. – The relationship between Kubaba and other deities is very complex and in my opinion there are various traditions which always get locally combined and should not be harmonised; for a short overview on various gods associated with Kubaba in different texts cf. Haas 1994: 406f.

10 [(Ú ŠA <sup>d</sup>LAMMA <sup>d</sup>Ku-b)a-ba-aš tar-ku-wa-an-d]a IGI<sup>HA</sup>-wa, restored after Haas/Wegner 1988: 111; cf. KBo 35.95,3-6.

11 KBo 33.118+ obv. 13-15; Haas/Wegner 1988: 54.

Some Hurrian rituals also mention the goddess, e.g. KUB 47.44,6, a fragmentary <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI ritual where the fragmentary context does not allow any conclusion about Kubaba's function in the ritual; the only other god mentioned in this text is Nupatik, who also appears in the Hurrian festivals and offering lists in contexts close to Kubaba, but usually not directly connected with her. But there is a noteworthy exception of some lists of the išuwa-festival; in KUB 20.74 i 3-7, the sixth tablet of the festival, the following rite takes place:<sup>12</sup>

Then he (the king) drinks Nupatik of Pibida, Adamma and Kubaba ([EGIR-ŠÚ-ma <sup>d</sup>Nu-pa-t]ik pí-pí-it-ĥi <sup>d</sup>A-da[m-ma <sup>d</sup>Ku-pa-pa e-ku-z]i). The singer sings. He breaks one white thick bread of sourdough (of 1/2 UPNU). Then he drinks Nupatik of Zalmat, Adamma and Kubaba ([EGI]R-ŠÚ-ma <sup>d</sup>Nu-pa-t]ik za-al-ma-at-ĥi <sup>d</sup>A-da[m-ma <sup>d</sup>Ku-p]a-pa e-ku-zi). The singer sings. He breaks one white thick bread of sourdough (of 1/2 UPNU).

This rite is continued with several other gods from the Kizzuwatnaean area. In a similar way this rite takes place on the seventh day of the festival (KBo 15.37 ii 29-33, cf. iv 37-42):<sup>13</sup>

Then he (the king) drinks Nupatik of Pibida, Adamma and Kubaba while sitting (EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>d</sup>Nu-pa-tik pí-pí-it-ĥi <sup>d</sup>A-dam-ma <sup>d</sup>Ku-pa-pa TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi). The singer sings. There is no (breaking of) thick bread(s). Then he drinks Nupatik of Zalmat, Adamma and Kubaba while sitting (EGIR-ŠU-ma <sup>d</sup>Nu-pa-tik za-al-ma-at-ĥi <sup>d</sup>A-dam-ma <sup>d</sup>Ku-pa-pa TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi). The singer sings. There is no (breaking of) thick bread(s).

For the position of Kubaba in the divine hierarchy it is noteworthy that this rite is close to the end of the drinking ceremony when only four more gods are left to be venerated in this way, while about twenty gods are served before.

Such ritual fragments show that Kubaba is well documented in the Hurrian surroundings in Kizzuwatna and parts of northern Syria. Starting from Allaituraḥḥi's rituals (ca. 1400 BCE), we can attribute these rituals to the land of Mukiš in the Amuq plain in Syria with its capital Alalaḥ. This leads us to the references to Kubaba in the material from Alalaḥ. Already Laroche has mentioned the personal name Alli-Kubaba "Kubaba the lady" from the 17<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century in Alalaḥ, and further personal names like Kubaba, Kubabatanni or Kubabaduni from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Therefore he concluded that Kubaba was very popular in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Amuq plain; this result can be well connected with her appearance in Allaituraḥḥi's ritual. From my point of view this leads to a first result: We should shift our attention from Karkamiš to Alalaḥ from where Kubaba spread to the northeast (to Karkamiš) and to the north and northwest – to Kizzuwatna and Kummanni. As we know, at the time of level VII at Alalaḥ (in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century) there already existed exchanges of goods and messengers between Alalaḥ and Karkamiš.<sup>15</sup>

During the Hittite Empire period, Alalaḥ became dependent from the Hittite vice-king who ruled in Karkamiš and controlled the Hittite interest in northern Syria. Therefore we can assume that such contacts also covered the religious field, attributing to the popularity of the north Syrian goddess in Karkamiš,<sup>16</sup> which continued and even increased after the fall of the Hittite Empire. But the sources from Karkamiš in the second millennium on the other hand make clear that from this place there was no further spreading of the goddess to the Hittite capital Ḫattuša. This happened only through the import of Kizzuwatnaean traditions – foremost the išuwa-festival – during the times of Ḫattušili and Puduḥepa, when the goddess found her way to Ḫattuša. But she never entered the Hurrianised dynastic pantheon of the Hittite Empire, as can be seen from her being absent among the gods depicted in Yazılıkaya.

12 Cf. Groddek 2004: 125 with restoration from duplicates.

13 Cf. Wegner 2002: 258.

14 Cf. Laroche 1960: 116.

15 Cf. AT \*349; AT \*268; see Klengel 1965: 35f., 76, 254f.; Klengel 1992: 74.

16 The oldest reference to Kubaba in Karkamiš is the Akkadian seal of Matranna, the daughter of the Karkamišean king Aplaḥanda, who entitles herself as a female servant of Kubaba (*amat* <sup>d</sup>Kubaba), cf. Klengel 1965: 23; Klengel 1992: 71. All other references to Kubaba of Karkamiš quoted above are younger and thus do not contradict the influence from the south to the rising popularity of the goddess there.

## II. Changes in the First Millennium of Hieroglyphic Luwian

From the texts mentioned, Kubaba can locally be connected with male gods like various tutelary deities or Nupatik, but also others. For the history of the goddess we have to keep in mind that we can see two strong lines along her veneration, one focussing on Karkamiš and the other one focussing on Kizzuwatna. I do not go into detail here regarding the tradition in Karkamiš with its many references to the “Lady of Karkamiš” also in the bulk of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from that centre after the fall of the Hittite Empire. But the further focus will be put on the Kizzuwatnaean tradition which is the geographical starting point to the westward spread of the goddess in the first millennium. Just to mention it shortly, there are connections between both traditions in the first millennium, for which I refer to two examples: In SULTANHAN we read the following curse against the malefactor who harms the vineyard which was set up by Sarwatiwaras:<sup>17</sup>

The Moon God of Harran shall put him on his horn, and Kubaba of Karkamiš shall attack him behind.  
May the gods of the ATAHA- eat him up, the gods of the sky and of the earth, the male and the female.

This inscription from Tabal shows the reminiscence of the famous local goddess, also the BEIRUT bowl originating from the region of Karkamiš is interesting, whose donor Iyas is a servant of the god Santa. The curse formula on the bowl against the person who damages it reads as follows:<sup>18</sup>

Against him [may] the gods Karhuha, Kubaba and Santa [bring harm ...]

Such examples show that the connection between Kubaba and Karkamiš was well known, but we should not take it as an exclusive connection. Especially the BEIRUT bowl with its reference to Santa is important. As we know from second millennium sources, Santa was well established in Kizzuwatna,<sup>19</sup> as e.g. the ritual of Zarpiya shows, but still in the first millennium Santa was famous in Cilicia; in Tarsus he was not only identified with the Greek Heracles,<sup>20</sup> but maybe also associated with Kubaba.<sup>21</sup> So there is no doubt about overlappings of the traditions of Kizzuwatna and Karkamiš in the first millennium, but we should not relate all references to Kubaba in the first millennium to the “lady of Karkamiš”.

Otherwise, the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts from Tabal (and maybe also those from Kommagene) reflect directly 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium traditions from Kizzuwatna – without the interference of Karkamiš. The main references to Kubaba in texts from Tabal – these are the most relevant texts for the western expansion of Kubaba – are the following: KARABURUN § 8, § 10; BULGARMADEN § 4, § 17; SULTANHAN § 32; KULULU 5 § 1; ÇİFTLİK § 9; KULULU 1 § 11.<sup>22</sup> Here again two inscriptions from which further conclusions can be drawn must be mentioned: The first reference is KAYSERI, a dedicatory inscription of a servant of Wasusarma (about 740-730). The curse formula refers to the evil-doer and

[him] Tarhunzas shall smite with his axe, for him may the “dark God” (*maruwa-*), Nika[ruhas], [...] ...  
[and him] Kubaba shall attack from behind.<sup>23</sup>

In BULGARMADEN we find a curse formula similar to the one in KAYSERI, mentioning Kubaba and Nikaruhas<sup>24</sup> side by side, but the dark deity is not mentioned in it. The dark god(s) are mentioned in KULULU 2, the funerary stele of Panuni from the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century; the inscription reads as follows:<sup>25</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Hawkins 2000: 466, §§ 31-33.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hawkins 2000: 558f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Polvani 2002; Hutter 2003: 228f.

<sup>20</sup> Laroche 1973.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Haider 2006: 47.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Hutter 2003: 272f.

<sup>23</sup> Hawkins 2000: 473.

<sup>24</sup> As the BULGARMADEN inscription is “authored” by a servant of Warpalawa, one might assume that the Storm-god Tarhunt mentioned in it is the “Tarhunt of the Vineyard” (Hutter 2003: 234), who is venerated by Warpalawa. If this is correct, all three gods mentioned in BULGARMADEN also appear in the Aramaic Kuttamuwa inscription from the vicinity of Sam'al, cf. below.

<sup>25</sup> Hawkins 2000: 488.

§ 1ff: I (am) Panunis the Sun-blessed prince. For me my children made her a sealed (?) document (?). On my bed(s), eating (and) drinking ... by the god Santas I died. .... § 5: (He) who shall disturb me, ... § 6 for him may Santas's *marwainzi*-gods attack the memorial.

This connection with Santa (cf. the BEIRUT bowl) leads us one step further: Kubaba, Santa and the Luwian “dark god(s)” are at least in Tabal (the northern part of the “Lower land” of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium Anatolian geography) associated together as three deities who harm the evil-doer. Looking back to them in the second millennium, one can – for religious geography – remember that the *markuwaia-/marwa(i)*-god(s) can be found in some rituals from Arzawa (KUB 54.65 ii 11; KUB 24.9. ii 27; maybe KUB 7.38),<sup>26</sup> but that neither Santa nor Kubaba are – until today – attested so far in the west in the Empire period<sup>27</sup>.

For the western expansion of the goddess in the first millennium some inscriptions in Aramaic are also to be referred to: The inscription from Ördekburnu south of Sam'al mentions the goddess along with the dynastic god Rakkab'el of Sam'al, the Moon-god Arma and Šarruma;<sup>28</sup> these names can be read in this difficult inscription, but it cannot be assured how these gods have been related to each other. Also the Kuttamuwa inscription<sup>29</sup> mentions Kubaba, who – side by side with Hadad of *QrpdI*, Nikarawa, Šamaš, and Hadad of the vineyard – was offered a ram (or a bull in the case of Hadad of *QrpdI*, who is mentioned first in this god-list). That Kubaba was known in the kingdom of Sam'al at that time is beyond question as reliefs on orthostats show a goddess holding a mirror – who is interpreted as Kubaba;<sup>30</sup> left to her there is a Storm-god with an axe and a lightning fork, and on the right side there is another god carrying a lance, a sword and a shield – therefore most suitable for a warrior god, so one might speculate if this god could vaguely resemble to Santa<sup>31</sup> who by some is taken as a god with traits of a warrior. The other Aramaic reference to Kubaba comes from the 5<sup>th</sup> century inscription found at Bahadırli, referring to the place of Kastabalay; the text reads:<sup>32</sup>

This is the boundary of the cities of Kar-bila and Kar-šaya, which belong to Kubaba of Piwasura, which is in Kastabalay. Any person who effaces this boundary stone before Kubaba of Piwasura, ...

The cities mentioned in the inscription – except Kastabalay in Cilicia – cannot be identified but the contents of the text is obvious: As in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions mentioned above and the Lydian texts below, here again Kubaba is a goddess addressed in the curse formula to punish the evil-doer. But as the text shows, she is mentioned alone in this inscription.

If we sum up this evidence for Kubaba in the first millennium we reach the conclusion for her history: We find her mainly in the curse formula associated with a relatively wide range of various gods but she is never connected with a fixed partner or parhedros.<sup>33</sup> Her westward spread – according to Hieroglyphic documents in the first millennium – led to her association with the “dark deities” in Tabal who are attested in the western parts of the Hittite Empire already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium. And the sources also show her independence from Karkamiš.

26 Cf. Hutter 2003: 228f., 236.

27 One can speculate if the very poorly preserved inscription KARAKUYU-TORBALI might refer to Kubaba; the readable traces in line 1 give [(DEUS)]Ku-[ ] MAGNUS.DOMINA-h[a], cf. Oreshko 2013: 375, 383, who however argues that we have no evidence that Kubaba was known so far in the west in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. His own guess (Oreshko 2013: 410f.) that the inscription might mention an otherwise not attested goddess Kubanta (postulated only from the onomastic element Kubanta-) must also remain open to critical discussion.

28 Niehr 2014: 155, 159f.

29 Niehr 2014: 188f. – Cf. also fn. 24 with the reference to BULGARMADEN, thus creating some connection between the Sam'al area and Tabal; but one also has to keep in mind, that Nikarawa (corresponding to Nikaruha) also is mentioned once in KARKAMIS A6 § 31 in the curse formula. KARKAMIS A6 § 20f. also mentions Kubaba twice.

30 Bonatz 2014: 211f. and pl. II.

31 But cf. Bonatz 2014: 212 who refers to Karhuha from Karkamiš.

32 Gibson 1975: 156.

33 Cf. also Collins 2004: 89.

### III. Kubaba in Lydia and her Relation to the Phrygian Matar and Kybele

It is again a curse formula which hints to the position of Kubaba, namely the Lydian tomb inscription 4a with a curse against the potential violator of the tomb:<sup>34</sup>

*fak=mλ śāntaś kufav=k marivda=k ěnslibb[i]d*

Santa and Kubaba and the (dark) *marivda*-gods shall do harm to him.

This short inscription from the 6<sup>th</sup> century has great relevance in several aspects as it mentions three Anatolian gods in the “far west” which are well attested both in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and in Anatolian Cuneiform texts from the second millennium BCE, as we have seen before. The Lydian Santa is also reflected in personal names, and Herodotus refers to a famous Lydian with the theophoric name Sandanis who advises Croesus in Sardis (Hdt. 1.71). The *marivda*-gods in the inscriptions are the corresponding Lydian word for the *marwainzi*-gods in Luwian mentioned above. Kubaba is further mentioned on a fragmentary potsherd;<sup>35</sup> the graffito reads probably *kuvav[λ]* – a dative referring to the goddess. Before the divine name in the dative there is also an /s/ visible which might be the ending of the donor’s or dedicator’s name (or his patronym).

As we have two attestations of Kubaba’s name one should remove the scepticism about the goddess’s name in Lydian<sup>36</sup> and give full credibility to Herodotus’s “Kubebe” (Hdt. 5.102) as a “native goddess in Sardis” whose temple was burnt down by the Persians. These – although scanty – documentations prove that Kubaba was known and venerated in Lydia, most probably transmitted from traditions, which can be seen in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions in Tabal.<sup>37</sup> But this makes her independent from the Phrygian Matar or the Greek Kybele. But how can we – from a historical point of view – describe their mutual relationship?

Lydia – most probably Sardis – was a meeting point of the Phrygian Matar and Kubaba, so a few notes on Matar are necessary. As it is known from the convincing analysis of the “name” Kybele by Cl. Brixhe this “name” has its origin in the Old Phrygian adjective *kubileya / kubeleya*<sup>38</sup> which is attested together with Matar in Old Phrygian inscriptions, simply meaning the “mountainous mother”. The recent attempt<sup>39</sup> by M. Munn to derive the “name” Kybele via Phrygian from the name “Kubaba” is – despite some recent acceptance<sup>40</sup> – not convincing. Munn takes a development from an (unattested) Lydian adjective *\*kuvavli-* which was changed to *\*kuvabli-/\*kubabli-* and simplified by Phrygians, saying: “Among speakers of Phrygian, the consonant cluster at the end of *\*Kubabli-* was probably simplified to *\*Kuballi-*, and through an attested shift of vowels, *\*Kuballi-* became *\*Kubelli-*”.<sup>41</sup> As this derivation of the name “Kybele” cannot be accepted, it does not lead to any connection between the Phrygian Matar and Kubaba, who – which must be mentioned explicitly – never was seen as a mother goddess<sup>42</sup> in the Hittite, Hurrian and Hieroglyphic Luwian sources.

34 Melchert 2008: 153; cf. Yakubovich 2010: 97; Gusmani 1964: 201. Carruba 2000: 65 draws a connection between the *marivda*-gods and the Indian Maruts which cannot be upheld, however. Mastrocinque’s (2007: 203) rendering of the text is hopelessly out of date.

35 Gusmani 1969: 159 as Lydian text no. 72; cf. with an improved reading Gusmani 1986: 68f.

36 Contra Oreshko 2013: 412f.

37 One – unsolved – question until now is the case of Lycia. While there might be a reference to Santa in Lycia (Melchert 2002), any – even slight – evidence of Kubaba is missing in Lycia.

38 Brixhe 1979: 42f.; cf. Roller 1999: 65-68. – Despite recent doubts by Hawkins 2013: 125f. about Brixhe’s arguments I think his derivation of the “name” Kybele is sound.

39 Munn 2008: 160f.

40 Hawkins 2013: 124f.

41 Munn 2008: 161.

42 Thus correctly Bøgh 2007: 315. – Therefore Haas 1994: 406, giving the heading “Die Muttergöttin Kubaba” for the chapter presenting the materials for Kubaba or Roller 1999, whose book has the title “In Search of God the Mother” do not present a suitable typology of Kubaba.



As a “mountainous goddess” the Phrygian Matar can be related to (central) Anatolian mountain gods or goddesses,<sup>43</sup> but has little or nothing in common with Kubaba’s character<sup>44</sup> who does not show an affiliation with mountains in the Hittite, Hurrian or Luwian texts – maybe due to her prominence in the plains surrounding Alalaḫ and in northern Syria. But there is another main difference between Kubaba and Matar, regarding her consorts. For Kubaba we do not find a single partner, but there is a wide range of various local partners to her. On the other hand, searching for Matar’s consort in Phrygia, we can accept the suggestion by S. Berndt-Ersöz.<sup>45</sup> She has shown that a relief from Gordion which shows Matar together with a bull can be interpreted as symbolising the two main Phrygian deities – the bull representing the male god at the head of the pantheon; his image as bull suggests that he takes the function of a Weather-god which fits well with the “mountainous Matar”. Most probably this male god was simply called “Ata” (“father”) in Phrygia as the consort of the “mother”, but one must keep the Phrygian Ata apart from the later Attis in the Greek mythology of Kybele and Attis, though some secondary confusion between the two words may have occurred in Greek and Hellenistic tradition.<sup>46</sup> Despite the scarcity of sources, the connecting of “mother” with the main god as “father” makes a difference between the Phrygian Matar and Kubaba obvious, as the latter is not firmly connected to any male deity. When both goddesses met in Lydia, two widely different goddesses came into contact – with different names, different characters and different consorts.

What is then the use of referring to these two deities? The political expansion of Lydia brought the Phrygian area at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century under political dominance of Lydia, therefore it is no wonder that the Phrygian Matar became known in Lydia, too, also to strengthen the royal power. We can also assume that members of the Lydian royal family exercised not only “secular” power over Lydia, but they also held political-religious positions, which were “important ideological and political tools. In other words the religious offices were important both to establish and manifest the power of the ruling family. Thus, the Lydian royal family most probably took control of the high Phrygian religious offices”.<sup>47</sup> With this background S. Berndt-Ersöz assumes that Atys, the son of the Lydian ruler Croesus in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, can be seen as one of these Lydians who hold prestigious religious positions in Phrygia for Matar. This religious position of the Lydian Atys in the cult of the Phrygian Matar was not only later transformed to the myth of Attis and Kybele in the Greek and Hellenistic mythology.<sup>48</sup> But in my opinion this political setting of connections between the Lydian royal family and high ranking religious services in Phrygian had one lasting consequence: it also led to the decline of the north Syrian Goddess Kubaba in Lydia. Although she had – according to Herodotus (5.102) – a temple in Sardis, she had no high-ranking position in the royal family there.<sup>49</sup> And when the Persians burnt down her temple soon after the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Kubaba could not recover in the history of religion of Lydia. Therefore she disappeared from history, while Matar *kubileya* (> Kybele) lived on, maybe by some of the ancients confused with Kubaba for the sake of the similarity at the beginning of the names.

43 Hutter 2006: 82, 84.

44 This was shown by Roller 1999: 44-53. Although there are some superficial iconographic similarities between Kubaba and Matar (cf. Hutter 2003: 273; Bøgh 2007: 315f.; Collins 2004: 90f.), they do not constitute a continuity from Kubaba to Matar.

45 Berndt-Ersöz 2004: 50f.; cf. Hutter 2006: 85f.

46 Berndt-Ersöz 2004: 51 with footnote 9; Bøgh 2007: 321 does not rule out the connection between Ata and Attis totally.

47 Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 22f. – Cf. also Collins 2004: 92; Roller 1999: 93.

48 Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 29f.; see further Bøgh 2007: 319f.

49 In this way Roller 1999: 131 is not quite exact when she mentions the Lydian king’s “support he enjoys from Kubaba / Meter”. This support only came from the Phrygian Matar.



## IV. Conclusion

As it became obvious in this short study, the idea that Kubaba contributed to the formation of the Phrygian Matar *kubileya* must be discarded as both goddesses do not share substantial aspects. Especially one has to stress that Kubaba – according to the texts referring to her in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE – is no “mother goddess” as it is the case with the Phrygian Matar. Kubaba also does not show connections to mountains, again contrary to the Phrygian goddess. Although there are some superficial iconographic influences from the northern Syrian representation of Kubaba to the iconography of Matar, they do not change the substantial character of the Phrygian goddess. Besides this, as a third main difference between the two goddesses, we have to keep in mind that the Phrygian Matar – without doubt – is rooted in Central Anatolian religious traditions, while Kubaba is no Anatolian, but an autochthon goddess originating in northern Syria, although she had already become locally known in different parts of Anatolia in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium. She never reached the Phrygian core area, however. Therefore one definitely has to give up the idea of the two goddesses being identical.<sup>50</sup> But also the Greek Kybele – leaving her name aside which is a maybe even misunderstood rendering of the Phrygian epithet of Matar – has nothing in common with Kubaba, but is a goddess with her own history.

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### **III. HISTOIRE ET GÉOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE**



# LE RÔLE DE PURUŠHANDA DANS L'HISTOIRE HITTITE

Massimo Forlanini

## I. Le système monarchique de l'Anatolie Centrale

Les quelque 250 ans d'histoire anatolienne qui précèdent la formation de l'État hittite sont décrits par les documents paléo-assyriens, qui n'offrent malheureusement que de rares renseignements isolés de nature politique. Nous connaissons les noms des principales cités-états qui avaient un prince, mais nous ne savons rien des liens familiaux entre ces roitelets, ni s'il y avait une politique de mariages interdynastiques, ou si des rois reconnaissaient la suzeraineté d'autres rois. La politique de Labarna I<sup>er</sup>, qui plaça ses fils comme princes dans les villes conquises, ne devait pas être une nouveauté dans la région. Même chose pour les liens dynastiques basés sur la figure de l'*antiyant*, un beau-fils adopté par le roi, que nous trouvons au début de l'histoire de l'État hittite. De ce système probable, peut-être semblable au monde des dynasties européennes, nous ne savons rien, mais nous pouvons supposer une continuité linguistique et politique entre cette période et la suivante, dans laquelle la « Grande Famille » du Hatti, le clan qui a régi l'Empire, a su interpréter la multiplicité ethnique et linguistique de l'Anatolie centrale, ne fut-ce que par le choix des noms de ses membres. Je n'hésiterais donc pas à parler d'une « monarchie centranatolienne », en opposant ce clan à un autre, celui de la famille royale d'Arzawa en Anatolie occidentale.

Le thème de cet article est lié à une recherche que je mène depuis quelques années sur les branches de la Grande Famille et leurs relations avec des villes de l'Empire et les traditions locales. Cette recherche m'a amené à une reconstruction (encore hypothétique dans les détails) des liens entre les branches dynastiques, basée sur la tradition des noms personnels de leurs membres, et à l'attribution des principaux textes remontant à cette époque à des auteurs ou à des périodes différents de ceux qui ont été proposés par la majorité des savants<sup>1</sup>. Cette reconstruction permet de donner un nouveau sens

<sup>1</sup> Forlanini 1995, Forlanini 2004, Forlanini 2007, Forlanini 2009b et Forlanini 2010. Le Décret de Telebinu montre clairement que la règle de la succession royale avant lui n'était pas patrilinéaire, mais qu'elle était basée sur l'alternance entre familles du clan au moyen de mariages et d'adoptions (cf. Sürenhagen 1998), d'où l'importance des femmes pour la transmission du pouvoir (même s'il ne s'agit pas d'un matriarcat) comme au Moyen Âge européen. La publication du sceau cruciforme (Dinçol/Dinçol/Hawkins 1993) a confirmé la ligne de succession des rois hittites pendant le XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. J.-C. : Huzziya I<sup>er</sup> – Labarna I<sup>er</sup> – Hattušili I<sup>er</sup>/Labarna II – Muršili I<sup>er</sup>. Huzziya était le grand-père de Hattušili I<sup>er</sup>, Labarna était le mari de Tawananna, fille de Huzziya, et Hattušili I<sup>er</sup> était le fils du frère de Tawananna. Muršili fut imposé comme successeur par Hattušili I<sup>er</sup>, seulement après que la fille du roi (et son mari) et le fils de la sœur furent écartés

historique à des documents très étudiés : c'est le cas du « Siègle d'Uršu »<sup>2</sup> et des « Chroniques du Palais », qui ont été rédigés, à mon avis, sous les ordres de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, pour accuser l'élite de l'époque de Labarna et pouvoir la substituer par des éléments fidèles au nouveau roi (nous dirions aujourd'hui qu'il voulait adopter un « spoil system »)<sup>3</sup>. Le même roi aurait fait rédiger l'« Histoire de Zalpa(uw)a » pour montrer les liens entre la dynastie originaire de cette ville, à laquelle il appartenait, et la famille de Labarna, originaire de Kaniš, qui proclamait sa descendance d'Anitta de Kuššar. En même temps, il voulait éviter l'accusation d'avoir détruit Zalpa, action attribuée au « vieux roi », c'est-à-dire à Labarna<sup>4</sup>. Toute autre interprétation liée aux mouvements ethniques (l'arrivée des Indo-européens) et à un matriarcat originel qui les aurait précédés est plutôt tributaire des mythes modernes que de la réalité historique<sup>5</sup>. Ainsi, les frères du roi mentionnés dans la « Chronique » sont des fils de Labarna, en accord avec le texte de Telepinu qui lui attribue plusieurs enfants, et non pas de Ḫattušili, qui, sur la base de ces documents sûrs, semble avoir eu seulement deux fils, Ḫuzziya et Muršili<sup>6</sup>. Je n'attribue aucun texte à Muršili I<sup>er</sup>, et, en particulier, certainement pas les Annales

de la succession, mais, avec Ḫantili, mari de la sœur de Muršili, on revint au vieux système. L'étude de G. Wilhelm 2005 (voir aussi Rüster/Wilhelm 2012: 49 et 88-90) sur les actes de donation de terres (*Landschenkungsurkunden*) a montré que la tablette d'Inandik ne pouvait pas remonter à l'époque de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, mais plutôt au début du règne de Telebinu et donc que toute déduction sur la chronologie des textes hittites archaïques dépendant de la vieille attribution n'avait plus de valeur. Sur cette base, en utilisant aussi les documents paléo-assyriens de la fin de la période Ib et en partant de l'idée que chaque famille du clan royal devait avoir ses traditions onomastiques, souvent liées à des territoires d'origine (ou aux villes contrôlées), j'ai pu proposer une nouvelle reconstruction du début de l'Histoire hittite.

2 CTH 7. Éditions : Güterbock 1938 et Beckman 1995. Voir aussi Kempinski 1983: 33-41 et Haas 2006: 42-46 (traduction et commentaire). Ce document, un vrai unicum, est aujourd'hui considéré comme très ancien et probablement un témoin de la phase pendant laquelle les scribes d'origine syrienne arrivés à la Cour hittite, commençaient à introduire des mots hittites dans leur akkadien. Sur le problème de la graphie et de la langue de ce texte, voir Weeden 2011: 74-76. Voir aussi Forlanini 2009b: 59 n. 45. On pense généralement que le « Siègle d'Uršu » décrit un épisode de la campagne contre Uršu de la deuxième année de Ḫattušili, mais celle-ci fut un raid mené par le roi dans le territoire d'Uršu, en partant d'Alalah et bien avant la (re)conquête de Ḫaššuwa, tandis qu'à l'époque du siège le roi hittite se trouvait à Luḫuzziyandiya et la montagne de Ḫaššuwa était contrôlée par les Hittites (Forlanini 2009b: 50, 59-63).

3 Aussi la rédaction de la « Chronique du Palais » (CTH 8 et 9, édition : Dardano 1997), un recueil d'anecdotes surtout liés à la vie de la Cour dans la ville de Ḫurma, a généralement été attribuée à l'époque de Muršili I<sup>er</sup>, et les événements au règne de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> (le « père du roi »). La nouvelle datation de la tablette d'Inandik élimine le seul indice en faveur d'une datation des épisodes de la Chronique du Palais pendant le règne de Ḫattušili. Ceux-ci auraient dû se dérouler, si cette datation avait été correcte, plutôt à la Cour de Ḫattuša qu'à Ḫurma. Cf. Forlanini 2010: 118.

4 Il s'agit de Zalpa(uw)a sur la Mer Noire, à ne pas confondre avec Zalbar/Zalwar (probablement Tilmen Höyük), Zalpa des marchands assyriens (en Commagène), ou Zalpaḫ du Balih en Haute Mésopotamie. Voir sur ce point Forlanini 2008a: 75-76, avec bibliographie. L'« Histoire de Zalpa » (CTH 3.1) reconnue déjà par Forrer (2BoTU 13) a été publiée par Otten 1973, qui a pu intégrer dans ce texte le fragment KBo 22.2 contenant l'histoire de la reine de Kaniš. D'autres fragments mentionnant Zalpa et « mon grand père » (CTH 3.2) appartiennent à un texte de type religieux mais lié aux mêmes événements (Corti 2002). L'édition la plus récente est celle de Holland et Zorman (Holland/Zorman 2007) basée sur cinq manuscrits fragmentaires (A-E, un sixième, F, reconnu par Fuscagni est mentionné dans *Konkordanz*). Ce texte a été utilisé pour la reconstruction du début de l'État hittite notamment par Güterbock 1938: 101-102, Haas 1977: 21 et suivantes, Helck 1983, Soysal 1989b: 139-144, Bayun 1994, Pecchioli Daddi 1994: 85-86, Beal 2003: 21-24, Haas 2006: 20-26 et Stipich 2012. En général, on pense que le texte aurait été composé et copié pour justifier la destruction de Zalpa : cf. Zorman 2008: 861-862 et 870. Les rois hittites impliqués dans cette narration sont présentés comme : le « grand père du roi », le « vieux roi » et le « roi », tandis que le « père du vieux roi » peut ne pas avoir régné. L'identification de ces personnages a longtemps été discutée (voir surtout Beal 2003: 21-22 avec références bibliographiques). La majorité des savants pensent que le « roi » était Muršili (Otten 1973: 62 ; Hoffner 1980: 291 n. 29 ; Soysal 1989b: 45-49, 124, 139-140 ; Klinger 1996: 118-119 ; Freu 2007b: 55-59). Dans ce cas, le « grand père » serait Ḫattušili et le « vieux roi » Pimpira, mais Muršili est toujours, sauf dans un cas, appelé « fils » de Ḫattušili (voir note 6). D'autres considèrent Ḫattušili le « roi » (Beal 2003: 23), mais Pecchioli Daddi 1994: 86 pensait que le « vieux roi » et son père étaient des rois de Zalpa. Je partage l'idée de Beal que le « vieux roi », dont le père avait reçu Ḫurma en principauté, est Labarna I<sup>er</sup>, dont la Cour était à Ḫurma. Par conséquent, le « roi » était Ḫattušili et le « grand père » Ḫuzziya (voir la référence au « grand père » dans le Testament). Cette reconstruction comporte une période de corégence de Labarna I<sup>er</sup> avec Ḫattušili, dans laquelle se situerait la chute de Zalpa. Labarna I<sup>er</sup> en aurait alors été responsable selon le manuscrit A plus ancien, KBo 22.2 Vo 14'. Dans la copie B, récente, KBo 3.38 Vo 30', le LUGAL ŠU.GI, dont le scribe ne devait pas comprendre le rôle, a été remplacé par LÚ<sup>MES</sup> GAL, probablement en passant par LÚ<sup>MES</sup> ŠU.GI. Sur ce dernier point, voir Forlanini 2004: 382, Freu 2007b: 56, Corti 2005: 118 et Forlanini 2010: 130.

5 Pour un résumé de ces interprétations, à côté de celles plus historiques, voir Stipich 2012: 703 et suivantes.

6 Ḫuzziya, envoyé par son père à Tappašanda, avait été impliqué dans la rébellion de cette ville (selon le Testament CTH 6 II 63 et suivantes, cf. Sommer/Falkenstein 1938: 8-11, 113-114, 227). Il a été identifié au Ḫuzziya roi de Ḫakpiš de la liste des offrandes aux ancêtres CTH 661.1 (liste A KUB 36.120: 7, B KUB 11.11+ 7-8, Otten 1951: 64 et Soysal 1989b: 69), où il apparaît après Muršili et Pimpira, et à celui de la liste de rois KBo 11.36 III 9'-12' (Otten 1958: 111 et Soysal 1989b: 67), où des offrandes sont attribuées au « rois » Ḫattušili, Labarna, Pimpirit et Ḫuzziya, les trois derniers étant plutôt des princes héritiers de Ḫattušili ou des corégents de Muršili. Cf. Soysal 1989b: 126, Steiner 1996: 606, Forlanini 2004: 388-389 et Forlanini 2010: 124 n. 45. Muršili I<sup>er</sup> est généralement considéré comme un petit-fils de Ḫattušili sur la base de l'introduction historique du traité entre Muršili II et Talmi-Šarruma (CTH 75 Ro. 13, Weidner 1923: 82-83), mais dans tous les autres témoignages il est toujours le « fils » de ce roi. Il serait donc un « fils adoptif », mais on n'a pas pu trouver avec certitude les noms de ses parents (on a pensé à Ḫaštayar, dans ce cas fille de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, et Maratti, voir Beal 1983: 122-124 et Soysal 1989b: 128), et on peut se demander s'il était nécessaire d'adopter comme fils un petit-fils. Ces difficultés ont amené des savants à se poser la question (voir Goetze 1928-1929: 84, Riemschneider 1971: 82 et Bryce 1981: 9). Steiner a démontré dans un long article (Steiner 1996) qu'il était un fils tardif du roi. Quant à une possible explication du passage du traité de Talmi-Šarruma, cf. note 92 ci-dessous. L'attribution à Ḫattušili d'autres fils (Ḫakkarpili et Ḫappi en particulier) dépend de l'identification du « grand père du roi » de l'Histoire de Zalpa avec Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, ce qui est très improbable. Si la fille de Ḫattušili pouvait déclarer, selon le Testament (CTH 6 II 69-72), qu'elle avait des enfants et que le roi, en



CTH 13 qui, par leur contexte, ne décrivent pas le règne de ce roi ni celui de son prédécesseur, mais très probablement celui de Ḫantili I<sup>er</sup> (voir ci-dessous). En effet, on a voulu attribuer au conquérant de Babylone une partie des textes historiques (décrets ou annales) de l’Ancien Royaume<sup>7</sup>, alors que dans aucun d’entre eux il n’est mentionné comme auteur, à la différence de son père Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, auquel peuvent être attribués avec certitude les « Annales des 6 ans » (CTH 4), le « Testament » (CTH 6) et le décret KBo 3.27 (CTH 5). Muršili a été choisi comme successeur par Ḫattušili quand il était encore jeune, certainement plusieurs années après que le roi avait écarté de la succession sa fille, la sœur aînée de Muršili, qui à ce moment-là avait déjà des enfants<sup>8</sup>. On peut identifier cette dame à Ḫarapšeli, sœur de Muršili et femme de Ḫantili, celui qui, plus tard, aurait fait tuer Muršili<sup>9</sup>. Ḫantili devait donc être bien plus âgé que son beau-frère Muršili mais, quand il lui succéda, il n’était pas encore vieux. Telebinu lui dédie, dans l’introduction historique de son Décret, une narration beaucoup plus longue que celle dédiée aux autres rois<sup>10</sup> et, seulement après la description de plusieurs événements de son règne, en atteint la partie finale par les mots : « quand Ḫantili devint vieux ».

Il est donc difficile d’attribuer à Muršili un long règne, avec une période paisible qui lui aurait permis de faire rédiger une bonne partie des documents attribuables à cette période<sup>11</sup>. Il est beaucoup plus probable que, comme on l’avait bien compris dans le passé, Muršili a été tué au moment de son retour de Babylone<sup>12</sup> et que son règne ne nous a pas laissé de documents historiques, sauf, probablement, le Décret de Pimpira<sup>13</sup>. Aucun fragment hittite ne contient d’ailleurs de description détaillée et fiable de la prise d’Alep<sup>14</sup> ni de l’expédition contre Babylone, comme ce serait le cas si Muršili avait disposé de plusieurs années de règne après son retour et s’il avait vraiment fait écrire des Annales telles que celles qu’on lui attribue. En revanche, on possède deux textes où l’entreprise de Muršili contre Babylone est durement critiquée<sup>15</sup>.

## II. Zalp(uw)a à l’origine de la royauté anatolienne

L’histoire hittite commence avec le « grand père » anonyme de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> dont nous savons par le « Testament de Ḫattušili » qu’il nomma Labarna (I<sup>er</sup>) son successeur dans la ville de Šanaḫuitta près du fleuve Zuliya<sup>16</sup>, ce qui provoqua la rébellion de Papaḫdilmah (Pawaḫtelmah). Nous connaissons aussi les problèmes que lui causa la ville de Zalp(uw)a. Nous en avons finalement appris le nom quand le sceau cruciforme a été publié<sup>17</sup> : il s’agissait d’un Ḫuzziya, le même que nous trouvons avant Labarna I<sup>er</sup> dans une liste d’offrandes pour les anciens rois et avec Pawaḫtelmah dans un fragment en akkadien<sup>18</sup>. Le nom Huzziya est lié au nord : un roi de Zalpuwa de ce nom aurait été capturé vivant par Anitta de Kuššar, un prêtre de ce nom participait

l’excluant et en n’ayant pas d’autres successeurs (Ḫuzziya avait déjà été exclu), a dû choisir l’un de ses serviteurs, nous pouvons penser que Muršili n’était pas encore né à l’époque.

7 Cf. notamment les études de Soysal 1989b, Pecchioli Daddi 1994 et de Martino 2003. Les documents dont on a proposé une rédaction sous Muršili I<sup>er</sup> sont surtout : la « Chronique du Palais », l’« Histoire de Zalpa », le décret KBo 28 (avec d’autres fragments analogues), les Annales CTH 13 et CTH 12 et les Lois.

8 CTH 6 II 69 et suivantes. Pour le nom de cette reine, voir Soysal 2005: 205 et Forlanini 2010: 124 n. 46 (\*Ḫarapšedi).

9 Identification déjà proposée par Steiner 1996: 608.

10 Les lignes I 35-63 lui sont dédiées, alors que I 24-34 font allusion à Muršili. Cf. Kempinski 1983: 54 et Soysal 1990: 271. Voir aussi Forlanini 2010: 118 n. 20.

11 L’attribution de plusieurs textes de l’époque à Muršili I<sup>er</sup> amène à des contradictions, cf. Kempinski/Košak 1982: 98. L’attribution des Annales CTH 13 à Muršili serait incompatible avec la longue période de paix pendant laquelle ce roi aurait fait rédiger les lois.

12 Bibliographie chez Soysal 1989b: 161. Cf. aussi Kempinski/Košak 1983: 57.

13 CTH 24, récemment étudié par Cammarosano 2006, auquel je renvoie pour la bibliographie. Pour d’autres fragments de ce numéro de CTH, voir *Konkordanz*.

14 Sauf peut-être KBo 12.14, selon Soysal 1989b: 145-146, mais la nature de ce fragment n’est pas claire.

15 Il s’agit de CTH 10.2 (A= KBo 3.45, B= KBo 22.7), voir Hoffner 1975: 56-57. Cf. aussi Soysal 1989b: 54-55, 101-102, 164-165 (Ḫantili aurait détruit les textes rédigés sous son prédécesseur !); Soysal 1998: 30-31 et de Martino 1991b: 60.

16 CTH 6 III 41-45. Pour la ville de Šanaḫuitta, voir Miller 2009, avec bibliographie, et aussi Yiğit 2008. Pour la localisation que j’ai proposée, voir Forlanini 2008b: 156 et Forlanini 2008a: 81 n. 115. L’épisode de Papaḫdilmah peut être à l’origine de l’état de rébellion de la ville au tout début du règne de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> (CTH 4, hitt. A I 4-8, akk. Ro 2-3). Peut-être la ville, si elle avait été la capitale de Ḫuzziya I<sup>er</sup>, n’avait-elle pas accepté que Ḫattuša devienne la nouvelle capitale sous Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>.

17 Dinçol/Dinçol/Hawkins/Wilhelm 1993: 106.

18 KBo 28.137 (2478/c) 3’ : ‘Pa-wa-]aḫ-di-il-ma-aḫ ‘Ḫu-uz[-zi-ya. Cf. Forlanini 2004: 381 n. 47. Voir aussi Otten 1951: 52 n. 2 et Klengel 1999: 76 (texte B4). Au sujet de Papaḫdilmah/Pawaḫtelmah, voir Forlanini 2010: 116-117 n. 11.

au culte de la région de Zalpuwa et l'on sait que la divinité de la ville de *Ḫakpiš*, située dans le nord en direction de Nerik et Zalpuwa, s'appelait aussi *Ḫuzziya*<sup>19</sup>. Il est très probable que *Pawaḫtelmaḫ*, dont le nom a une étymologie hattie évidente<sup>20</sup>, était le fils de ce roi et le père anonyme de *Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>*<sup>21</sup>. Il n'avait pas accepté Labarna comme successeur adopté par son père et s'était rebellé. Peut-être, avant d'être écarté de la ligne de succession, avait-il reçu de son père *Ḫattuša* en principauté, d'où le nom de *Ḫattušili* porté par son fils, qui, en compensation, devait être adopté à son tour par Labarna et en devenir le successeur sous le nom de trône de Labarna II<sup>22</sup>.

L'importance et la position de la ville de Zalpuwa a été mieux comprise à la suite de la publication par Otten de CTH 3, l'« Histoire de Zalpa », et grâce aux études de V. Haas<sup>23</sup> qui a montré la fonction de la ville au début de l'histoire hittite. Cependant, Laroche (1947b) avait déjà publié son étude des fragments bilingues hattie-hittite de CTH 733, fragments qui, comme je l'ai montré (Forlanini 1984), relèvent de fêtes culturelles de la région de Zalpuwa célébrées par un fils du roi<sup>24</sup>.

Ainsi, le nom du premier roi hittite est un nom dynastique de Zalpuwa « sur Mer » et c'est bien de la Mer que la divinité *Ḫalmašuit* apportait les symboles de la royauté au Labarna siégeant sur le trône de *Ḫattuša*<sup>25</sup>. Le mythe de la reine de Kaniš affirmait que les 30 jeunes frères élevés à Zalpuwa et arrivés à Kaniš étaient bien les fils de la reine que celle-ci avait abandonnés dans un panier sur le fleuve *Maraššanda*. Ils étaient donc légitimes à Kaniš<sup>26</sup>. Si l'« Histoire de Zalpa » est strictement liée à l'origine de l'État hittite, la ville ne pouvait pas être seulement un adversaire défait par Anitta. En outre, on pratiquait, à Zalpuwa, des rituels au moment de la mort d'un roi hittite. Les textes qui témoignent de cette idéologie du pouvoir sont :

CTH 414 (Rituel pour la fondation d'un palais) I 23-25<sup>27</sup> : « À moi, le roi, *Ḫalmašuit* (la divinité du trône) a porté de la mer l'autorité et le chariot. Ils (le dieux?) ouvrirent le pays de ma mère et ils m'appelèrent, moi le roi, Labarna. »

CTH 725 (Rituel pour l'inauguration d'un temple) II 40-44 : « Les dieux ont distribué les pays ; or ils l'ont mise à *Ḫattuša*, la capitale, ils l'ont mise. Et le Labarna-roi (y) est installé<sup>28</sup> »

CTH 667 I.G Colophon (IBoT 2.130 1'-7')<sup>29</sup> : « Une tablette d'une colonne (IM.GÍD.DA). Si le roi devient dieu, comment ils renouvellent dans le pays de Zalpuwa l'équipement du temple... »

Le nom de l'État hittite avant *Ḫattušili* peut être débattu, mais des indices incitent à penser qu'il s'appelait déjà *Ḫatti*<sup>30</sup>, sa base ayant été donnée plutôt par les rois de Zalpuwa que par la famille de Labarna

19 Le catalogue de bibliothèque KUB 30.68 conserve le titre de CTH 733 et mentionne un *Ḫuzziya* parmi les officiants du culte de Zalpuwa (Forlanini 1984: 253). Pour la divinité de *Ḫakm/piš*, voir van Gessel 1998: 175-176. La ville de *Ḫakm/piš* avait conservé des cultes du nord après la perte de Nerik du temps d'Arnuwanda I<sup>er</sup>. *Ḫattušili III* en fera la capitale de son royaume du nord avant de reprendre Nerik.

20 Cf. Forlanini 2004: 381 n. 49 : \*P/Wawaḫ-te-l/n(i)maḫ « œil d'aigle ».

21 Cf. Bin-Nun 1975: 8-9, 55, Carruba 1998: 105, Beal 2003: 16, Forlanini 2004: 381, Forlanini 2010: 123 et Freu 2007b: 54-55.

22 On pense généralement que ce roi s'est appelé Labarna et a changé de nom après avoir établi à *Ḫattuša* sa capitale (cf. par exemple Freu 2007b: 62). Je pense au contraire qu'il est né à *Ḫattuša*. Il aurait pris le nom de Labarna (II) après avoir été adopté par Labarna I<sup>er</sup>. La présence de *Pawaḫtelmaḫ* dans les listes des ancêtres montre qu'il a dû mourir à *Ḫattuša* (cf. Archi 2007: 50-51 et Forlanini 2010: 117). Son nom est glosé par les mots « père de L[abarna] » parce qu'il a été pratiquement oublié par la tradition.

23 Sur le rôle de Zalpuwa à l'origine de la monarchie, voir Haas 1977, Haas 1994: 185-187, Haas 1999: 171-173 et Forlanini 2004: 379-380.

24 Sur ce texte et les dieux de Zalpuwa, voir Haas 1994: 608-609, Popko 2004, Corti 2010a et Corti 2010b.

25 Sur la monarchie à *Ḫattuša*, voir Haas 1994: 188-189.

26 La présence de l'« Histoire de Zalpa » à *Boğazköy* s'explique par la volonté de démontrer que les gens de Zalpa n'étaient pas des barbares, mais qu'ils étaient les fils de la reine de Kaniš qui étaient retournés à leur patrie. Le texte indiquait aussi que la destruction finale de la ville de Zalpa n'était pas due au « roi », *Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>*, descendant des rois de Zalpa, mais au « vieux roi » (Labarna), qui avait dû répondre ainsi aux rébellions fréquentes (cf. Beal 2003: 21, Forlanini 2004: 382 et Freu 2007b: 56). L'interprétation de Zorman 2008 est opposée : le texte justifierait, selon elle, la possession de la ville par le roi de *Ḫattuša*.

27 Éditions : Carini 1982: 488-489 et Marazzi 1982. Carini 1982: 509 et suivantes interprète ce texte comme une alliance entre Labarna et le trône (la divinité *Ḫalmašuit/Ḫanwašuit* au nom hattie, contra Starke 1979) qui vient de Zalpa sur la mer lui apporter la royauté et ses symboles. Cf. Carruba 2005b, Freu 2007b: 45, Francia 2012: 83 et suivantes, Torri/Görke 2014.

28 Traduction selon Laroche 1947a: 75. Édition : Schuster 1974: 66-67. Le hattie a (A II 42) *tabarna katti* pour le hitt. (A II 44) *labarnaš* LUGAL-uš. Nouveaux fragments d'*Ortaköy* : Süel/Soysal 2007.

29 Le joint avec KUB 57.84 a été proposé par C. Corti. Édition : Kassian/Korolëv/Sidel'tsev 2002: 689-691.

30 Dans le « Siège d'Uršū », on indique (Ro 26') qu'au *Ḫatti* « il n'y a pas de mal » (*bištum ul ibašši*), en se référant certainement au pays du roi, ce dernier étant, selon ma reconstruction, Labarna I<sup>er</sup>. La présence de troupes du *Ḫatti* à *Ḫana* sur le moyen Euphrate sous le règne de Kuwari, ne peut

originaire de Kuššar et Kaniš. Il se peut que Ḫuzziya I<sup>er</sup> ait fixé sa capitale à Šanaḫuitta dans la haute vallée du Zuliya entre les pays de Kaniš (Haut Pays) et le Ḫatti, pour pouvoir contrôler l'ensemble de son royaume. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'idéologie royale qui déclare Zalpuwa comme lieu d'origine de la monarchie et Ḫattuš comme son siège établi par les dieux, est certainement liée aux intérêts de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, qui descendait des rois de Zalpuwa et avait établi à Ḫattuša sa capitale. Si la mère de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> venait de la famille de Labarna, comme la théorie de la succession par mariage et adoption le demande, les mots de CTH 414 à propos du « pays de ma mère » deviennent clairs : Ḫattušili avait hérité l'ancien pays de Kaniš et le nom de trône de son père adoptif Labarna.

Par ailleurs, on peut bien comprendre que le fils naturel de Pawaḫtelmaḫ ait encouragé la rédaction de rituels bilingues hattii-hittite comme CTH 725 ou que des rituels pour la santé de Labarna, dont l'un avec des formules hatties, aient été développés à partir de l'époque du « Testament » à l'occasion de sa maladie. Cette dernière pourrait avoir été causée par les mauvais mots de ses ennemis au sein de la famille royale<sup>31</sup>. L'idéologie royale adoptée par Ḫattušili est celle d'un empire universel (dont l'exemple est donné par celui de Sargon) ayant son siège à Ḫattuša, que les dieux ont réservé au Tabarna roi<sup>32</sup>. Ce type de pouvoir autocratique ira bientôt s'opposer à celui de la noblesse, en grand partie liée à la cour de Ḫurma, et des autres membres de sa famille, qui voulaient contrôler le roi.

### III. La «Geste d'Anitta» : Zalpuwa, Ḫattuša et Puruḫanda

La « Geste d'Anitta »<sup>33</sup> n'est peut-être pas le premier document « historique » hittite dans le sens du moment de sa rédaction, mais il l'est certainement dans le sens de l'âge auquel remontent les événements rapportés, c'est-à-dire la deuxième partie du 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. J.-C. D'autres documents se réfèrent à Sargon et Naram-Sin d'Akkad, à une ancienne reine de Kaniš ou au roi Anum-ḫerwa (de Ḫaššuwa), donc à des périodes encore plus anciennes, mais ils ne peuvent pas être considérés comme vraiment historiques. Parmi les manuscrits de CTH 1 que nous connaissons, l'un, KBo 3.22 (le manuscrit A) est considéré comme le plus ancien (althethitisch) et contient déjà le texte complet, même si ce document est interprété composite par les philologues<sup>34</sup>. Les autres manuscrits, B et C, sont plus récents (14<sup>ème</sup>-13<sup>ème</sup> siècles av. J.-C.). Vu que la formation du texte précède la rédaction du premier manuscrit, la comparaison des manuscrits trouvés à Boğazköy ne permet pas de suivre l'histoire de ce texte composite. Le manuscrit A montre qu'il doit avoir été établi d'une façon définitive avant le règne de Telebinu. Les manuscrits récents font partie de *Sammeltafeln* : dans le CTH 1.C (KUB 36.98 a, b, c) la « Geste d'Anitta » est suivie par la « Chronique d'Ammuna » (CTH 18 B)<sup>35</sup>, et dans CTH 1.B (KUB 26. 71) par la même composition, dans la colonne 1 et, dans la colonne 4, par les Annales d'un roi dont le nom est perdu, roi qui pourrait être Telebinu<sup>36</sup>.

Comme Steiner l'a remarqué, le texte présente aux lignes 32-35 une formule typique de conclusion, avec la malédiction de celui qui détruirait la tablette. Selon les différentes restaurations possibles, cette dernière était exposée à la porte du palais de Neša ou devait être lue devant cette porte<sup>37</sup>. Il est donc possible qu'Anitta même ou un de ses successeurs ait fait rédiger une tablette en écriture paléo-assyrienne,

malheureusement pas prouver l'existence d'un royaume de Ḫatti vers 1700 av. J.-C. comme le propose Freu 2007b: 112, car la datation de ce roi doit être baissée. Cette présence coïncide probablement avec le *raid* de Muršili I<sup>er</sup> contre Babylone (cf. Forlanini 2009b: 56-57).

31 C'est la thèse de Giorgieri 1990: 276 et suivantes et Giorgieri 1992: 53-54, 92-93. Ces rituels sont CTH 412, CTH 458.10 et CTH 732 (avec des formules en langue hattie).

32 Cf. Haas 1993. La guerre contre le Yamḫad et l'expédition contre Babylone témoignent de la volonté de Ḫattušili et de son fils d'ériger un empire universel sur les ruines des deux puissances amorrites, qui seules pouvaient prétendre à une dignité semblable et leur barrer la route.

33 CTH 1. Éditions : Neu 1974 et Carruba 2003.

34 Le long article de Steiner 1984 contient une analyse exhaustive de ce problème. Cet auteur divise le texte en trois parties (A 1-35, B 36-51, C 52-79). Pour Carruba 2003: 14, il s'agirait de deux textes (A 1-51, B 52-79). Haas 2006: 30-31, considère déplacée par le scribe la formule de malédiction de 33-35, mais remarque aussi l'étrange position des paragraphes concernant les œuvres de paix. Déjà Güterbock 1938, 140, considérait les lignes 1-35 « eine geschlossene Inschrift » et les lignes 55-58 (« ... Baubericht, der nach dem Schema das Ende einer Inschrift bilden sollte »). Cf. aussi Neu 1974: 133-135 et Archi 2015: 3-4.

35 Cf. de Martino 1999.

36 Cf. de Martino 2003: 81-87.

37 Selon Steiner 1984: 67-68, le mot perdu à la fin de la l. 33 serait un impératif de la forme G<sub>Tn</sub> du verbe akkadien *šašū* « déclamer, lire à haute voix », correspondant au hittite *ḫalzešša-*. Il traduit : « Diese Worte von einer/der Tontafel (*tuppiaz*) l[ies]/l[est] in meinem Tor [immer wieder vor]. »

tablette dont le contenu devait être proclamé (en traduction) au peuple de la ville. Le document original correspondrait donc aux lignes 1-35 et serait une proclamation, plutôt qu'une narration. Dans cette première partie, on trouve déjà une menace contre celui qui repeuplerait certaines villes conquises<sup>38</sup>. La malédiction contre celui qui repeuplera Ḫattuša, qui se trouve aussi, avec une formulation plus dure, dans la deuxième partie du texte, n'est donc pas la seule et ne doit pas être considérée, comme le voulait Steiner, comme une preuve d'une ultérieure division du texte en trois parties. Les deux paragraphes dédiés à la construction des fortifications, des temples et d'un « parc zoologique » à Neša (55-63) pourraient plutôt être considérés comme la partie finale d'une deuxième rédaction, en tant que description des œuvres de la paix obtenue après tant de guerres. Le texte aurait été élargi par la suite par l'addition d'une troisième partie commençant par une description plus détaillée de la guerre contre Šaladiwara (64-72), déjà mentionnée dans la deuxième partie (52-54). Selon les analyses des philologues, le document original d'Anitta peut donc avoir été remanié une ou deux fois et il ne reste plus qu'à comparer le texte « original » avec les parties ajoutées pour tenter de comprendre cette altération. En effet, dans la première partie, qui devrait correspondre au document rédigé par Anitta, la conquête de Ḫattuša et des pays à partir de Zalpuwa « sur mer » est déjà mentionnée, mais, après la formule de malédiction contre celui qui aurait détruit la tablette, la narration reprend, dans la deuxième partie, la description de la lutte contre Zalpuwa et Ḫattuša avec des détails très précis :

(36-44) « Pour la deuxième fois vi[nt] Piušti roi de Ḫatti et [j'ai vaincu] à Šalampa ceux qu'il avait conduits pour l'aider. [J'ai .....] tous les pays à partir de Zalpuwa, à l'intérieur à partir de la mer<sup>39</sup>. Dans le passé, Uḫna, roi de Zalpuwa, avait amené le dieu Šiušummi de Neša à Zalpuwa, mais à la fin moi, Anitta, j'ai ramené Šiušummi de Zalpuwa à Neša et j'ai amené Ḫuzziya, roi de Zalpuwa, vivant à Neša (.....) (45-48) Cependant, quand à la fin elle (Ḫattuša) mourait de faim, le dieu Šiušmiš la livra à Ḫalmašuit et je la pris d'assaut dans la nuit et, à sa place, je semai de la mauvaise herbe. Qui deviendra roi après moi et rebâtira Ḫattuša, que le Dieu de l'orage le frappe<sup>40</sup> ! »

Ce texte affirme que les rois de Zalpuwa étaient les ennemis par excellence de Neša et que Ḫuzziya de Zalpuwa fut capturé vivant par Anitta. Mais nous savons que Ḫuzziya était le nom du premier roi hittite, le grand-père de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Par la suite, nous apprenons qu'Anitta, avec l'aide de son dieu Sius, mais aussi de la divinité hattie du trône Ḫalmašuit, conquiert et maudit la ville de Ḫattuša et celui, parmi ses descendants, qui voudrait la rebâtir. Malgré cela, la ville devint la capitale du royaume sous Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Selon CTH 414, c'est la divinité hattie du trône qui apporta de la mer (de Zalpa) le pouvoir royal à ce roi. Toutes les bases de l'idéologie de la royauté que nous avons vues auparavant sont ainsi contestées par celui qui a interpolé le Texte d'Anitta. Nous comprenons donc qu'il était un adversaire de Ḫattušili, de sa famille et de son idéologie royale. Pour en savoir plus, pour comprendre qui pouvait tirer un avantage de la propagande cachée dans la « Geste d'Anitta », il suffit de continuer la lecture de ce document, et en particulier des dernières lignes, qui marquent d'une étrange façon la vraie acmé de la narration.

38 Ro 21-29. Les villes vaincues dont on peut lire le nom sont Ullamma (ligne 13, dans la ligne suivante apparaît le « roi de la ville de Ḫatti »), [...] tešma (l. 15, ou Tešma= Taišama?) et Ḫarkiuna. Celui qui les repeuplera (l. 24-25) « qu'il soit ennemi de Neša », selon la traduction de Neu sur la base des mots conservés (Neu 1974: 10-11 : « Nešas Feind soll er sein, und jener soll der ganzen Bevölkerung F[eind] sein! Und wie ein Löwe das Lan[d ...] »). La traduction de Carruba 2003: 26-27 qui corrige le texte par des restaurations et propose de lire *šarkuš* à la place de *kurur*, est opposée (« ... soll von Nesa aus niemand wieder besiedeln. Er soll von Nesa starker König sein, der soll der König aller Länder sein! Und wie ein Löwe soll er über das Land verfügen »). Dans le paragraphe suivant, l. 28, on peut lire les mots ]xx ašaši nan <sup>41</sup>ŠKUR-ni[ : « qui re]peuplera (les villes) lui au dieux de l'orage[...] » (cf. Carruba 2003: 26-27 : « ... wieder besiedelt, den sollt ihr dem Wettergott überantworten »).

39 Cf. dans la première partie la répétition aux lignes Ro 31-32 des mots « l... ]<sup>42</sup> Zalpuwaš arunaš[...] », qui semble appartenir à deux phrases conclusives sur les conquêtes du roi « à partir de Zalpuwa, de la mer ».

40 Je suis ici la traduction de Neu 1974: 13. Parmi les interprétations différentes, je mentionne celle de Steiner 1984: 69 à la l. 36 pour *tan namma* (« zweitens, ferner »), qui n'indiquerait pas une deuxième guerre contre Ḫattuša, mais serait l'élément de liaison entre le texte original et la première adjonction. La description de cette guerre serait donc reprise une deuxième fois d'une façon différente. Selon Steiner 1992: 174, Ḫattuša ne fut pas prise suite à une famine, mais parce qu'elle était vide, son roi Piušti étant ailleurs avec l'armée. Pour la place de Ḫalmašuit dans la conquête de Ḫattuša, voir aussi la discussion de Carruba 2003: 115-116, et Carruba 2005b: 65-66, en réaction à l'interprétation de Starke 1979.

(74-79) « L'homme de Puruṣḥanda m'[apporta] des cadeaux et il m'apporta en cadeau un trône de fer et un sceptre de fer. Et quand je revins à Neša j'amenai avec moi l'homme de Puruṣḥanda. Quand il va dans la salle du trône (B: « à Zalpa ») il (celui-là) s'assoit devant moi à (ma) droite. »

Il est possible que l'apparition dans le texte du prince de Puruṣḥanda soit liée à la campagne d'Anitta contre Šaladiwar, dont le territoire devait être en contact avec celui de Puruṣḥanda. Peut-être les deux villes étaient-elles en guerre entre elles, si Šaladiwar avait pris à cette période la place de Waḥṣušana, l'ancienne ennemie de Puruṣḥanda<sup>41</sup>. Anitta aurait alors agi à l'avantage de Puruṣḥanda. On a débattu de la valeur des cadeaux et on les a généralement interprétés comme la preuve de la soumission de Puruṣḥanda à Neša. Toutefois, comme l'a démontré Dercksen sur la base d'exemples contemporains issus des sources paléo-babyloniennes, des cadeaux de ce type étaient faits par des rois importants à des rois locaux ou moins puissants pour marquer une alliance<sup>42</sup>. Même si le but du rédacteur était de glorifier Anitta et de souligner le fait qu'il avait été reconnu (comme son égal) par le roi de Puruṣḥanda, il se serait arrêté là, sans ressentir le besoin d'ajouter les passages qui montrent le respect particulier d'Anitta envers celui-ci. Pour quelle raison l'auteur de la version de la Geste d'Anitta que nous possédons voulait-il marquer l'importance du roi de Puruṣḥanda, sa place à la droite d'Anitta dans la salle du trône ou, même, selon le manuscrit B, à Zalpa (il ne me semble pas nécessaire de localiser à Zalp(uw)a la salle du trône d'Anitta<sup>43</sup>) ? Cette interpolation du texte montre plutôt le dessein de l'auteur de célébrer la supériorité du roi de Puruṣḥanda et son lien avec Anitta, en humiliant au même temps la ville de Zalpuwa, origine de la royauté selon l'idéologie de Labarna II/Ḫattušili.

Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement d'un texte volontairement orienté contre la personne de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, sa politique et sa ligne dynastique, mais aussi d'un document favorable à la ville de Puruṣḥanda, et même, si nous cherchons celui *cui prodest*, à la branche de la « grande famille » hittite liée à cette ville après sa conquête par Labarna I<sup>er</sup>. La Geste d'Anitta témoigne de la résistance des princes qui se considéraient comme les descendants de ce roi contre l'idéologie imposée par Ḫattušili, lui-même descendant des rois de Zalpuwa. Ces princes se dressent même contre la stratégie de Ḫattušili consistant à se débarrasser de la branche méridionale de la « grande famille » et à éviter son alternance sur le trône en imposant son jeune fils Muršili à la place des héritiers par mariage et adoption (le mari de sa fille ou le fils de sa sœur).

## IV. Les héritiers de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> écartés de la succession

Le Testament de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> (CTH 6)<sup>44</sup>, un document dont l'aspect littéraire a souvent été étudié, est en même temps un texte historique, si nous considérons son but et la chronologie des événements qui y sont mentionnés. Le but du roi était de montrer qu'il avait bien essayé de régler sa succession en accord avec les liens dynastiques et la tradition de son époque, mais que les candidats successifs s'étaient conduits d'une façon telle qu'il avait été obligé à choisir le jeune Muršili comme successeur. Ces candidats sont donc critiqués dans CTH 6 comme le sont les fonctionnaires dans les épisodes de la « Chronique du palais ». La rhétorique du texte ne nous empêche pas de voir dans ses motivations des prétextes : la mère de Muršili, qui devait être Ḫaštayar, avait probablement eu le dessus sur les autres membres de la famille du vieux roi.

41 Pour la localisation et l'histoire de la ville, voir Forlanini 2008a: 60 n. 13 et Barjamović 2011: 350-357.

42 Dercksen 2010. Il s'agirait d'un « successful attempt by the ruler of Purushanda to make Anitta an ally... ». Les savants (parmi eux Otten, Bryce et Güterbock) considéraient plutôt ce geste comme un acte de soumission du roi de Puruṣḥanda à Anitta. Steiner 1984: 54, pensait que le roi de Puruṣḥanda était apprécié par Anitta pour l'avoir aidé pendant la guerre de Šaladiwara, mais il s'agit plutôt du contraire : il avait été soulagé par la campagne d'Anitta et, par ses dons, il le remerciait en lui reconnaissant une plus haute dignité. Pour Yakubovich 2010: 245 et suivantes, la présence louvite à Kaniš serait liée à Puruṣḥanda, dont le « grand roi » aurait concédé le titre de *l/tabarna* au roi de Kuššar ou de Kaniš « in exchange for his formal submission ». Sur Anitta et Šaladiwara, cf. aussi Forlanini 2004: 376-377, n. 34, et Forlanini 2008b: 60. Je ne crois pas qu'Anitta, aux lignes 64-72, célébrait sa propre défaite par le roi de Šaladiwara comme montreraient les intégrations et la traduction de Carruba 2003: 47, 122-123 (avec Steiner 1984: 61-62), interprétation à laquelle je préfère celle de Neu 1974: 15, 33-35.

43 Comme l'a proposé Haas 1977: 24.

44 L'édition de Sommer/Falkenstein 1938 de ce texte bilingue reste toujours fondamentale. Pour l'akkadien et la typologie de ce texte, voir Marazzi 1986: 1-23 et Marazzi 2007: 495. Pour une interprétation particulière des dernières lignes, voir Melchert 1991. Autres traductions : Bryce 1982: 99-100, Beckman 2000 et Klingner 2005: 142-146.



Ce dernier, ayant le dessein de faire de son fils tardif son successeur, devait écarter les autres candidats en démontrant leur indignité devant les « grands » du royaume.

Le prétexte qui, apparemment, donna lieu à l'assemblée dans laquelle Muršili fut proclamé comme successeur fut donné par le jeune Labarna, fils de la sœur du roi, chassé à cause de son caractère : il ne pleurait pas pour la maladie du roi. Son cas sert d'introduction au texte (I 1-36). Il s'agissait donc du dernier candidat avant Muršili<sup>45</sup>. Mais le jeune Labarna avait à son tour pris la place de deux autres membres de la famille royale dont la conduite avait été mauvaise : le fils, probablement aîné, de Ḫattušili, Ḫuzziya (II 63-74), prince de la ville de Tappaššanda, qui portait le nom de son grand-père Ḫuzziya I<sup>er</sup>, et la fille du roi (III 1-22). Laissons de côté le cas de Ḫuzziya, qui, en tant que fils naturel du roi, n'aurait pas dû lui succéder, mais qui aurait pu se considérer comme plus légitime qu'un autre fils plus jeune que lui. Il fut probablement dédommagé par la suite par la principauté de Ḫakmiš, soit du temps de Ḫattušili même, soit du temps de l'un de ses successeurs<sup>46</sup>. Restent donc les deux dames. Il est évident à ce propos que le Testament ne nous montre pas tous les aspects du problème, l'attention du roi étant fixée, dans ce document, sur les aspects familiaux, sur le fils, la fille et la sœur, dont on juge la fidélité au roi et le caractère. Pour adopter une vision vraiment politique, on peut dire que l'importance des deux dames dépendait de leur place dans la transmission du pouvoir, qui s'effectuait par le biais du mariage. C'était bien le mari de la fille, ou le fils de la sœur, qui aurait dû devenir le successeur du roi, mais les maris de ces deux dames ne sont pas nommés. Dans le cas de la fille, c'était son mari, l'*antiyant*-adopté comme successeur, qui était le premier candidat sur la liste. Dans le cas de la sœur, l'héritier adopté aurait été son fils Labarna et ce nom avait dû être choisi en prévoyant sa succession, probablement quand le mari de la fille du roi avait déjà été écarté. Il serait donc très utile pour la reconstruction historique et la compréhension des rapports de force de connaître le nom du père du jeune Labarna, qui à l'époque du Testament était déjà devenu le premier dans l'ordre de succession. Comme on l'a vu, nous ne devons pas prendre en considération dans ce sens le fils du roi, Ḫuzziya. En effet, quand Muršili I<sup>er</sup> sera tué, le pouvoir sera pris par Ḫantili, mari de la fille de Ḫattušili, Ḫarapšili, et le premier dans l'ordre de succession original, ordre perturbé par les interventions du roi.

Si le grand péché de Ḫattušili a été d'avoir imposé une succession « illégitime », selon la loi coutumière de son époque, on peut se demander la raison de ses décisions. Il semble que cela était dû à l'influence de sa favorite, Ḫaštayar, la mère de Muršili, en contraste avec la famille de Tawananna et de son fils aîné Ḫuzziya, qui était probablement le fils de Kattuši, la reine légitime que nous connaissons par les listes royales<sup>47</sup>.

L'exclusion du deuxième fils, le jeune Labarna, dans la ligne de succession a dû opposer le roi au père de celui-ci. Nous ne connaissons pas le nom de ce dernier, mais il pourrait avoir été l'un des fils de Tawananna et de Labarna I<sup>er</sup>. Pour la recherche de son identité, on peut avoir recours à un document qui présente des parallèles avec le Testament et qui, à mon avis, peut être reconstitué au moyen des fragments KBo 3.28 et KBo 3.27<sup>48</sup>. Forrer les considérait, avec KBo 3.24, comme les parties d'une même tablette (2BoTU 10 α, β, γ), ce qui a été exclu par Güterbock<sup>49</sup>. KBo 3.27 a été classé parmi les décrets et attribué à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> (CTH 5), comme il est évident par son contenu. En revanche, KBo 3.28 a été considéré par Laroche comme étant un fragment de la « Chronique du palais » (CTH 9.6), mais, par la suite, plusieurs savants l'ont aussi identifié comme un fragment de décret<sup>50</sup>. Si le ton et la nature de ces textes semblent converger, par leur contenu, ils peuvent être placés dans une même séquence logique. En effet, l'appartenance des deux fragments au même texte s'expliquerait bien si la proclamation de Muršili comme successeur (KBo 3.27) était introduite par l'explication des raisons que le roi avait pour exclure les autres héritiers de la succession au trône, à

45 Pour la chronologie des événements mentionnés dans le Testament, voir notamment Bryce 1981: 14 et 17.

46 Voir ci-dessus n. 6.

47 CTH 661, listes A 13 // B 5 (Otten 1951).

48 Cf. déjà Forlanini 2010: 124 n.49.

49 Güterbock 1938: 99 n. 2 (se référant à Forrer 1926: 4\*-5\*).

50 L'ont considéré comme un décret : Güterbock 1938: 99 (« ... dieselbe Form, eines Erlasses... »), Bin-Nun 1975: 79 et suivantes (qui l'attribuait à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>), Kempinski/Košak 1982: 99 (un fragment de décret attribué à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, et l'épisode de Purušanda correspondant à celui de CTH 13), Marazzi 2007: 494 (il pense à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>). Le texte est attribué à Muršili I<sup>er</sup> par Beal 2003: 25. Si KBo 3.27 et KBo 3.28 sont des fragments de décret attribuables à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> et leur contenu est compatible, il devient naturel, par le rasoir d'Ockham, de les considérer comme des parties d'un même document.

savoir les descendants de Tawananna, et si les décisions du roi étaient justifiées, comme il semble naturel pour les décrets de cette époque, par des anecdotes se référant en l'occurrence au règne de Labarna I<sup>er</sup>.

Le fragment KBo 3.28 débute, après deux lignes mal conservées, par l'histoire du « fils » de Purušhanda<sup>51</sup> :

(...) (3') [i]š-ta-ma-aš-ta URUḪa-at-tu-ši ku-u-ru-ur e-e[p-ta ... ] (4') [š]a-kán-zi LUGAL-un URUḪa-at-tu-ša-an na-at-ta[... ] (5') [e]-eš-ta DUMU URUPu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-du-um-na-an da-a-ir ki-x[... ] (6') ke-e-da-am-mu a-pa-a-aš i-iz-zi šu-mu DINGIR<sup>DIDL</sup> DUMU URUPu-r[u-uš-ḫa-an-du-um-na-an] (7') ki-iš-ri-mi da-i-ir LUGAL-uš A-NA DAM-ŠU ne-ga-aš-ša-aš-ša (8') i-it-te-en az-zi-kat-te-en ak-ku-uš-kat-te-en LUGAL-wa-ša (9') ša-a-ku-wa-aš-me-et le-e uš-te-ni « ... Quand il apprit [... ] il entreprit la guerre contre Ḫattuša [... ] ils reconnaissent, le roi et Ḫattuša ils? ne [reconnaissent pas? ... ] était. Ils prirent le « fils » de Purušhanda [... ]. Ainsi il agit contre moi. Et les dieux ont mis dans ma main le « fils » de Purušhanda. Le roi à sa femme et à ses sœurs: 'Allez, continuez à manger et boire, (mais) de (moi, le) roi, ne regardez pas les yeux<sup>52</sup> !' »

La révolte du prince de Purušhanda fut donc matée et celui-ci fut capturé, sa femme et sa sœur exilées<sup>53</sup>. Qui était sa femme ? Peut-elle être identifiée à la sœur que mentionne Ḫattušili au début de son Testament ou s'agit-il de la fille de ce roi, la femme du futur roi Ḫantili I<sup>er</sup>? Cette dernière ayant été écartée de la succession bien avant la rédaction du Testament, la révolte du « fils de Purušhanda » n'aurait pas été mentionnée. Il me semble donc plus probable qu'il s'agisse de la sœur du roi, mère du jeune Labarna, car la révolte aurait pu avoir lieu après la rédaction du Testament et profiter de la maladie du roi. L'attribution à Ḫantili des Annales CTH 13, dans lesquelles on parle d'une révolte de l'homme de Purušhanda<sup>54</sup>, serait en accord avec cette hypothèse. En faisant tuer Muršili I<sup>er</sup>, Ḫantili doit avoir bénéficié de l'aide de tous les adversaires de ce roi. Pour ce faire, il a dû réintégrer l'« homme » de Purušhanda dans sa principauté, quitte à le retrouver par la suite comme son concurrent. L'utilisation du terme DUMU par Ḫattušili se comprend bien, ce prince étant l'un des fils auxquels Labarna I<sup>er</sup> avait confié les villes conquises, parmi lesquelles nous trouvons Purušhanda. Le même terme apparaît dans la « Chronique du Palais » pour les princes de Nenašša et Šugziya<sup>55</sup>. On peut comprendre que Ḫantili, en se référant à ce même personnage ou à son successeur, ait utilisé quant à lui le terme LÚ (CTH 13 B 29«).

Le passage étudié par Laroche concernant l'ordalie est inséré à cet endroit pour donner un exemple de châtement royal. Il s'agit du cas de Kizzuwa qui avait été exécuté par le père du roi, Labarna. Comme dans la « Chronique du palais », le roi veut montrer ici que son prédécesseur était plus sévère que lui. Ce Kizzuwa pourrait bien être le Kišwa de l'« Histoire de Zalpa »<sup>56</sup>. Dans cette section du texte, le roi résume la partie précédente par les mots : (20-21) *ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš i-da-lu me-ek-ki u-uh-hu-un ta LUGAL-wa ud-da-ar-ra-me-et le-e šar-ra-at-tu-ma* (« À présent moi, le roi, j'ai vu tant de mal, vous ne devez pas trahir la parole du roi. »).

Le passage suivant a donné lieu à des interprétations très différentes<sup>57</sup> :

(21) *a-ši MUNUS.LUGAL URUḪu-ru-ma É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A<sup>HIA</sup>* (22) *e-eš-ta ad-da-aš-mi-iš-ša-mu<sup>58</sup> ke-e-da-ni a-ra i-ya-an har-ta / (23) [... ]x-ta? MUNUS.LUGAL-aš DUMU.MUNUS.É-TIM ku-wa-ta-an pí-ta-at-te-ni x[ (24) [... ]x-ni ku-in LUGAL-uš GIŠ.ŠÚ.A-mi a-ša-aš-hé MUNUS.LUGAL[ (... )*

51 Soysal 1989b: 31-32, 91, de Martino 1989: 14-15, de Martino 1992: 26-27, Pecchioli Daddi 1994: 82-84, Dardano 2002: 377, 388, Dardano 2010: 47-48 et Beal 2003: 25.

52 Pour cette expression, voir Dardano 2010.

53 Bin-Nun 1975: 79 remarquait que le sort du prince n'était pas précisé, tandis que le texte nous parle de celui de sa femme et de sa sœur. Tout cela nous rappelle le Testament, où l'on ne parle que des dames, mais pas de leurs maris. Toutefois, les lignes 10-16 de KBo 3.28 montreraient que le prince n'avait pas été puni (voir la traduction de Laroche 1973: 187).

54 On considère généralement les révoltes de Purušhanda décrites dans CTH 13 et dans KBo 3.27 comme un même événement historique (voir par exemple Soysal 1989b: 136, et Soysal 1989a, qui l'attribue au règne de Muršili). Toutefois, des doutes ont été exprimés par Dardano 2002: 368.

55 CTH 8 A III 15'-16' (Dardano 1997: 58-59, 114-115).

56 Sur Kizzuwa et sa présence dans la « Chronique du palais », cf. Laroche 1973: 187-198, Pecchioli Daddi 1994: 84, Dardano 2002: 365, Beal 2003: 25, Corti 2005: 117 (le même que le Kiswa de l'« Histoire de Zalpa ») et Freu 2007b: 71.

57 Voir surtout de Martino 1989: 15-16.

58 Sur Kizzuwa et sa présence dans la « Chronique du palais », cf. Laroche 1973: 187-198, Pecchioli Daddi 1994: 84, Dardano 2002: 365, Beal 2003: 25, Corti 2005: 117 (le même que le Kiswa de l'« Histoire de Zalpa ») et Freu 2007b: 71.



« La reine sus-mentionnée était à Huruma une épouse (promise), mais mon père m'avait considéré comme légitime pour elle [...], la reine, la fille du palais, pourquoi l'amenez-vous ? [...] que moi, le roi, sur mon trône je fais asseoir, la reine[...]

Si cette interprétation est acceptée, il s'agit d'une jeune dame de la Cour de Hurma qui avait été promise au roi par son père et que le roi a fait asseoir sur son trône. La mention de cette dame devrait être liée aux problèmes de succession. Il est assez logique de penser à Haštayar<sup>59</sup> qui avait vécu à Hurma et qui a une place importante au moment de la proclamation de Muršili comme successeur. Si elle était la favorite du roi et la mère de Muršili<sup>60</sup>, tout s'expliquerait facilement. Convaincre les grands de l'accepter comme reine constituait les prémisses nécessaires pour en faire accepter le fils comme héritier. En même temps, le roi devait exclure de la succession les parents par alliance, les descendants de sa tante Tawananna, qui s'étaient mariés à la fille et la sœur du roi. En effet, dans le fragment KBo 3.27, avant de présenter Muršili comme successeur, le roi menace tous ceux qui (pour la succession) prononceront le nom de Tawananna ou de l'un de ses fils. S'ils en font mention, ils seront « égorgés et pendus à leur porte ». Il s'agit vraisemblablement des alliés de Hantili, mari de sa fille, et du mari de sa sœur (le prince de Purušhanda ?), tous deux descendants de Tawananna<sup>61</sup>. Voici ce passage très discuté<sup>62</sup> :

(6) <sup>r</sup>UR<sup>1</sup>-RA-AM ŠE-RA-AM <sup>t</sup>Ta-wa-na-an-na-aš [ŠUM-ŠU] (7) le-e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ŠA DUMU<sup>MES</sup>-ŠU [DUMU. MUNUS<sup>MES</sup>-ŠU ?] (8) ŠUM-ŠU-NU le-e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ták-ku DUMU<sup>M</sup>[<sup>ES</sup> É.GAL? iš-tár-na ŠUM-ŠU-NU ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ?] (9) kap-ru-uš-še-e[t] <sup>1</sup>ha<sub>1</sub>-at-ta-an-ta-ru na-an a-aš-ki[-iš-ši] (10) kán-kán-du ták-<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> [A]RAD<sup>MES</sup>-am-ma-an iš-tár-na ŠUM-ŠU-NU (11) ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ARAD-mi-iš le-e káp-ru-u[š-še-et] (12) ha-at-ta-an-ta-ru na-an a-aš-ki-iš-ši kán-kán-[du]  
« À l'avenir, que personne ne prononce le nom de Tawananna, que personne ne prononce le nom de ses fils. Si [quelqu'un parmi] les « fi[ls du palais] » prononce leurs noms, qu'on lui coupe l[a] gorge et qu'on le pend à [sa] porte. Si quelqu'un parmi mes serviteurs prononce l[eurs] noms, (qu'il) ne (soit plus) mon serviteur, qu'on lui coupe l[a] gor[ge] et qu'on le pen[de] à sa porte ! »

À cet endroit du texte, le roi présente Muršili comme son successeur (13' et suivante). Il est certain que le choix de Muršili n'a pas dû plaire à ceux qui avaient été écartés et qui se considéraient toujours comme les héritiers légitimes de Hattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Le meurtre du jeune roi après son retour de Babylone doit être vu dans ce cadre. Pour Hantili, il devait s'agir plutôt d'un rétablissement de ses droits de succéder à son père adoptif, dont il était le *antiyant*. La double présentation de Muršili I<sup>er</sup> comme conquérant, positive dans CTH 11 et négative dans CTH 10.2 (et probablement aussi CTH 12.1 III 15' et suivantes), a animé la discussion sur l'attribution de ces deux textes à son successeur, ce qui serait possible si les deux documents avaient des fonctions différentes ou s'ils avaient été rédigés dans deux moments politiques différents<sup>63</sup>. Il est très remarquable que Hantili utilise, dans CTH 10.2:15', contre ceux qui feront mention du nom de Muršili, la même menace que Hattušili avait proclamée contre celui qui aurait prononcé le nom des fils de Tawananna : « qu'on l'égorge et qu'on suspende son corps à sa porte ».

Aucun document sûrement attribuable à Muršili I<sup>er</sup> n'a été reconnu. À l'opposé, l'activité de la chancellerie de son père est bien attestée par le Testament, les Annales et le Décret KBo 3.27. Tout cela jette des soupçons sur l'attribution hypothétique de plusieurs documents de l'Ancien Royaume à Muršili, comme

59 Avec Bin-Nun 1975: 83-84 qui attribue ce texte à Hattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Cf. de Martino 1989: 17.

60 Quelle est la relation de Haštayar par rapport à Hattušili ? Elle était la (ou une) femme de Hattušili selon Forrer 1926: 3\*, VII, Sommer/Falkenstein 1938: 188-189, 209, 251, Bin-Nun 1975: 256, *passim*, Soysal 1989b: 116-117, de Martino 1989 et Haas 2006: 64. Elle était la fille du roi et mère de Muršili pour Beal 1983: 122-124 (femme de Maratti), Freu 2007b: 98 et Yiğit 2007.

61 Sur le problème de Tawananna, nom d'une reine ou titre, voir notamment : Bin-Nun 1972, Bin-Nun 1975, Archi 1977, Bryce 1981: 15-16, de Martino 1991b: 58-59, Carruba 1992: 88, Carruba 1998: 216-217, Beal 2003: 14-15, Bryce 2005: 92-94, Freu 2007b: 64-65, Kimball 2010: 79-83 et Beckman 2012 avec bibliographie. La majorité des savants supposent que la Tawananna de KBo 3.27 n'est pas un titre, mais un nom de personne et qu'elle n'est pas la tante de Hattušili, mais sa sœur ou sa fille. Cf. notamment Bin-Nun 1975: 70-71, de Martino 1991b: 98-99, de Martino/Imparati 1998: 392-395, Yiğit 2005: 788 et Dardano 2010: 59. Pour son identification avec la tante, voir Beal 1983: 124-126, Beal 2003: 29-30 et Soysal 1987: 251. À mon avis, le roi veut ici châtier les partisans des candidats à la succession qui descendaient de sa tante Tawananna et étaient donc des *antiyant*- du roi, pour laisser sa succession au seul Muršili.

62 Cf. Bin-Nun 1975: 52 et suivantes, de Martino 1991b: 54-56, 58-61 et Carruba 1992: 77-82.

63 Cf. Hoffner 1975: 56 et suivantes, Soysal 1989b: 54-55, 100-101, 164-165, Soysal 1998: 30-31, Freu 2007b: 116-117 et Tavernier 2010: 177-178.

j'ai déjà essayé de le démontrer. Je me réfère ici en particulier aux Annales CTH 13 qui, par leur nature et la mention de Šugziya, peuvent trouver un parallèle dans la description du règne de Ḫantili faite par Telebinu et qui peuvent donc être attribuées à ce roi. La mention du « père du roi » ne demande pas d'explications particulières, car, si Ḫantili en était bien l'auteur, il pouvait considérer Ḫattušili, dont il était le beau-fils, comme son père adoptif, même s'il avait été écarté par lui de la ligne de succession. Nous verrons par la suite quelles peuvent être les conséquences de cette attribution.

## V. La position particulière de Puruṣḫanda, du kârum II à la révolte mentionnée dans CTH 13

La mention très fréquente de Puruṣḫanda dans les textes cappadociens de la phase II (avant 1830 av. J.-C.) montre son rôle important dans le réseau commercial de l'époque. Sa position géographique dans le Bas Pays, la Lycaonie classique, ne peut pas être mise en question, et Acem Höyük, par sa grandeur et les trouvailles des fouilles, se prête toujours bien à sa localisation<sup>64</sup>. Sa fonction particulière dans le cadre de l'activité des marchands assyriens pendant la période II du *kârum* peut être caractérisée par deux faits : la ville avait un « grand prince » et les marchands assyriens qui y étaient actifs ne pouvaient pas voyager librement dans son territoire. Ils ne pouvaient surtout pas parcourir la route des Portes Ciliciennes. Tuwanuwa, Tunna et Zabarašna, le long de la route des Portes, apparaissent dans l'onomastique de Kaniš, mais ne sont jamais mentionnées en tant que lieux, de même que les villes de la plaine cilicienne, Tarša et Adaniya<sup>65</sup>. On a parlé du marché de l'argent à Puruṣḫanda, qui pourrait être lié au contrôle des Portes Ciliciennes et à des mines de Bolkarmaden. La disparition de Puruṣḫanda dans les textes de la période Ib<sup>66</sup> ne peut pas signifier que la ville n'existait plus, en contradiction avec la « Geste d'Anitta », mais plutôt que les Assyriens ne pouvaient plus y aller. Les empreintes des *bullae* d'Acem Höyük, si ce site correspond bien à Puruṣḫanda, montrent que la ville était, dans la première partie de cette période, en relation avec le monde amorrite, avec lequel elle devait communiquer par les Portes Ciliciennes<sup>67</sup>.

Dans le *Šar Tamḫari*, une légende créée autour du personnage de Sargon d'Akkad, le grand roi akkadien, répondant à l'appel de ses marchands, monte une expédition contre le roi de Puruṣḫanda et saisit la ville, dans laquelle il séjourne pendant trois ans avant de la mettre à sac<sup>68</sup>. On a longtemps débattu de la formation de cette légende. Il est difficile d'y reconnaître des événements historiques, car les textes authentiques qui remontent à la dynastie akkadienne ne mentionnent pas Puruṣḫanda mais seulement la Montagne des Cèdres (l'Adalur au nord de l'Amanus) et la Montagne d'Argent (le Taurus ?) comme limites de l'expansion de Sargon<sup>69</sup>. On a pensé que l'histoire avait été créée à l'époque de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, qui se considérait comme un nouveau Sargon, ou qu'elle était liée au souvenirs de la relation entre Anitta et le

64 La localisation fut proposée par J. Lewy (*apud* Garelli 1963: 123 n. 4). Voir aussi del Monte/Tischler 1978: 124, Kempinski/Košak 1982: 99-100 et Hecker 2006. Récemment Kawakami 2006 a étudié la localisation de Puruṣḫanda avec une conclusion plutôt favorable à l'identification avec Acem Höyük. On peut se référer à son article pour la bibliographie relative à toutes les hypothèses proposées auparavant : près de Nevşehir (Garstang et Gurney), près de Konya (Bilgiç, Hawkins) à Karahöyük de Konya (S. Alp), près de Niğde (B. Landsberger), sur le lac de Beyşehir (Gordon). Plus récemment, Barjamovic 2011: 357-375 a proposé une position beaucoup plus occidentale, Üç Hüyük près des Bolvadin, où devait passer plus tard la frontière entre l'Arzawa et le Ḫatti. Üç Hüyük est un site intéressant, mais, à mon avis, il correspond plutôt à une ville comme Waliwanda : cf. ma critique (Forlanini 2012: 297-298).

65 Cf. Forlanini 1985: 52-53 et Forlanini 2008a: 62-63. Dans l'onomastique « cappadocienne » nous trouvons : Tunumna, *Tū-a-nu-wa* et Zaparašna. Sur la position de Tuwanuwa, Tunna et du mont/ville Z/Šabarašna (qui n'apparaissent jamais en tant que toponymes dans les textes paléo-assyriens) le long de la route des Portes Ciliciennes, cf. Forlanini 2013b: 16 et suivantes. Cette route, évidemment accessible aux marchands « éblaïtes » (du Yamḫad), passait à côté de la montagne d'argent (Tunni, Tunniyari) où se trouvent les mines de Bolkarmaden. Puruṣḫanda était un centre important du commerce de l'argent.

66 Cf. Dercksen 2001: 61 et Forlanini 2008a: 61.

67 Pour les empreintes de sceaux retrouvées à Acem Höyük, voir Özgüç 1980, Tunca 1989 et Tunca 1993.

68 La version hittite, CTH 310, est documentée par des fragments de la fin de l'Empire (éd. : Güterbock 1938: 45 et suivantes, Güterbock 1969: 14-26, Meriggi 1968: 259-269 et Rieken 2001: 578-579). Selon Rieken 2001: 583-584, la langue archaïsante fait supposer l'existence d'une rédaction « moyen »-hittite. Pour les copies akkadiennes d'Amarna, Aššur et Ninive, voir Westenholz 1997: 102-139. Concernant la copie d'Amarna (bibliographie chez Westenholz 2011: 292 et suivantes), on a pensé qu'elle avait été importée de Ḫattuša ou de la Syrie sous influence hittite, ou même qu'elle était l'œuvre d'un scribe hittite présent sur place (une sorte de *visiting professor* selon Beckman 2001: 88).

69 La montagne d'argent pourrait être la section du Taurus qui domine les Portes Ciliciennes (le mont Tunni en particulier). La possibilité que Sargon, ou l'un de ses successeurs, ait atteint la Cilicie pourrait être documentée par un fragment en albâtre trouvé en Mésopotamie (Mellink 1963).

roi de Puruṣḫanda<sup>70</sup>. Cependant, comme nous l'avons vu, la présence des marchands est l'élément le plus caractéristique de cette composition et la traversée du fleuve Aranzaḫ mentionnée dans l'histoire nous oriente aussi dans la direction des itinéraires paléo-assyriens<sup>71</sup>. Par conséquent, il doit très probablement s'agir d'une histoire créée par des marchands assyriens qui n'aimaient pas les limitations qui leur étaient imposées par le roi de Puruṣḫanda. Un autre récit légendaire autour de Sargon a d'ailleurs été trouvé dans la maison d'un marchand assyrien à Kültepe<sup>72</sup>. La vieille dynastie assyrienne n'était pas de souche amorrite et se considérait plutôt liée à la tradition akkadienne, comme le montre aussi la reprise du nom de Sargon par l'un de ses membres. Le succès du *Šar Tamḫari* à la Cour hittite peut, en revanche, avoir dépendu de l'adaptation anatolienne du récit ou de la position du roi de Puruṣḫanda qui y est humilié par Sargon.

Après la fin de la période Ib, la ville a dû se déplacer, si nous devons en juger par la stratigraphie d'Acem Höyük. La nouvelle ville devait en tout cas se trouver dans la même région. Par la suite, elle fut conquise par Labarna I<sup>er</sup> qui y installa un fils comme prince. Vu l'importance de la ville, il ne devait pas s'agir du dernier de ses fils. Toutefois, celui-ci et sa dynastie furent écartés du pouvoir par Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>, du moins selon mon hypothèse précédente. Les Annales CTH 13 ont été attribuées à Muršili I<sup>er</sup> ou à son père<sup>73</sup>. Cependant, le cadre historique qu'elles décrivent ne correspond absolument pas à la révolte contre Ḫattušili, révolte causée ou encouragée par les Hourrites (des mercenaires ?). Celle-ci n'a pas duré plus d'une année. Le cadre historique des Annales CTH 13 ne correspondent pas non plus à la guerre hourrite de Muršili I<sup>er</sup> qui a dû suivre la conquête d'Alep. Il s'agit au contraire d'une longue guerre durant plusieurs années, guerre qui a dévasté l'Anatolie entière et durant laquelle les Hittites sont sur la défensive. Cet aspect et le rôle des villes de Tegaramma et de Šugziya dans ce document nous rappellent la description du règne de Ḫantili I<sup>er</sup> faite par Telebinu<sup>74</sup> : la présence du roi à Tegaramma, les Hourrites, « les renards » appelés par les dieux pour venger le sang de Muršili et, en fin d'épisode, de la reine de Šugziya<sup>75</sup>. S'il fallait bien attribuer ce texte à Ḫantili I<sup>er</sup>, il y aurait trace d'une deuxième révolte d'un prince de Puruṣḫanda (A Ro II 4'-13' ; Vo III 2»-7» = B 29»-35»), différente de celle qui avait eu lieu du temps de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> et dans laquelle furent impliquées plusieurs villes, d'Arimatta, dans la zone des lacs Pisidiens, jusqu'à Šinnuwanda, au nord des Portes Ciliciennes, en passant par Zunnaḫara, probablement Mopsouestia en Cilicie<sup>76</sup>. Peut-être déjà sous Muršili ou, du moins, lors de la prise du pouvoir par Ḫantili, la famille du prince de Puruṣḫanda aurait été réintégrée pour en recevoir le soutien. Cependant, le (nouveau) prince de la ville aurait tôt ou tard essayé d'exercer son droit de succession au moment où Ḫantili se trouva en difficulté. Le prince de Puruṣḫanda devait donc avoir une vaste zone d'influence, et deux villes en particulier, Arimatta et Šinnuwanda, nous rappellent les frontières du royaume de Tarḫundašša du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. J.-C. On peut même suggérer que la zone contrôlée par le prince correspondait à la partie louvite de l'Empire<sup>77</sup>.

70 Il s'agirait d'une projection dans le passé des guerres d'Anitta (Torri 2009: 114-115, Yakubovich 2010: 208, 307 et Westenholz 2011: 290). Selon Gilan 2010: 54, le roi hittite (Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>) s'identifiait avec Sargon. C'est pour cette raison que cette épopée aurait été conservée dans sa bibliothèque, même si le roi vaincu était anatolien. On pourrait dire, au contraire, que ce texte était apprécié parce que le roi vaincu était celui de Puruṣḫanda !

71 Cf. Haas 2006: 68 et suivantes.

72 Éditions et commentaires : Günbattu 1997, van de Mierop 2000 et Alster/Oshima 2007. Cf. Westenholz 2007.

73 Cf. de Martino 2003: 128-130 (commentaire), 132-153 (transcription et traduction), avec bibliographie. L'attribution à Muršili est surtout due à la révolte de Puruṣḫanda qui serait liée à la condamnation de son prince en KBo 3.28. Ce texte est attribué à son tour à Muršili, mais, comme nous l'avons vu, il devrait plutôt faire partie, avec KBo 3.27, d'un décret de Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Dans un long article, Kempinski et Košak (Kempinski/Košak 1982) avaient déjà donné CTH 13 en transcription et traduction et l'avaient attribué à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Toutefois, les analogies avec les « Annales des 6 ans » (CTH 4) de ce dernier sont très vagues, ce qui a obligé les auteurs à placer les campagnes syriennes du roi dans une lacune de CTH 12 et à se demander pourquoi la révolte de Puruṣḫanda de CTH 13 n'est pas mentionnée dans CTH 4 (Kempinski/Košak 1982: 109-110).

74 Cf. Kempinski 1983: 57 et Soysal 1998: 29.

75 L'épisode de Šugziya a été étudié par Helck 1984 et par Soysal 1990. Ce dernier a compris que, dans cette histoire, sont nommées deux reines : Ḫarapšili, femme de Ḫantili I<sup>er</sup>, qui, capturée par les Hourrites, tombe malade et meurt dans la ville, et la « reine de Šugziya » qui est mise à mort avec ses fils par Ilaiyuma contre les ordres du roi. Dans les Annales CTH 13 (A II 16'), la ville de Šugziya passe du côté des Hourrites, qui, après avoir essayé de prendre Ḫurma, se replient sur Šugziya où ils passent l'hiver (A II 32'-38'). Leurs généraux meurent à cause de la peste (la même qui avait tué Ḫarapšili ?). Pour cette reconstruction, cf. Forlanini 2010: 125-126.

76 Sur les villes alliées au prince de Puruṣḫanda, voir Kempinski/Košak 1982: 106-107. Cf. aussi Forlanini 2008a: 64-65. Pour une seule révolte de Puruṣḫanda, cf. de Martino 1992: 27 qui la date du début du règne de Muršili. Dardano 2002: 368 (et Dardano 2004: 241), penche pour deux révoltes différentes.

77 Dans la triade Ḫatti, Haut Pays/Kaniš, Bas Pays/Puruṣḫanda (avec la région de Tuwanuwa), on peut voir aussi une répartition linguistique : langue hattite, hittite/nésite, louvite (cf. Singer 1981: 124, Forlanini 2008a: 80 et Yakubovich 2010: 239-240, 245 n. 47). Les lois hittites ont, dans la version la

Si Puruṣḥanda a été détruite, comme on peut le déduire des Annales CTH 13 (A Ro II 7-13)<sup>78</sup>, elle a dû être rebâtie par la suite. Du temps de Telebinu, elle possédait une « maison du sceau »<sup>79</sup>, mais plus tard elle perdit sans doute son importance, puisque nous ne la retrouvons plus que dans des textes qui ont affaire à son culte<sup>80</sup>. Son nom a évolué vers la forme /Parṣḥunda/ qui pourrait bien expliquer le toponyme Parzuta (probablement /Parzuda/) de l'inscription hiéroglyphique de Topada remontant au premier millénaire av. J.-C.<sup>81</sup>.

## VI. Le fils de Puruṣḥanda et ses descendants

Une recherche qui vise à découvrir des témoignages sur le « fils » de Puruṣḥanda et sur ces descendants pourrait nous faire mieux comprendre quand et où<sup>82</sup> la « Geste d'Anitta » fut rédigée. Les conséquences de l'idéologie exprimée par ce texte sur des événements plus récents de l'histoire hittite pourraient également être appréhendées par ce biais. Si cette branche de la « grande famille » a bien survécu à ses révoltes et ses exils et si la Geste d'Anitta, rédigée sous son influence, a été dûment recopiée dans les siècles suivants, on devrait en retrouver des descendants, même au niveau des empereurs, à l'époque du Nouvel Empire. Le retour de noms dynastiques déjà connus à la fin de l'époque Ib du *kārum* pourrait en être un indice. Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le proposer<sup>83</sup>, le nom de Tutḥaliya mérite d'être pris en considération pour cette recherche. En effet, nous connaissons l'existence, à la fin du XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, d'un Zuru, fils de Tutḥaliya (Kt 89/k 370: 7)<sup>84</sup>. Un Tutḥaliya réapparaît dans le « Siège d'Uršu »<sup>85</sup>, dont les événements sont datables des dernières années de Labarna I<sup>er</sup>, mais surtout dans KUB 26.77:17-18 avec [Taḥurw]aili, qui était un fils de Zuru selon Telebinu (II 5-6)<sup>86</sup>. S'agit-il de Tutḥaliya l'*urianni* des sceaux LHK 22-23, de l'époque de Telebinu<sup>87</sup> ? Quoi qu'il en soit, une double connexion entre les noms Zuru et Tutḥaliya à deux siècles de distance ne doit pas être fortuite. Quant au fondateur du Nouvel Empire, Tutḥaliya I<sup>er</sup>, le fils de ce Kantuzzili qui avait été le UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> KUŠ, GUŠKIN de Muwattalli I<sup>er</sup> et, en compagnie de son frère Ḥimmuili, l'assassin de ce roi usurpateur<sup>88</sup>, peut-on reconnaître en lui un membre d'une branche dynastique dans laquelle ce nom était habituel ? Le successeur de Tutḥaliya I<sup>er</sup> et mari d'Ašmu-Nikkal était Arnuwanda I<sup>er</sup>. Or, soit Muwattalli, soit Arnuwanda sont des noms qui nous amènent vers le Pays Bas, le premier comme épithète de Tarhunt, et le deuxième comme nom d'une montagne vénérée à Mammananta (CTH 505 A 24-33) avec le « Mont Blanc »

plus ancienne, un pays de Luwiya substitué par Arzawa dans la deuxième version. Si la première remonte à l'âge de Labarna I<sup>er</sup> et la deuxième à celui de Ḥattušili I<sup>er</sup>, on aurait là un indice du déplacement de l'horizon occidental hittite du Bas Pays à l'Arzawa après la conquête de Puruṣḥanda. Dans ce cas, le terme Luwiya pourrait se référer au territoire de cette ville avant la conquête.

78 Texte : de Martino 2003: 132-133. Cf. aussi Dardano 2004: 241.

79 CTH 19 III 28 (Hoffmann 1984: 42-43).

80 Cf. Kempinski/Košak 1982: 99. Il s'agit de KBo 4.13 I 47' (sur la valeur de cette liste de dieux, cf. Forlanini 2007: 261-262, 272 et suivantes). CTH 381 (Prière de Muwattalli, liste des dieux), KUB 6.45 II 38//46 III 7; KUB 17.19 4'.

81 Voir à ce sujet Weeden 2010: 55-58, avec bibliographie.

82 On pourrait penser à Puruṣḥanda avant sa destruction. Archi 2015: 6-7 pense d'ailleurs qu'elle aurait pu être rédigée à Kuššar ou dans une autre capitale locale, pour être par la suite portée à Ḥattuša pendant le règne de Telebinu.

83 Forlanini 2010: 128-129.

84 Ce texte, un *iqqāti* de Zuzzu, le dernier roi connu de Kaniš, a été publié par Donbaz 1993: 140. Cf. Forlanini 2010: 121 n. 32. Le même Tutḥaliya pourrait aussi avoir été le GAL *šaqē* du roi Zuzzu (Kt j/k 625 : 2, Donbaz 1989: 84-85).

85 CTH 7 Vo. 17-18. Güterbock 1938: 122-123, 128, 133 : « Schliesslich (?) hat sich mir Tutḥaliya weibisch benommen (??). » Kempinski 1983: 36, 40 : « Letztes Jahr handelte Tutḥaliya in schamvoller Weise. » Beckman 1995: 25-26, 30 : « Last year Tutḥaliya engaged in hesitation (cf. Beal 1988: 170). » Quoi qu'il en soit, nous comprenons que ce Tutḥaliya avait fait quelque chose de mal l'année avant celle du siège et, selon mon interprétation, il ne devait pas être apprécié par le roi qui a fait rédiger ce texte (probablement Ḥattušili I<sup>er</sup>) : cf. Forlanini 2009b: 63.

86 Ce fragment (CTH 23.2) mentionne l'exil d'Alluwamna et de Ḥarapšeki à Mallidaškuriya (10-13). On y lit par la suite : (14-16) « Mais [quand] nous arrivâmes à Ḥattuša, Šanku exécuta [...] l'ordre écrit du roi et rassembla les méchants, Tutḥaliya, [Taḥurw]aili le fils d'une prostituée... » Cf. Carruba 1974: 80 et suivantes, Bin-Nun 1974, Bin-Nun 1975: 223-224, donnent une traduction différente. L'intégration de Taḥurwaili est très probable mais incertaine. Sur ce personnage de l'époque de Telebinu, qui aurait régné avant Zidanda II, s'il ne s'agit pas d'un cas d'homonymie, voir Wilhelm 2012 avec bibliographie.

87 LHK 22:69; LHK 23:Vo 3', Rüster/Wilhelm 2012: 146-147, 151-152. Les éditeurs proposent pour LHK 22 une datation entre la fin du règne de Telebinu et le début de celui d'Alluwamna (Rüster/Wilhelm 2012: 51).

88 Le père de Tutḥaliya I<sup>er</sup> apparaît dans la légende du sceau publié par Otten 2000. Sur cette période, voir par exemple : Carruba 1990, de Martino 1991a, Klengel 1999: 100-116, Carruba 2005a et Freu 2007a: 33-34. L'attribution du sceau à Tutḥaliya I<sup>er</sup> a été contestée par Soysal 2003 et Soysal 2011. Le débat au sujet de l'existence d'un seul ou de deux Tutḥaliya (I/II) et d'un Ḥattušili (II) au début du Nouvel Empire ne peut pas être abordé ici.

(BABBAR/Ḫarki), très probablement le Hasan Dağ<sup>89</sup> que KBo 56.62, 4',7' mentionne avec le Šarpa, la montagne au sud d'Emigazi<sup>90</sup>. Nous sommes donc dans la région de l'ancienne Puruṣḫanda et, si sa tradition avait été gardée, nous aurions pu comprendre l'apparition, dans la dynastie, d'un nom personnel basé sur celui d'une montagne de la région. Il faut en outre remarquer que la femme d'Arnuwanda, la reine Ašmu-Nikkal, associée à son nom, dans l'empreinte de sceau de la tablette de donation de terres pour Kuwattalla (Bo 2004, LSU 1=LHK 91)<sup>91</sup>, celui de Tawananna, la reine dont les descendants avaient été exclus de la succession royale par Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>. Cette association serait en accord avec l'idéologie des descendants des princes de Puruṣḫanda.

## VII. Malédiction et abandon des capitales : les cas de Ḫattuša et de Tarḫundašša

Je considère toujours important d'appréhender les noms de trône des rois hittites de la phase du « Nouvel Empire » hittite (à partir de Tuḫḫaliya I<sup>er</sup> dans la deuxième moitié du XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. J.-C.) dans le sens de leur idéologie dynastique et de leur programme de règne. Le retour de noms dynastiques oubliés depuis longtemps doit trouver une explication, qui ne peut plus être due à l'opposition de lignes dynastiques liées à des villes ou des régions comme pendant l'« Ancien Empire ». Il s'agit plutôt d'un choix « idéologique » fait par des rois de la même famille. Dans certains cas cette explication est évidente, par exemple pour Muršili II, qui porte un nom dynastique qui n'était plus utilisé depuis quelque 270 ans. Ce roi atteignit le pouvoir quand il était très jeune, mais il fut capable de vaincre en dix ans tous ses ennemis, qui s'étaient moqués de lui. En outre, son ancêtre Muršili I<sup>er</sup> avait succédé à Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup> quand il était encore très jeune et avait détruit par la suite les royaumes du Yamḫad et de Babylone<sup>92</sup>. Son fils Muwattalli II choisit un nom louvite, une épithète du dieu de l'orage Tarḫunt son protecteur, auquel il dédiera sa nouvelle capitale de Tarḫundašša dans le Bas Pays louvite (la Lycaonie classique). Mais son choix doit encore être examiné d'un autre point de vue : le seul roi qui avait porté ce nom avant lui était l'usurpateur Muwattalli I<sup>er</sup>, qui avait été tué et rayé des listes des offrandes aux ancêtres royaux. Malheureusement, nous ne savons rien de la politique de ce roi, ni si Muwattalli II pouvait le considérer comme l'un de ses ancêtres. Par conséquent, certaines raisons du choix de ce nom peuvent nous échapper. Il est possible que le manque de résultats définitifs dans les guerres continuelles contre les Kaskas dans les régions autour de la capitale puisse avoir été interprété par Muwattalli comme la manifestation de l'ancienne malédiction d'Anitta. Ou, encore, le développement, partout dans l'empire, de l'élément louvite, favorisé par les déportations de gens de l'ouest (Arzawa) sur les propriétés de l'élite impériale, a convaincu le roi de faire une action d'éclat dans la direction de la composante désormais majoritaire de son état, pour s'en assurer la fidélité.

Muwattalli abandonna Ḫattuša en emportant avec lui les dieux et les mânes de la dynastie pour s'installer dans sa nouvelle ville au cœur du Bas Pays, région dont l'ancienne capitale avait été Puruṣḫanda. Pour ce faire, il confia le nord de l'empire à son frère Ḫattušili, qui, déjà comme roi du Haut Pays, portait un nom inusité depuis Ḫattušili I<sup>er</sup>. C'est ce dernier qui avait établi l'idéologie royale liée à Zalpuwa sur mer comme origine et Ḫattuša comme siège de la royauté, si l'on exclut la problématique de Ḫattušili II mentionnée seulement dans le traité de Talmi-Šarruma. Même si Ḫattušili III ne contrôlait pas l'ancienne capitale, le choix de Ḫakpiš comme centre de son royaume et la tâche qu'il s'était donnée de reconquérir

89 Cf. Forlanini 2009a: 42-43, 60-61.

90 Le mont Šarpa appartenait au territoire d'Uda (class. Hydē, aujourd'hui Gölören près d'Emirgazi). Il était vénéré à Ḫubišna (cf. Hutter 2014: 351-352) et est mentionné dans l'inscription hiéroglyphique des autels d'Emirgazi (voir Lebrun 2001: 331). J'avais proposé le Hasan Dağ (Forlanini 1987: 77), mais il faut plutôt penser pour ce dernier au mont Ḫarki (BABBAR) : cf. Forlanini 2009b: 43. Mieux : Lombardi 1998: 77 (Karacadağ) ou Hawkins 2006: 56-58 (Arısama Dağ). Le Kötü Dağ suggéré par Özcan 2013 ne serait pas visible de Ḫubišna (Cybistra).

91 Rüster/Wilhelm 2012: 48, 231-232, avec bibliographie.

92 Être devenu grand roi en jeune âge et, avec l'aide des dieux, avoir vaincu tous les ennemis qui s'étaient moqués de lui est le Leitmotiv des ses « Annales des dix ans » (CTH 61.1). Il faut remarquer que le seul texte où Muršili I<sup>er</sup> est DUMU.DUMU-ŠU de Ḫattušili (ailleurs il est toujours son « fils ») est l'introduction historique du traité de Muršili II avec Talmi-Šarrumma d'Alep (CTH 75 Vo 13, Weidner 1923: 82-83). Ce traité nous est connu par la copie commandée par Muwattalli II) : faudrait-il lire plutôt DUMU.TUR-ŠU ? Dans ce cas, on aurait encore une référence voulue par Muršili II pour s'identifier avec cet ancêtre. Voir dans la « Prière pour la peste » (CTH 378 Ro 11, Lebrun 1980, 193, 198) de ce roi le cas de Tuḫḫaliya « le jeune, fils de Tuḫḫaliya » (TUR-RI ŠA DUMU Tuḫḫaliya), lecture acceptée même si DUMU et TUR sont représentés par le même signe.



Nerik nous montrent qu'il était lié à l'idéologie de son prédécesseur homonyme. Les deux frères s'étaient donc partagé l'empire selon les deux idéologies opposées, mais, à ce moment-là, aucun d'eux ne siégeait à Hattuša, la ville maudite par Anitta.

Dans son Apologie, Hattušili III déclare que Muwattalli avait initialement transféré les dieux et les mânes dans un territoire du Bas Pays dont le nom est perdu et, seulement par la suite, dans la nouvelle capitale de Tarḫundašša, qui avait probablement été bâtie et aménagée pour les accueillir<sup>93</sup>. Le transfert en deux étapes n'est pas passé par Kummanni, comme on l'avait pensé<sup>94</sup>, mais par un territoire (étrangement pas une ville) qui était compris dans le Bas Pays. S'agissait-il du territoire de Paršḫunda/Purušḫanda ? Si l'on considère l'ancien prestige de la ville dans toute la zone luvite et la valeur idéologique de la Geste d'Anitta, cela ne serait pas impossible.

Le déplacement de la capitale à Tarḫundašša et l'abandon de Hattuša par Muwattalli II ont été considérés comme un péché, comme le montre la Prière de Hattušili III et de Puduḫeba à la déesse d'Arinna<sup>95</sup>. Si l'on accepte l'interprétation de H. C. Melchert d'un passage de l'inscription de Südburg<sup>96</sup>, Šuppiluliuma II aurait à son tour vidé Tarḫundašša de ses habitants. Toutefois, nous savons aussi qu'après quelques années Hattuša fut abandonnée et vidée, probablement par ce même roi<sup>97</sup>. Ce choix du roi hittite était-il lié seulement à des raisons stratégiques ou économiques, surtout après la perte du Kizzuwatna probablement occupé par des mercenaires originaires de l'Aḫḫiyawa<sup>98</sup>, ou faut-il penser qu'à ce moment la vieille malédiction d'Anitta lui donnait aussi une raison idéologique et religieuse de prendre cette décision dramatique ?

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93 Sur le déplacement de la capitale, voir notamment : Ünal 1997: 525-527, Singer 1996: 191-193, Singer 1998: 539-540, Klengel 1999: 210, Doğan-Alparslan/Alparslan 2011: 91-93; Doğan-Alparslan 2012: 118-119, 176-177, van den Hout 2012: 461. Les étapes du déplacement sont décrites dans l'Apologie (CTH 81) I 75-II 2 (Otten 1981: 10-11 : « Als aber mein Bruder Muwatalli auf Geheiss seiner Gottheit ins Untere Land hinabzog, die Stadt Hattusa aber verliess, da nahm [mein Bruder die Götter von] Hatti und die Manen auf und brachte sie ins Land [...] ») et II 52-53 (Otten 1981: 14-15: « Dann nahm er die Götter von Hatti und die Manen an ihrer Stelle auf und brachte sie hinab in die Stadt Tarhuntassa und nahm Tarhuntassa (zum Wohnsitz). »).

94 Otten 1981: 15, Bittel 1970: 20-21, Ünal 1997: 525-527, Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 68 (avec référence à KBo 22.11, voyage à Kummanni) et Singer 1998: 540. La Prière de Muwattalli pour Tešub de Kummanni, CTH 382 (Lebrun 1980: 294 et suivantes, Singer 2002: 82-85) montre l'intérêt de Muwattalli II pour la capitale religieuse du Kizzuwatna. Le site de Sirkeli a des bonnes chances d'être Kummanni et les reliefs de Muwattalli dans ce site s'expliquent donc bien (cf. Forlanini 2013b: 6). Cependant, Kummanni n'était pas dans le Bas Pays et ne peut donc pas être la première étape du déplacement des dieux.

95 CTH 383 KUB 14.7 I 1'-15' (éd. : Sürenhagen 1981: 90-91). Hattušili III déclare à la déesse que le déplacement des divinités à Tarḫundašša avait été fait par son frère contre sa volonté et malgré ses craintes.

96 Melchert 2002: 140 et suivantes. À propos du § 13 de l'inscription, il traduit : « I Suppiluliuma, the Great King, ... took away the people of the land Tarḫundašša. » La raison serait que Muwattalli avait amené avec lui dans cette ville les dieux (leurs statues) de Hattuša et les morts de la famille royale, Muršili III avait ramené à Hattuša les dieux, mais les morts étaient restés à Tarḫundašša. Cette ville était donc salie par l'impiété envers les morts.

97 Cf. Seeher 1998 et Seeher 2010: 220-222. Pour les conséquences historiques et les questions ouvertes par cette nouvelle vision, voir notamment de Martino 2009. Sur l'hypothèse d'un nouveau déplacement de la capitale vers le sud : Simon 2009 et Forlanini 2013a: 73-74.

98 Pour la valeur des lettres d'Ougarit RS 94.2530 et RS 94.2523, voir surtout Singer 2006, de Martino 2011: 190-191, Gander 2012: 4-5, Forlanini 2013a: 73 et Forlanini 2014: 258-259.

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# THE HURRIAN LANGUAGE IN ANATOLIA IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Stefano de Martino  
Turin University

## I. Introduction

The question of how extensively Hurrian was spread in Syria as a spoken language has already been assessed on several occasions mostly concerning the core of Mittani and the more western kingdoms of Alalah, Ugarit and Qatna. The different answers to this question depend on the written evidence available for each of these areas, but also on the views of the scholars who have dealt with this problem.

Letters exchanged between Mittanian state officials, legal acts, administrative texts and royal grants, such as the tablets from Tell Brak (TB 6002; TB 7035, TB 8001), Tell Bazi (Bz 51/23:21; Bz 50/23:32) and Tell Umm el-Marra (UEM T1)<sup>1</sup>, all written in Akkadian, clearly show that the Akkadian was the administrative language also used in the regions either inside or close to the core of Mittani and not only in the more peripheral areas such as the kingdoms of Arrapha, Terqa and Alalah<sup>2</sup>.

However, the letter found at Tell Brak TB 1102 (Wilhelm 1991a) is in Hurrian and was presumably exchanged between two Mittanian state officials. This proves that both languages, Hurrian and Akkadian, were used in the state administration. As G. Wilhelm (1996: 180) wrote, this letter shows that “la lettre mitannienne de Tušratta n’est pas une pièce unique, mais qu’à la cour du Mittani, on écrivait aussi en hurrite à certaines occasions”<sup>3</sup>.

According to E. von Dassow (2008: 75) “Hurrian was one of the main languages spoken at Alalah during the period of Level IV, the other being a local West Semitic dialect”. The increase in the diffusion of the Hurrian language at Alalah at the time of the phase Alalah IV cannot be attributed to the arrival of larger groups of Hurrians. Supposedly, it was due to the incorporation of Alalah into the kingdom of Mittani, although not the result of the imposition of a Mittanian ruling élite over the native population. In fact – as E. von Dassow (2008: 76) observed – Hurrian personal names were borne by people belonging to different social levels.

<sup>1</sup> On these texts lastly see von Dassow 2014.

<sup>2</sup> See Wilhelm 1996: 180.

<sup>3</sup> Also see Giorgieri 2013: 163.

J. P. Vita (2009) recently presented a summary on the linguistic situation of Ugarit: according to M. Dietrich and W. Mayer (1999: 74-75) Hurrian was no longer a spoken language at Ugarit in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. J. Sanmartín (1999-2000: 121-123) and W.H. van Soldt (2003: 682) considered the use of Hurrian at Ugarit only limited to small circles of people and never for administrative purposes. Differently, D. Pardee (1996) and J. P. Vita (2009: 225-227) tried to demonstrate that some of the scribes in the palace administration might have been Hurrian speakers.

The recently published letters of the archive of Idadda king of Qatna (Richter/Lange 2012), where the Akkadian text is full of Hurrian words and expressions, show that there were at least some people belonging to the Qatna social élite and involved in the state administration who were bilingual and competent in both Hurrian and a western Semitic idiom (Richter 2005).

As for Anatolia, the studies on the use of Hurrian are mostly concentrated in the documentation related to Kizzuwatna. We may for example quote the opinions of two scholars who have dealt with the written evidence of this region: J. Miller (2004: 256), after having examined the Kizzuwatna rituals, reached the conclusion that the scribes of Kizzuwatna produced “texts in Hurrian and Luwian, probably the spoken languages of the region”. Differently, I. Yakubovich (2010: 275) assumed a more restricted use of the Hurrian language: “the educated elites of Kizzuwatna likewise gravitated toward the high culture of Syria and Mesopotamia and preserved Akkadian as their main chancellery language. It is also possible that some of the Kizzuwatna scribes wrote in Hurrian, the language of the social elites of the Mittani kingdom, although this language must have been reserved for special kinds of composition...”.

The examination of the Hurrian and Luwian invocations to Ištar-Šaušga and Piringir led I. Yakubovich (2010: 266) to conclude that the diffusion of the Hurrian language in central Anatolia was even more limited; he wrote: “the scribe did not expect the Hurrian language to be widely known in the educated Hittite milieu”.

The recent discovery of some Hurrian texts at Kayalıpınar/Şamuḫa re-opened the question of how widely the Hurrian language was diffused in central Anatolia. As E. Rieken (2009: 134) wrote, these Hurrian texts clearly show that Hurrian must have been used, at least locally, by state officials of the Hittite kingdom.

In my opinion a picture of the diffusion of the Hurrian language in Anatolia can only be drawn through a cross-analysis to compare Hurrian written documentation, by taking into consideration the chronology, content, typology and find-spot of every important Hurrian tablet, with the Hurrian onomasticon of Anatolia by examining the chronological and social distribution of Hurrian personal names.

## II. The Old Kingdom

No tablet in Hurrian found in an Anatolian archaeological excavation, dates back to the Hittite Old Kingdom (Klinger 2001: 202). The oldest texts arrived to us are some Hurrian liver omina: KBo 32.223 (*danānu* omina, Wilhelm 1987; ChS I/7 4), KUB 47.93 (ChS I/7 24), KUB 8.47 (gall bladder omina, ChS I/7 6), KBo 49.60 (gall bladder omina?<sup>4</sup>), Bo 2002/08 (gall bladder omina, Wilhelm 2010). These tablets, according to the sign-forms, can be dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Wilhelm 1987: 232; Klinger 2001: 202 n. 22; 2003: 240 n. 15; Wilhelm 2010, 623-629; Giorgieri 2013: 164)<sup>5</sup>. The texts ChS I/7 4, 6 and Bo 2002/08 show common formal elements, such as the sign DIŠ at the beginning of every omen, interpreted by G. Wilhelm (1987: 233) as “eine Art Zählhilfe oder Textordnungssymbol (§)”, similarly to what can be seen in some Old Babylonian omina.

G. Wilhelm (2010: 630) stressed the importance of these texts, the knowledge of which reached Ḫattuša at a time when Kizzuwatna had not yet been annexed to Ḫatti. Nevertheless, Kizzuwatna might, also at that time, have been the link between the Hittites and the Hurrian world; in fact we might advance the hypothesis that the political tie between Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna, when the Hittite king Zidanza II concluded a treaty with Pilliya (Beal 1986: 430-431), might have led to an exchange of scribes and texts.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. ChS I/7 12, see Wilhelm 2010: 623 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Differently M. Salvini (1994: 78) dated ChS I/7 24 to the Old Kingdom.

There are no Hurrian personal names borne either by members of the Hittite court or by state officials during the Old Kingdom (de Martino 2011: 9, 25). This supports the hypothesis that the Hurrian tradition and language did not in any way influence the Hittites, although Ḫattušili I and Muršili I conquered several eastern Anatolian and Syrian states and principalities, which the Hittites labelled as “Hurrian”.

### III. The Early Imperial Age

The situation completely changed in the last decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, starting with the reign of King Tuḫaliya I. Three factors caused this change: the annexation of Kizzuwatna, which became an integral part of the Hittite Kingdom<sup>6</sup>; the marriage of Tuḫaliya I to Nikkal-Madi, who presumably was a princess of the royal family of Kizzuwatna (Houwink ten Cate 1998: 43-50)<sup>7</sup>; and the Syrian campaigns of Tuḫaliya I, who conquered Aleppo and other western Syrian municipalities.

M. Giorgieri (2013: 164-165) already listed and put in chronological order the most important Hurrian texts found in Hittite archives. None of the texts collected by Giorgieri explicitly mentions either Tuḫaliya I or Arnuwanda I, but a date to their reign is supported by several elements.

The tablets of the “Song of Release”, a composition that narrates the fall of Ebla happened at the time of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I, and those of the “Parables” (Neu 1996) might indeed have reached the Hittite capital at the time of either Tuḫaliya I or Arnuwanda I, although the original Hurrian composition is much older and can be dated either to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century or to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Neu 1996: 5-7). In fact, the Hurro-Hittite bilingual edition discovered at Ḫattuša can be dated about to the Early Imperial Age, if we consider the paleographic and linguistic features<sup>8</sup>. Since these two compositions are not documented in older tablets, we can exclude the assumption that the original Hurrian texts might have been brought to Ḫattuša when Ḫattušili I and Muršili I conquered eastern Anatolia and western Syria.

Unfortunately we do not know where the “Song of Release” was originally composed. G. Wilhelm (2008: 192-193) convincingly put forward the hypothesis that this “poem”, that belongs to the tradition of the city of Igingalliš, might have been written and preserved in a Syrian center, such as Ḫaššum, where the Hurrian language was already spoken in the Middle Bronze Age. Then, the knowledge of the Song might also have reached other centers such as Aleppo, Ugarit and Kizzuwatna. The Hurrian fragment RS 19.148, recently published by M. Giorgieri (2013: 177-178) and seemingly part of the “Song of Release”, might support the supposition that this text was also known in Syria, although at a later time. Going back to the problem of how these Hurrian tablets reached Ḫattuša, we might advance two hypotheses: they were either taken to the Hittite capital as part of the booty after Tuḫaliya I had conquered and sacked Aleppo and the other Western Syrian regions, or else they had arrived at the Hittite court together with all the other texts taken from the archives of Kummani, after the annexation of Kizzuwatna and the marriage of the Hittite king to Nikkal-Madi.

All the tablets of the “Song of Release” and those of the Parables, with the only exception of ABoT 2.247 (see n.8) the find-spot of which is unknown, have been found in Ḫattuša, in the Temples 15 and 16 of the Upper City<sup>9</sup>. Their exclusive location and the lack of tablets of these two compositions in the main archives of the Hittite capital, such as Büyükkale (Building A), the “Haus am Hang” and the Temple I, lead us to believe that the interest in these texts was limited to the erudite priests active in these two temples. Despite this, the high number of duplicates of some parts of the “Song of Release” (de Martino 2012) shows how great the interest was in these Hurrian texts from the small community active in the Temples 15 and 16. These duplicates might also have been used for scholarly purposes, for example for teaching the Hurrian language and traditions either to priests or scribes.

6 The treaty concluded by Tuḫaliya I with Šunaššura king of Kizzuwatna established the Hittite political control over this region that eventually was annexed to Ḫatti, see Wilhelm 1988.

7 Also see de Martino 2011: 9 n. 8 with more literature.

8 Only a small fragment, ABoT 2.247 (Soysal 2011: 30) is to be dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

9 See de Martino 2014 concerning the other tablets and material stored in these two temples.



The point about the scribes being native Hurrian speakers and their competence in translating into Hittite the Hurrian text has already been assessed in some essays, although no exhaustive analysis has been done of all the tablets and the fragments of the “Song of Release” and the Parables. The most veritable hypothesis seems to be that a team of scribes, some of them speaking Hittite and others Hurrian, maybe both with a double linguistic competence although at different degrees, might have carried out the translation (de Martino 1999). In fact, since some of the mistakes recognizable in the Hittite version can be interpreted as due to interference from the Hurrian language, the translator of these passages must have been a Hurrian speaker (Wilhelm 1997: 281 n. 26, 283-284 n. 36). Despite this, the translator has not well understood the Hurrian text of other passages and this might only have happened to a scribe who was not a native Hurrian (Wilhelm 1992: 128).

Ḫubidi might be a good example of a bilingual scribe active in the Early Imperial Age and with a double linguistic competence. In fact Ḫubidi, who bears a Hurrian name (de Martino 2011: 53), is the scribe not only of the prayer in Hurrian ChS I/1 41 (see *ultra*), but also of the Hittite fragment KBo 22.129 (+) KBo 22.129a (Groddek 2008: 120-121). According to Sh. Gordin (2014: 65) Ḫubidi might be a second or third generation scribe in Ḫattuša; his presence in the Hittite capital “might reflect an earlier influx of the Hurrians from Kizzuwatna, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE.” In my opinion he might also be a Kizzuwatean scribe, able to write texts in both languages, having moved from south-eastern Anatolia at the time of either Arnuwanda I or Tutḫaliya II<sup>10</sup>.

The ritual of Allaituraḫḫi (ChS I/5 1-2), the ritual of Šalašu (ChS I/5 40) and the ritual of Aštu (ChS I/5 50-67) might also have been known at the Hittite court in this same period<sup>11</sup>. The supposition that these rituals have reached Ḫattuša at the time of either Tutḫaliya I or Arnuwanda I has already been advanced by V. Haas and H. J. Thiel (1978: 65-66) and more recently reaffirmed by J. Miller (2004: 506; 2005: 130-131) and M. Giorgieri (2013: 164).

The provenance of these three ritualists is well documented: Allaituraḫḫi came from Mukiš, Aštu was a Hurrian “Old Woman” (Görke 2010: 273-276) and Šalašu came from Kizzuwatna; the names they bear are Hurrian (de Martino 2011: 66, 67, 70).

The knowledge of these rituals must date to a period when the relations between Ḫattuša, on the one hand, and Kizzuwatna and north western Syria, on the other, were close. Such a political and cultural contingency must have happened only starting with the later phase of the kingdom of Tutḫaliya I and the annexation of Kizzuwatna (Miller 2004: 355-356). Tutḫaliya I adplanted the Deity of the Night of Kizzuwatna in Šamuḫa (Miller 2004: 312, 355) and this is a sure sign of his interest in the religious and cultural traditions of Kizzuwatna; moreover rituals of Kizzuwatnean and Syrian traditions were copied and stored in the archives of the Hittite capital by the king’s command. It is hard to say in which way these rituals became known to the Hittites, whether some Hittite scribes, who joined the king and his army during the military expedition of Tutḫaliya I, could have possibly interviewed “the practitioners of the oral ritual arts” active in Syria. Otherwise these same ritual experts might have been resident in Kizzuwatna and they could have been interviewed there. Lastly it is also possible that the tablets of these rituals had once be kept in the archives of Kummani and from there taken to Ḫattuša (Miller 2004: 506).

As the possibility of recognizing original Kizzuwatnean tablets inside the Hittite archives, we may quote KUB 47.41 (ChS I/2 80, an AZU Ritual); it shows an unusual ductus, which J. Klinger (2001: 200) and J. Miller (2004: 526-527) labeled as Middle Assyrian. According to these two scholars, it might be the only surviving evidence of an imported original text from Kizzuwatna<sup>12</sup>.

10 A person by the name Ḫubidi is the sender of a letter found at Šapinuwa, but we cannot say if he is the already mentioned scribe (de Martino 2011: 27-28).

11 The tablets ChS I/5 1, 2, 40 show a MS ductus, see ChS I/5 pp. 7, 13; concerning the ritual of Aštu almost all the manuscripts belong to the imperial age and only ChS I/5 59 has an MS ductus (Görke 2010: 25-26). Concerning the manuscripts of the Allaituraḫḫi ritual also see Miller 2004: 506 n. 924.

12 Differently, according to Yakubovich (2010: 274 n. 81), this text does not give any indication that it was extracted from the archives of Kizzuwatna.



J. Klinger (2001: 200) assumed an oral transmission of the Hurro-Kizzuwatnean rituals, but in this case the registration of long Hurrian rituals might have been possible only on condition that some Kizzuwatnean scribes resided and worked at the Hittite court.

The texts ChS I/1 39 and 40 are labeled as “edicts” (Haas 1984: 5). They can be dated to Arnuwanda I. In fact, ChS I/39 mentions Queen Ašmu-Nikkal (III 22’) and Tašmi-Šarri<sup>13</sup>; the name of prince Tulbi-Tešob, one of Arnuwanda’s sons or grandsons (Marizza 2007: 24-33), occurs in ChS I/1 40, 12. These texts are original tablets of the Early Imperial Age. The use of either Hurrian (ChS I/1 39) or both Hurrian and Hittite (ChS I/1 40) for acts that had a political purpose proves that the members of the royal family and the court of that time were familiar with the Hurrian language<sup>14</sup>.

Moving onto the time of Tutḫaliya II, the rituals *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi* can be dated to the royal couple Tutḫaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba, who are the ritual patrons. Some tablets of these rituals have been found in Ḫattuša (ChS I/1 1-4, 5-38), whilst others come from Šapinuwa (Süel 1998: 554-555). The tablets of the *itkalzi* ritual belong to two different series: the original Hurrian long edition of 22 tablets and a Hurro-Hittite reduced series of only 10 tablets (de Martino/Murat/Süel 2013: 132). The text documented in the long Hurrian edition is a purification ritual presumably performed on the occasion of the marriage of Tutḫaliya to Tadu-Ḫeba; the shorter edition is an adaptation of this same ritual transformed in a more general “fill in the blank” ritual, which theoretically might have been performed for any other ritual patron (de Martino/Süel 2015: 17). The Šapinuwa manuscripts of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> tablets date to the time of Tutḫaliya II; the several tablets of this ritual found in the Hittite capital are in part original texts of the early imperial age and in part copies of a later time (Haas 1984: 11-14). The choice of such a long purification ritual in Hurrian is clearly a sign that Tutḫaliya II and Tadu-Ḫeba were familiar with the Hurrian language<sup>15</sup>.

Further proof that Hurrian was spoken by the members of the royal family at this time can be seen in the Hurrian prayer ChS I/1 41, which Queen Tadu-Ḫeba addressed to the god Tešob (Wilhelm 1991b; Singer 2002: 43-44)<sup>16</sup>. In fact the prayer is a kind of text that is usually recited in the native language of the speaker and we can presume that the queen, when reciting this prayer, could understand its meaning. We may also quote the tablet ChS I/1 11, which is an invocation to the gods in Hurrian, attributed in the colophon to Kantuzili, son of Arnuwanda I and a priest in Kizzuwatna (Marizza 2007: 17-24)<sup>17</sup>.

As previously mentioned, Hurrian tablets have also been found in the excavations of the Anatolian site Kayalıpınar/Šamuḫa; the fragmentary tablet Kp 05/226 is particularly interesting, because, presumably, it is an account of military enterprises undertaken in Syria (Wilhelm 2006; Wilhelm *apud* Rieken 2009: 130-133; Rieken 2009: 133-135; Giorgieri 2013: 166) during the reign of Tutḫaliya II (de Martino 2010: 135). It is written in Hurrian, but with the Hittite ductus in use at the Hittite capital during the Early Imperial Age (Wilhelm *apud* Rieken 2009: 130). This historical narrative is another important piece of evidence in support of the hypothesis that Hurrian was spoken at the Hittite court of that time.

Tutḫaliya II resided in both Šapinuwa and Šamuḫa; he built the huge royal palace of Šapinuwa and the archive discovered there proves that he indeed ruled the country from that city (Süel 2009). About 650 tablets in Hurrian have been found in the archive of Šapinuwa and this proves that Hurrian was written and understood in that city. Tutḫaliya II also spent some time in Šamuḫa (de Martino 2008: 134-138). The existence of Hurrian texts in Šapinuwa and Šamuḫa could be the consequence of Tutḫaliya’s presence together with his court in both of these cities (Rieken 2009: 133-134; Giorgieri 2013: 166).

The important role gained by the use of Hurrian during the Early Imperial Age finds confirmation in the spreading of Hurrian names among the members of the royal family. All the queens have Hurrian names (Nikkal-Madi, Ašmu-Nikkal, Šadandu-Ḫeba, Tadu-Ḫeba); King Tutḫaliya II had a Hurrian second name (Tašmi-Šarri). Several other members of the royal family also bear Hurrian names (de Martino 2011: 9-13). Differently

13 A passage of this text (III 20’) documents that he had been ordained as a priest.

14 Also see ChS I/8 7, see Giorgieri 2013: 164.

15 Among the Hurrian tablets found in Šapinuwa, we may also quote the Hurrian offering ritual for Tutḫaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri (Or 97/1), recently published (Wilhelm/Süel 2013).

16 Also see the prayer ChS I/1 42.

17 We can presume that Kantuzili was a priest in Kizzuwatna even during the reign of his brother Tutḫaliya II; in fact his follower, Telipinu, was appointed to that position by Šuppiluliuma I (de Martino 2013: 69).

Hurrian personal names are not widespread among the inhabitants of Ḫatti. Hurrian names are only borne by foreign experts, such as the ritualists Allaituraḫḫi, Giziya, Ašdu, Madi, Šalašu etc., the physicians Agiya and Hudubi, the diviner Eḫal-Tešob (de Martino 2011: 26-27). These experts might have been called to move from Kizzuwatna and eastern Syria to reside at the Hittite court. The case of Šapinuwa differs from what we know about the rest of the country. In fact the tablets of Šapinuwa mention several people bearing Hurrian names. They could be either functionaries who had moved from Kizzuwatna or else members of a local Hurrian community documented in the Hittite written documentation for the first time during this period (de Martino 2011: 27-28). Lastly, Hurrian names are borne by the inhabitants of Išmeriga, a region close to Kizzuwatna (de Martino 2011: 27).

## IV. The Imperial Age

Hurrian mythological texts have come down to us either in Hurrian or Hittite. The mythological texts in Hurrian (ChS I/6) comprehend the series of Kumarbi, the Tale of Kešše, and other compositions. Moreover fragments in Hurrian of the poem of Gilgameš are also documented. Very few of the Hurrian mythological tablets can be dated either to the Early Imperial Age or to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, such as KUB 47.3 (ChS I/6 29, Tale of Kešše) and KUB 45.64 (ChS I/6 64, “Song of the Sea”)<sup>18</sup>. All the other tablets date to the 13<sup>th</sup> century; the texts in Hittite language of the Hurrian mythological compositions also date to that time (Haas 2006: 130). Despite this, it is possible that some of these texts might have been written earlier, for example during the reign of Šuppiliuma I<sup>19</sup>. His conquest of the kingdom of Mittani presumably also brought wider knowledge of the Hurrian literary tradition.

The relationship between the Hurrian version and the Hittite edition of these mythological texts is very complex. M. Giorgieri (2001) demonstrated that KUB 45.61 – a Hurrian fragment of the “Song of Ullikummi” narrating the birth of Ullikummi – cannot be compared with the analogous passage of the Hittite version, since the latter is only an adaptation of the original Hurrian text. The same can be said for the tale of Kešše, documented by tablets in Hurrian, Hittite and Akkadian (EA 341). The relationship between the Hurrian and the Hittite versions “is more like the complex relationship between the Hurrian, Hittite and Akkadian versions of Gilgameš” (Dijkstra 2008: 2015). V. Haas (2006: 208) also considered the Hittite version to be an adaptation of the original Hurrian tale.

The lack of any exact correspondence between the two versions – one in Hurrian and the other in Hittite – of the Hurrian myths led A. Archi (2007: 197-198) to conclude that the archetype of every Hurrian mythological composition written in Hittite was an oral text: “When a scriptorium felt the need to acquire a written Hurrian version, they turned to a ‘singer’: a bard who dictated his version... There was no longer a Hurrian text with the Hittite translation opposite, as in the Epic of Freeing<sup>20</sup>, but an orally dictated text, that is to say, one that has been reformulated in Hittite, dictated possibly with the help of memories of a Hurrian manuscript”. M.R. Bachvarova (2014) has very recently supported Archi’s hypothesis with more arguments; she assumed that “the tablets represent textualizations of flexible narratives, and that the works, whether dictated by singers, composed by scribes, or involving scribal modification or redacting of previously existing texts, should be considered to be ‘oral derived’.”

Accepting Archi’s hypothesis, Hurrian bards might have been present at the Hittite court in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. However, they did not play any significant role in spreading the Hurrian language. The Hurrian myths, for sure, were appreciated as pieces of literature; indeed several of these texts were kept either in Temple 1 or in the “Haus am Hang” (Archi 2007: 200). Despite this, the Hurrian mythological compositions were freely translated into Hittite and the Hittite translations are more numerous than the original Hurrian poems. We may assume that the members of the Hittite court preferred the Hittite translations because they were no more familiar with the Hurrian language.

<sup>18</sup> Also see KBo 33.10 (ChS I/6 3), part of the Poem of Gilgameš.

<sup>19</sup> For example see Hoffner 1988: 162 concerning the Song of the Sea; also see Archi 2007: 197.

<sup>20</sup> I.e. the Song of Release.

Muršili II might also have been interested in Hurrian rituals. A passage of the ritual of Ummaya (ChS I/5 46) mentions (IV 38') a person by the name Muršili, who is thought to be King Muršili II; it contains passages in Hurrian as well in Hittite and was transmitted on a "Sammeltafel" (together with the ritual of Puliša)<sup>21</sup>.

No Hurrian text can be dated with any certainty to Muwattalli II, although this king bore a Hurrian second name, Šarri-Tešob (Hawkins 2011: 94), and reintroduced, after a long while, Hurrian names into the royal family. In fact, Hurrian personal names had felt into disuse at the time of Šuppiliuma I and Muršili II (de Martino 2011: 13-14). If there were any Hurrian text of Muwattalli II, they would be in the archives of Tarḫuntašša.

As is well known, the wife of Ḫattušili III, Pudu-Ḫeba came from Kizzuwatna<sup>22</sup>. She had a Hurrian name and her father Pendib-Šarri also bore a Hurrian name<sup>23</sup>, a priest of Ištar. The Queen's name is composed with the divine name Ḫebat as those of the Queens of the early imperial age, whose relationship with Kizzuwatna also was very close.

Hurrian personal names came into fashion during the reign of Ḫattušili III among members of the royal families and members of the élite in the Hittite society at that time. Hurrian names were no longer limited to the people closely related to the royal couple, as in the Early Imperial Age, but they were also borne by high officials, scribes, priests etc. (de Martino 2011). The cause of this phenomenon cannot be fully explained. We can guess that Pudu-Ḫeba might have led her husband to adopt Hurrian names for some of their children; the members of the court, but also people working in the state administration might have followed this trend in a spirit of emulation for the royal family. It is also possible that the presence at the Hittite court of people coming from Kizzuwatna might have contributed to the diffusion of the Hurrian names.

Pudu-Ḫeba had a great interest in the Hurro-Kizzuwatnean religious tradition. She ordered the Chief Scribe Walwaziti to collect the tablets of the ḫišuwa-festival stored in Kizzuwatna (Wegner/Salvini 1991). The scribe Ḫulanabi, one of Walwaziti's sons wrote some of the tablets of this festival (Wegner/Salvini 1991: 3-4).

Walwaziti was son of the Chief Scribe Mittanna-muwa who carried out his activity at the time of both Muršili II and Muwattalli II (Gordin 2014: 73). His Hurrian name refers to Mittani, presumably his native land (de Martino 2011: 30); differently M. Salvini (1980) suggested that he came from Kizzuwatna, because his children and grandchildren have either Hurrian or Luwian names, but, in my opinion, this only reflects the eclectic taste of the period, well documented by the names of the members of the royal family at the time of Ḫattušili III (de Martino 2011: 30-31). According to Sh. Gordin (2014: 73) Mittannamuwa and his scribal circle might have contributed to transmit and diffuse the Assyro-Mittanian script to Ḫattuša. Mittannamuwa and his descendants are an example of a school of scribes who might have known Hurrian.

The tablets of the ḫišuwa-festival are written in Hittite, whereas Hurrian is only used in some stereotyped "Spruche". Differently from the rituals of the Early Imperial Age, these sentences are not introduced by the expression "he/she (= the performer of the ritual) speaks in Hurrian" (Wegner/Salvini 1991: 3). The Hurrian sentences are only recited on the occasion of particular ritual actions; as M.-Cl. Trémouille (2000: 131) observed "Cet emploi, réservé apparemment au moment des rites sacramentels, confère au hourrite le caractère d'une véritable *langue sacrée*, destinée exclusivement au dialogue entre les prêtres et la divinité. Dès que le culte devient public, hors des murs du temple ou de l'édifice sacré, l'usage du hourrite semble aboli".

Moreover, the Hurrian sentences of the ḫišuwa-festival show several peculiarities that do not fit the rules of the Hurrian grammar, such as the often recurring verbal form *kel=o=ž* used here with a transitive meaning (Giorgieri 2000: 235 n. 189; 2012: 144-145 n. 28).

21 The ritual ChS I/5 47 and 48 shows passages similar to those of ChS I/5 46, but, as G. Wilhelm (1999: 413 and n. 8) demonstrated, the name Tašmi-Šarruma cannot be read in the fragmentary passages ChS I/5 47 III 5 and ChS I/5 48 III 17'.

22 Concerning Pudu-Ḫeba's exact provenance see de Roos 2006: 19.

23 On this name see de Martino 2011, 65-66.

It is hard to say whether these expressions reflect either a Hurrian idiom used in Kizzuwatna or incorrect usage of the Hurrian language, but other elements support the hypothesis that the Hurrian language was no longer well known. The most recent edition of the Allaiturahhi ritual (ChS I/5 25-27) was performed for a king named Šuppiliuma (ChS I/5 25 I 7', IV 3'), who is generally identified with Šuppiliuma II. This adaptation of the ritual lacks of any passage and sentence in Hurrian, whereas the older edition of the Early Imperial Age included long parts in Hurrian (Haas/Wegner 1988: 5).

## V. Conclusion

The collected available sources show that the Hurrian culture and tradition exercised a great influence over the Hittite royal family, which started with Tuthaliya I and increased during the reign of Tuthaliya II. The annexation of Kizzuwatna and the direct contact with western Syria might have been the reason for that influence. This phenomenon seems to be limited to the court and did not affect other components of the Hittite society. It is probable that the Hurrian language was spoken at the court of Kizzuwatna and Nikkal-Madi might have taught it to her children, even though Hittite remained the official and most widely used written language in the Hittite kingdom. Hurrian was also read and written among small circles of erudite persons, such as those who collected the tablets of the “Song of Release” and of the Parables in the temples 15 and 16. The provenance of these people is unknown and we cannot exclude that they were priests or scribes of Kizzuwatnean origin. No element supports the hypothesis that the Hurrian language was also widespread among the population of central Anatolia. The linguistic situation in the more eastern areas of Anatolia, such as Išmeriga, might have been different, but the lack of written documentation from these countries prevents us from reaching any definite conclusion.

In the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Hurrian culture, myths of Hurrian tradition and Hurrian personal names gained a great popularity, mostly from the influence exercised by Queen Pudu-Ḫeba, but several clues support the hypothesis that Hurrian was no longer widely used during this same period.

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# AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW ON THE LOCATION OF ARZAWA\*

Max Gander  
Zurich University

## I. Introduction

The geography of western Anatolia seems to be a particularly vexing problem for Hittitology. Even before decoding the Hittite texts, scholars attempted to connect toponyms, mentioned in the Egyptian sources, with region names of Asia Minor known from later texts.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the first Hittite texts were available and understandable, various scholars tried to associate names appearing in these texts with persons and places known from classical sources, in particular Greek myth.<sup>2</sup>

Although it has long been shown that a search for a “true core” of the Greek myths is methodologically questionable, it further functioned as a catalyst in this area of Hittite studies, thus, securing the interest of a broader audience in classical and ancient studies.

This connection between Hittite history and Greek myths has been often criticized from both sides, but lived on until now. All too often, a Greek myth is used to explain an episode of Hittite history.<sup>3</sup> The question of the geography and history of western Anatolia in the Bronze Age has too often been reduced

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1 See Smolenski 1915 for an overview and e.g. the identification of Lukka and Lycia by de Rougé 1867: 96-97, the skepticism by Treuber 1887: 50, and the enthusiasm by Meyer 1928: 302, more generally see Mayer/Garstang 1923; Hrozný 1929; Garstang 1941.

2 E.g. Luckenbill 1911; Phythian-Adams 1922; Forrer 1924a; Forrer 1924b; Hrozný 1929: 333-334; Barnett 1953; Page 1959: 97-117; Cornelius 1973: 40, 166, 218, 229, 263-274, 279-280, 343 n. 11, 346-348 n. 48, 49, 61; Schachermeyr 1982: 93-112; Huxley 1960: 29-48.

3 E.g. Vermeule 1983; Bryce 1986: 11-41; Hiller 1991; Börker-Klähn 1994: 319-323; Cline 1996; Cline 1997; Hansen 1997; Gindin 1999; Hansen 2000; Beekes 2002; Högemann 2004: 121-129; Raimond 2004: 93-94; Jasink/Marino 2007; Herda 2009: 31-60, 129-135; Latacz 2010. For a detailed view on the various name equations, though sometimes too critical, see Steiner 2011.

to the quest for a historic kernel of the Trojan War, the first appearance of Greeks or evidence supporting the Greek myths concerning the Ionian migration.<sup>4</sup>

The most important names, repeatedly mentioned in this context, are Wilusa, Taruisa, and Ahhiyawa. The first two connected with Homeric Ἰλῖος and Τροίη, and the last one with the Ἀχαιῶν.<sup>5</sup>

Though the connections to Greek myths secure certain attention by classical scholars, Hittite history should be considered completely independent of any mythical narratives. Myth is not history and should not be treated as such. A historicistic interpretation of a Greek myth does neither justice to the myth nor to the history that it is compared to. A myth must have its *raison d'être* in the present and cannot be interpreted as a conveyor of actual historic truth. The discussion about the historical geography of western Anatolia, therefore, should be based solely on the Hittite written sources.<sup>6</sup>

In the dispute about western Anatolia's political geography, one can discern phases in which the scholarly community was more critical and others in which it was more receptive to the various name equations. Throughout the last century the discussion was open, and rarely something was taken for granted. However, in the course of the so-called "Troia-Debatte" at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century,<sup>7</sup> Hittitologists were also forced to take sides and argue for their geographical and historical reconstructions. Though the tone was never as hostile as it was among archaeologists and historians,<sup>8</sup> it clearly became more aggressive and apodictic. Among archaeologists and historians, the question of Troy's size and relevance remained largely undecided. However, in Hittitology, the geographical reconstructions provided by Frank Starke<sup>9</sup> and J. David Hawkins<sup>10</sup> became a widely accepted, largely unquestioned *communis opinio*, and was adopted, not only by Hittitologists,<sup>11</sup> classicists, and archaeologists,<sup>12</sup> but also in publications aimed at the broader public,<sup>13</sup> and even educational works,<sup>14</sup> often without the necessary reservations.

Doubts on the reconstruction by Hawkins and Starke<sup>15</sup> were largely ignored or dismissed. In place of geographical discussions, the new millennium sometimes saw historical reconstructions based on the presumed "facts". The location of Wilusa in the Troad, among others, was treated as a historical certainty, on the basis of which new geographical considerations were developed.<sup>16</sup> However, the location of Wilusa, as of all the other Arzawa lands, is highly dependent on those of Arzawa and Mira. The argumentation of many of these contributions, based on the "established location" of Wilusa and other lands, is therefore inherently circular.

For this reason, I would like to present evidence that might challenge the commonly held view and show that the geography of western Anatolia is "still an open question."<sup>17</sup>

4 See preceding note and particularly, Högemann 2004; Herda 2009; Niemeier 2007: 60-90; Niemeier 2008a: 295-331; Niemeier 2008b: 16-21; Latacz 2010.

5 For an overview of the research see Steiner 1964; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 349-352; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a: 146-156; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004b: 196-210; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c: 29-36; Gander 2015.

6 As Forlanini 2012: 134 rightly pointed out, for this area of Anatolia it is too early to combine philological and archaeological evidence on a large scale, which would be the next important step. The combination of the two by Pavúk 2015: 95, 101-103 is clearly biased. The borders of the western Anatolian ceramic groups in his fig. 9, p. 95 agree just as well or even better with the reconstruction presented here than with the current one, see esp. the large group comprising the Hermos valley and the Aiolis (the area argued here to be Arzawa) and the one in the Meander valley (our Seha River Land).

7 For an overview of the controversy see Cobet/Gehrke 2002, Weber 2006a and Weber 2006b.

8 See in particular Latacz 2010 and Kolb 2010.

9 Particularly Starke 1997, but see also Starke 1998; Starke 2000; Starke 2001a; Starke 2001b; Starke 2002.

10 Particularly Hawkins 1998, but see also Hawkins 1999; Hawkins 2002; Hawkins 2015.

11 E.g. Bryce 2003; Melchert 2003a: 5-7; Melchert 2003b: 37; Bryce 2005: 41-60; de Martino 2006; Klinger 2007: map; Strobel 2008; Bryce 2011; de Martino 2011: 181-187; Alparslan 2015 and various others.

12 E.g. Högemann 1996; Niemeier 1999: 141-155; Waelkens 2000; Yakar 2000: esp. 303-372; Benzi 2002: 355-360; Niemeier 2007: 37-96; Herda 2009; Breyer 2010: 334-338; Latacz 2010; Roosevelt 2010: 56; Teffeteller 2013; Pavúk 2015: esp. 95, 101-103 and others.

13 Brandau/Schickert/Jablonka 2004; Siebler 2001; Exhibition Catalogue: *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: das Volk der 1000 Götter*, Stuttgart 2002, Exhibition Catalogue: *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart 2001, Exhibition Catalogue: *Homer: Der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst*, Munich 2008, Exhibition Catalogue: *Troy, City, Homer and Turkey*, Amsterdam 2013. Even in various television documentaries only the geographical reconstruction of Hawkins and Starke was shown, see *Versunkene Metropolen: Brennpunkt Hattusa*; *Troja – Die wahre Geschichte*; *The Hittites: A Civilization That Changed the World*.

14 Schmauder 2007.

15 See e.g. Haider 2004; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c; Hertel 2008; Pantazis 2009; Heinhold-Krahmer 2013.

16 See e.g. Peschlow-Bindokat 2002; Herda 2009; Latacz 2010: 364-365; Woudhuizen 2015: 9; Oreshko, forthcoming.

17 Forlanini 2012: 133. Interestingly in recent years a more critical approach has gained more supporters, cf. the statements of Bryce 2007; Heinhold-Krahmer 2013; Hawkins 2013; Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2015; Hawkins 2015: 30.

## I.1. The *communis opinio*: The reconstructions of Frank Starke and J. David Hawkins

The so-called “*solution of the problem*” referred to by different scholars, is the one provided by Frank Starke and J. David Hawkins in 1997 and 1998, respectively.<sup>18</sup> Though their reconstructions differ in many ways, especially regarding the western Anatolian inland,<sup>19</sup> they essentially agree on the placement of Arzawa and the Arzawa Lands.

One suggestion of Starke,<sup>20</sup> not shared by Hawkins, namely that Mira from the beginning included the core area of Arzawa, could be shown to be incorrect,<sup>21</sup> even though it is quite certain that Mashuiluwa belonged to the Arzawa royal house. Perhaps one has to think of Mira as Arzawan secundogeniture.

Starke begins his reconstruction with the geography of Tarhuntassa, where he mentions the well-known equations of Parha – Perge and Kastaraya – Kestros. Beyond Parha lay enemy territory, as is evident from the Bronze Tablet (Bo 86/299 I 61-63). This enemy, in Starke’s opinion,<sup>22</sup> can only be Lukka.<sup>23</sup> Concerning Lukka, Starke mentions the famous equations proposed by Massimo Poetto on account of the Yalburt inscription,<sup>24</sup> which almost are universally accepted today.<sup>25</sup> He then states, without further argumentation: “*Das hethiterzeitliche Lukkā war aber viel weitläufiger als das spätere Lykien, indem es auch den Westen Pisidiens und Pamphylis sowie den Süden Kariens einschloss,*”<sup>26</sup> and thereby expands Lukka to the borders of Miletos.

Even though the Lukka communities are difficult to grasp, and their territory may, in fact, have extended beyond Lycia, it is impossible to say at the moment, how far and where it extended.<sup>27</sup>

According to Starke, Arzawa can only lie north of Lukka, and since Walma (bordering Arzawa) lay north of Tarhuntassa, Arzawa may only have lain in the Meander valley.<sup>28</sup>

This location of Arzawa determines the whole reconstruction of the other Arzawa Lands. The placement of Arzawa prompts Starke to locate the Seha River Land north, in the valley of the Hermos. To accommodate its relationship with Lazpa – Lesbos the Seha River Land has to include the Kaikos River. This results in the placement of Wilusa in the Troad, intended from the beginning.<sup>29</sup>

Hawkins, on the other hand, starts his reconstruction with the recognition that the Karabel inscription is a work of king Tarkasnawa of Mira. It is, therefore, evident that Mira should be placed in the Karabel region.<sup>30</sup> Following a suggestion by S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Hawkins assumes that Mira must have gotten the lion’s share of the original Arzawan territory, thereby expanding to the coast and including the old Arzawan capital of Apasa – Ephesos.<sup>31</sup> This conception induces him to locate Mira south of the Karabel pass, the Karabel forming the border of Mira and Seha. This prompts a location of the Seha River Land in the Hermos Valley and, the interest of Manapatarhunta of the Seha River Land in Lazpa – Lesbos justifies the extension of this land to the Kaikos valley. Hawkins supports this reconstruction referring to the linguistic equations of Lazpa – Lesbos, Appawiya – Abbaitis, and Wilusa – Ilion.<sup>32</sup>

The close connection between Seha and Wilusa “*push[es] the latter kingdom back into its home in the Troad, in the past so hotly contested*”.<sup>33</sup>

18 See above n. 9 and 10.

19 See Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c.

20 Starke 1997: 452.

21 Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 328-329, 337-340; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a: 162; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c: 46-51; Hawkins 1998: 22-23; Freu 2014: 84; Hawkins 2015: 26.

22 Following a suggestion by Houwink ten Cate 1992: 254 n. 28.

23 Starke 1997: 450 and 469 n. 14.

24 Poetto 1993: esp. 75-84,  $\nu\mu\tau\text{IS}(\text{REGIO})$  – Wiyānawanda –  $\text{O}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\nu\delta\alpha$ , ( $\text{MONS}$ )Pa-tara/i – Pttara – Πάταρα, Lu-ka ( $\text{REGIO}$ )-zi – Λυκία, Pi-na-ala/i( $\text{URBS}$ ) – Pinali(ya) – Pinale –  $\text{pnr}$  – Πίναρα, A-wa/i+ra/i-na-( $\text{REGIO}$ ) – Awarna – Arnña –  $\text{'wrn}$  (–  $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ), TALA-wa( $\text{REGIO}$ ) – Talawa – Tlawa – Τλώς.

25 Starke 1997: 450.

26 Starke 1997: 450.

27 Gander 2010, Gander 2014 and Gander 2016.

28 Starke 1997: 450.

29 Starke 1997: 451.

30 Hawkins 1998: 2-10.

31 Hawkins 1998: 15, 23.

32 Hawkins 1998: 23.

33 Hawkins 1998: 2, 8 (my own emphasis).

The key points for both reconstructions are the identification of Mira with the Meander valley and consequent localization of the Seha River Land in the Hermos Valley, extending further north to the Kaikos. The identification of Apasa with Ephesos seemed to confirm Mira as the successor of Arzawa bordering on Millawanda – Miletos.<sup>34</sup>

## I.2. Of Apasa and Millawanda

Concerning the important equations Millawanda – Miletos and Apasa – Ephesos, we are in the lucky position that we are in possession of letters allegedly sent from these cities, namely the Tawagalawa letter (VAT 6692 = KUB 14.3, CTH 181) and the Arzawa letter EA 32. In a immense project aiming at a provenance study of the Amarna letters and other cuneiform texts, these two clay tablets underwent mineralogical (OM), neutron activation (NAA), and portable X-ray fluorescence analysis (pXRF) to determine the origin of the clay and have been compared to known pottery samples, especially a database in Bonn.<sup>35</sup> It is clear from comparative studies that potters usually use clay available nearby,<sup>36</sup> and there is no obvious reason this should not apply to clay tablets. The provenance study of the clay, therefore, should provide us with the information on the original location of the tablet.

The petrographical OM analysis of the Tawagalawa letter showed similarities to a Samian amphora.<sup>37</sup> The NAA data of this tablet, however, does not agree with Samian pottery<sup>38</sup> but match a group of Protogeometric vessels, probably from a workshop in Ephesos, named EphW.<sup>39</sup> The pXRF analysis yielded no matches defining VAT 6692 as singular.<sup>40</sup> In their paper of 2011 Goren, Mommsen, and Klinger concluded that the Tawagalawa letter most probably come from the Aegean coast south of Ephesos.<sup>41</sup> This conclusion does not match the equation Millawanda – Miletos exactly, but locates the place from where the letter was sent and, thus, probably Millawanda, in the estuary of the Meander.

Letter EA 32 was also measured with the three analytical methods. The pXRF measurements defined it as a singleton. Also, the OM analysis was quite indistinctive, merely showing that the tablet is made from “Aegean red clay.”<sup>42</sup> The NAA data gained from an earlier analysis in Berkeley, generally thought to be reliable, resulted in a little surprise that has largely been disregarded by the scholarly community even though it was already published in 2004. What would be expected according to the reconstructions of Hawkins and Starke is that the clay would come somewhere from the vicinity of Ephesos, from the alleged core territory of the Arzawan state.

The result, however, is quite different: *“There is no agreement in composition with several groups in our data bank which can be assigned with high probability to workshops in Ephesos. It turned out that the tablet has a composition which is closely associated to a group of samples which was published as Group ‘G’ in Akurgal et al. (2002). (...) according to the distribution of members of this group, a provenance of EA 32 in northern Ionia or even the Aeolis seems very probable.”*<sup>43</sup>

It is most important to state that there is no match between EA 32 and various groups of pottery that are assigned to Ephesos, so it seems impossible to assign EA 32 to Ephesos. The clay of EA 32 is associated with the pottery of group G, which stems from northern Ionia or even the Aiolis. The publication of 2004

34 The identification of Mira with Beycesultan by Woudhuizen 2012 and Woudhuizen 2015 on account of an Middle Bronze Age stamp seal found there, is not convincing. The seal does not bear a hieroglyphic inscription. The hieroglyphic script did not exist at this early date, see Güterbock *apud* Mellaart/Murray 1995: 119.

35 Artzy/Mommsen/Asaro 2004; Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011.

36 Arnold/Neff/Bishop 1991: 85: “Ethnographic data from a worldwide sample of resource distances have demonstrated that most potters travel no more than 7 km to obtain their raw materials, and many go no more than 1 km.” Cf. also the recent results concerning pottery and bullae found in Hattusa by Hashimoto et al. 2013; Grave/Kealhofer 2014.

37 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 694.

38 Mommsen, e-mail from 8.7.2015.

39 Mommsen, e-mail from 8.7.2015.

40 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 686.

41 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 694, Mommsen e-mail from 8.7.2015.

42 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 686.

43 Artzy/Mommsen/Asaro 2004: 47.

explicitly mentioned the cities of Kyme, Larissa, Phokaia, Smyrna, and Klazomenai.<sup>44</sup> However, in 2004, the provenance of the clay of group G had not yet been determined definitively.<sup>45</sup> Further research in recent years made the picture clearer, locating provenance group G, with its subgroup ‘g’ in Kyme and/or Larissa.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the probable provenance area of the clay used for EA 32 is reduced to a small area at the Aeolian coast.

We have to remember that EA 32 contains marriage negotiations between the pharaoh and the Arzawan king.<sup>47</sup> Because of that, one could assume that such an important letter was issued by the royal chancellery of Arzawa, i.e. it most likely stems from the Arzawan capital or at least from some important Arzawan city rather than being written abroad, and e.g. when the king was travelling in the Seha River Land. In this case, the problem is evident if we go back to the prevalent reconstruction. The area where the clay stems from is not in the core land of Arzawa but in the heart of the assumed Seha River Land.

One may not easily argue that Arzawa incorporated the Seha River Land since we know from the Annals of Tudhaliya that the Seha River Land and Arzawa were distinctive entities even before Tarhunduradu.<sup>48</sup> One might still find arguments to avoid the conclusion that the heartland of Arzawa lay in the Aeolis, but in this case the question is: Do these arguments actually outweigh the evidence or is it an attempt to save a reconstruction that has become dear to us? The consequent assumption is that Arzawa cannot be in the Meander valley, and the Seha River Land cannot be in the Hermos Valley. In the search for a location for the Seha River Land, we come back to the old suggestion of identifying the Seha with the Meander.<sup>49</sup>

The Bonn database with its different wares presents a quite reliable background for the analysis of EA 32 and its location in the Aeolis. Still, we have to keep in mind that the analysis of an isolated item, without comparable finds, is highly sensitive.<sup>50</sup> However, although the match between EA 32 and Kymean pottery may be accidental, the clear mismatch between the letter and the pottery from several workshops located at Ephesos appears to be significant and it seems at least worth to accept the identification as a working hypothesis and examine if the Hittite texts would also agree with this reconstruction.

## II. Arguments adduced for a location of Mira in the Meander Valley

### II.1. The Karabel monuments and their inscriptions

As mentioned before, the reconstruction of Hawkins and Starke is strongly based on the placement of Arzawa and later Mira south of the Karabel, in the valley of the Meander.

Following Hawkins’ decipherment of the inscription on the famous relief Karabel A,<sup>51</sup> we have to assume that the area of Karabel belonged to the land of Mira. Nonetheless, as he himself pointed out during the discussion after my presentation, he was never entirely sure if Karabel really meant ‘you’re entering Mira’, or if it meant ‘you’re leaving Mira’.

44 Artzy/Mommsen/Asaro 2004: 45-46.

45 See Kerschner 2002: 84-92.

46 See Kerschner 2006: 115; “The pottery workshops of provenance group G/g were situated most likely at Kyme. Neighbouring Larisa may possibly have had a share in G/g, too.” and Kerschner/Mommsen 2004-2006: 90: “... ist der Schluss unausweichlich, dass die Herkunftsgruppe G in der äolischen Polis Kyme zu lokalisieren ist.”

47 For the Arzawa letters EA 31 and 32 see Hawkins 2009.

48 KUB 23.11 II 1-12 // KUB 23.12 1’-3’, see Carruba 2008: 34-37. Stefano de Martino informs me that he thinks “that the Seha River land did not reach the coast when Arzawa was alive. Thus it is possible that Tarhunduradu resided in a town of northern Ionia when the EA letter was written.” (e-mail from 27.8.2015).

49 Kinal 1953: 19; Goetze 1957: 228; Laroche 1966: 272; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 345; Freu 1980: 276, 286-289; Forlanini/Marazzi 1986: map; Freu/Mazoyer 2008: 112-113; Freu 2008a: 126; Freu 2008b: 92; Gander 2010: 208; Freu 2014: 84; Woudhuizen 2014: 121 n. 367; Woudhuizen 2015: 10; Gander, forthcoming.

50 Of course it would be best to compare only pottery found in a kiln or mud bricks, since only then we can be sure that the clay actually stems from the area (kind reference by Stefano de Martino, e-mail from 27.8.2015).

51 The rediscovery of this relief, already known to Herodotus (Hdt. II 106) is usually assigned to the Rev. George Cecil Renouard and dated to 1839 (e.g. Friedrich 1937: 383; Bittel 1939-41: 181; Hawkins 1998: 4 n. 14) however, it seems that already in or before 1817 Renouard and Thomas Burgon had visited Karabel, cf. the letter of Rev. Henry John Rose *apud* Schmitz 1844: 230-232. Renouard’s stay in Smyrna is usually dated to 1810-1814, see Boase/Matthew 2006. Also Lepsius knew already in January 1838 of the relief, see Lepsius 1840: 39. Before that various unnamed travelers had visited it or heard about it, see MacFarlane 1829: 464 and Welcker 1843: 430-432.



In fact, before Hawkins' and Starke's seminal articles, opinions were divided whether the land of the king who issued Karabel, had to be located north or south of the pass.<sup>52</sup>

Hawkins based his arguments for a southerly location of Mira partly on the topography of Karabel. However, the placement of the monuments in the landscape seems to fit a northerly location of Mira even better. As Hawkins wrote, the monuments "are located at the northern entrance/exit to the pass at a point where the steeply descending road passes out of the hills into the open valley through a narrow defile."<sup>53</sup>

Given the fact that the Karabel monuments mark the northern entrance or exit to the pass, a northerly location of Mira seems more likely. Travelling in a northerly direction, the relief is only visible after having passed the highest point of the pass, before that it is not visible at all from the south.<sup>54</sup> According to the common reconstruction, the relief would not have been seen by the people of Mira, at whom it was directed, apart from a few travelers crossing the Karabel pass to Seha.<sup>55</sup>

A northerly location of Mira is also suggested by the finds of Karabel B and C, since these were lying outside the defile, almost in the valley.<sup>56</sup> Karabel B, a marble stele containing a relief similar to Karabel A, was found 1875 by Carl Humann in the area below Karabel A (fig. 1), where the Karabel Deresi, coming from the south entered the so-called "Nymphio plain" (Kemalpaşa Ovası). The monument stood about 120 m north and below Karabel A facing westwards, probably to the ancient route.<sup>57</sup> Karabel C, found in 1940 by Hans Gustav Güterbock, was found very close to B (fig. 2).<sup>58</sup> As Güterbock pointed out, the rocks B and C were found at their original location, since their closeness to each other and their placement makes it impossible that they both rolled down the hill.<sup>59</sup> It is furthermore assured that the first line of Karabel C2 contains the same name as the second line of Karabel A, thereby, establishing a close relationship between the monuments.<sup>60</sup> With the rocks B and C lying practically in the Hermos Valley itself, Karabel can strategically hardly belong to a territory of which the core land is placed on the lower Meander.

For these reasons, Humann, Bittel, and Güterbock were clearly convinced that the area marked by the monuments belonged to the territory north of Karabel, i.e. the Hermos Valley.<sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, the placement of Karabel B and C almost in the valley also raises some suspicion about its function as border mark.

A border monument should be placed on the pass summit that would have formed the actual border, overlooking both sides. The relief, however, is positioned near the northern entrance of the pass. A territory reaching from the south over the crest to the north, extending almost into the plain would be highly unusual. The area beyond the crest would be impossible to defend from the south. The three monuments could not be protected at all and would have been an easy target for destruction, since it is hardly plausible that a northern ruler would have accepted the representation of a foreign sovereign in an area that strategically must have belonged to his kingdom.

52 For a northerly location: Curtius 1876: 51; Güterbock 1967: 70-71; Bittel 1967: 22-23; Haider 1997: 107; Haider 1999: 673; Pantazis 2009: 297; for a southerly location: Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 48 with n. 38, Gurney 1992: 221 and Starke 1997: 451.

53 Hawkins 1998: 24. See also Welcker 1843: 430: "Die Felswand, in welcher die Figur eingehauen ist [...] zur rechten Seite des Wegs, nicht weit von dem Ausgange des herrlichen Engpasses der gegen anderthalb Stunden diesseits von Nymphia ausläuft".

54 See Bittel 1939-41: 186: "Der Blick des Wanderers [...] fällt sofort nach Überschreiten der Passhöhe unmittelbar auf die breite Felswand mit dem Relief." (My own emphasis).

55 However, on the (in)visibility of the Hittite rock reliefs, see now Ullmann 2014.

56 Hawkins 1998: 24: "The relief with KARABEL A is placed high up on the south face of the rock forming the eastern side of the defile, while the rocks with KARABEL B and C were located to the north on the valley bottom outside the defile."

57 Curtius 1876: 50.

58 Güterbock 1967.

59 Güterbock 1967: 70-71: "Von den zwei Möglichkeiten, daß der Block B erst in nachhethitischer Zeit von einem ursprünglich Platz auf der Berghöhe ins Tal gerollt oder aber an seiner jetzigen Stelle im Tal bearbeitet worden sein kann, hat schon Bittel [i.e. Bittel 1939-41: 186, 193 n. 33] die zweite bevorzugt, ohne allerdings die erste ganz auszuschließen. Jetzt ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß beide Blöcke so von oben herabrollen, daß sie nebeneinander und beide aufrecht, mit der Schrift und Skulptur in ursprünglicher Richtung unten ankommen, so gering, daß man sie ausschalten muss. Beide Steine, B und C, lagen also schon im Tal, als die alten Steinmetze sie bearbeiteten". See also Kohlmeyer 1983: 20.

60 Güterbock 1967: 68, Kohlmeyer 1983: 23 and Hawkins 1998: 9.

61 Curtius 1876: 50-51, Güterbock 1967: 70-71 and Bittel 1967: 22-23.



Moreover, none of the hitherto known Hittite monuments can be clearly identified as a boundary mark.<sup>62</sup> The interpretation of Hatip as such is highly doubtful; rather we should compare Karabel (and Hatip) to other known Hittite monuments, which mark the presence of the king in a certain region, such as Sirkeli, Hanyeri, or Hemite.<sup>63</sup>

It is, therefore, rather convincing that Mira, whose king issued the monument, lay north of Karabel (fig. 3), or even more likely that both the southern and the northern area belonged to Mira, and that the reliefs and inscriptions served the purpose of marking the king's presence.

Recently, two more monuments have been associated with Mira, which need to be discussed here.

## II.2. The graffiti from Suratcaya (LATMOS 1 and 5)

During their search for prehistoric rock paintings in the Latmos in 2000, Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat and her team discovered six Hieroglyphic Luwian carvings under a shelter in the Suratcaya. The rocks did not contain any relief or drawing but only six poorly scratched Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. In their placement, their style, and their contents they are very singular among the known Luwian inscriptions, although probably comparable to the Malkaya and Taşçı graffiti, even though those are more elaborately executed. The six carvings, with the possible exception discussed below, are mostly personal names and accompanying titles.<sup>64</sup> Concerning their significance, Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat even suggested that the rock on which the inscriptions were found may have served as a border mark.<sup>65</sup> This suggestion is, however, highly unlikely.<sup>66</sup> Coming from above the rock is undetectable and seen from below, its only significant feature is that part of the shelter is broken away, but we cannot know when this happened. Otherwise, it is just another rock in a rocky environment (see fig. 4).

Ömür Harmanşah may be right in pointing out that we have to see the inscriptions at Suratcaya more in context with the abundant prehistoric rock paintings of Latmos rather than to associate them directly with the “*political territorial structures of the Hittite Empire*”<sup>67</sup> even though the usage of Anatolian hieroglyphs, in my opinion, clearly suggests Hittite cultural influence.<sup>68</sup>

The exact reading of the names is still under discussion. The two inscriptions that caught the most attention are nos. 1 and 5. The graffiti no. 5 was read by Herbordt in her original edition of the text as *Ku-pa<sup>2</sup>-i(a) MAGNUS.REX.FILIUS*.<sup>69</sup> Peschlow-Bindokat and Herbordt tentatively identified *Ku-pa<sup>2</sup>-i(a)* with Kupantakurunta, the King of Mira enthroned by Mursili II after his Arzawa campaign.<sup>70</sup> This identification was incautiously taken up by several scholars,<sup>71</sup> even though the use of abbreviated forms is not attested for Luwian names and the identification of the middle sign of the name is uncertain. Normally, we would expect a writing *Ku-pa-ta/tà/tá-CERVUS<sub>2</sub>(-ti)*.<sup>72</sup>

The identification of the middle sign as PA (\*334) seems at least partly induced by the wish to identify this Kupaya with Kupantakurunta of Mira.<sup>73</sup> Usually, PA shows two “handles” which are missing in our sign,<sup>74</sup> even though in rare cases, e.g. in the seal of Lupakki in BoHa 19, no. 208, it appears without handles and then looks comparable to our sign.<sup>75</sup>

62 For the function of Hittite rock reliefs see now Ullmann 2010, esp. 241-244 (for Karabel) and Ullmann 2014, but cf. also Simon 2012: 687-689.

63 Seeher 2009: 122-124 and 134-136.

64 Oreshko 2013: 346 and Herbordt 2001.

65 Peschlow-Bindokat 2001: 366, Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 214 and Peschlow-Bindokat 2005: 88-89.

66 See also Schürr 2011: 72-73 n. 14.

67 Harmanşah 2015: 114-116.

68 See below n. 82.

69 Herbordt 2001: 372-376.

70 Herbordt 2001: 375; Peschlow-Bindokat 2001: 366; Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 212-213; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005: 84-89.

71 Bryce 2005: 475-476 n. 58; Ehringhaus 2005: 92-94; Forlanini 2007: 285; Freu/Mazoyer 2008: 187; Niemeier 2008a: 301; Strobel 2008: 20; Herda 2009: 48 n. 116, 52, 55 n. 145, 66, 70; Seeher 2009: 130; Latacz 2010: 364; Freu 2014: 80.

72 Cf. Herbordt 2001: 375.

73 See the comment by Schürr 2011: 72 n. 14. More cautious about the identification of *Ku-x-ia* and Kupantakurunta already Pantazis 2009: 298-299; Glatz/Plourde 2011: 52; Hawkins 2013: 15; Hawkins 2015: 21.




74 Herbordt 2001: 375. For the usual forms of PA see Laroche 1960: 177, no. 334.

75 Herbordt 2001: 375.

In a recent contribution, Rostislav Oreshko proposed to read the sign in question as \*324,<sup>76</sup> which, in fact, bears some similarity to the one of LATMOS 5. The slightly concave form of \*324 seems to agree with our sign quite well. The sign \*324 is attested in different forms in the graffiti of Malkaya and on seals, as part of personal names.<sup>77</sup> Its phonetic reading, however, is still unclear.<sup>78</sup>

The reading *ku-pa-i(a)* may, therefore, be doubted, alternatively one could read *ku-\*324-i(a)*, but at the moment it seems best to abstain from an interpretation and read *ku-x-ia*.

The identification of *Ku-x-ia* with Kupantakurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya was suggested for various reasons. Firstly, on the ground of the common geographical reconstruction, it was assumed that the LATMOS inscriptions were found on the territory of Mira. The mentioning of Mira in graffito 1 (fig. 5) further strengthened this association. However, we should clearly keep in mind that there is no special relationship between graffito 1 and graffito 5, so it is simply incorrect to state that the inscriptions from Latmos stem from Kupantakurunta, King of Mira.<sup>79</sup> The reading of the second sign as PA created some basic phonetic similarity between Kupaya and Kupantakurunta, and the hitherto unattested title MAGNUS.REX.FILIUS seems to suggest that the person in question had close ties to the Hittite ruling family. Kupantakurunta, the adoptive son of Mashuiluwa and a Hittite princess, clearly shows this close association with the Hittite ruling elite. However, as mentioned, the reading of the name is highly doubtful, and even if read correctly, the identification with the famous Kupantakurunta is quite improbable.

The ligature of MAGNUS  and REX  to MAGNUS.REX  suggests an interpretation as MAGNUS.REX FILIUS “son of the Great King” rather than “great son of the king.”<sup>80</sup> The title MAGNUS.REX FILIUS may be compared tentatively to the designation of Urhi-Teššup as DUMU.LUGAL.G[AL] which is an equivalent to the Hieroglyphic title PRINCEPS i.e. *tuhukanti*.<sup>81</sup> If then, in fact, our *Ku-x-ia* should be a “son of the Great King,” we would assume him to be not just any DUMU.LUGAL but to stem from the progeny of the Hittite king. This assumption, however, does not apply to Kupantakurunta of Mira.<sup>82</sup>

The second inscription taken to show that the Latmos area belonged to Mira is graffito no. 1, read *Mi+ra-f<sup>1</sup>*(REGIO) VIR<sub>2</sub> by Herbordt in her original treatment of the text, and interpreted as “man of Mira.” However, in a recent comment on the available sources for the reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia, J.D. Hawkins aptly characterized the reading “*man of the land Mira*” as “*possible*”, but “*not certain*.”<sup>83</sup> Even if one agrees with Herbordt’s interpretation, it is far more likely that a foreigner would identify himself as “man of Mira” than a local person, for whom it would not be a distinctive feature.<sup>84</sup>

However, since all the other graffiti show personal names, it is quite peculiar that we would only have a reference to the land, but not to the person. In view of this, one may propose two alternative interpretations.

76 Oreshko 2013: 355-356.

77 Malkaya see Hawkins/Weeden 2008: 244-245, the sign is further attested in Tarsus 4 and 5 and SBo II 127.

78 Its identification as *kuni(ya)* by Oreshko 2013: 357 is possible, but no more than that.

79 As has been done e.g. by Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 212-213, Herda 2009: 52 and Latacz 2010: 364-365.

80 See the argument of Hawkins 2001: 174 n. 33 concerning the seal BoHa 23, no. 16-18 with the inscription REX+FILIA MAGNUS: “Here the Hieroglyphic title is probably better understood as ‘Great Daughter of the King’ i.e. ‘Great Princess’, rather than ‘Daughter of the Great King’, where the writing of ‘Great’ over ‘King’ (MAGNUS + REX + INFANS (+FEMINA)) would be expected”, cf. also Otten 1995: 14, 34 Abb. 14-20, Herbordt/Bawanypeck/Hawkins 2011: 70-71, 112-115, no. 16-18, but see Simon 2009: 264 n. 31.

81 For the title of Urhi-Teššup see Hawkins 1999; Herbordt 2005: 204-205 no. 504-508; Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 278, 306; Hawkins *apud* Herbordt/Bawanypeck/Hawkins 2011: 95-96.

82 The supposition by Oreshko 2013: 400-409, who assumes a local origin and tradition of the western Anatolian hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions cannot be addressed in full here, but in my opinion clearly goes too far. At least in Karabel and Torbali the inscriptions are accompanied by reliefs which show a strong Hittite influence. The appearance of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions along with the representation in Hittite style strongly speak for a close relationship between these monuments and the art and traditions of the Hittite Empire, cf. also Ullmann 2010: 244-245 concerning Karabel, Akpınar and Suratkaya: “What is interesting about these two carvings and the one at Karabel is that aside from using Luwian hieroglyphic script and similar iconography as in the core region, there is also an attempt to situate the carvings in a way that was similar to the practices in north-central Anatolia. The carvings and their placement emphasize that a Hittite identity based on the use of space and place did exist and was practiced in the core and periphery.”

83 Hawkins 2015: 21. Cf. Hawkins 2013: 15.

84 See Schürr 2011: 72 n. 14.

The reading of *Mi+ra* and  $VIR_2$  seems quite certain. If one agrees with Herbordt's reading of the two other signs, one may still interpret them as rendering of the personal name Miraziti  $Mi+ra-r^1a^1(REGIO)-VIR_2$ , in which, however, the determinative REGIO would be disturbing.

A new interpretation has been suggested recently by R. Oreshko,<sup>85</sup> who read *Mi+ra*-CER[VUS] BONUS<sub>2</sub>  $VIR_2$ . The interpretation of the sign below *Mi+ra* is open to discussion since only a few traces are preserved due to the spalling of the rock. It seems that there is more to see than just a single stroke. However, one cannot decide if we are dealing with intentional or accidental scratches.

If one concurs with Herbordt, reading *a*, this would in no way contradict the interpretation as a personal name. In this case, one would have to assume another element of the name in the part now broken away. A tentative interpretation could then be *Mi-ra-r^1a^1[-BOS/-VIR/CERVUS]* yielding the names Miramuwa, Miraziti, and Miraruntiya.<sup>86</sup>

This last interpretation presupposes that the upper left sign should not be read REGIO  $\Delta$  as proposed by Herbordt, but that a different explanation needs to be found. The photo shows that the sign looks, in fact, different than a regular REGIO. Contrary to the suggestion in Herbordt's drawing, the upper left edge does not carry a pike. The rock is intact in this area, so a spalling can be excluded. The sign looks a bit like a triangle, the pike of which is slightly diverged to the right. Therefore, as Oreshko already pointed out, the sign intended by the scribe could be BONUS<sub>2</sub>  $\Delta$ , although URBS  $\Delta$  cannot be excluded completely. However, the seemingly high peak on the right side is at least in part due to the colouring of the rock in this area. The combination BONUS<sub>(2)</sub>  $VIR_2$  is known from many seals,<sup>87</sup> and although not attested before in stone inscriptions, seems possible in a graffito.

The inscriptions from Suratkaya can, therefore, not be taken to show a southern extension of Mira to the Latmos Mountains.<sup>88</sup> The identity of *Ku-x-i(a)*, the "son of the Great King" is unclear, and the mentioning of Mira in graffito 1 most probably refers to a foreigner or is just part of a personal name.

### II.3. The stele from Karakuyu-Torbali (fig. 6)

After the discovery of Karabel C in 1940 it took sixty years before further hieroglyphic monuments turned up in western Anatolia.<sup>89</sup> But only a few years after the find of the Suratkaya graffiti another fragmentary hieroglyphic Luwian monument came to light in a village of Karakuyu near Torbali, south of the Karabel pass. The stele shows a figure standing with his left foot forward, wearing a short tunic, and pointed shoes. As can be seen from the inscription placed on the narrow side of the stele, the monument was intended to be free-standing.<sup>90</sup> Next to the foot, a stick is visible, surely belonging to the shaft of a spear. Typologically, the figure shows close similarities to the representations of Hanyeri, Hemite, Hatip, and Karabel.<sup>91</sup>

The parallels with the monuments mentioned have been displayed in the original publication of the stele, but the detailed analysis led the editors to the conclusion that the monument must date to the post-Hittite period. This conclusion was reinforced by the reading of the inscription, which supposedly mentioned a "Great King" Tarkasnawa of Mira.<sup>92</sup>

85 Oreshko 2013: 365-366.

86 Of these specific names only Miramuwa is attested, see Laroche 1966: 119 no. 807, however the formation of toponym + *ziti* or toponym + *Kurunta/Runtiya* is well attested, cf. Laroche 1966: 262-279 and 282-283. Anthroponyms containing the element Mira- (be it the toponym or not) are also attested in later periods, particularly in Pamphylia and Cilicia, see LGPN 5B: 298, s.v. Μιρας, Μιρασητας and Μιρασητανι (kind reference by Diether Schür).

87 Cf. Herbordt 2005: 392-393; Dinçol/Dinçol 2008: 81-89.

88 So also Hawkins 2015: 21.

89 Karabel C was found in 1940, see Güterbock 1967: 63-64. The LATMOS inscriptions were found in 2000, see Peschlow-Bindokat 2001: 363 and Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 211.

90 Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 2.

91 Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 2-4.

92 Reading of the inscription according to Tekoğlu *apud* Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 22-25: MAGNUS.REX Tar[kasna]-wa/i Mi+ra-a REG[IO] \*24-pa [ ] SUPER[ ] CAPERE[...].

The text seemed to confirm the expected, given the predominant view of Western Anatolian history and geography. The king Tarkasnawa, who commissioned Karabel, would have become Great King after the Hittite Empire ceased to exist.<sup>93</sup>

Unfortunately, the reading of the inscription, at least of the name and toponym, seems largely induced by wishful thinking. In the lower left corner, where we are supposed to read *Ta[arkasnaw]-wa/i Mi+ra-ra<sup>1</sup>*, the photo rather shows DEUS.\*430+ra ‘all the gods’ as has already been pointed out by R. Oreshko and M. Forlanini.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, the interpretation of the lower part of the inscription by Oreshko, reading DEUS.430+ra LIS+[l]i-sa-t[ú] “all the gods shall litigate” seems quite probable, even though the extensive phonetic writing is somewhat surprising in this early period.

After all, neither Tarkasnawa nor the land of Mira is mentioned in this inscription; it, therefore, cannot be taken as an argument for an extension of Mira into the Meander valley. The archaeological dating of the monument as “post-Hittite” cannot be definitive, being only based on the analysis of one leg. As pointed out by A. Schachner, the figure shows great similarities to reliefs clearly dated to the Empire Period. Thus, it should (archaeologically) rather be dated to the period in which Hittite art had the strongest influence on Anatolia, probably the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>95</sup>

However, an assignation of Karakuyu-Torbali to the land of Mira is not excluded. Given the suggestion that Mira lay to both sides of Karabel, one might ask speculatively, if the stele of Karakuyu may be interpreted as counterpart of Karabel B, a free standing marble figure at the entrance of the pass.

## II.4. The alleged close relationship between Lazpa and the Seha River Land

On account of the contents of the letter KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79, a letter of Manapatarhunta, the king of the Seha River Land to a Hittite king, probably Muwatalli II, it has often been argued that Lazpa<sup>96</sup> would be part of the Seha River Land.<sup>97</sup> In the letter, the vassal king Manapatarhunta first refers to an operation against the land of Wilusa in which he could not take part because he was gravely ill. Then Manapatarhunta reports about the misdeeds of the well-known agitator Piyamaradu,<sup>98</sup> who humiliated him; set up a man named Atpa over him, and attacked the land of Lazpa. Seemingly from Lazpa, Piyamaradu took some subjects, referred to as *šaripütü*, of Manapatarhunta and the Hittite king captive. The *šaripütü* people then appealed to Atpa to be set free. Atpa at first wanted to comply with their request, but was convinced to keep the captives by a messenger of Piyamaradu. Finally, a man named Kassu arrived, who probably caused Kupantakurunta, the king of Mira, to intervene in the conflict.<sup>99</sup> Kupantakurunta finally achieved the release of the *šaripütü* of the Hittite king. The fate of the *šaripütü* of Manapatarhunta is unclear since the letter breaks off at this point.

The alleged appurtenance of Lazpa to the Seha River Land is based on the following short passage of the Manapatarhunta letter:

- 7 [mPí-ia-m]a-ra-du-uš-ma-mu GIM-an lu-ri-ia-aḫ-ta nu-mu-kán mAt-pa-a-an  
 8 [pé-ra-an U]GU ti-it-ta-nu-ut nu KUR La-az-pa-an GUL-aḫ-ta  
 9 [x x x LÚ.]MESŠA-RI-PU-TI ku-e-eš ku-e-eš am-me-el e-še-er  
 10 [na-at-kán ḫu]u-ma-an-du-uš-pát an-da ḫa-an-da-er ŠA U<sup>o</sup>TU-š-ia ku-e-eš [ku-e-eš e-še-er]  
 11 [LÚ.MESŠA-R]I-PU-TI na-at-kán ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš-pát an-da ḫa-an-da-er

93 See the ideas of Hawkins 1998: 18-21; Starke 1998: 193-194; Starke 1999: 531; Starke 2000: 251-254.

94 Oreshko 2012: 663-665; Oreshko 2013: 373-381; Forlanini 2012: 134.

95 Schachner *apud* Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 11 n. 62 “Die Stele von Karakuyu aber ist ein Beispiel echt hethitischer Monumentalkunst. Deshalb würde ich das Relief noch in das ausgehende 13. oder früheste 12. Jh. datieren, also in eine Zeit, in der die hethitische Kunst ihren stärksten Einfluss auf Anatolien hatte.” Cf. also Schachner 2012: 152.

96 The identification of Lazpa with Lesbos, though convincing, is not entirely certain and mostly based on the phonetic similarity between the two names. It is, however, almost universally accepted today, but see Steiner 2007: 592; Freu 2008b: 124; Steiner 2011: 266, 270-271.

97 Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 51, 53, 63; Starke 1997: 453-454; Singer 2008: 21; Hoffner 2009: 293; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 144.

98 For Piyamaradu see Heinhold-Krahmer 1983, Heinhold-Krahmer 1986 and Heinhold-Krahmer 2005.

99 Usually this Kassu is connected also to the attack on Wilusa, see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 175 Anm. 237 and Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 41. However, it seems that Kassu's arrival pressed Kupantakurunta to intervene in the conflict, see Gander 2010: 173-174.

When [Piyam]aradu humbled me, he installed Atpa over me. Then he attacked Lazpa.

or

When [Piyam]aradu had humiliated me, set up Atpa over<sup>2</sup> me, and attacked (the country of) Lazpa.<sup>100</sup>

[And] all of the *šaripūtū* who were mine without exception joined with him. And all of the [*šar*]ipūtū of the Majesty without exception joined with him.

According to some interpretations, the humiliation of Manapatarihunta consisted in the attack on Lazpa so that Lazpa would be understood as belonging to the Seha River Land. Furthermore, the attack on Lazpa obviously resulted in Piyamaradu's possession of the *šaripūtū* people of Manapatarihunta and of the Hittite king. This observation has also been taken as an argument for an appurtenance of Lazpa to the realm of Manapatarihunta. However, both arguments are at least doubtful.

Firstly, the sentence in line 7 is introduced by the temporal conjunction *GIM-an* (Hitt. *mahhan*) 'when'; it is only unclear if the following sentence *nu-mu-kán* <sup>m</sup>*At-pa-a-an* [*pé-ra-an* U]GU *ti-it-ta-nu-ut* "set up Atpa over me" belongs to the temporal clause or is a separate main clause. The possible translations are, therefore:

When [Piyam]aradu humiliated me and set up Atpa over me, he attacked Lazpa.<sup>101</sup>

Or

When [Piyam]aradu humiliated me, he set up Atpa over me and attacked Lazpa.<sup>102</sup>

I prefer the second option, since the humiliation would then be a defeat inflicted by Piyamaradu on Manapatarihunta which thereafter did not have the military strength to oppose a setting up of Atpa over him,<sup>103</sup> but one may also argue for the first one. Either way, the humiliation and the attack on Lazpa are not the same events, even if they may be somehow connected.

The more important argument for a hegemony of Seha over Lazpa seems to be that subjects of Manapatarihunta were captured during the raid on Lazpa.

A plausible explanation for the presence of these *šaripūtū* on Lazpa was brought forward some years ago by Itamar Singer, even if he believed in the appurtenance of Lazpa to Seha.<sup>104</sup> Following a proposal by Sylvie Lackenbacher (concerning the Ugaritic texts), Singer could show that *šaripūtū* (a *hapax* in Hittite context) would best be understood as "purple dyers." The *šaripūtū* in the Manapatarihunta letter could then be itinerant dyers on a mission to prepare or present purple dyed wool to the palace and/or main deity of Lazpa.<sup>105</sup> The help of this otherwise unknown deity is also sought by a Hittite king (probably Hattusili III) in the oracular text KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 ii 57'-65'.<sup>106</sup> However neither in this case nor the Manapatarihunta letter, a Hittite hegemony over Lazpa is necessary. The presence of foreigners bringing gifts for a deity does not imply any political power over the territory in question, as can be seen by Hittites venerating the Ištar of Niniveh and other Assyrian and Babylonian deities. Even the deity of Ahhiyawa is brought to Hattusa to help the ailing Hittite king.<sup>107</sup>

Furthermore, we have to keep in mind that not only the purple dyers of Manapatarihunta but also those of the Hittite king, were taken captive by Piyamaradu. This idea also suggests a short-time visit of Hittite subjects in a foreign land, rather than a full-scale conquest of Lazpa by the otherwise landlocked Hittites.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, as pointed out before, the mission of artisans of Manapatarihunta to Lazpa does not need to

100 For the first line two translations are given, since they are both possible, but differ in sense, the first is taken from Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 141, the second from Hoffner 2009: 294.

101 See e.g. Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 141

102 See e.g. Hoffner 2009: 294; similarly Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 40 "When [Piyam]aradus had humiliated me, he set Atpas [agai]st me(?): he (Piyamaradus or Atpas) attacked the country of Lazpa." The hesitation of Houwink ten Cate as to the agents of the last sentence seems unjustified. Nothing seems to indicate a change of the subject.

103 Similarly de Martino 2006: 169.

104 Singer 2008: 21, 32.

105 Singer 2008: 31-32.

106 See now Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 192-195.

107 Cf. preceding note.

108 See also Woudhuizen 2015: 10.



mean that the Seha River Land has to be located exactly on the coast opposite Lesbos. The connection between Seha and Lazpa is equally possible if the Seha River Land is placed further south in the Meander valley.<sup>109</sup>

### III. Arguments for a location of Mira in Lydia and the Seha River Land in the Meander Valley

#### III.1. A close relationship between Seha and Millawanda?

The first text to provide us with information on a possible southerly location of the Seha River Land is exactly the just mentioned letter of Manapatarkun. As reported above, Piyamaradu captured a group of dyers belonging to Manapatarkun and the Hittite king, and they pleaded to Atpa to be released.

The fact that the captives appealed to Atpa (and not to Piyamaradu) for release suggests that, at least at that time, Piyamaradu and Atpa did not stay in the same place. It is quite likely, as Houwink ten Cate suggested that Piyamaradu, after his raid on Lazpa, left the captives with Atpa.<sup>110</sup> In the later Tawagalawa letter, Atpa appears as overlord of Millawanda, and it may well be that he already had this position during this earlier episode. Possibly he only got drawn into the conflict because Piyamaradu decided to leave the captives with him.<sup>111</sup>

Atpa's presence on Anatolian soil is further reinforced by Manapatarkun's complaint that Atpa had been set up over him.<sup>112</sup> The expression [peran u]GU tittanut must imply some political or military influence of Atpa on the Seha River Land.<sup>113</sup> This notion, however, can only mean that Atpa's realm and the Seha River Land were very close to each other, probably contiguous.

If Atpa were indeed already stationed in Millawanda, this would suggest a close proximity of Seha and Millawanda – Miletos. The Seha, in this case, should be identified with the Meander.

#### III.2. The first Hittite attack on Millawanda

One very fragmentary passage of Mursili's annals, unfortunately only preserved in KUB 14.15 I 23-26 (CTH 61.II), may suggest a location of Arzawa proper in a more northern area, as pointed out before.<sup>114</sup>

The event dates to the beginning of Mursili's third year (in Goetze's arrangement) and is certainly prior to the actual invasion of Arzawa.

- 23 *ma-ah-ḫa-an-ma ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-za ki-ša-at nu* <sup>m</sup>U-uh-[ḫa-LÚ-iš ... ]  
 24 *nu-kán KUR* <sup>URU</sup>Mi-il-la-wa-an-da A-NA LUGAL KUR Ah-ḫi-ú-[wa-a ... ]  
 25 *nu-kán* <sup>m</sup>Gul-la-an <sup>m</sup>Ma-la-LÚ-in ÉRIN<sup>MES</sup> [ANŠE.KUR.RA <sup>HI.A</sup>-ia] ṛpa-ra-a<sup>1</sup> n[e-eh-ḫu-un na-aš KUR  
<sup>URU</sup>Mi-il-la-wa-an-da (?)]  
 26 *GUL-ah-ḫe-er na-at iš-tu NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup> GU[D<sup>ME</sup>]<sup>S</sup> UDU<sup>HI.A</sup> ša-ra-a da-a-er [... ]*

When spring arrived, Uh[ha-ziti] and [ ... ] the land of Millawanda to the King of Ahhiyawa, [I, My Majesty, ... ] and di[spatched] Gulla and Malaziti, infantry [and chariotry, and] they attacked [the land of Millawanda]. They captured it, together with civilian captives, cattle, and sheep, [...].<sup>115</sup>

This passage already caused discussion among Sommer, Forrer, and Goetze in the heat of the Ahhiyawa controversy.<sup>116</sup>

109 Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a: 163-164 and Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c: 51.

110 Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 46.

111 Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 46.

112 KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79 I 7-8, see Houwink ten Cate 1983-84, 39-40, Hoffner 2009: 294 and Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 140-143.

113 See Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: "Piyamaradu inflicted a humiliating defeat upon Manapa-Tarkun, and then appointed his son-in-law Atpa as his superior, thus the *de facto* ruler of his kingdom".

114 See above I.2.

115 Translation after Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 29.

116 See also the discussion in Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 97-99.

According to Forrer's restoration, Uhhaziti instigated a revolt in Millawanda against the king of Ahhiyawa. Consequently the Hittite king sent two generals, who attacked and destroyed the city of Millawanda.<sup>117</sup>

Also in Sommer's interpretation, the land of Millawanda was incited to rebel against Ahhiyawa by Uhhaziti. However, according to him, the king of Ahhiyawa sent the generals Gulla and Malaziti to restore order in Millawanda.<sup>118</sup>

Goetze presented another solution in 1933. He saw an alliance between Uhhaziti of Arzawa and the land of Ahhiyawa in the course of which Millawanda also sided with them. As a consequence of this alliance, Mursili sent his generals to Millawanda to attack and plunder the city.<sup>119</sup>

This solution is now commonly accepted and often used without the necessary cautiousness.<sup>120</sup> The assumption of an alliance is based firstly on Goetze's collation of the line 25, which made him prefer a reading  $n[e\text{-}e\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}u\text{-}un]$  'I (the Hittite king) sent' over Sommer's  $n[a\text{-}i\check{s}\text{-}ta]$  'he (the king of Ahhiyawa) sent', and secondly on another passage of Mursili's annals KUB 14.16 III 24'-28' // KUB 14.15 III 54'-57' (CTH 61.II) where we read:<sup>121</sup>

- 24'  $[nu\text{ }^DUTU\text{-}\check{s}i\text{ }(?)]\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }^{URU}Pu\text{-}ra\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }N[AM.RA^{ME}]^{\check{s}}$   
 25'  $EGIR\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{ }pa\text{-}a\text{-}un\text{ }ma\text{-}a\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}a\text{-}an\text{-}ma\text{ }I\text{-}NA\text{ }^{URU}[...]ar\text{-}\check{h}u\text{-}un\text{ }nu\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }L\acute{U}^{ME\check{s}}\text{ }^{URU}Pu\text{-}ra\text{-}an\text{-}da$   
 26'  $\check{h}a\text{-}at\text{-}ra\text{-}a\text{-}nu\text{-}un\text{ }\check{s}u\text{-}me\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}wa\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}ma\text{-}a\check{s}\text{ }iR^{ME\check{s}}\text{ }A\text{-}B[I\text{-}IA]\text{ }e\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}te\text{-}en\text{ }nu\text{-}wa\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}m[a\text{-}a\check{s}\text{ }A\text{-}BU\text{-}I]A\text{ }da\text{-}a\text{-}a\check{s}$   
 27'  $nu\text{-}wa\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}ma\text{-}a\check{s}\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }^{m}U\text{-}u\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}a\text{-}L\acute{U}\text{ }iR\text{-}an\text{-}ni\text{ }pa\text{-}i\check{s}\text{-}[ta\text{ }a\text{-}pa\text{-}a\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}ma\text{-}wa\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }LUGAL\text{ }KUR\text{ }A\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}i\text{-}(?)\text{ }i\acute{u}\text{-}wa\text{ }^1\text{-}a$   
 28'  $EGIR\text{-}an\text{ }ti\text{-}i\text{-}ia\text{-}at\text{ }nu\text{-}wa\text{ }ku\text{-}u\text{-}ru\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}a\check{h}\text{-}ta$

[I, the Majesty] followed the civilian captives to Puranda. When I arrived at [...], I wrote to the people of Puranda: "You were subjects of [my] father, and [my father] took you and gave you in service to Uhhaziti. [But] he supported [the king of Ahhiya]wa and became hostile (to me).

The [...]- $i\acute{u}\text{-}wa\text{ }^1\text{-}a$  in KUB 14.15 III 57' is most probably the rest of a name of the land or king that was supported by Uhhaziti, as we can see from *EGIR-an tiyat* 'supported' in KUB 14.15 III 57' // KUB 14.16 III 28'. Among the available toponyms, Ahhiyawa seems the most likely, even though one still has to be careful about these restorations.<sup>122</sup>

As Sommer did, for KUB 14.15 I 24'  $nu\text{-}k\acute{a}n\text{ }KUR\text{ }^{URU}Mi\text{-}il\text{-}la\text{-}wa\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }LUGAL\text{ }KUR\text{ }A\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}i\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}[wa\text{-}a\text{ }...]$  one may still think of an interpretation in terms of "and since the land of Millawanda belongs to the king of Ahhi[yawa],"<sup>123</sup> even though a different explanation for [...]- $i\acute{u}\text{-}wa\text{ }^1\text{-}a$  in KUB 14.15 III 57' would be needed.

However, if we accept Goetze's interpretation of an alliance of Arzawa, Ahhiyawa, and Millawanda and a subsequent attack of Mursili's generals on Millawanda, this implies that the Hittites could attack Millawanda in the preliminaries of the great Hittite-Arzawan war, without getting into trouble with Arzawa.

If Arzawa occupied the Meander valley with its capital lying at Ephesos, such an attack is hardly imaginable,<sup>124</sup> a position further to the north would be more suitable.<sup>125</sup>

117 Forrer 1924b: 113 and Forrer 1926: 45.

118 Sommer 1932: 307-313.

119 Götze 1933: 234-237.

120 S. e.g. Kinal 1953: 16; Garstang/Gurney 1959: 84-85; Cornelius 1973: 177; Goetze 1975: 120-122; Ünal 1991: 31; Niemeier 1999: 150; Bryce 2005: 193; Waelkens 2000: 476; Niemeier 2008a: 315; Niemeier 2008b: 17; Freu 2008a: 82; Niemeier 2009: 15-16; Pavúk 2015: 91. See however Freu 2014: 92; Hawkins 2015: 22 who are very cautious.

121 Translation after Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 39.

122 Sommer 1934: 89 n. 1 was quite sceptical about the restorations of Goetze and designated it as "sehr fraglich".

123 Sommer 1932: 309.

124 See Freu/Mazoyer 2008: 29; Gander 2010: 152; Forlanini 2012: 139-140; Gander, forthcoming. Cf. also Popko 2010: 284-285 who, however, argues based on this evidence that Gulla and Malaziti are to be interpreted as Arzawan generals.

125 Stefano de Martino (e-mail from 27.8.2015) informs me that he thinks "that Uhha-ziti had already lost real control of the Meander valley when Mursili moved towards Millawanda (probably because of the rebellion of his subordinated local rulers such as Mashuiluwa), although he had not yet been fully defeated". This is not impossible, however, we do not have any positive evidence for it.



## IV. Conclusions

The chemical analysis of the Tawagalawa letter and EA 32 indicate a provenance south of Ephesos for the former and in the area of Kyme and/or Larissa for the latter (fig. 7). Geographically, one can draw the conclusion that Millawanda (from where the Tawagalawa letter was probably written) is to be sought in southern Ionia, whereas, surprisingly, the capital of Arzawa (from which EA 32 should have originated) is to be sought in the Aiolis.

Taking this suggestion as a starting point, I tried to review the Hittite and Luwian sources if they might be brought in agreement with this unusual northern placement of Arzawa. We have seen that it might be argued reasonably that the position of the Karabel monuments suggest a location of Mira to the north rather than to the south of the Tmolos mountains (Boz Dağları). Alternatively, one may think that Mira comprised the whole Karabel pass.

Furthermore, the inscriptions from Suratkaya and Karakuyu-Torbali bear no relevance concerning the location of Mira. The identification of *ku-x-ia* in LATMOS graffito no. 5 with Kupantakurunta of Mira is no more than wishful thinking. The “*man of Mira*” mentioned in graffito no. 1 may refer either to a foreigner, for whom being from Mira would be a distinctive feature or is to be interpreted as a personal name with no geographical relevance.

Concerning the alleged close relationship between the Seha River Land and Lazpa, it has been shown that the presence of Manapatarkunta’s subjects on the island need in no way imply hegemony of Seha over Lazpa. We are rather dealing with an occasional visit of artisans to prepare or present purple dyed wool to the ruler of Lazpa or, rather, to the prestigious sanctuary of the deity of Lazpa.

The Manapatarkunta letter could indicate a close proximity between Seha and Millawanda, if, as is quite likely, Atpa was stationed at Millawanda at the time of the letter.

Moreover, the Hittite attack on Millawanda (if the restoration is correct) in the preliminaries of the Hittite – Arzawan war, is very difficult to imagine if Millawanda – Miletos lay in proximity to the Arzawan heartland. In this case, too, a northerly location of Arzawa would be more fitting.

It could be shown that the Hittite and Luwian sources may be taken to argue for a position of Arzawa in later Lydia, which may also induce some doubts on the whole outline of the current reconstruction.

This article is clearly not intended to present an alternative *solution* to the problem. Rather, its aim is to elicit a more critical view of established opinions and preconceived meanings concerning the geography of western Anatolia in the Hittite period and to show that, even though a certain idea is widely accepted, alternatives are still possible.

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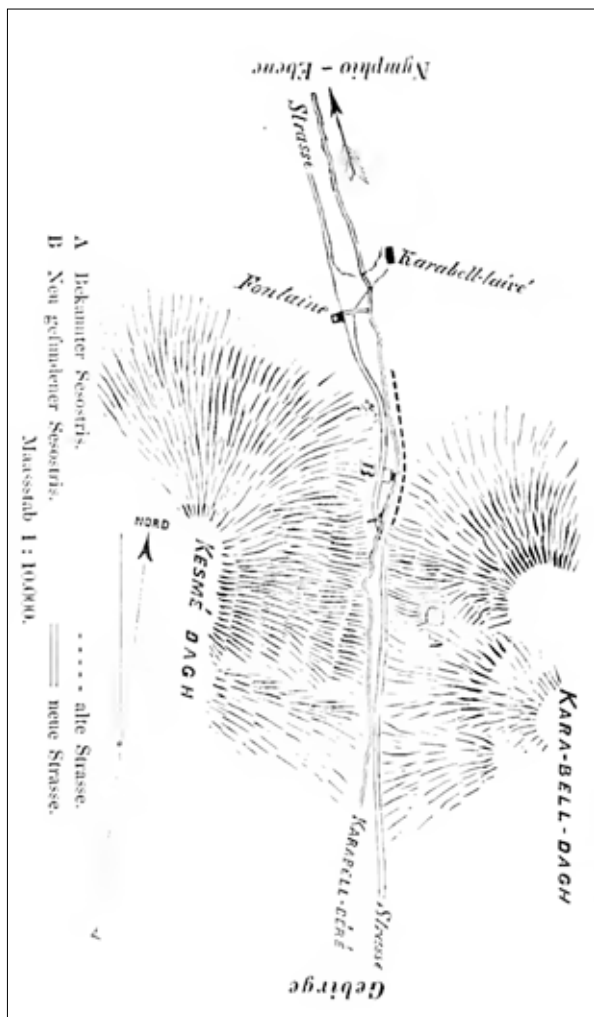


Fig. 1: Position of Karabel B in relation to Karabel A as drawn by Humann/ Curtius 1876: 50.

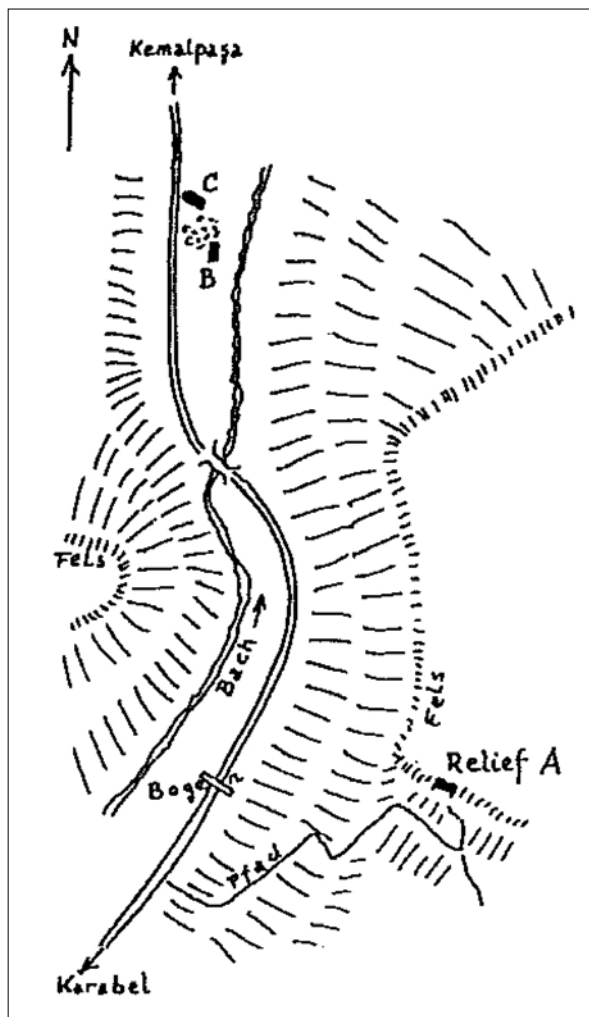


Fig. 2: Position of Karabel B and C in relation to Karabel A as drawn by Bittel 1937-41: 184, Abb. 2 and Güterbock 1967: 64, Abb 1.





Fig. 3a:  
View in southerly direction  
from the rock of Karabel,  
photo taken by the author.



Fig. 3b:  
View in northerly direction  
from the rock of Karabel,  
photo taken by the author.



Fig. 4:  
The rock shelter with the  
LATMOS inscriptions seen  
from below, photo taken  
by the author.





Fig. 5: The inscription LATMOS 1, photo taken by the author.



Fig. 6:  
The inscription on the stele of Karakuyu-Torbali, photo taken by the author.



Fig. 7: Map of western Asia Minor with sites and regions mentioned in the text.

# PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE FASILLAR SURVEY

Yiğit H. Erbil  
Hacettepe University, Ankara

The Fasillar monument is located above the village of the same name, 15 km from the city of Beyşehir (Fig. 1). The site has been visited by numerous scholars since its discovery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Sterrett 1888: 163-166; Ramsay 1889: 170ff.; Perrot/Chipiez 1890: 222-223; Jüthner *et al.* 1903: 16-18, fig. 4-5; Ramsay 1907: 133-134, fig. 7; Garstang 1910: 175-176). However, before 2012, no authorized archaeological project had been undertaken in relation to the monument and its environs. Since 2012, with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums and with the sponsorship of Hacettepe University, intensive survey campaigns have been conducted in the vicinity of Fasillar. The general aims of the Fasillar Regional Archaeological Project are threefold:

- 1) to determine the general historical and geographical contexts of the Fasillar Monument;
- 2) to reconsider the function of the seemingly unfinished Hittite monument at Fasillar and its exact location with respect to Tarhuntaşša;
- 3) and to reconstruct the road network of the region between Beyşehir and Konya in an attempt to determine the nature of the relationship between the Fasillar Monument and other key sites of the Hittite Period.

## I. The Fasillar statue made for an early version of the Eflatun Pınar monument?

The Fasillar statue (Fig. 2) is approximately 8.30 m. tall and is made of trachyte, a type of local stone. It is a high-relief structure, featuring two lions that have been carved almost entirely in the round and whose fronts and sides extend beyond the edges of the monument. Two Hittite gods are positioned between the lions, one standing on top of the other. The gesture of the lower deity strongly suggests that he is a mountain god; the conical cap and striding posture of the upper deity identify him as the Storm-god. A stone pedestal under the feet of the mountain god appears to have been intended to anchor the monument in place when it stood upright. The facts that the figures on the monument have only been crudely crafted and that there is an abundance of trachyte found on the hill on which the monument currently rests have led scholars to believe that the megalith was left unfinished (Güterbock 1947: 63), blocked out ready for transportation but then left *in situ* when, for unknown reasons, the project was interrupted. Although the lack of inscriptions or other

identifying details make it difficult to date the monument, on the basis of ideological and stylistic criteria it has been widely assumed to date to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC (Mellaart 1962).

Fasillar has often been connected with the Hittite spring sanctuary Eflatun Pınar, a relationship first suggested by James Mellaart in 1962. Mellaart's theory was that the freestanding monument at Fasillar was intended to sit atop the water shrine at Eflatun Pınar, ca. 27 km. to the northwest (Mellaart 1962: 111, 114-115) and, today, one of the best-known Hittite spring sanctuaries.

The iconography of Eflatun Pınar was the theme of most earlier studies (Erkanal 1980: 287-301; Kohlmeyer 1983: 7-153). During archaeological investigations carried out in 1996, the Hittite pool was entirely revealed (Özenir 1997: 139; 2001: 537-538; Bachmann/Özenir 2004: 85-122). The main scene on the monument depicts a divine couple (Fig. 3). The male deity is seated on a throne on the left side and probably represents a Storm-god. His female companion, seated on the right, is likely to be the Sun goddess of the earth (Bittel 1953: 4, Laroche 1958: 44-45; Börker-Klähn/Börker 1976: 34-37). The divine couple is surrounded by three rows of figures: in the middle are bull-men; above them a row of lion men is depicted, and below the bull-men, there is a row of five standing mountain gods.

The three mountain gods in the middle have several holes in them, through which water flowed into the pool in the manner of a fountain. On each side of the main scene, there is a depiction of a goddess. A seated goddess is shown in relief on the southern wall of the pool; a second relief, depicting a Storm-god, was likely also standing beside her. A block at her feet was ostensibly used as an altar to the goddess. In front of it, a fragment of a stone human torso was uncovered (Fig. 4). On the eastern wall of the pool, two figures in relief appear as if walking toward the north (Fig. 5). Today, a trachyte block with bull protomes stands southwest of the pool (Fig. 6). Fragmented bull and lion figures, votive miniature ceramic vessels and a bronze pin were retrieved from the pool itself (Özenir 2001: 537-539).

This construction with sculptures and reliefs has monumentalized the site. Pure water emerges from the spring there, and it is channeled to flow from the monument into an enclosed basin. The site clearly has a religious function and the complex may be understood as a sacred pool, probably used during religious rituals and festivals (Kohlmeyer 1983: 35, n. 286; Bittel 1984: 13-14; Ökse 2011: 225). The monument's iconography suggests that it was directly related to the Hittite Great King. Three sun-disks appear on the top of the monument along with tutelary gods; important figures of the Hittite official pantheon during a particular reign are the personal tutelary deities of the king, suggesting that "this sacred pool was an important station for the pilgrimage of the Great King during cultic festivals" (Erbil 2005: 153-154; Erbil/Mouton 2012: 70).

The connection that Mellaart made between the two Hittite stone carvings should be re-evaluated on a number of grounds. First, the monumentality of Eflatun Pınar is very unusual in Hittite art. In fact, the design of both monuments is most atypical. To combine two already rare and colossal structures – the height of Eflatun Pınar is ca. 6 m. and Fasillar, 8 m. – does not match the known corpus of Hittite art and architecture (Orthmann 1964: 225-229; Alexander 1968: 84-85; Behm-Blancke/Rittig 1970: 88-99; Naumann 1971: 442; Kohlmeyer 1983: 38). From an iconographic point of view, to impose the Storm-god and the mountain gods on the Fasillar statue directly above the winged sun disks of Eflatun Pınar would be most unconventional. Typically, when a sun disk is included as part of a Hittite image, it is placed at the apex; it is rare that other objects are placed above the sun disk (Naumann 1971: 443; Bittel 1976: 225).

It must also be questioned whether the foundations of Eflatun Pınar would have been capable of supporting the weight of both the superstructure and what was placed above it without the entire structure sinking or collapsing (Behm-Blancke/Rittig 1970). Based on comparanda from other Hittite sites, it is clear the Hittites knew that a sound foundation was essential for stone architectural structures.

Although Mellaart's theory is unlikely to be correct, Fasillar and Eflatun Pinar continue to be considered together. Therefore, we decided to revisit any possible connections between Fasillar and Eflatun Pinar monuments. We focused firstly on the Fasillar statue itself. During the process of recording measurements, a rectangular opening in the mouth of the mountain god was identified, projecting 8 cm. inwards towards the core of the statue<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 7). This hole might have functioned as part of a fountain, making it appear that water was flowing out of the deity's mouth. At Eflatun Pinar, water flows from the bodies of the figures and not out of their mouths. Despite this difference, it is possible to draw the parallel between the two monuments that both could have acted as cultic fountains.

Water flowing from a mountain god actually fits well with Hittite religious imagery. Water is frequently connected with mountains in Hittite religion (Özenir 2001: 539-540). Before elaborating further on this concept, we decided to make sure that the hole belonged to the original sculpture and was not created more recently. Checking old drawings dating back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ramsay 1907: 133-134, Fig. 7) and also the copy of the statue in the garden of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (Fig. 8), which was molded directly from the original, we came to the conclusion that the hole was not a recent addition but that it had been filled with earth and therefore hidden from the visitors' sight after its discovery.

Next, we decided to investigate the site of Eflatun Pinar to attempt to determine whether the Fasillar structure was originally designed for that site. The protrusion on the bottom of the Fasillar megalith measures about 64 cm. The measurements we took at the spring of Eflatun Pinar demonstrated that where the Fasillar monument may be located, no figure is obscured by water. Moreover, the height of the mouth of the Fasillar mountain god, from where water would potentially flow, roughly corresponds with the heights of the water outlets carved into the figures of Eflatun Pinar (Fig. 9a). While the mouth of the Fasillar mountain god appears (Fig. 9b) at a height of 1.14 m., the heights of the holes on the figures at Eflatun Pinar is ca. 1 m. In other words, the water channels at Eflatun Pinar would support the pressure needed to push water through the holes on either of the two monuments. An enterprise that initially designed the Fasillar statue separately from the Eflatun Pinar monument seems to be the most likely scenario. There may have been at least two successive phases to the monument at the spring site, one incorporating the Fasillar megalith and the other, the structure we still see standing at Eflatun Pinar today.

There are two main reasons why the first project, involving the Fasillar statue, may have been abandoned: the first is that the Storm-god may have been too heavy to be transported; the second, that changing political dynamics may have led to altering plans for how to monumentalize the spring at Eflatun Pinar.

The possibility should now be considered that the colossus at Fasillar was designed to be part of the monument that now stands at Eflatun Pinar. As already mentioned, the placement of the Fasillar monument on top of Eflatun Pinar could well have resulted in an engineering disaster. What other possibilities can we consider? The Fasillar statue may have been designed to stand somewhere in front or to one side of the Eflatun Pinar monument. But in either case, the 8-m. height of the Fasillar statue would have overshadowed the other structure, which is about 6 m. high. Therefore, we should prefer the theory that the Fasillar Storm-god was initially designed in place of the standing structure at Eflatun Pinar.

What is more, if we look at specific components of the monuments, we can see elements that may stylistically date to different periods of Hittite art. It is possible that the bull-pedestal, and probably also the orthostat showing two individuals in procession, belonged to an earlier phase than the rest of the Eflatun Pinar ensemble. Stylistically, both elements are carved in a somewhat plain fashion and are larger in size than figures incorporated into the artistic program of the main monument. The bull-pedestal is unusually large and even today appears out of place when the artwork is considered as a whole. In addition, the orthostat that is incorporated into the eastern wall (Fig. 5) is almost twice the size of the standard blocks in

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Alice Mouton who realized the existence of this hole for the first time during the survey.



the walls surrounding the pool. Therefore, it is possible that this block may not originally have been carved for the complex where it stands today. The partly preserved orthostat depicts two individuals, one in a long robe (possibly a priest) and the second in a kilt, marching in a processional fashion, similar to cultic festival scenes in Hittite art.

Perhaps the bull-pedestal and the bigger orthostat were both initially designed along with the Fasillar megalith for an earlier program that was abandoned before completion at Eflatun Pinar. In other words, the project was terminated before transportation of the Fasillar statue, but the elements that had already been brought to the site were incorporated into the new monument.

## II. No connection between the Fasillar statue and the Eflatun Pinar monument?

We should also consider the possibility that the Fasillar monument was never meant to be transported to Eflatun Pinar, which is located at least 27 km. away. Considering that the monument weighs approximately 70 tons and that in the 1980s an effort was abandoned to transport it to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, we ought to evaluate the Fasillar statue in its own location.

It has often been argued that the intention to transport the monument to a different location is revealed by the statue's incompleteness. However, the carvings on the colossus have mainly been finished; only the final details of the figures are left undone. The close-to-complete appearance of the statue could suggest that its final location was likely close to where it is found today. The details of the faces of the Fasillar lions, for example, although they are heavily weathered, demonstrate that fine details such as the eyes, the nose, and the mouth were all well made. Perhaps the Fasillar monument can be evaluated in the very context where it is found today. In fact, the rocky hilltop where it now sits could be considered a suitable space for a Hittite site. It contains all the topographical features that appealed to the Hittites when they chose sites for conceptually and religiously charged places in the landscape. The monument is located on hilly terrain, in sight of large mountains; there is access to numerous springs and other hydrologic features. The fact that the vicinity of Fasillar served as a stone quarry through the ages has historically led scholars to assume that the monument was built near the quarry but meant to be transported to a totally different location. We do not intend to deny that the site itself was the place from which the stone for the monument was quarried; the issue is whether or not the monument was intended to be transported to an entirely different location.

I believe that the site of Fasillar was both a quarry and a ritual place. In the later Roman period, the area was heavily used as an open-air gathering place associated with sporting competitions, as it is witnessed by dedicatory carvings and inscriptions. There are also numerous cemeteries scattered all around the area. Inscriptions in ancient Greek, dating to the Roman period, identify the depression immediately to the north/northeast of the monument as a location where sporting events took place during certain festivals (Sterrett 1888: 166-167, no. 274; Swoboda/Keil/Knoll 1935: 16). To my opinion, the conceptual and religious significance of the region was perhaps not exclusive to the late antique period, but may also have existed much earlier.

Just before the survey project, I visited the site of Fasillar with Lee Ullman and located what we believe is a sphinx that possibly dates to the Hittite period on a rock protrusion approximately 800 m. northwest of the Fasillar monument (Fig. 10). Almost 2 m. in height, the sphinx was never completed. It is apparent that the legs, the lower body parts, the wings, and the hood-like headdress were in the early stages of being formed when the carving was abandoned, probably due to the natural split that occurred in the rock. What is interesting is that despite the current poor condition of the sphinx, it is clear that a great deal of skill went into the execution of the face<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> An article is in preparation with Dr. Lee Ullmann.

If this area was only a quarry site, why would this sphinx be carved out of stones located up a hill, at a location difficult for transportation, especially since there are so many other large stones in areas of easier access? Yet, it is positioned almost at the apex of the hill and overlooking the vast plain, which is crossed by the main regional roads. The carving of the sphinx at this location was most likely deliberate and the sphinx itself was meant to stay at this very spot (Erbil 2013: 99-111; Erbil 2014: 229-230).

### III. A Hittite map of the region of Fasıllar

Another aim of the Fasıllar Regional Archaeological Project is to understand settlement patterns in the region throughout time, but with specific attention to Hittite-period settlements. We have just recently completed the mapping of the vicinity of the monuments and made in evidence ancient roads. So far, only the northern section of the road connecting Eflatun Pınar to Fasıllar has been identified with certainty as having been used in Hittite times (Fig. 11). Additionally, several settlements were found that were most likely associated with the Hittite monuments of Fasıllar and Eflatun Pınar.

We are still working on determining how exactly the Hittite road extended southwards and eastwards from Fasıllar, as these two directions seem most suitable in the topography for communication routes. The road towards the east most probably connected Fasıllar to the Hittite site of Hatıp, which is located to the south of Konya, and to Ikuwaniya, which was probably located on the site of modern Konya. Considering that travelers were mostly on foot, on animals, or in caravans, we expected to find settlements 20-25 km. apart from one another, since this more or less represents the average traveling distance in a day. Roman roads provide some sense of where the old Hittite roads may have been located. The medieval and later caravansary roads follow the same logic and they were probably reused in large part. In fact, a substantial number of sites with Hittite ceramic evidence are found strategically positioned on the road systems associated with medieval and later periods.

When we look at History, the Hulaya River Land which became incorporated as a frontier territory into the southern kingdom of Tarhuntašša under Muwatalli II, may well have bordered the region of Fasıllar (Otten 1981; Dinçol *et al.* 2000: 1-29). The region identified as the Hulaya River Land most likely took its identity from the main river that linked Beyşehir to Konya. Being north of this land, the Fasıllar region may well have been associated with a border territory. According to the Bronze Tablet uncovered in Hattuša in 1986 recording the treaty between the Hittite Great King Tudhaliya IV and his cousin Kurunta of Tarhuntašša, the Hulaya River Land was a part of the kingdom of Tarhuntašša (Alp 1995: 1-11; Hawkins 1995: 103; Otten 1988; Doğan-Alparslan/Alparslan 2015: 90-110). Yet, the unstable political dynamics during the final decades of 13<sup>th</sup> century BC indicate increased territorial changes and regional competition (Glatz/Plourde 2011: 33-66). It is likely that increased attention on the general area where both the Fasıllar and the Eflatun Pınar monuments stand played an important role in the territorial changes occurring at this time of instability. The two monuments may be associated with opposing powers competing over this region of strategic significance.

In fact, the magnificent efforts associated with these two monuments not only show the importance placed on these two sites, but also display the close regional connection with deities and supernatural powers. By exploring the geography of what probably is the northern part of the Hulaya River Land, our survey aims to define more precisely the geography that may well be associated with the territory of Tarhuntašša at a time when border areas may have gained emphasis in political rivalry through their liminal characteristics and their close connection with the supernatural.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that further investigations will not only contribute to the historical geography of ancient Anatolia, but will also help us to understand more about religiously charged geographies in the natural landscape. Our interdisciplinary approach, which combines archaeology, philology and geography, provides us with an innovative way to re-evaluate the possible relationship between the two Hittite monuments at Fasıllar and Eflatun Pınar as well as the political geography of their surroundings.

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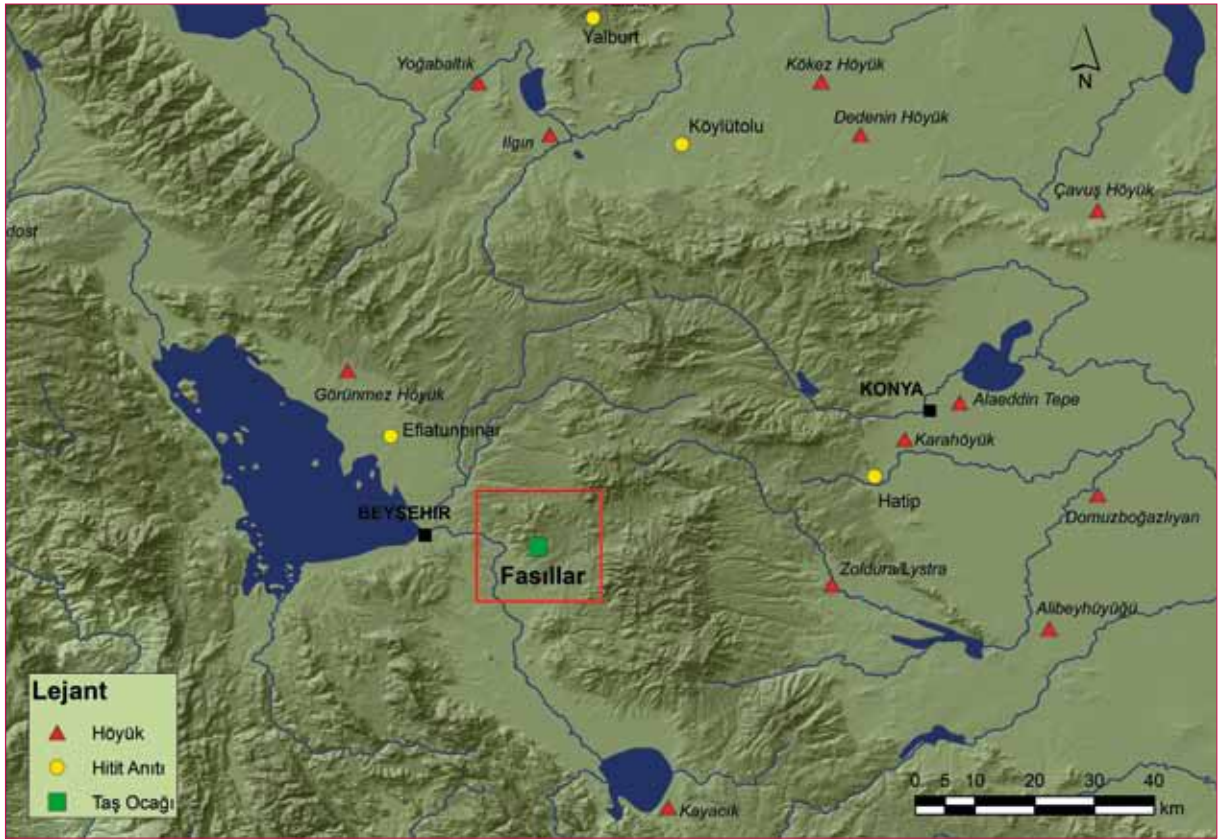


Fig. 1:  
Map of Beyşehir and Fasillar.



Fig. 2:  
Facsimile of the Fasillar  
Monument in the Ankara  
Anatolian Civilizations  
Museum (Photo taken by  
Yiğit H. Erbil).



Fig. 3: Eflatun Pınar Monument (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).



Fig. 4: Eflatun Pınar Monument, southern wall (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).



Fig. 5: Eflatun Pınar Monument, eastern wall (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).



Fig. 6: Eflatun Pınar Monument, bull protomes (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).

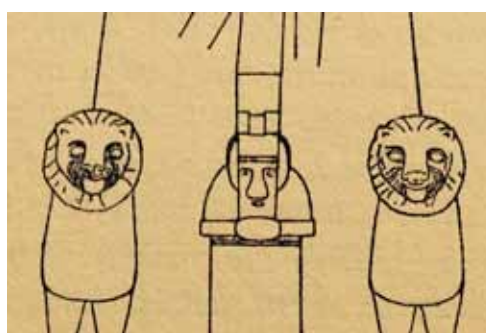


Fig. 8: Drawing of the Fasillar Monument (Ramsay 1907, fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Fasillar Monument, detail of the mountain god (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).





Fig. 9a: Eflatun Pinar Monument, holes on the figures of Eflatun Pinar (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).



Fig. 9b: Facsimile of the Fasillar Monument, Mountain god with a hole on his mouth (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).



Fig. 10: Sphinx at Fasillar (Photo taken by Yiğit H. Erbil).

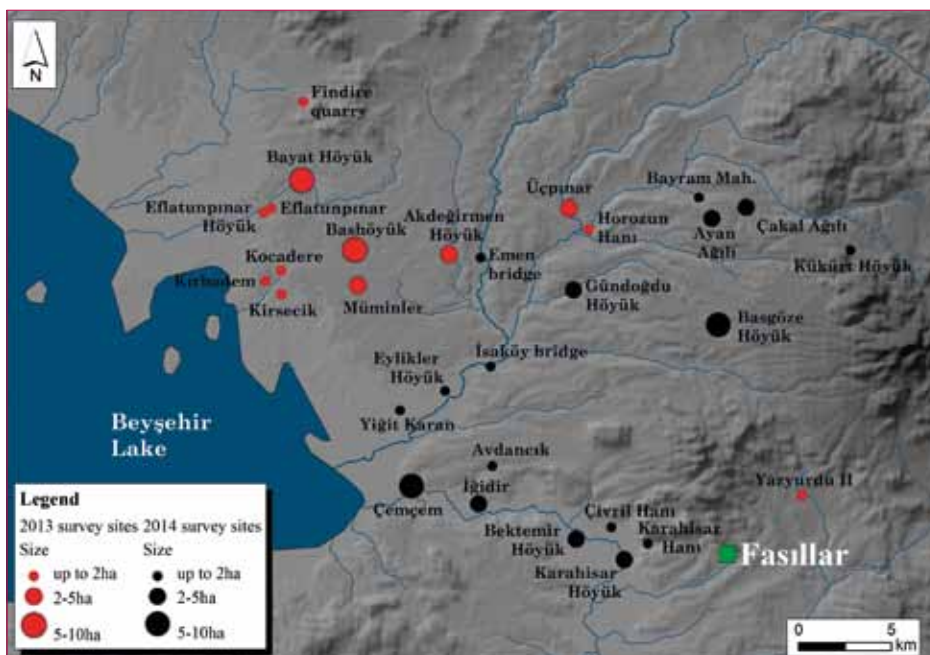


Fig. 11: Map of survey sites.

# THE NORTHERN BORDER OF TABAL\*

Zsolt Simon  
Munich University

## I. Introduction

Most of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions found to the north of the Kızılırmak River have been known for a very long time (for KARABURUN see already Anderson 1901, for ÇALAPVERDİ 1-2 Forrer 1927: 36 who already talks about Tabalite inscriptions, for ALİŞAR Gelb 1935: 73), the only exceptions being the KIRŞEHİR-letter, found and published not long ago (Akdoğan/Hawkins 2007-08 and 2010) and a further fragment, that may or may not belong to this letter (Weeden 2013). However, until today, most of the publications, not only those written by non-specialists, but also Hittitologists, mark the northern border of Tabal with the river called Kızılırmak (without any argumentation).<sup>1</sup> Since they did not attribute this region to any other Neo-Hittite state, they practically exclude this area from the Neo-Hittite world and leave the existence of these inscriptions unexplained.

Exceptions are very few. From a cartographic point of view, only Anne-Maria Wittke 2007b and Andreas Fuchs extend Tabal beyond the river (Fuchs 2007b, 2007e, 2007f but not in Fuchs 2007a), presumably based on the aforementioned inscriptions, though Fuchs later fills this area with entirely invented territories of lesser Tabalite kingdoms, Atuna and İštuanda (latter with question mark, Fuchs 2007c, 2007d).<sup>2</sup> Beyond that, Geoffrey Summers (2009: 660 n. 16) suggests in a footnote “that at its greatest extent Tabal extended to north of the area from which hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions are (currently)

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\* Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München.  
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1 E.g. Bittel 1970: 133-134 (“I do not, however, think this evidence is strong enough to prove that Tabal extended so far to the north”); Hawkins 1982: 374; Hawkins 1995a: 1296; Wäfler 1983: 191 (with map between 190 und 191); Jasink 1995: 228; Kuhrt 1995: 563; Starke 1999: cols. 523-524; Starke 2002; Yiğit 2000: 177; Melchert *apud* Bryce 2003: 94; Bryce 2003: 97, 2009: 682-683; Bryce 2012: 32, 140, 141; some of the maps published in Wittke/Olshausen/Szydlak 2007 (Fuchs 2007a; Novák 2007 whose map does not even consider Tabal as a Luwian state!; Wittke 2007a; for exceptions see below); Collins 2007: 79; Popko 2008: 170; Sagona/Zimansky 2009: 294; Melville 2010: 89; Genz 2011: 331. Though one may argue that these maps are ambiguous for they rarely draw borders, many of the authors explicitly identify the northern border with the Kızılırmak (Bittel 1970: 134; Wäfler 1983: 191; Starke 1999: 528; Yiğit 2000: 177; Bryce 2003: 97; Bryce 2009: 682; Bryce 2012: 141; Melville 2010: 89; Genz 2011: 331) and also the remaining cases are clear due to the very placement of the label “Tabal” on the respective maps.

2 Also Wittke’s map is problematic, since she marks areas with Phrygian inscriptions where there aren’t any (Northeast Central Anatolia, including even a coastal strip) and omitting areas with Phrygian inscriptions (Northwest Anatolia).

known”.<sup>3</sup> According to Wittke 2014: 751-752 “Tabaler (bzw. tabalische Vasallen oder kleine eigenständige Fürstentümer im ‘Grenzbereich’) griffen offenbar ab dem 9. Jh. [i]mmer wieder über den Halys nach Norden aus (z. B. Karaburun, Topaklı oder in Grenzlage? Çalapverdi mit der nördlichsten immobilen hieroglyphenluwischen Inschrift), zuletzt unter Mugallu (...), der sein Herrschaftsgebiet (...) erheblich auch in den Halysbogen ausdehnen konnte”. Unfortunately, without any arguments, this picture is entirely speculative, including the dating and the assumption of the extension of the kingdom of Mugallu. The views of Özgüç 1971: 118 were similar: he assumed a Tabalite rule for a certain period or on several occasions based on Çalapverdi. Finally, a real, but short discussion of this problem can be found only recently by Mark Weeden (2010: 46, 58) and Sanna Aro (1998: 250-254, 2012: 388), both of them leaving the problem unsolved.

In this paper I will address this problem from all three theoretically possible points of view: linguistics, history, and archaeology. I will discuss later, in the appropriate parts, what are the chronological limits of these answers. My point of view will be Tabalite, i.e. I will not discuss the much vexed question of the role of Phrygian and Phrygians in this area, not because of the obvious time limits, but for a simple methodological reason: since Tabal as such is better known than the Phrygians, the question of the northern border of Tabal can be more easily settled than the Phrygian question. And a more or less clear view on this region from a Tabalite point of view will be conducive to our understanding the Phrygians’s role as well. Finally, for the sake of simplicity, I treat Tabal here in the traditional way as a conglomerate of small local kingdoms, without making any judgment about its internal structure and about its exact members south to the Kızılırmak.

## II. A linguist’s answer

The appropriate formulation of this question is that of the northern border of the Luwian-speaking area in Central Anatolia. Note that intersection with other language areas (notably Phrygian and Kaškean) is possible, moreover, rather expected, but this won’t be pursued further here.

Though the number of Luwian inscriptions beyond the Kızılırmak is remarkable, their sheer presence unfortunately does not mean the presence of Luwian speakers. A good example of this problem is provided by Tell Ahmar, where the Luwian inscriptions disguise the Semitic names of the local protagonists, and thus probably the Semitic speaking majority of the local population, restricting the usage of Luwian to the official level (cf. Bunnens 2006: 86-87 with refs.).

The content and the medium of these inscriptions can, however, provide a key to understanding the local sociolinguistic situation. Unfortunately, the stone blocks of ÇALAPVERDİ 1-2 cannot contribute to this problem, as they are badly preserved and practically unintelligible. The rock inscription of KARABURUN, a kind of compact of King Sipis with a governor also called Sipis, and the KIRŞEHİR-letter with the fragment on lead strips, a letter of a high official to his overlord shows only that Luwian was used for representative and administrative purposes and tells nothing about the speakers. Though the protagonists have mainly Luwian names (Katunis,<sup>4</sup> Muwatalis, Ni(ya)s<sup>5</sup>, Tuwatis),<sup>6</sup> one could explain away this evidence arguing that this reflects only the custom of a Luwian(ised) elite of a non-Luwian population. ALIŞAR, however, shows a graffito consisting of an only partially preserved word and a personal name *Hatusamuwas* on the ring-base of a vessel. The placement of the graffito on the bottom of the vessel argues against the possibility of a *Besitzerinschrift* and thus against the possibility of arriving to Alişar from somewhere else through

3 Though somewhat earlier he states that there were no Neo-Hittite kingdoms to north of the river (Summers 2009: 660, overlooking ALIŞAR). For his reasoning see below.

4 The otherwise unattested name Katunis of the KIRŞEHİR-letter (§4) can be explained as a regular contraction of *Katuwa-nni-* from *Katuwa-*, a well-attested Luwian-Lydia name (cf. Gusmani 1964: 146-147) and the ubiquitous (hypochoristic) suffix *-nni-* (Zehnder 2010: 42-45).

5 Ni(ya)s is well attested in the Luwian corpus, cf. KULULU lead strip 1 (19), 2 §1, Hawkins’s normalisation as Nis is the other possibility.

6 The only unexplained name is Sipis, though a Luwian connection may be possible if it represents a compound name with a regularly contracted *-piya-* > *-pi-* as its second member. Nevertheless, the first member remains unexplained in this case. Considering the neighbourhood of Phrygian speakers and the presence of at least one Phrygian name among the Luwian rulers (i.e. Kurtis, for a detailed discussion see Simon forthcoming a), one may entertain the possibility of a Phrygian name, but this idea cannot currently be supported by any evidence. One further name may be attested as Sakwisani (§14), but cf. Akdoğan/Hawkins 2010: 6, 8 and especially Giusfredi 2010: 238, who considers §14 corrupted.



commerce or similar. Unless one prefers Anatolians traveling with potsherds in their pocket, this graffito is therefore to be treated as a product of a local person. Thus this graffito is a clear piece of evidence that Luwian was used also for everyday purposes and, furthermore, we have to count with Luwian speakers in this area. In other words, linguistically speaking the area between Alişar and the Kızılırmak, and in general the area of the Luwian inscriptions to the north of Kızılırmak must be considered as a part of the Luwian speaking area. As for the chronology: this region was of course a Luwian speaking area from the beginning of the Neo-Hittite period and the decline and disappearance of this language is part of a bigger, unsolved problem that cannot be treated here. The date of these specific inscriptions will be discussed below in the historical section.

### III. A historian's answer

There are three theoretical possibilities: (a) the region beyond the Kızılırmak did not belong to Tabal at all (and in this case it does not even need to belong to a Neo-Hittite kingdom); (b) it did belong to Tabal, but represents a local polity unidentified until now; (c) it did belong to Tabal and it belonged to an already known Tabalite kingdom. Other Neo-Hittite states cannot be involved due to obvious geographic reasons.

Since the Assyrian sources do not reveal anything about this region (and the local Phrygian inscriptions are either not intelligible or not historic, partly also too late), one can rely only upon the local Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions.

ALİŞAR and ÇALAPVERDİ 1-2 obviously do not help. Unfortunately, KARABURUN does not mention the name of the kingdom of Sipis. He is, however, not a so-called “Great King”, just a simple one, thus he belongs either to one of the already known smaller kingdoms (e.g. the nearby Atuna or Şinuhtu) or not. That is precisely why before the discovery of the KIRŞEHİR it would have been possible to argue that this area did not belong to Tabal at all and thus there would have been some merit in drawing the border of Tabal at the Kızılırmak. Interestingly enough, to the best of my knowledge, this type of argumentation was not used. On the contrary: if Sipis and his kingdom were noticed at all, they were always considered to be as a part of Tabal (cf. Jasink 1995; Hawkins 2000).<sup>7</sup>

This situation has changed considerably with the discovery of the KIRŞEHİR-letter. Though its content is only partly understood, it is clear that we are dealing with a letter in administrative matters sent by a “servant”, Muwatalis, to his overlord, Tuwatis, who was identified with Great King Tuwatis of Tabal (Akdoğan/Hawkins 2007-08: 11; Akdoğan/Hawkins 2010: 10-11; Giusfredi 2010: 236, 239; Weeden 2010: 46). Though one cannot exclude the possibility that this is only a sketch or a copy of the letter sent, i.e. Kırşehir is the place of the sender, Muwatalis; it is still more probable that this is the place of the receiver, i.e. that of Tuwatis. Both cases lead, however, to the same result, namely, that this region belonged to Tabal from an administrative point of view (while many scholars extend Phrygia into this region as well, it is very improbable that high officials in Phrygia used Hieroglyphic Luwian for correspondence).

But to which Tabalite kingdom did this area belong? While the choice of the Great Kings of Tabal is obvious due to the frequent occurrence of the name Tuwati in this dynasty (see below), one must mention that Muwatalis calls Tuwatis only as his “lord” (DOMINUS-ni-). Thus his rank, strictly speaking, is not clear. Though it is more probable that this Tuwatis represents one of the Great Kings of Tabal, one should also consider the possibility that he does not and thus, theoretically, this region may not belong to or may belong not only to the realm of the Great Kings, but to one of the already known kingdoms or even to an until now unidentified one.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The handbook of Bryce 2012 does not mention him at all, for unknown reasons. Nevertheless, despite its title and goal, it is not the only occasion that Bryce does not consider all attested rulers, see also the case of Masaurhisas of the PORSUK inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Weeden's formulation (“it may indicate that he [= Tuwatis, Zs. S.] (...) had interests north of the Kızıl İrmak river”, Weeden 2010: 46) is unnecessarily cautious: if this Tuwatis is indeed one of the Great Kings, then this region belonged to his realm (unless one wants to assume a king on campaign). If Tuwatis indeed received the letter in the neighbourhood of Kırşehir, it may mean that he had a kind of residence there, not necessarily the capital (see also Weeden 2010: 46). Incidentally, the capital of Tabal has still not been located: Shalmaneser III calls it Artulu (RIMA 3 A.0.102.16 162'-181', but see d'Alfonso 2012: 176 n. 7), which is supposed to be located either in the triangle of Kululu – Sultanhan – Kültepe (Hawkins 2000: 427; Bryce 2012: 142) or in the neighbourhood of Kayseri (Aro 1998: 96-97), Kululu itself was also suggested (Hawkins 1979: 163; Hawkins 1995b: 99; Weeden 2010: 44; Wittke 2014: 761 (“vermutlich”)).

At this juncture, it must be mentioned that it has been proposed that the land of Parzuta, the enemy of Great King Wasusarmas, whose fight is commemorated in the TOPADA inscription, lies beyond the Kızılırmak and when the inscription mentions that the Tabalite forces had to cross a river to reach the land of the hostile city of Ta-x (š20 wa/i,-tù-‘ ANNUS tara/i-zi/a TERRA-REL+ra/i ta-x(URBS) a-ta<sub>x</sub> CRUS+FLUMEN-ta<sub>x</sub>”), the river to cross was the Kızılırmak (Woudhuizen 2007: 24, 34; Weeden 2010: 56-57 also considers it as one of the possibilities). The basic problem is that we do not know where these polities were located and what their connection with each other is (see the critical overview of Weeden 2010: 55-58). Moreover, the very position of the TOPADA inscription and the fact that it reports a series of victorious campaigns allows for the possibility that Wasusarmas attacked from the north, the south, or the east, and thus Parzuta and Ta-x were located to the west. Then, in case of a northern attack, the river might have been the Kızılırmak (Weeden 2010: 57), further supporting the assumption of the Tabalite rule north to the river, but in case of an southern or eastern attack this river might have been a completely different one (e.g. the Melendiz, also in case of a continuing northern attack, Weeden 2010: 57-58). If Wasusarmas attacked from the south, then the river might have been the Kızılırmak and it would mean that he re-established the Tabalite rule to the north of the river – re-established, since independent of the circumstance, if this was a mutiny or a hostile attack, his predecessor, Tuwatis had already ruled there, assuming his identity with the receiver of the letter. This, however, would locate only the city of Ta-x to the north of the Kızılırmak since, as mentioned, its relationship with Parzuta is not clear (Weeden 2010: 56; *contra* Woudhuizen 2007: 24, 34). All in all, the TOPADA inscription cannot help us at the present level of understanding.

The next question is the chronology of the Tabalite control. Most of these inscriptions cannot be dated archaeologically, since KARABURUN is a rock inscription, and KIRŞEHİR and ÇALAPVERDİ 1-2 are stray finds. Only ALIŞAR can be dated archaeologically being a stratified object (Alişar 4bM) into the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Hawkins 2000: 568 with refs.).

The second possibility is the palaeographical dating. Unfortunately, lacking Hieroglyphic Luwian palaeography this can give only very vague results: Hawkins dates KARABURUN in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, ÇALAPVERDİ 1-2 in the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries (Hawkins 2000: 481, 497), and KIRŞEHİR in the later 8<sup>th</sup> century (Akdoğan/Hawkins 2007-08: 11; Akdoğan/Hawkins 2010: 10; followed by Giusfredi 2010: 236). Nevertheless one must call attention to the fact that Hawkins 2000 by principle does not date Tabalite inscriptions after 700 (see also Hawkins 1982: 429 and Hawkins 2008: 40), which is highly problematic since the last known king of Tabal, [...]jussi, is mentioned *ca.* 640 (cf. Aro 1998: 93-94). In other words, the lower chronological limit of these inscriptions should be the mid of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The final possibility is the historical dating based on the content. Such information is available only in case of KIRŞEHİR, if Tuwatis is indeed to be identified with a Great King Tuwatis of Tabal. But which one? Akdoğan and Hawkins (2007-08: 11 and 2010: 11) identify him without hesitation with Tuwatis mentioned in 743 by Tiglatpileser III. This is, however, only one possibility because we have a plethora of existing or assumed Tuwatis:

1. D’Alfonso 2012: 177 suggested that the king of the country Tuali among the members of the Nairi-coalition against Tiglatpileser I. (1114-1076 BC, RIMA 2 A.o.87.1 iv 72) was in fact a king of Tabal, as another Tabalite king called Tuwatis could have given his name to his country in a regularly rhotacised form. Whether this theory is correct or not, such an early Tuwatis can be safely discarded on palaeographical grounds.

2. D’Alfonso 2012: 177 follows the proposal of Bossert 1944: 278 (also accepted by Barnett 1953: 90) that the MALATYA 6 label “tu-wa/i-ti REX INFANS” refers to a boy: this text is written on an orthostat (Malatya A/7) showing a woman in an offering scene in front of a female deity (Sauska) and behind her a boy with an animal to sacrifice. D’Alfonso suggests furthermore that he was the member of the dynasty of the neighbouring Tabal. Since this relief belongs to the so-called Lions Gate, its dating is highly problematic, as it is well-known, thus, one cannot argue here chronologically. Set aside that the assumption of showing a prince of a *neighbouring* land is *ad hoc* and cannot be proven, it must be mentioned that other scholars believe that the text refers to the woman, a queen or princess, either as the daughter of a king Tuwatis of Tabal (van Loon 1990: 4 [he dates the king around 920], 6), which would still add yet another Tuwatis

to our list; or herself as Tuwatis (Delaporte 1940: 19; Hawkins 2000: 287, 308; Zehnder 2010: 293-294 who does not quote the alternative proposal of Bossert). Van Loon bases his interpretation on the text what he translates as ‘child of king Tuwati’. However, d’Alfonso rightly emphasizes that all known texts consisting of a personal name and title always refer to the depicted person.

A strong argument against the interpretation as a boy is provided by the parallel scene of the orthostat Malatya A/9b. It shows a king libating in front of a god and behind him a boy with an animal to sacrifice. There is a label here too (MALATYA 5): “PUGNUS-mili REX \*462”, which thus unambiguously refers to the offering person and not to the boy who can thus be identified as a servant at the sacrifice. Accordingly, MALATYA 6 would refer to the woman and not to the boy. But can we reject the notion that a male member of the royal family, for instance the son of the couple is helping in the sacrifice? This was exactly the idea of Bossert 1944: 278, who also pointed out another scene from Karkamish, where Tuwarsis, a young prince, member of the royal family was carrying the sacrifice animal (KARKAMIŞ A7j).

This text itself, “tu-wa/i-ti REX INFANS”, is unfortunately ambiguous: as Hawkins 2000: 308 underlines, it lacks both VIR<sub>2</sub> and FEMINA signs, thus the gender of the INFANS cannot be ascertained. However, d’Alfonso 2012: 177 n. 8. rightly pointed out that Tuwatis is attested until now only as a male name. Nevertheless, strict boundaries did not always exist between male and female names in Anatolia and thus this argument is not necessarily compelling, especially since this name is, etymologically speaking, opaque (see also Aro 1998: 127; Zehnder 2010: 294). All in all, it is currently impossible to decide safely between the two options, though the presumably male name points to Bossert’s proposal of a prince called Tuwatis. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that, *contra* d’Alfonso, there is no evidence that he belonged to a royal house other than that of Malatya and the parallel scene in Karkamish strongly supports this. In other words, this particular Tuwatis cannot be considered as the recipient of the letter, especially because we do not know if he reached the adulthood at all or if he followed his father on the throne at all. Furthermore, while it cannot *a priori* be excluded that the region to the north of Halys belonged to Malatya, this is rather unlikely from a geographical point of view (needless to say, those who prefer to see Tuwatis in the princess can also discard this Tuwatis).<sup>9</sup>

3. The next possibility in identifying Tuwatis is Tuatti, mentioned in 836 by Shalmaneser III. He cannot be excluded so easily, since we do not possess inscriptions from Tabal that definitely predate Tuwatis of 743.<sup>10</sup> In other words, we cannot date the beginning of the so-called KULULU-style of the letter (to be observed in the AŠŠUR-letters, in the economic documents from KULULU, the KULULU stelae and the SULTANHAN inscription of Wasusarma), which of course could have started very early. But even if we had such securely dated inscriptions, this style is a kind of handwriting whose chronology is absolutely unknown to us.<sup>11</sup>

4. The final possibility depends upon the grammatical interpretation of the following Urartian passage from the description of the Neo-Hittite campaign of Argišti I (mentioned 778-764, Fuchs 2012):

- (1) <sup>l</sup>tú-a-te-hi-ni-i KUR-ni[-e ’]a-al-du-bi<sup>12</sup> or
- (2) <sup>l</sup>tú-a-te-hi-ni-i KUR-ni [<sup>l</sup>a-al]-du-bi<sup>13</sup> (CTU A 8-3 ii 16)
- (3) Tuate=hi=i=ni=∅ KUR-ni=∅<sup>14</sup>

9 If a highly speculative remark is allowed: the possibility of a king or prince called Tuwatis of Malatya, descendant of the Karkamishean royal Hittite dynasty, and the unknown origin of the dynasty of the Great Kings in Tabal displaying kings with the name Tuwatis convey the possibility that they are the descendants of the Malatya branch of the Hittite ruling house. For a detailed discussion of the origins of the Tabalite dynasty see Simon 2009: 262-264 with refs.

10 Set aside the inscriptions that cannot be dated, there is a group of inscriptions that cannot be more precisely dated as the 8<sup>th</sup> century (EĞREK, İSTANBUL 2, KULULU 3, KULULU 5, TEKİRDERBENT 1-2, ALIŞAR), and another one from the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries (ÇALAPVERDİ 1-2, KURUBEL), see Hawkins 2000 s.vv.

11 *Contra* Giusfredi 2010: 236, the fact that the other Luwian documents written on lead also date to the 8<sup>th</sup> century does not necessarily mean that this one also has to be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

12 König 1957: 89.

13 Melikišvili 1960: 214; Arutjunjan 2001: 160 (here [<sup>l</sup>a-a]-du-bi, cf. 163); Salvini 2008: 334, against this reading and for König’s see Weeden 2010: 40 n. 14.

14 Since this is a genitive construction with a possessor in agreement with KUR-ni=∅ in absolutive, the underlying structure must be Tuate=hi=i=ni=∅ KUR-ni=∅ which can be written as <tú-a-te-hi-ni-i> as well.

It is traditionally translated as ‘the land of the Tuatid’, lit. ‘the land of the one belonging to Tuate’ (König 1957: 89; Weeden 2010: 40).<sup>15</sup> The ‘Tuatid’ may refer either to the dynasty of a Tuate or to the son of a specific Tuate. If it is a dynasty, then there is no need to assume one more Tuwati, since this ancestor can be identified with Tuatti, mentioned by Shalmaneser III in 836. If it refers to the son of a specific Tuate then one might also want to assume one more Tuwati around 800 (both options mentioned by Hawkins/Postgate 1988; Hawkins 2000: 427), otherwise Shalmaneser’s Tuatti would have reigned unusually long. And this \*Tuwati could also have been the recipient of the letter. Nevertheless, it would be unclear and strange why Argišti would not have named the defeated king, calling him only by his paternal name instead. However, considering that this naming practice was widespread in the Urartian texts (especially in those that referred to territories to the north of Urartu) and it is a cross-culturally widespread practice to name a region after its ruling dynasty, I find the dynastic interpretation more plausible and thus I do not assume one more Tuwatis.

All in all, one can date the letter both around 836 and around 743. The inscriptions thus do not give us precise dating criteria, we can thus only suspect that this region stood under the control of Tabal approx. in the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries and in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

## IV. An archaeologist’s answer

As we can see, currently we have written evidence only for the period 9<sup>th</sup> - first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, at best, thus I will restrict the archaeological side of this problem to this period, i.e. approximately to the (earlier) Middle Iron Age and to the region between the river and the northernmost inscriptions. Though these inscriptions have been known for a long time, early research even suggested that this region was a kind of no-man’s-land between Tabal and the Phrygians (Mellink 1965: 322), the surveys (for the region of Kaman-Kalehöyük see Sachihiro Omura’s annual survey since 1986 published in AAS; for the region of Alişar see Branting 1996; for Çalapverdi see Özgüç 1971: 117-119) and of course the excavations themselves (Çadır Höyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Yassihöyük) demonstrated that this is not the case (see already Aro 1998: 251).

The characteristic features of Tabalite material culture, such as rock reliefs, royal stelae, and funerary stelae are missing from the region under consideration (cf. also Summers 2009: 660) and Özgüç’s observation that the mound of Çalapverdi fits the type of Iron Age mountain fortresses known from Göllüdağ, Kululu or Havuzköy (Özgüç 1971: 117-118) may have been invalidated now with the recovery of an Empire period inscription supposedly originating from the same site (Taş/Weeden 2010: 349). While one may argue that due to recent surveys this lacuna may appear real (Summers 2009: 660), the continuous recovery of Luwian inscriptions from secondary contexts (just like that of the letter) reminds us that this may be a premature conclusion. Moreover, the very medium of the inscriptions beyond the Kızılırmak, i.e. the rock inscription of KARABURUN and the lead strips rather point to the presence of Tabalite material culture, at least in the circles of the administrative elite.

Nevertheless, there is one aspect that definitely unifies this region with Tabal: pottery. The period of smaller pottery zones of the Early Iron Age is followed by a more uniform Middle Iron Age, where the Silhouette Ware / Alişar IV ware (9<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries) originating in the local, northern EIA pottery within the Kızılırmak bend (Genz 2000; Genz 2004: 223; Genz 2005: 75-76; Summers 2009: 660-661), unifies a vast area from the southern foothills of the Pontic Mountains down to Göllüdağ/Niğde and the Taurus mountains

<sup>15</sup> The translation ‘the land of Tuatehi’ (Melikişvili 1960: 216; Arutjunjan 2001: 161) leaves the suffix *-hi-* unexplained. The translation ‘the sons of Tuate’ by Hawkins/Postgate 1988: 36 and Hawkins 2000: 427 is grammatically incorrect (rightly pointed out by Weeden 2010: 40 n. 10), just like the translation ‘the land of Tuate’ (Salvini 2008: 336). Weeden 2010: 40-41 offered two more possibilities:

*Tuate=hini=i* in dative agreement with KUR-ni-[e] with an allomorph *-hini-* of *-hi-* in oblique cases assumed by Wilhelm 1976: 112-113. However, there is no evidence for this allomorph (all cited cases contain *-hi-* and the agreement marker *-ni-*) and as Weeden 2010: 40 with n. 12 himself rightly pointed out, the verb requires an object in absolutive, which would have been omitted then.

Weeden suggests a “resumptive suffix” *-ni-i* in absolutive with a meaning “the one of Tuate, the land”, but this is *ad hoc* and semantically not satisfactory (admitted by him too).

For those who still want to follow these translations, this Tuate might be identical with that of 743 (König 1957: 89 n. 7; Hutter-Braunsar 2009: 81), ruling unusually long (see also the cautious formulation of Weeden 2010: 40 with n. 13, allowing the possibility of the name of the dynasty) or another one ruling at the time of Argišti’s campaign.

(Genz 2000: 40; Genz 2004: 225; Summers 2009: 660-661 with refs.), present also in Kaman-Kalehöyük, Çadır Höyük and Çalapverdi. Based on the broad geographical coincidence, Summers already connected this pottery with the kingdom of Tabal (Summers 1994 and 2009: 660-661). The fact that it can be relatively well separated from the monochrome Grey Ware prevailing west of the Kızılırmak (Genz 2011: 346, 349-350 with “border description”, though the border is definitely not sharp; Kealhofer/Grave 2011: 420-421) supports, though does not prove, the idea that there is a political factor behind its spread (Summers 2009: 661 rightly underlines that the date of the demise of this style is crucial in this respect: he plausibly connects it with the “murky” end of Tabal, but this question obviously needs a separate investigation). However, until the internal structure of Tabal is not clear, this must remain an open question.

Nevertheless, currently there is no evidence that Tabal, in political sense, extended as far as the Pontic Mountains, thus the overlap is not perfect. It does not coincide with the linguistic boundaries either, since it includes not only Luwian speaking territories, but also regions with Phrygian inscriptions on the north. In other words, while a cultural unity expressed through this pottery can be observed, the boundaries of this cultural unity do not coincide with the political and linguistic borders, at least according to our current evidence.

## V. Conclusions

In the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries the Luwian linguistic area spread well beyond the Kızılırmak, at least to Alişar. If it was a monolingual or mixed area (notably with Phrygian speakers), and if so, since when, requires a separate discussion. Politically speaking, the region beyond the river, at least the area of Karaburun and Kırşehir, belonged to Tabal. If it belonged to the realm of the Great Kings or was rather a local kingdom depends on the identity of Tuwatis with one of the Great Kings, a view that I personally support. However, we do not have any evidence yet to include the eastern half of the Kızılırmak bend (i.e. the region of Çalapverdi and Alişar). In another paper I argued that the analysis of the toponyms of the economic documents called the KULULU lead strips point to a Tabalite rule exactly in this eastern half (Simon forthcoming b). If this is correct, the entire region between Alişar and the Kızılırmak can be treated as an integral part of Tabal. Archaeologically speaking this area was a part of the Alişar IV Ware pottery zone, but it spread over a far greater territory than Tabal itself. Although, unsurprisingly, the three disciplines (linguistics, history, archaeology) give different descriptions of the region of the inscriptions beyond the river, one point, however, is clear today: the traditional view drawing the border of Tabal at the Kızılırmak is wrong. It is time to re-draw our maps.

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## **IV. ARCHÉOLOGIE**





# CULT AND RITUAL AT LATE BRONZE AGE II ALALAKH: HYBRIDITY AND POWER UNDER HITTITE ADMINISTRATION

K. Aslıhan Yener  
Koç University, Istanbul – Istanbul University (emeritus)

This article commemorating Emmanuel Laroche's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday continues a series of discourses on newly defined cult practices and ritual spaces at Alalakh (Yener 2014, 2015a, 2015b). Although Alalakh is only periodically woven into the fabric of the Hittite world of which Laroche has contributed so much over the years, as a result of the new round of excavations the realization has grown that Alalakh's important cult center of the goddess Ishtar<sup>1</sup> played a crucial role in Hittite administration of the Amuq. Hittite cult practices were also integrated into local culture along with other foreign traditions to create a new ritual milieu unique to Alalakh. Based on the recent discoveries of cult contexts and also imperial Hittite seal impressions, an appendix of which follows by Peker, I will argue the social and political importance of cult and ritual at Alalakh during the time of Hittite ascendancy.

The topic of Late Bronze Age cult and ritual is an important one, and one that Tell Atchana is well suited to contribute to. Yet despite so much information recovered from years of excavation, there has been little comprehensive study of the material correlates of the religion and rituals of this Bronze Age city. Much has been assumed, especially by the first excavator Sir Leonard Woolley, and subsequent interpretations have built uncritically on his work. With the new excavations, the body of evidence for cult spaces and practices has grown and the first steps have been taken towards a better understanding of local religion and ritual behavior both royal and common. Particularly important is the introduction of new cults and their associated rituals in the international Late Bronze Age, when many foreign contacts and eventually foreign overlords affected local society on many levels. We can now propose specific associations between elements of the local ceramic corpus and ritual activities, bringing us closer to identifying a material culture of ritual at Alalakh. These finds integrate with existing evidence from the Woolley excavation to clarify and extend our knowledge of the ritual lives of the Late Bronze Age inhabitants.

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1 <sup>9</sup>ŠTAR or "could have been read as the Hurrian DN <sup>9</sup>Isḫara" (Greenstein/Marcus 1976: 68), Shaushka, or Ishtar-Sawoska (Yakubovich 2010: 265).

Tell Atchana is located about 50 km inland from the Gulf of Iskenderun (Fig. 1), and the size and navigability of the Orontes (Asi) River led to such close connections to seaborne trade that the city can easily be considered part of the coastal Levantine realm as well as inland southern Turkey and northwestern Syria (Braidwood 1937, Yener 2005 and Yener 2010 (éd.)). The site (Fig. 2) is located in the rich farmland of the Plain of Antioch (Amuq valley) on a bend in the Orontes River and was once the capital of a small Bronze Age principality called Mukish. The city and its territory are located on a crucial interregional communication route on the border between Anatolia, modern Turkey, the Levant, and inner Syria. Access to the sea via the Orontes added Cyprus and the Aegean to Alalakh's horizons. Alalakh was part of the Semitic Middle Bronze Amorite cultural and linguistic horizon that extended from the foothills of Anatolia in the north to the area of Kadesh in the south and east into much of Mesopotamia. Intruding into this region came a complex matrix of Hurrian and later Hittite and Luwian cultural and political elements which became politically predominant in the later part of the Late Bronze Age (von Dassow 2007). Connectivity with foreign cultures naturally brought a melting pot of new gods and rituals to Alalakh.

Certainly the largest and most conspicuous cult establishment yet found at Alalakh is the temple sequence excavated by Woolley in the Royal Precinct. From its earliest well defined architectural phase, Level XVI ca. 2000 BC, the city of Alalakh seems to have been centered on this cultic edifice located adjacent to the palace sequence (Woolley 1955). New excavations have revealed that this Alalakh cult center, which endured for over 700 years, is the only area of the city that continued in use past the newly recognized abandonment of most of the site at perhaps 1300-1290 BC (Yener 2013). Specifically, Woolley's Temple Level Ic is so far without contemporary settlement on the city mound.

In Woolley's Levels XVI-I, the large temple buildings and associated courtyard spaces contained abundant evidence of cult activity, including altars, copious ash deposits lacking in cookware or other domestic debris, fine ceramic types particular to the building, and caches of votive materials. Though no single inscription or statue was ever found *in situ* to identify the patron deity of this temple, some clues do exist. The inscription on the statue of King Idrimi, itself found buried below the Level Ib temple courtyard, mentions "Ishtar, lady of Alalakh" (Greenstein/Marcus 1976). This evidence prompted Woolley to posit that the temple was dedicated to this goddess and was therefore, as its location suggests, the preeminent cult space of the city. As the protectress of Alalakh, Ishtar's temple can be expected to have major importance to the entire territory of Mukish. The proximity and, in at least one phase (Level VII), physical integration with the royal palace shows the respective degree of integration between the rulers and the religious authority emanating from the house of Ishtar. No one could hope to rule over Mukish without the blessing of this powerful goddess from her ancient edifice on the highest part of Alalakh.

One of the most important targets of the renewed Alalakh excavations was to securely date the floating chronology of Woolley's temples in the later phases, Periods 3-1, when the physical association between the temple and the other buildings in the elite precinct is unclear despite Woolley's attempt at a phasing concordance. A new square designated 42.10 was placed immediately to the south of Woolley's deep temple sounding with the intent of picking up adjacent stratigraphy and fine-tuning the chronology of this important building. This exploration has yielded two Imperial Hittite sealings with major significance for the chronology and political history of Alalakh. The first was a seal impression on a bulla belonging to a hitherto unknown Hittite 13<sup>th</sup> century 'Great Priest' named Pilukatuha (Fig. 3: Dinçol/Peker, forthcoming), unfortunately found out of context in 2012 mixed in with Iron Age materials. During the 2014 excavation season a second stamp seal impression was found, this time on the local Phase 4 floor of a room in a mud brick building (Figs. 4a and 4b). The sealing is this time in context and dates to the LBII. Since the ceramics and radiocarbon dates are still being processed, a more precise dating other than late 14<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century BC cannot be given to this building.

The sealing is of a Princess Ašnu-Hepa and a Prince Tuthaliya (Fig. 5). The orthostat relief depicts a Hittite named Tudhaliya, now identified as 'Great Priest.' He is followed by a female figure whose identifying text was also so worn that no certain reading could be made, though the assumption was that this is the wife of Tudhaliya. The new sealing identifies this wife as Princess Ašnu-Hepa (Yener/Peker/Dinçol 2014).

The orthostat slab was found by Woolley re-used as a staircase step in Temple 1b. The original context of the slab was argued by Woolley to have been the Level Ia temple, where similar orthostats were used (Woolley 1955: 86-87). In that case, we can see how the Hittites have inserted themselves into Ishtar's temple and thus into the religious as well as political life of the city's inhabitants. This strategy co-opted the power of Ishtar and gave legitimacy to the new rulers of Alalakh. The seal of Tudhaliya confirms that he is a Great Priest and thus carries direct sacred as well as secular authority. While the exact details of Tudhaliya's role at Alalakh are still unknown, he set a precedent of basing Hittite administration in the temple. Imperial Hittite sealings ('Paluwa' AT/39/322, Woolley 1955: 266, Pl. 67: no. 155) continue to be found in Temple 1c until at least the reign of Hattusili III, long after the rest of the city had apparently been abandoned.

In addition to this major Hittite co-opting of the premier temple of Alalakh, aspects of material culture in the later 14<sup>th</sup> century phases suggest that specific Hittite cult practices were introduced to Alalakh at that time. Small model vessels in the shape of plates and juglets, and a type of juglet with a pointed base and single handle, are found scattered across the site beginning in Period 2. Similar model plates and juglets have been found deposited as votives in the sacred pools of Hattusa (Fischer 1963: Pl. 119, Neve 1971: 12, 1993: 28, abb.66, Schoop 2011: 248). Water, ritual pools, reservoirs and basins have often been noted as essential for Hittite ritual practices especially in view of the ritual text found at Hattusa (KBo 23.27 Rs. III 5-14).

An interesting collection of miniature votive plates, juglets, and other ritual paraphernalia have been excavated in Square 43.54 (10x10m), located about 40m south of Woolley's temple sounding, along with plastered features apparently intended for the containment and drainage of water (Fig. 6). These activities persisted for two building phases in the same location. Directly below the top soil, the square was divided into a multi-roomed structure on the uphill (west) side and a sloping rubble area on the downhill (east) side that seemed to have accumulated over a considerable period of time with multiple ephemeral layers and lenses of dump material (Fig. 7). This local Phase 1<sup>2</sup> was poorly preserved but yielded an occupation context with a pyrotechnical installation, a basin-like rectangular feature defined by bricks, and unusual ceramics with spouts (Horowitz 2015). The miniatures were recovered on a poorly preserved burnt surface deposit surrounded by tiles near a water channel/drain in close proximity to the 'Ishtar' temple excavated by Woolley (Akar in press). One biconical plain ware jar has a beak spout (Fig. 8), while several rounded plain ware bowls have long open spouts reminiscent of Middle and Late Cypriot I ceramics.

Local Phase 1 has been associated with Alalakh Period 1 based on the local ceramic profile, stratigraphic position, and the persistence of Nuzi and LH IIIA: 2 pottery in trash deposits (Yener/Akar/Horowitz (éd.), in preparation). A single carbon date unfortunately has a rather broad range including the fourteenth and earlier thirteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Alalakh Period 1 was the time of Great Prince Tudhaliya, the Great Priest.

Beneath Phase 1, an earlier Phase 2 (Figs. 9a and 9b) also contained water and drainage features, this time with carefully laid river pebble surfaces (Yener/Akar 2013). Phase 2 may be associated with Alalakh Period 2 based on stratigraphic position and the presence of Mycenaean and Nuzi ware fragments in floor contexts (Yener/Akar/Horowitz (éd.), in preparation). Miniature model vessels are present in scattered fragments, as are fragments of spouted vessels. Excavation below Phase 2 has revealed no trace of these artefact types and a different architectural layout, indicating that Phase 2 was the founding of the proposed ritual activity area.

A fragmentary ceramic wall bracket (AT 11012, Figs. 10a and 10b) was found lodged in the pebble surface of the water feature in Phase 2. Much has been written about the possible votive nature and origin of wall brackets which were also found in the Uluburun shipwreck (Cline/Yasur-Landau 2007), Tiryns (Maran 2004), Crete (Girella 2010), Cyprus (Smith 2011) as well as at Ugarit (Cline 1999). Late Cypriot (ca. 1600-1050 BC) and preceding Cypro-Geometric period (ca. 1050-750 BC) wall brackets have been found in diverse contexts

<sup>2</sup> Local phase refers to the first occupation phase encountered in that particular square.

<sup>3</sup> 3045±40 BP: 68.2% probability; 1387-1338 BC (27.6%), 1318-1258 BC (35.3%); 1245-1234 BC (5.4%); 95.4% probability 1414-1196 BC (95.1%), 1138-1135 BC (0.3%). Vienna Vera Laboratories.

including the Uluburun ship (possibly fastened to the mast), domestic structures, sanctuaries, industrial areas and tombs. Their suggested functions include votive lamps, incense burners, coal scoops, water ladles and figure holders. That they were found in a context at Alalakh in association with miniature votive vessels and water-related activities lends credence to their postulated ritual nature.

The combination of miniature votive model vessels, pointed juglets, plastered water features, a wall bracket, and the unparalleled spouted vessels generates a picture of cult practices that have come together from disparate traditions. Anatolian, Aegean, and Cypriot features are merged with a peculiar local revival of beak spouts and spouted bowls to create something new and entirely unique to Alalakh.

In conclusion, ongoing excavation and research at Alalakh are helping to elucidate religious practices across an epic sweep of six centuries. Changes in cult practices are an excellent barometer of local social, political, and cultural developments, especially in an era of imperial ambitions. Overall, what is developing is a picture of Alalakh absorbing and adapting new cultic elements from the Hittites in the final quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC. What is certainly emerging from our team's interdisciplinary research is that despite the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, be they Amorite, Hittite or Hurro-Mitanni, and the appearance of new commodities, artistic styles, and cult practices at the site, the people of Alalakh engaged in this milieu on their own terms and local expressions always endured.

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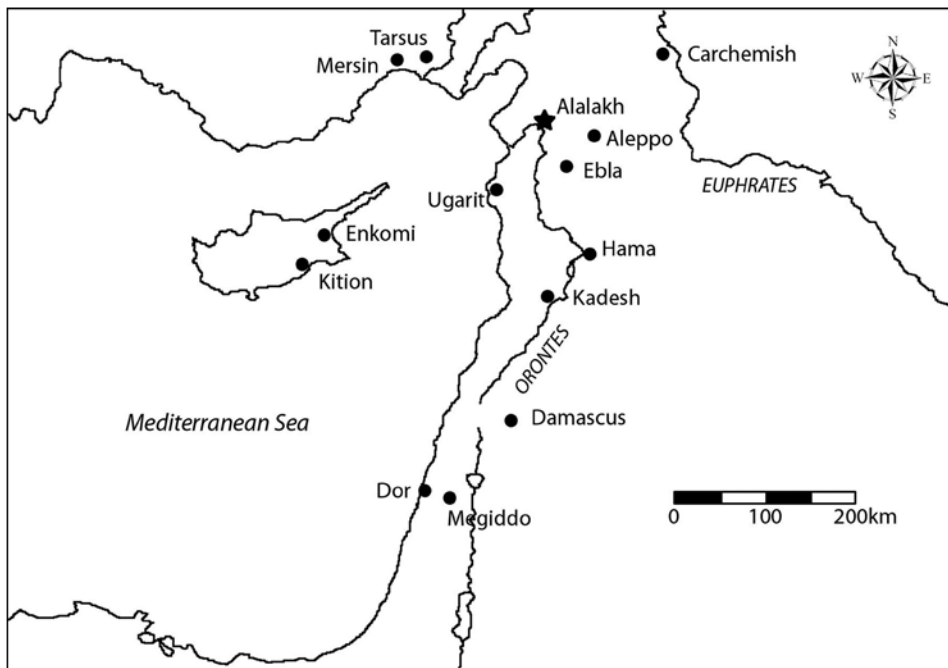


Fig. 1: Map of the eastern Mediterranean showing M/LB sites.

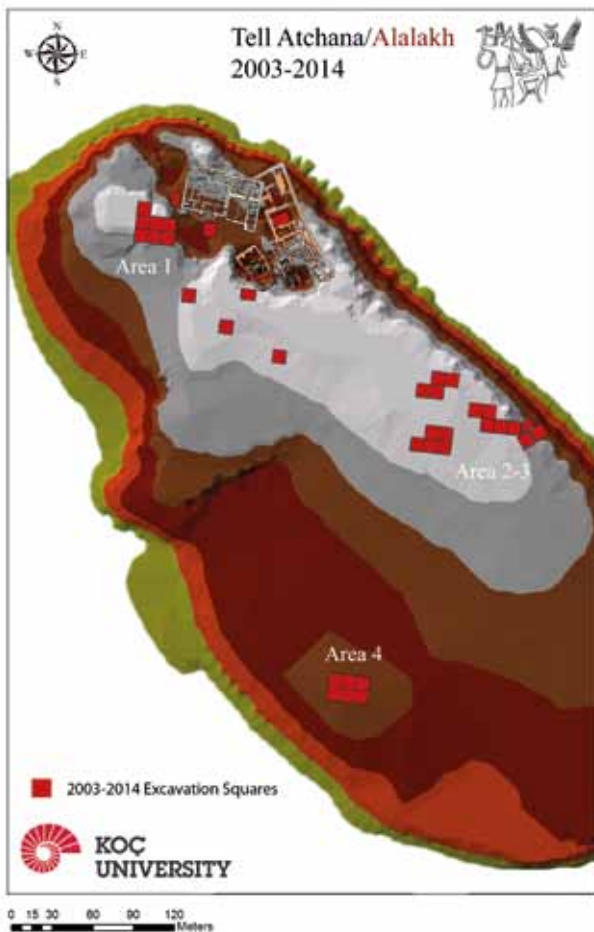


Fig. 2: Tell Atchana Excavation squares 2003-2014, © Alalakh archive, plan M. Akar.



Fig. 3: Sealing, Great Priest, Pilukatuha, © Alalakh archive, photo M. Akar.

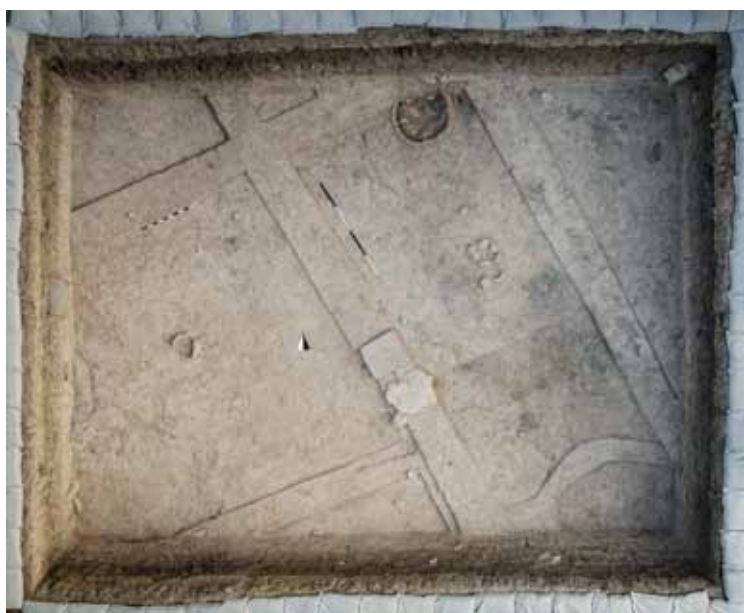
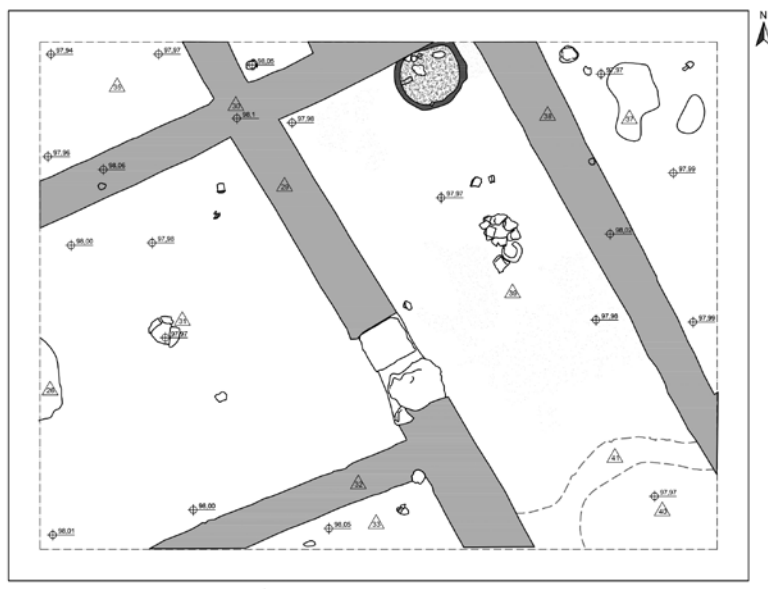


Fig. 4a and 4b: Square 42.10 plan and photo, local Phase 4, ©Alalakh archive, photo and plan M. Akar and E. Kaya.



Fig. 5: Tuthaliya Orthostat and Sealing of Princess Ašnu-Hepa and Prince Tuthaliya, from local Phase 4, Square 42.10, © Alalakh archive, photo H. Peker.

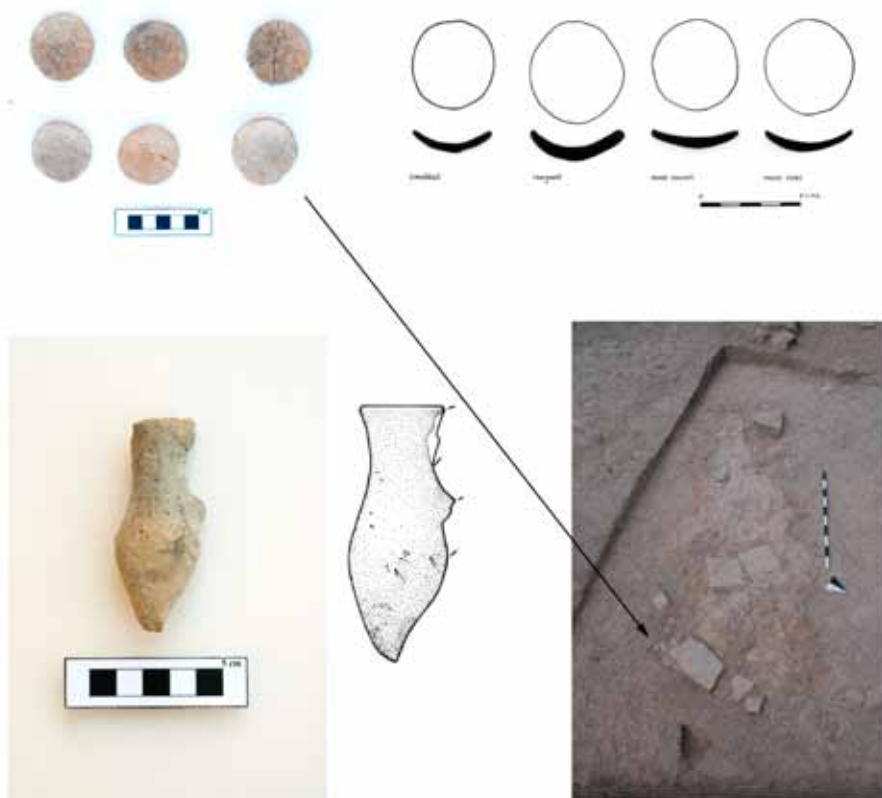


Fig. 6: Miniature vessels and Square 43.54, Phase 1, ©Alalakh archive, plan and photo M. Akar, E. Kaya.

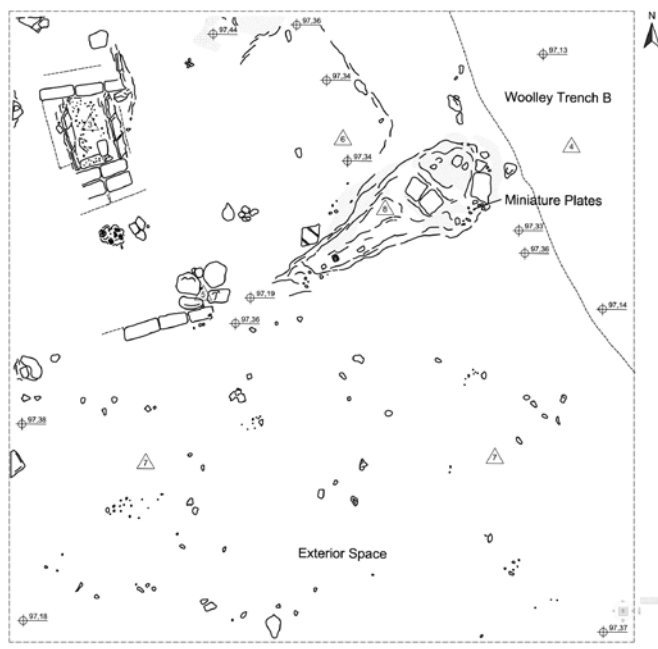


Fig. 7: Basin and findplace of miniature vessels, Square 43.54, Phase 1, ©Alalakh archive, plan Ö. Demirci, E. Kaya and M. Akar.

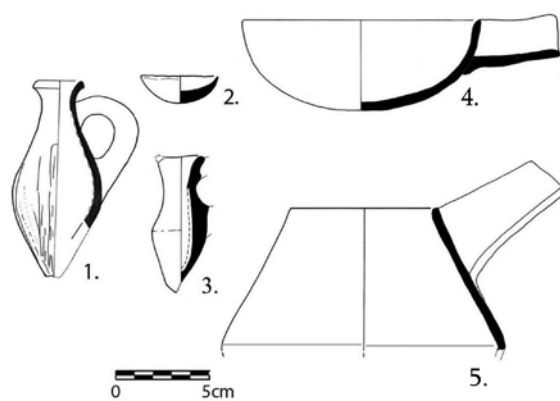
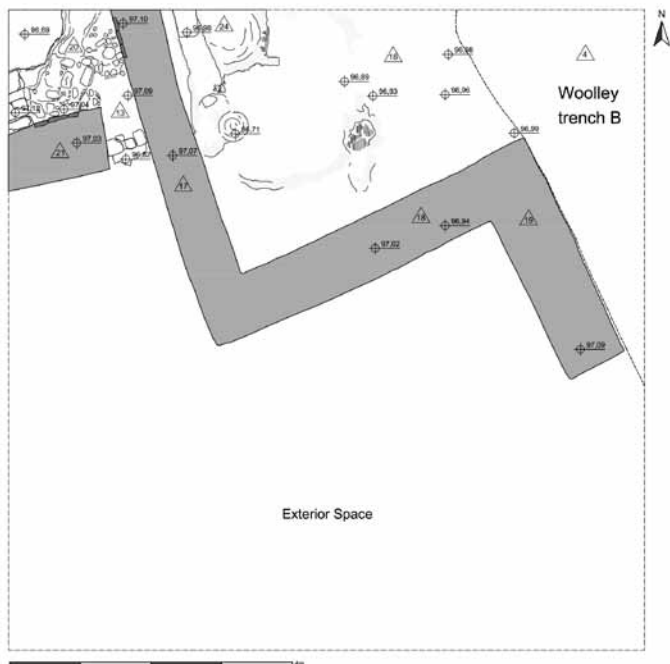
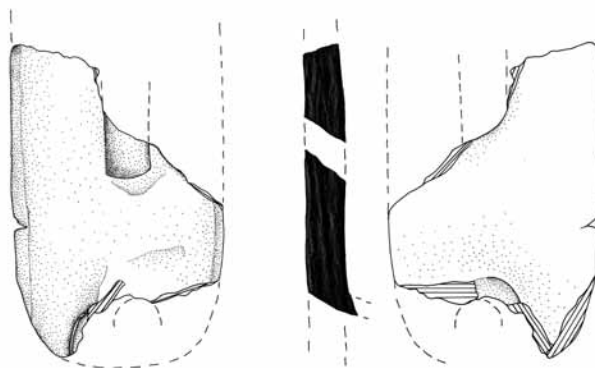


Fig. 8: 1. Pointed juglet with scraped sides AT10331, 2. Hand-molded model plate AT 7185; 3. model pitcher AT3524; 4. small bowl with spout AT 2974; 5. small biconical jar with beak spout AT 4793, illustration: M. Horowitz.



Figs. 9a and 9b:  
Square 43.54, Phase 2, ©Alalakh archive,  
plan and photo M. Akar and E. Kaya.



Figs. 10a and 10b: Terracotta wall bracket from Square 43.54, Phase 2, ©Alalakh archive, photo M. Akar; illustration, M. Çakın.

# A NEW TABLET FRAGMENT AND A SEALED POTTERY FRAGMENT FROM ALACAHÖYÜK

Belkıs Dinçol  
Istanbul University

## I. Tablet fragment (Fig. 1a and 1b)

Inventory number: ALH-2013/25.

Find Spot: It was found in 2013, in the B building of the second level, which is dated to the Imperial Period by the director of the excavations.

Size: height: 4 cm. Width: 2.5 cm.

Description: Middle part of a tablet, only one side is preserved with two columns. There is only a part of a paragraph divider on the left. On the right column eleven lines are preserved under three paragraphs. On the third paragraph, the signs are smaller than the others.

Transliteration:

- x+1' 𒀭a<sup>1</sup>-d[a]-a[n<sup>2</sup>-zi/na<sup>2</sup> ...  
2' pé-ra-a[n ...  
3' LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>BAN[ŠUR...  
4' ša-ra-a [...  
5' [n]a-at EG[IR<sup>2</sup> ...  
6' [1<sup>2</sup> NIN]DA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-i x-x[- ...  
7' [ŠA] 2 UP-NI ŠA LÚ[...  
8' [še-e]p-pí-it-ta-aš [ ...  
9' [ ] KÙ.BABBAR 2 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R[A ...  
10' [na-at/an L]UGAL-uš pár-[ši-ya-zi ...  
11' [ ..... ] x x [...

Translation:

- x+1' They e[at<sup>2</sup>/to e[at ...  
2' befor[e  
3' table[man ...  
4' up/over  
5' and they/them [...] again<sup>2</sup> [...



- 6' [one] breadloaf (dat. sg.) ...[  
 7' [......] two handful for the [...]-man/men [  
 8' [...] of [še]ppit-cereal [  
 9' [......] ] (of) silver, two breadloaves [...  
 10' the king bre[aks ...  
 11' ...

#### Commentary:

The context indicates that it is a festival description.

6': A restoration of the beginning of the line can be the numeral "1", because NIN]DA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-i (=harši/haršai) is in dat. sg. Usually either a verb or a postposition is expected after this phrase (see HED H: 192). We could not offer any reading because of the following illegible signs.

8': [šep]pittaš gen. sg. of šepit-, a kind of cereal (Hoffner 1974: 77 ff.).

9': The logogram KÙ.BABBAR was not written in one of its usual forms (see HZI no 69)

According to its ductus, the fragment can be dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.

## II. Sealed pottery fragment (Fig. 2a to 2c)

Inventory number: ALH 2012/1

Find spot: H 4 (24), unearthed in 2012 (Çınaroğlu/Çelik/Güney 2014: 7)

Diameter of the impression: 2.6 cm, width of the inner frame: 0.8 cm.

Description: The pottery fragment has two impressions of the same seal. They are round and flat. Another pottery fragment, which bears two sealings of the same seal, had been found at the excavations of 1939 and published by Güterbock (1951: 195, Al. d. 12, pl. 76, 1 a,b). Güterbock could not achieve the full reconstruction of the seal and could not decipher the seal owner's name due to the fragmentary condition of the piece. The new impressions allow the full reconstruction of that seal.

The central field, which bears the seal owner's name, is small and encircled with a wide frame. A cultic scene – a procession of seven male figures, walking to the left – was depicted on the outer frame. One of these male figures wears a round cap instead of a pointed helmet with horns, but with waterfalls which flow down from his shoulders. This figure possibly represents the god Ea/Enki, the God of freshwater and wisdom in Mesopotamia (Black/Green 1992: 75-76). This iconography seems to be unique in Hittite glyptic, to our knowledge. It seems to be the main figure of the scene.

The six other figures after Ea/Enki are:

1. The first figure is dressed in a short robe, his headgear could not be identified. He holds an unidentified object – shaped like a long cone – in his left hand.
2. The second figure has a headdress, probably a flat cap, and he holds an acuminate object like a dagger or a scalprum in his right hand. His left arm is raised on his breast.
3. The third figure wears a pointed helmet, his right arm raised forward, and he has a wing on the left shoulder. He has a hunting bag on his back. He could be a protecting deity.
4. The right arm of the fourth person is raised up, he carries a rabbit in his left hand, he also has a hunting bag. Because of his short conical cap he could represent also a protecting deity.
5. The fifth figure wears probably a flat cap. He holds an animal in his right hand, probably as an offering. He is armed with a spear and has a hunting bag. He could be a hunter or a deity, without conical helmet.



6. The sixth figure has wings on the shoulders. The shape of his headdress could not be completely identified, he holds a beak-spouted pitcher in his right hand for libation. The close parallel of this pitcher holding by a male figure in kneeling position is found in the frame of a seal (Dinçol 1983: Nr. 8). This figure could represent either a god or a hybrid creature.

In the central field there are four hieroglyphic signs which express the name of the seal owner. They are placed from left to right in the following order: L.186 - L.247 - L.329 - L.90 (*Lu-DOMUS-kwi/a-ti*). Thus the name can be read as *Luparnakwati* or *Luparnakwiti*. This name has not been encountered hitherto. Personal name *DOMUS-ni-wa/i+ra/i* in the Assur letter *b* §3, was read by Hawkins as *Parniwari* (Hawkins 2000: 534). The name *DOMUS-na-pi* on a seal unearthed from Soloi/Pompeiiopolis, was read as *Parnapi* (Dinçol/Dinçol 2008).

The impressions are most probably originating from a flat sided disc seal. According to the cultic scene in the frame, the seal dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (late 15<sup>th</sup> - early 14<sup>th</sup> century Calibrated Middle Chronology: see Peker 2009).

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Fig. 1a: Photograph of ALH-2013/25.

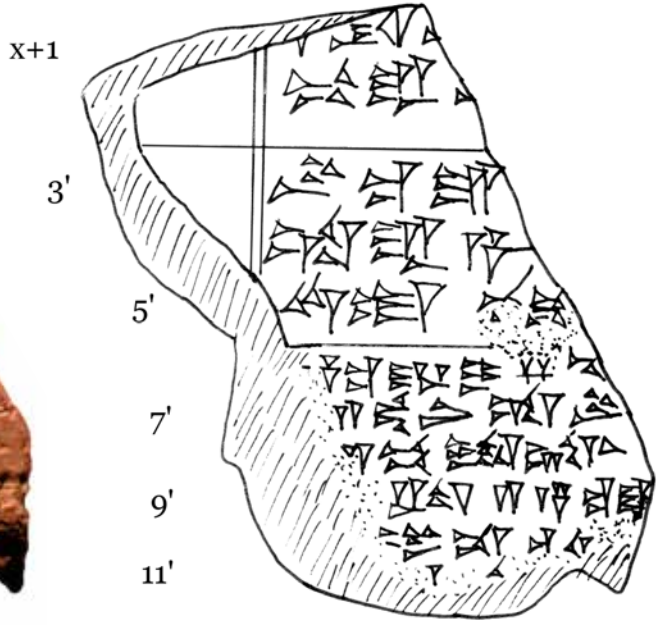


Fig. 1b: Handcopy of ALH-2013/25.



Fig. 2a: Photograph of ALH 2012/1.



Fig. 2b: Detail of ALH 2012/1.



Fig. 2c: Composite drawing of the sealing of ALH 2012/1.

# LE SITE DE ZEYVE-HÖYÜK-PORSUK AUX ÉPOQUES HITTITE ET NÉO-HITTITE.

## REMARQUES SUR LA SUCCESSION DES SYSTÈMES DÉFENSIFS

Dominique Beyer et Françoise Laroche-Traunecker  
CNRS Strasbourg, UMR 7044 ARCHIMEDE

### Introduction

Ces Rencontres de l'IFÉA dédiées à Emmanuel Laroche, créateur de la mission de Porsuk, nous fournissent l'occasion d'apporter des témoignages personnels sur la suite des événements qui l'ont amené à ouvrir une fouille sur le site de Zeyve Höyük (Fig. 1a). Formant un plateau surélevé à la jonction de deux vallées, il avait déjà été repéré par divers géographes, historiens ou archéologues<sup>1</sup>.

Les recherches toponymiques ont permis d'avancer des hypothèses sur les noms du *höyük* dans l'Antiquité. En 1937, E. O. Forrer a proposé de l'identifier au site antique de *Dunna/Tynna* dont parlent certains textes d'époque hittite<sup>2</sup>. Les Annales assyriennes mentionnent une campagne militaire de Salmanazar III, engagée pendant la 22<sup>e</sup> année de son règne, au royaume de Tabal jusqu'au mont *Tunni*, nom étrangement proche de celui de *Tynna*. Le texte assyrien définit le mont *Tunni* comme la « montagne de marbre – ou d'albâtre » et l'on a pu se demander si la blancheur associée à ce terme ne désignerait pas en fait la montagne de gypse très blanc qui surplombe le *höyük* de Porsuk. Plus récemment, René Lebrun a réexaminé la question : « À la suite de l'opinion fondée de plusieurs spécialistes, la tentation est grande d'identifier les vestiges en cours d'exhumation à Porsuk avec les restes éventuels de la gréco-romaine *Tunna/Tynna*... Il est clair que *Tunna/Tynna* peut renvoyer au toponyme hittito-louvite *Tun(n)a/Dun(n)a* mentionné dans les tablettes hittites retrouvées à Boghazköy-Hattusa, mais aussi dans des documents du premier millénaire av. J.-C. »<sup>3</sup>.

Lors des 3<sup>e</sup> Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFÉA dédiées à Olivier Pelon et consacrées à « La Cappadoce méridionale de la préhistoire à la période byzantine »<sup>4</sup>, trois communications portaient sur divers aspects des

1 Voir Dupré 1983: 13-14 et Pelon 2015: 93.

2 Forrer 1937: 147.

3 Lebrun 2007: 459.

4 Beyer/Henry/Tibet 2015 (éds).

fortifications hittites de Porsuk<sup>5</sup>. Nous ne reviendrons donc pas sur les descriptions déjà présentées des systèmes défensifs de la fin du Bronze Moyen (Ancien Royaume hittite), du Bronze Récent (Royaume puis Empire hittite) et du Fer Moyen (période néo-hittite), mais sur leur succession. En effet, le programme de recherches soutenu par le Ministère des Affaires étrangères à partir de la reprise des fouilles en 2003 avait été fixé ainsi : « L'un des objectifs scientifiques de la mission est précisément d'étudier la transition entre les niveaux hittites de l'âge du Bronze et l'occupation du Fer ». Partant des données des premières fouilles, nous rappellerons les principales étapes de découvertes dans ce domaine et les apports des dernières missions menées sur le terrain, afin de mesurer le chemin parcouru et de suggérer de nouveaux objectifs à atteindre.

## I. La genèse de la mission : de la découverte fortuite de l'inscription hiéroglyphique dite « de Porsuk » à l'ouverture de la fouille (1960-1968)

En 1961, comme chaque été depuis 1959, Emmanuel Laroche et son épouse parcouraient en voiture les pistes d'Anatolie pour y découvrir et photographier des sites antiques. D'après les notes de son carnet de voyage (Fig. 1b), ils ont quitté le 17 septembre la grande route Adana-Ankara, remonté la vallée de Maden par une voie empruntant le lit asséché de la rivière et passé la nuit au village d'Ali Hoca (Fig. 1a). Le lendemain, après avoir atteint et examiné l'inscription de Bulgar Maden, ils sont allés visiter le musée de Niğde où ils ont appris la découverte récente<sup>6</sup> de l'inscription hiéroglyphique dite « de Porsuk »<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2). Ils sont ensuite allés deux fois à Porsuk, le 19 et le 20 septembre.

Le bloc portant l'inscription hiéroglyphique incomplète avait été repéré dans la benne d'un engin de chantier transportant de la terre pour aménager le talus d'une piste en construction. Cette voie nord-sud, reliant la grande route ouest-est Ankara-Adana à la carrière de gypse exploitée par une usine de nitrates (Fig. 3), devait être surélevée pour passer sur des ponts au-dessus de la rivière et de la voie ferrée<sup>8</sup>. La terre utilisée pour construire le talus provenait de l'extrémité ouest du *höyük* de Zeyve : le sommet avait été à moitié écrêté et le flanc du site entaillé par une excavatrice, comme le montre la première photographie publiée du site (Fig. 4). Celle-ci fut prise en 1962 par la mission italienne de P. Meriggi<sup>9</sup>, venu lui aussi voir le site après avoir appris la découverte de l'inscription. Les traces des creusements successifs opérés perpendiculairement au front occidental du *höyük* sont bien visibles, ainsi que le remblai de la nouvelle piste.

En 1964, Emmanuel Laroche présente sa candidature à la direction de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul. Ayant organisé un voyage en Anatolie avec des étudiants de Strasbourg, il les mène à Porsuk et leur demande de marcher le long de la piste, de part et d'autre du talus, pour examiner les remblais à la recherche de blocs – en particulier la suite de l'inscription – qui auraient pu y être remployés. Mais la recherche a été vaine.

Devenu directeur de l'Institut en 1965, il entreprend des démarches pour obtenir l'autorisation de créer une mission française à Porsuk. Ayant l'accord des autorités turques, il propose en 1968 à Olivier Pelon, alors enseignant à l'Université de Strasbourg, de l'accompagner pour effectuer une courte campagne de fouilles et de relevés topographiques. L'année suivante, il lui confie la direction de la fouille et effectue les démarches afin qu'il puisse être nommé directeur de la mission de Porsuk.

5 Aspects des niveaux hittites de Porsuk présentés en 2012 : descriptions archéologiques (Pelon 2015: 91-100) ; datations et chronologie (Beyer 2015: 101-110) ; modélisation et restitutions en 3D (Tibet/Laroche-Traunecker 2015: 111-130).

6 Entrée au musée en juillet 1960 (Hawkins 1969: 99) ; la mention 1961 (Pelon 2015: 93) est à corriger.

7 Traduction en français : Laroche 1963: 301 n. 2 ; publications : Hawkins 1969: 99-109 ; Hawkins 2000: 527-528. Voir un relevé détaillé : Pelon 2015: 94 fig. 4.

8 La route a été prolongée vers le sud, entre le site et le village de Porsuk, après la construction du pont sur la rivière (Darboğaz çayı) en 1969.

9 Meriggi 1963: pl. L, fig. 14.

## II. Les premières campagnes d'Olivier Pelon (1968-1976) et l'identification de deux systèmes de fortification distincts, du Bronze Récent et du Fer Moyen<sup>10</sup>

Sur ce site tabulaire dont l'épaisseur variable des niveaux archéologiques repose sur un socle de conglomérat, les premiers travaux – comme d'ailleurs les opérations ultérieures – portent sur les extrémités ouest, sud et est, où les diverses couches sont plus faciles d'accès (Fig. 5).

### II.1. 1968 est l'année de la première mission

Elle est consacrée au relevé topographique du secteur ouest et à un premier sondage en bordure au sud (chantier III), où les vestiges dégagés sont qualifiés de « fortifications », alors que les travaux ultérieurs révéleront que les murs de très gros blocs de gypse retrouvés appartiennent à des restes d'un habitat tardif<sup>11</sup>.

### II.2. Fouilles du chantier II (1969 et 1970)<sup>12</sup> : murs de fortifications hittites et du Fer Moyen (Fig. 6)

Dès la première campagne de 1969, la plus grande partie de la surface fouillée atteint la base des installations du site, les sols et les murs de la période hittite de l'Âge du Bronze. La découverte, ici ou là, de matériel céramique de l'Âge du Fer entretient longtemps des incertitudes sur la datation des murs de briques crues, cuites par le feu des incendies que révèlent des couches spectaculaires de destruction, avec nombreuses poutres calcinées. Ces murs de briques, renforcés par un chaînage de bois, reposent sur un soubassement de pierres, de grès local en majorité, avec quelques pierres de gypse de la carrière voisine.

La deuxième campagne de 1970 voit l'élargissement de la fouille vers l'intérieur du site, là où les travaux du bulldozer de 1960 ont épargné les couches archéologiques plus récentes : c'est ainsi que sont alors retrouvés des murs du Fer Moyen de 4 m d'épaisseur, cette fois plutôt en pierres de gypse avec chaînages de bois ; la superstructure de briques, qui les surmontait très vraisemblablement, n'a pas été conservée. Les campagnes suivantes<sup>13</sup> permettent de compléter les premières informations, de déceler différentes phases dans ces fortifications et de dégager également les vestiges d'un habitat de la période gréco-romaine. Ici comme ailleurs, on remarque que les murs des remparts du Fer ont eu tendance à s'installer un peu plus à l'extérieur par rapport au dispositif du Bronze. Ici, le contact entre les murs de ces différentes périodes ne peut pas être bien observé en raison de la destruction des vestiges (en particulier le prolongement vers l'ouest du mur 16) opérée par l'intervention du bulldozer à la recherche de terres de remblai.

### II.3. Fouilles du chantier IV (1971-72 et 1976-77)<sup>14</sup> : murs de fortifications du Bronze et du Fer parallèles (Fig. 7)

En même temps qu'est opéré le dégagement, sur une aire assez vaste, des niveaux de surface, révélant un habitat hellénistique puis romain (Porsuk II et I), ainsi qu'une nécropole tardive, les fouilles mettent en évidence, en bordure est du höyük, l'existence de plusieurs systèmes de murs défensifs superposés appartenant à diverses phases : tout d'abord, deux états hittites superposés observés au nord et au sud. Le système le plus ancien (= Porsuk VI, appartenant à la phase de création de l'Ancien Royaume hittite, dans la seconde moitié du 17<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.), s'appuie directement sur la table de conglomérat. Construit en beaux

<sup>10</sup> Pelon 1991: 15-18.

<sup>11</sup> Pelon 1970: 284-286. Des blocs de même type pouvant dépasser deux mètres de long ont été trouvés plus tard dans les habitats du chantier IV (Beyer et al. 2006: 218 pl. 8).

<sup>12</sup> Pelon 1970: 279-284 ; Pelon 1972: 304-309.

<sup>13</sup> Pelon 1992: 315-321.

<sup>14</sup> Pelon 1972: 309-317 ; Pelon 1978: 347-359 ; Pelon 1979: 233-237.



blocs de grès, il n'est bien conservé que dans sa partie nord. Le niveau hittite qui lui succède (Porsuk V) montre clairement l'utilisation d'un système compartimenté, en caissons quadrangulaires juxtaposés (Fig. 7c), formés de murs relativement étroits avec remplissage intérieur de sables et galets de rivière sans aucun matériel archéologique. Par la suite, durant la période du Fer Moyen (néo-hittite, Porsuk III, aux environs du 8<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) est bâti un puissant mur de pierres de gypse, épais de 4 m comme au chantier II, mal conservé en raison de sa position en porte-à-faux au-dessus de la pente est (Fig. 7b). Sur le plan de la Fig. 7a on se rend bien compte du décalage topographique dans la ligne du rempart entre les phases du Bronze et du Fer : bien que ces deux grands systèmes soient en gros parallèles en plan, les murs du Fer sont nettement décalés vers l'est, vers l'extérieur (cf. remarques *supra*) et aucune superposition directe n'est alors observable.

### III. Les résultats des campagnes dirigées par Dominique Beyer (2003-2015) et l'observation de la superposition des deux systèmes

Au passage de relais entre Olivier Pelon et Dominique Beyer, les objectifs du programme de recherche, en accord avec la Commission des fouilles auprès du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, comprennent l'étude du passage du Bronze Récent au Fer, avec en particulier la question d'une réoccupation éventuelle au Fer Ancien<sup>15</sup>, et l'étude des liens entre le site et l'exploitation antique des gisements métallurgiques (plomb argentifère surtout) des mines du Taurus.

#### III.1. Fouille des fortifications hittites au chantier II (2006-2010)<sup>16</sup> : une tour du Bronze Récent sous les enceintes du Fer Moyen (Fig. 8)

Les travaux engagés en bordure nord du höyük par Aksel Tibet, en G05-G06, sous les vestiges amputés par le bulldozer du rempart du Fer (mur 16 essentiellement) entraînent la découverte d'une nouvelle tour du Bronze, de plan rectangulaire, même si la partie orientale nous échappe encore. L'élévation, conservée sur 5,50 m de haut avec superstructure de briques sur socle de pierres, est impressionnante. Entre autres caractéristiques particulières, une sorte de tribune de poutres de bois, retrouvées effondrées et calcinées par l'incendie, fait partie des aménagements prévus par les bâtisseurs<sup>17</sup>. Dans ce secteur de la limite nord du site, même si certains tronçons nous manquent encore, on peut considérer que les fortifications du Bronze et du Fer se superposent avec une certaine permanence dans le tracé.

#### III.2. Fouille des fortifications hittites au chantier IV (2005-2009)<sup>18</sup> : identification de trois états hittites à l'est du site (Fig. 9)

La reprise du secteur déjà en partie étudié par la mission Pelon permet alors de préciser les différentes phases des fortifications de la période hittite. Au-dessus des restes très évanescents du niveau initial (VI), le système à caissons présente dès lors un plan différent, avec deux phases superposées en continuité (Vb puis Va). Ce dispositif semble être repris, au moins partiellement, par les occupants de l'Âge du Fer. On peut encore hésiter sur l'attribution de ces vestiges ponctuels du Fer au niveau IV (phase ancienne) ou III (Fer Moyen).

<sup>15</sup> Voir la problématique exposée par Pelon 1994 et Crespin 1999.

<sup>16</sup> Beyer et al 2006: 234-244 ; 2007: 306-3014 ; 2008: 341-343; 2009: 340-344 ; 2010: 240.

<sup>17</sup> Tibet/Laroche-Traunecker 2015: 128 fig. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Beyer et al 2006: 225-234 ; 2007: 289-301 ; 2008: 315-333 ; 2009: 339-340 ; 2010: 226-229 ; Laroche-Traunecker 2016.



### III.3. Fouilles des fortifications du chantier II Sud (2012-2015) : superposition et similitude des tracés aux époques hittites du Bronze et du Fer (Fig. 10)

Les travaux opérés sur le sommet de la butte ouest, où la mission soupçonnait depuis toujours la présence de plusieurs niveaux tardifs, révèlent en fait la superposition assez précise des murs du Fer sur les vestiges du rempart du Bronze. À vrai dire, les plans et coupe de la Fig. 10 montrent une situation assez complexe : au-dessus d'une nouvelle tour rectangulaire de briques sur socle de pierres appartenant aux deux phases majeures de la période hittite, Porsuk VI puis V, et révélant deux plans différents dans le détail (Fig. 10c et d), les bâtisseurs du Fer Moyen (Porsuk III) ont construit leur épais mur de pierres de gypse, avec chaînage de bois, directement sur les vestiges brûlés une nouvelle fois par l'incendie de la phase V, mais en débordant un peu plus vers l'extérieur, comme le montre le plan de la tour en Jo4 (Fig. 10a). Ce léger décalage les a amenés à devoir aménager un nouveau glacis sur les débris du niveau du Bronze, qui devait comprendre lui aussi un glacis, comme l'ont montré antérieurement les travaux réalisés de part et d'autre de la « poterne hittite »<sup>19</sup>. Par la suite, durant une phase récente de Porsuk III, datée par le C14 des environs de 500 av. J.-C., un massif de briques carrées<sup>20</sup> (03807-844-847 sur le plan de la Fig. 10a) est venu coiffer l'ensemble, tout en s'encastrent profondément dans les niveaux antérieurs. Complication supplémentaire : un nouveau mur de pierres (03840), vraisemblablement d'époque hellénistique (Porsuk II), est venu lui aussi s'encastrent (Fig. 10b), cette fois dans la partie orientale du massif de briques carrées<sup>21</sup>.

### III.4. Prospections géophysiques et fouille d'une nouvelle porte (2014-2015) : prolongement vers le sud des fortifications ouest (Fig. 11)

Après plusieurs tentatives avortées, la mission réussit en 2014 à s'assurer la collaboration d'une équipe de géophysiciens de l'université de Sakarya, dirigée par Can Karavul. Les prospections géomagnétiques et de résistivité électrique débutent alors, mais durant une trop courte période, par la partie ouest du site (Fig. 11a). Elles parviennent à mettre en évidence, entre autres éléments, l'existence de deux puissants massifs de briques brûlées sur le flanc sud-ouest du höyük, qui doivent correspondre, en raison de leur emplacement et de leur écartement, à une porte de la ville encadrée par deux tours<sup>22</sup>. Les travaux de fouille de la campagne de 2015 se portent par conséquent sur ce secteur et mettent en évidence les vestiges très dégradés dans la pente, mais reconnaissables, du rempart de pierres et chaînage de bois du Fer Moyen (Porsuk III). Le prolongement sud du rempart est donc bien attesté et, une nouvelle fois, la muraille du Fer s'appuie directement sur les vestiges du rempart du Bronze (Fig. 11c). Des éléments d'une tour de briques brûlées sur soubassement de pierres de la période hittite sont en effet mis au jour, avec la superposition bien connue dorénavant entre les phases V et VI, une élévation et un plan comparables à ceux de la tour du sommet du höyük mentionnée ci-dessus<sup>23</sup>. Sur le plan schématique de la Figure 11c, on notera le décalage topographique entre les deux phases V et VI de la tour : la partie la plus ancienne, VI, retrouvée entièrement remplie de briques, est décalée de quelques mètres vers le sud-est, en aval. Au-dessus des vestiges de cette tour, dans la partie sud-est, une partie du sol du passage de cette porte de ville du niveau V a pu être exceptionnellement bien conservée.

### III.5. Nouvelles hypothèses sur les fortifications à l'ouest (Fig. 11 et 12)

L'examen de toutes ces données, encore très provisoires, permet de suggérer quelques hypothèses sur l'existence d'une sorte de citadelle haute, une acropole, dans la partie occidentale du höyük de Porsuk. La figure 11b propose de restituer des murs d'enceinte en tenant compte des vestiges révélés par les fouilles et en suivant les courbes de niveau, lesquelles soulignent nettement l'existence de cette butte occidentale

19 Beyer 2004: 276-279 ; Tibet/Laroche-Traunecker 2015: 129 fig. 16, 130.

20 Briques crues grises, non cuites par un quelconque incendie, et d'un type encore inédit à Porsuk.

21 Beyer et al. 2014: 336-340 ; 2015: 281-283.

22 Beyer et al. 2015: 283-286.

23 Beyer et al. 2016: 254-268.

qui domine le reste du site. Le mur restitué à titre hypothétique dans la partie orientale pourrait en effet rejoindre d'autres murs (Fig. 11c : massif 15 et mur 19), perpendiculaires à l'enceinte du Fer (massif 16) au nord du site. Plus au sud, dans le prolongement du mur 19, un sondage profond réalisé par Aksel Tibet a permis de dégager une série de plusieurs murs superposés de l'époque du Fer. Au niveau du Bronze, la tour nord faisait sans doute également un retour vers le sud d'après certains indices : les supports du plancher en bois et des traces de briques rouges. On ajoutera qu'un mur de partition orienté nord-est-sud-ouest a pu exister, si l'on tient compte du départ d'un mur (03828) du niveau VI de la tour du sommet de la butte (Fig. 10d).

La continuité architecturale entre les remparts du Bronze et du Fer observés à Porsuk, dans cette partie occidentale du site, permet de suggérer l'existence d'une acropole dominant une zone basse, elle-même fortifiée, comme les recherches au chantier IV l'ont bien montré. Toutes ces observations peuvent être mises en parallèle avec la mention par les textes d'habitants d'une ville haute et d'une ville basse d'après René Lebrun<sup>24</sup>. La « ville haute » de cette citation pourrait s'étendre vers l'est au-delà des limites de la petite citadelle occidentale, jusqu'à une dénivellation bien visible sur le terrain près de la courbe de cote 110 du plan topographique (Fig. 5). Au-delà, une vaste dépression, non explorée, sépare le site en deux parties toutes deux entourées de fortifications dont les prolongements vers la partie centrale sont inconnus.

En bordure ouest du site, la restitution des courtines et des tours hittites que nous avons présentée comme une hypothèse au colloque de 2014 (Fig. 11b) a pu être confortée par les dernières fouilles de l'été 2015, avec la mise au jour d'une des tours et d'un passage d'entrée au sud (Fig. 11c). Les fortifications du Fer reprenant dans ce secteur, on l'a vu, les tracés de ceux du Bronze, nous avons restitué, parallèlement à l'épaississement du mur du Fer (carré J04), une tour du Bronze intermédiaire dans l'intervalle entre la poterne au nord et la tour du Bronze du carré J05-K05. Une autre pourrait se situer plus au sud, dans le carré L05, mais l'existence purement hypothétique de ces tours reste à vérifier.

Le long de la bordure sud du site, bien que l'érosion, surtout en sommet de pente, y soit forte, quelques tronçons de murs d'enceinte du Fer en petits blocs de gypse sont repérables en surface (Fig. 12a). Cette constatation nous incite à prolonger vers le sud et l'est du site la restitution des fortifications hittites occidentales (Fig. 12b).

## Conclusion

Depuis le tout début des travaux à Porsuk, l'étude des fortifications a toujours constitué un objectif majeur. L'exceptionnelle conservation des murs de briques des niveaux hittites du Bronze, unique jusqu'à présent dans toute l'archéologie anatolienne, invite naturellement à poursuivre les investigations, d'autant que des interrogations subsistent sur plusieurs points. On notera par exemple que la base des remparts du niveau VI, le plus ancien, et donc les sols correspondants, n'ont pas encore pu être réellement atteints au chantier II Sud en raison de la profondeur trop importante des sondages, même en bordure de pente.

Le développement des prospections géophysiques, à l'échelle de l'ensemble du site, devrait permettre d'accroître le nombre des données, en particulier sur les tracés, que ce soit pour les murailles du Bronze ou celles du Fer<sup>25</sup>, ces dernières naturellement plus faciles à retrouver, car plus proches de la surface, mais en revanche souvent dégradées par l'érosion éparpillant volontiers leurs divers éléments, appareil de pierres de gypse souvent assez lâche et poutrelles du chaînage de bois disloquées. L'excellente conservation

24 Lebrun 2007: 459-466 : « Disposons-nous d'une documentation relative à Tuna remontant en particulier au début de l'âge du Fer ? De fait, il convient de relever la mention d'une cité « Tuna » sur des lamelles de plomb comportant des textes en louvite hiéroglyphique et datables du 8<sup>ème</sup> s. av. J.-C. ; elles furent trouvées au printemps 1967 dans le village de Kululu situé à quelque 43 km de Kültepe. Il y est question d'un relevé d'offrandes de moutons effectuées par plusieurs personnes issues de cités ciliciennes, dont Tun(n)a. Une particularité réside dans le fait qu'il est plusieurs fois question de gens provenant de la ville de Tuna haute (*sar(r)allis*) ou basse (*ana(n)taris*). Par exemple, au § 3 : il est question d'offrandes de moutons au nom de citoyens de la Tuna d'en haut, et au § 4 il est question d'offrandes émanant de citoyens de la Tuna d'en bas. Qu'entendre exactement par cette distinction ? Désigne-t-elle deux parties de la ville en référence au relief (ville basse >> acropole), ou s'agit-il d'une distinction opérée à partir d'une des portes de la cité ? »

25 Une incertitude subsiste quant à l'existence de dispositifs élaborés de défense pour la période la plus ancienne du Fer, correspondant à la phase de Porsuk IV. Dans les cas où la superposition des vestiges a pu être bien observée, ce n'est qu'au Fer Moyen (phase Porsuk III) que les bâtisseurs, lointains successeurs des Hittites du second millénaire, ont pu réaliser une nouvelle ceinture de remparts pour protéger leur cité.

des murs du Bronze au contraire implique également la nécessité de préserver et de restaurer autant que possible ces vestiges vénérables, mais fragiles, du savoir-faire des anciens Anatoliens. Ceci nécessite naturellement des capacités budgétaires nettement accrues, et on ne peut que formuler des vœux pour que la nouvelle direction de la mission de Porsuk soit en mesure de pouvoir les obtenir.

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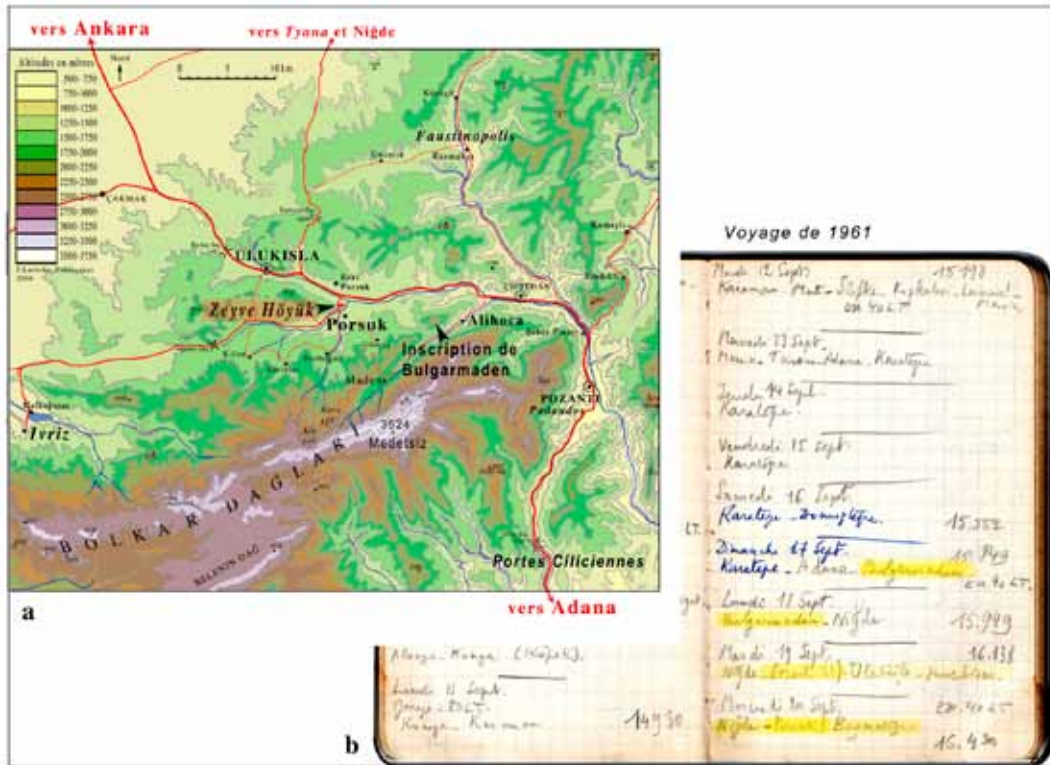


Fig. 1 : Le voyage d’Emmanuel Laroche dans la région de Porsuk : a. Carte des environs de Porsuk ; b. Page du carnet du voyage de septembre 1961.

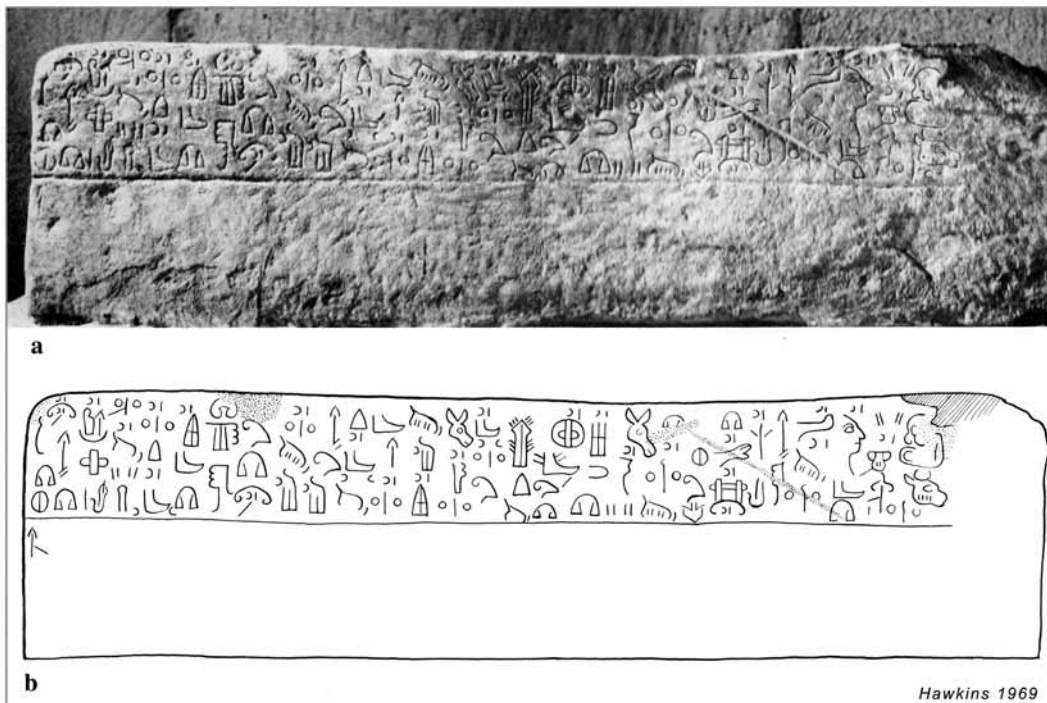


Fig. 2 : Vue et relevé de l’inscription hiéroglyphique de Porsuk au musée de Niğde (cliché et copie Hawkins 1969).

Le site de Zeyve-höyük-Porsuk aux époques hittite et néo-hittite. Remarques sur la succession des systèmes défensifs

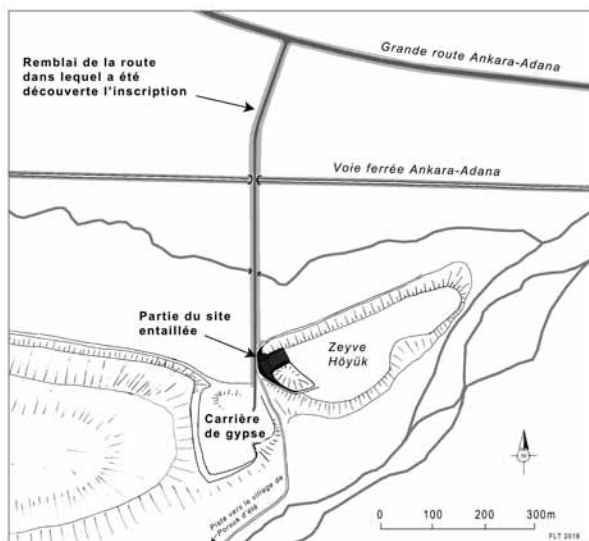


Fig. 3 : Plan topographique du site et de ses alentours.



Fig. 4 : L'extrémité occidentale du site après les travaux de l'excavatrice et la construction de la piste (cliché Meriggi 1962).

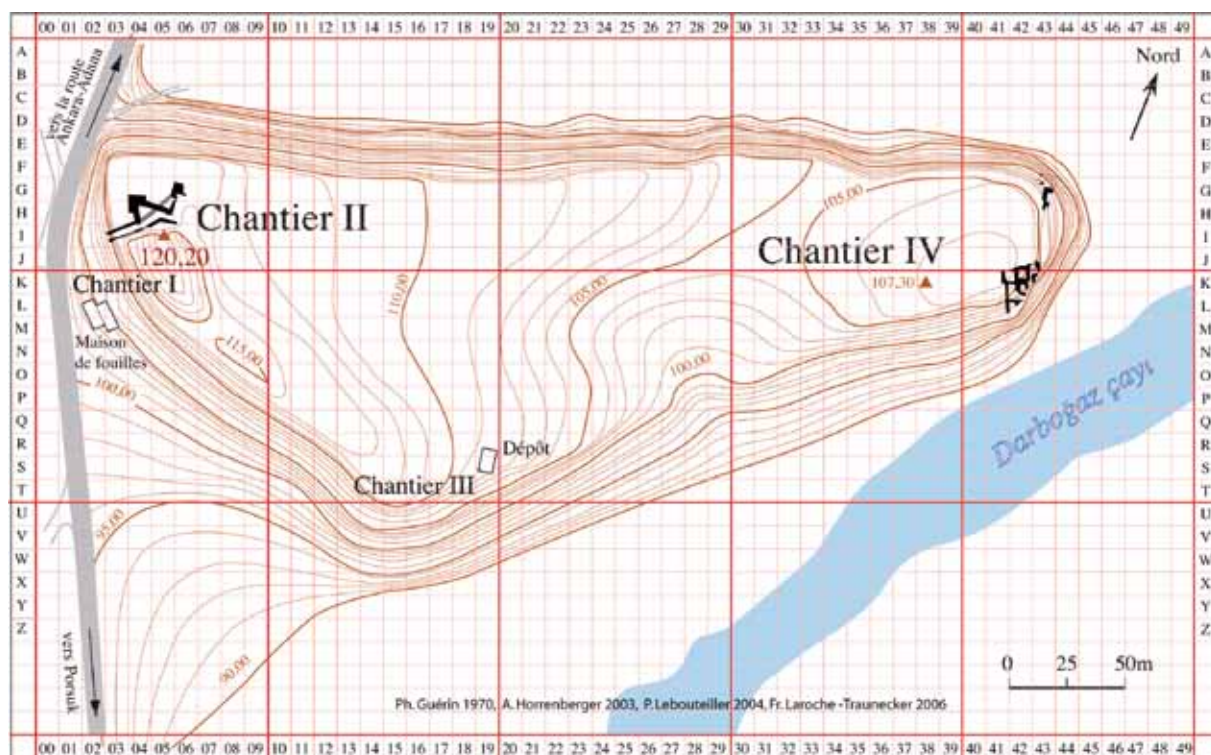


Fig. 5 : Plan topographique du site de Zeyve Höyük montrant la position des chantiers et les enceintes hittites du Bronze Récent.

Le site de Zeyve-höyük-Porsuk aux époques hittite et néo-hittite. Remarques sur la succession des systèmes défensifs



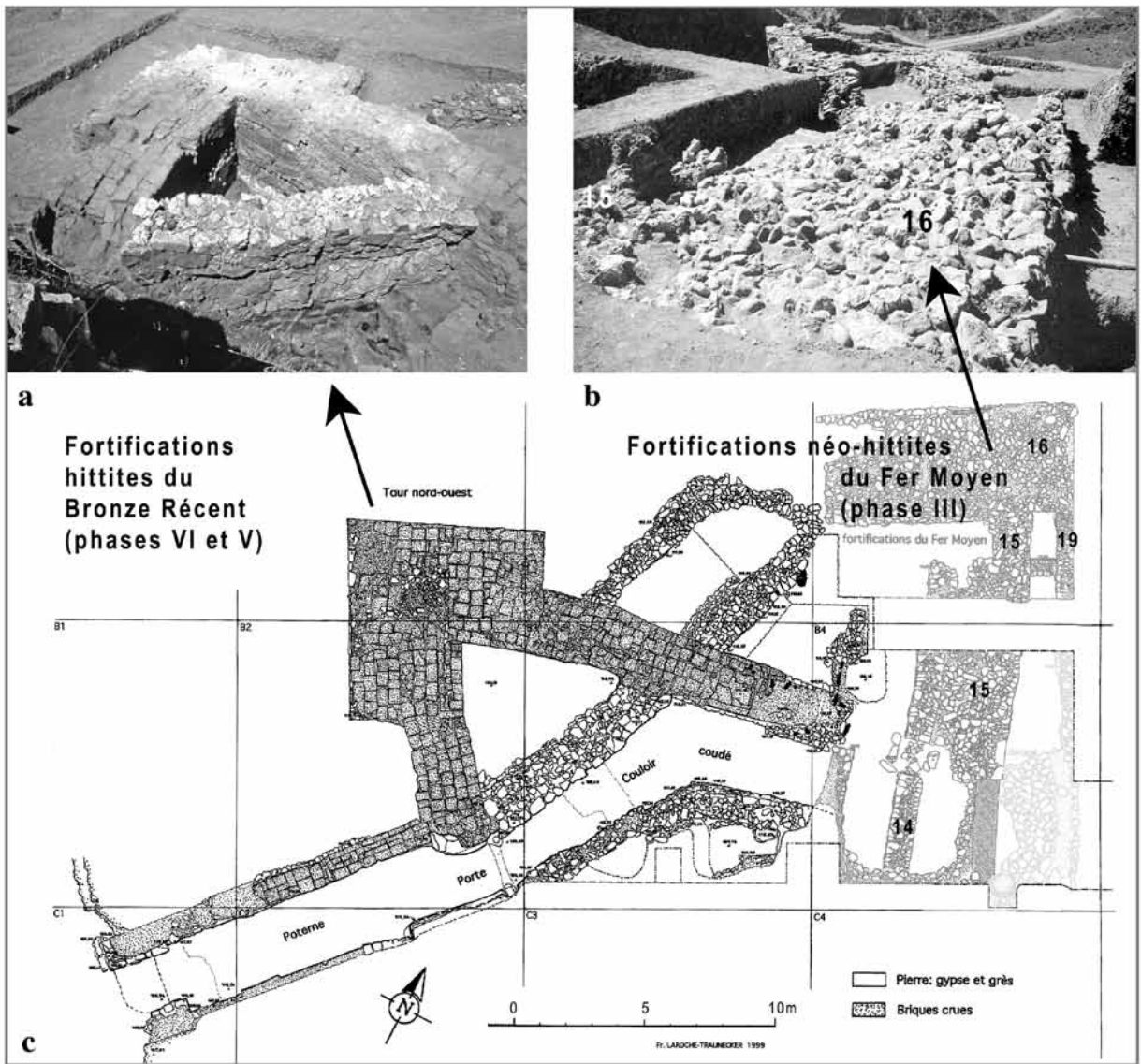


Fig. 6 : Les premières fouilles du chantier II : a. Vue, prise du sud-est, sur la tour et l'espace triangulaire en brique du Bronze (cliché S. Sadler 1970) ; b. Vue, prise du nord-est, du massif 16 en gypse du Fer Moyen (cliché Fr. Laroche 1970) ; c. Plan des deux systèmes défensifs côte à côte.

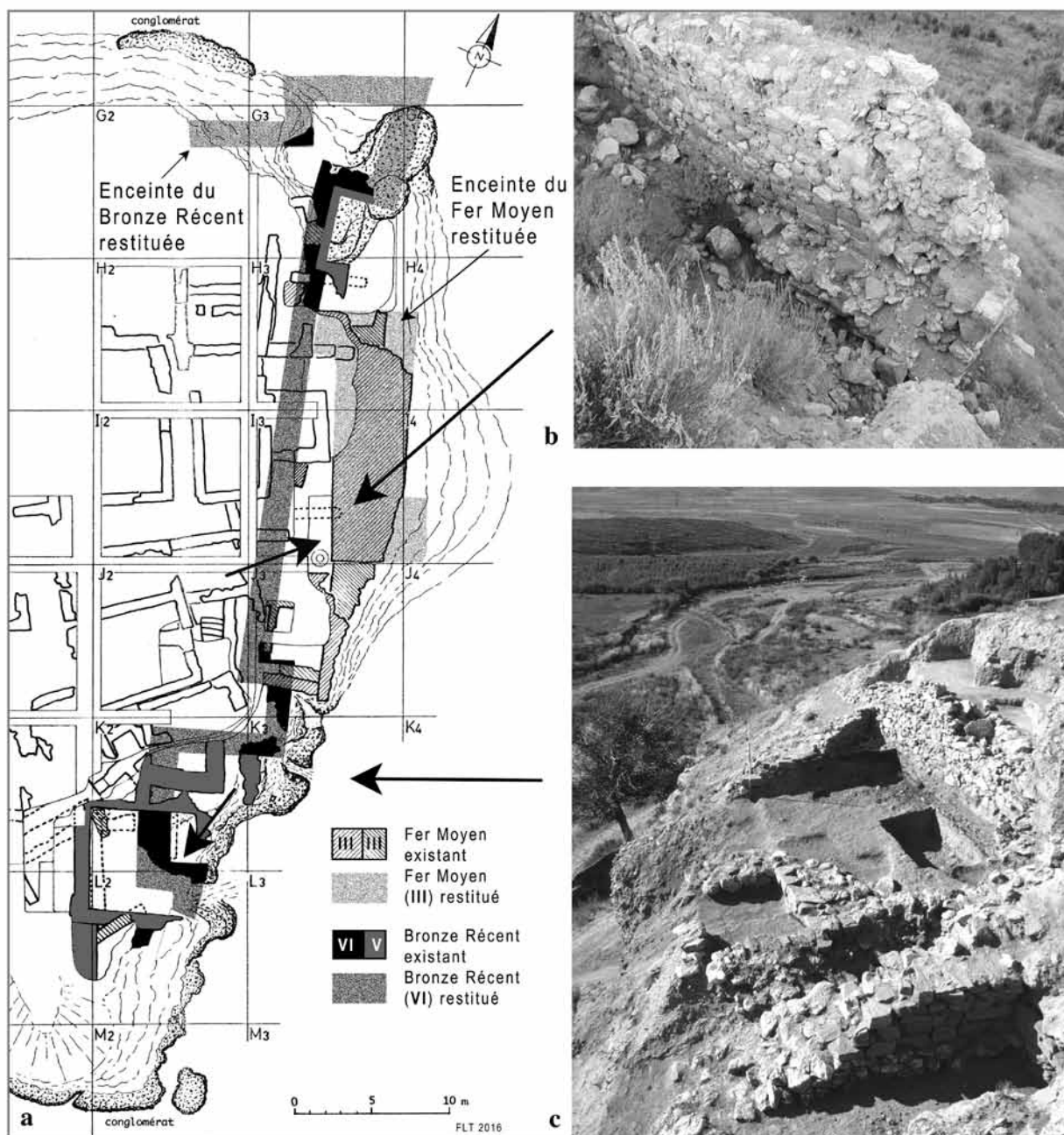


Fig. 7 : Les fortifications au chantier IV : a. Plan schématique et restitution des phases VI et III ; b. Le massif du Fer (III) en gypse vu du sud-ouest (cliché O. Pelon 2001) ; c. Les murs du Bronze (V et VI) vus du nord (cliché O. Pelon 1989).

Le site de Zeyve-höyük-Porsuk aux époques hittite et néo-hittite. Remarques sur la succession des systèmes défensifs



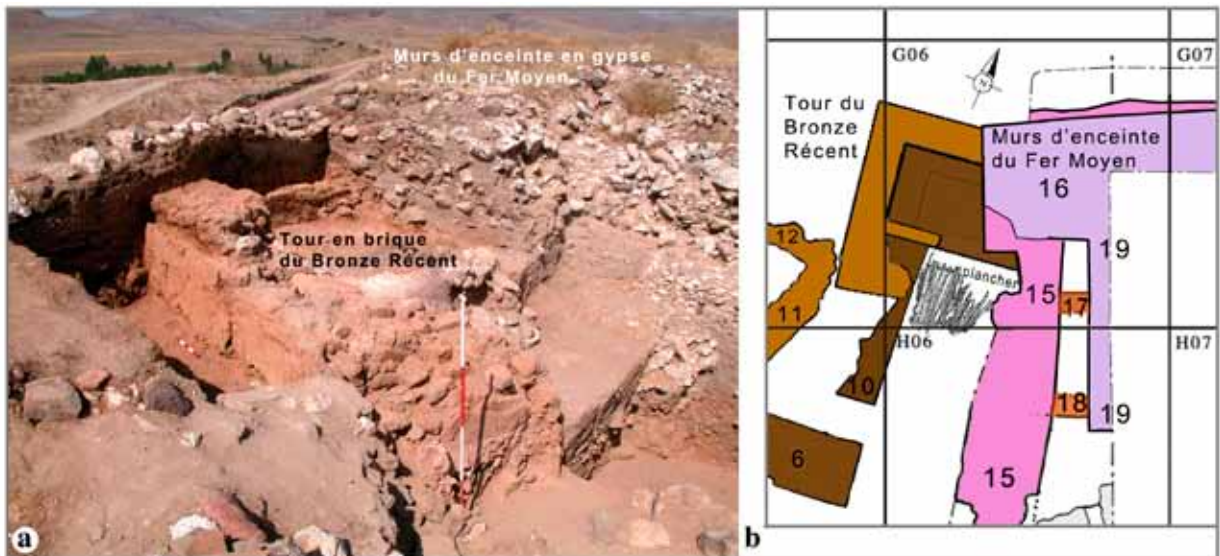


Fig. 8 : Les fortifications du chantier II : a. Vue vers le nord de la tour du Bronze en brique sous les enceintes du Fer en gypse (cliché A. Tibet 2006) ; b. Plan des systèmes défensifs du Bronze et du Fer superposés.

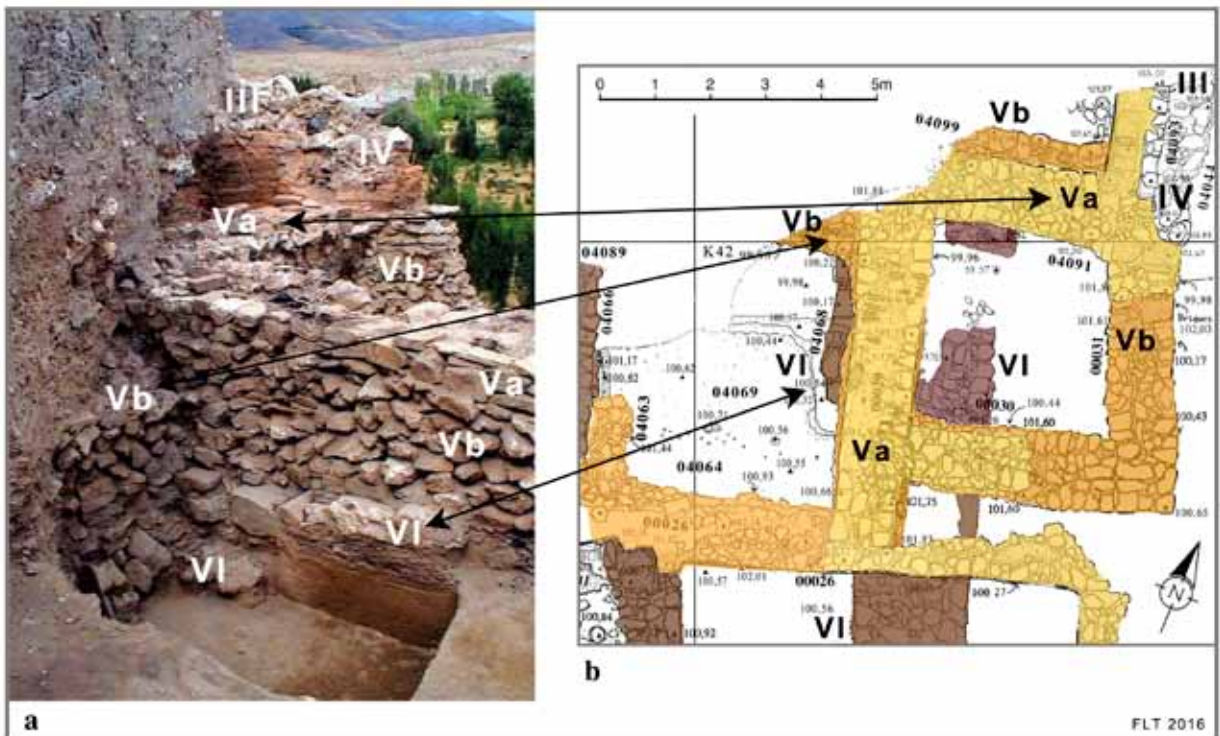


Fig. 9 : Les fortifications du chantier IV : a. Vue des murs superposés prise du sud-ouest (cliché Fr. Laroche-Traunecker 2007) ; b. Plan des premiers murs (VI) et des caissons (Vb et Va) du Bronze Récent, sous des murs du Fer (IV ou III).

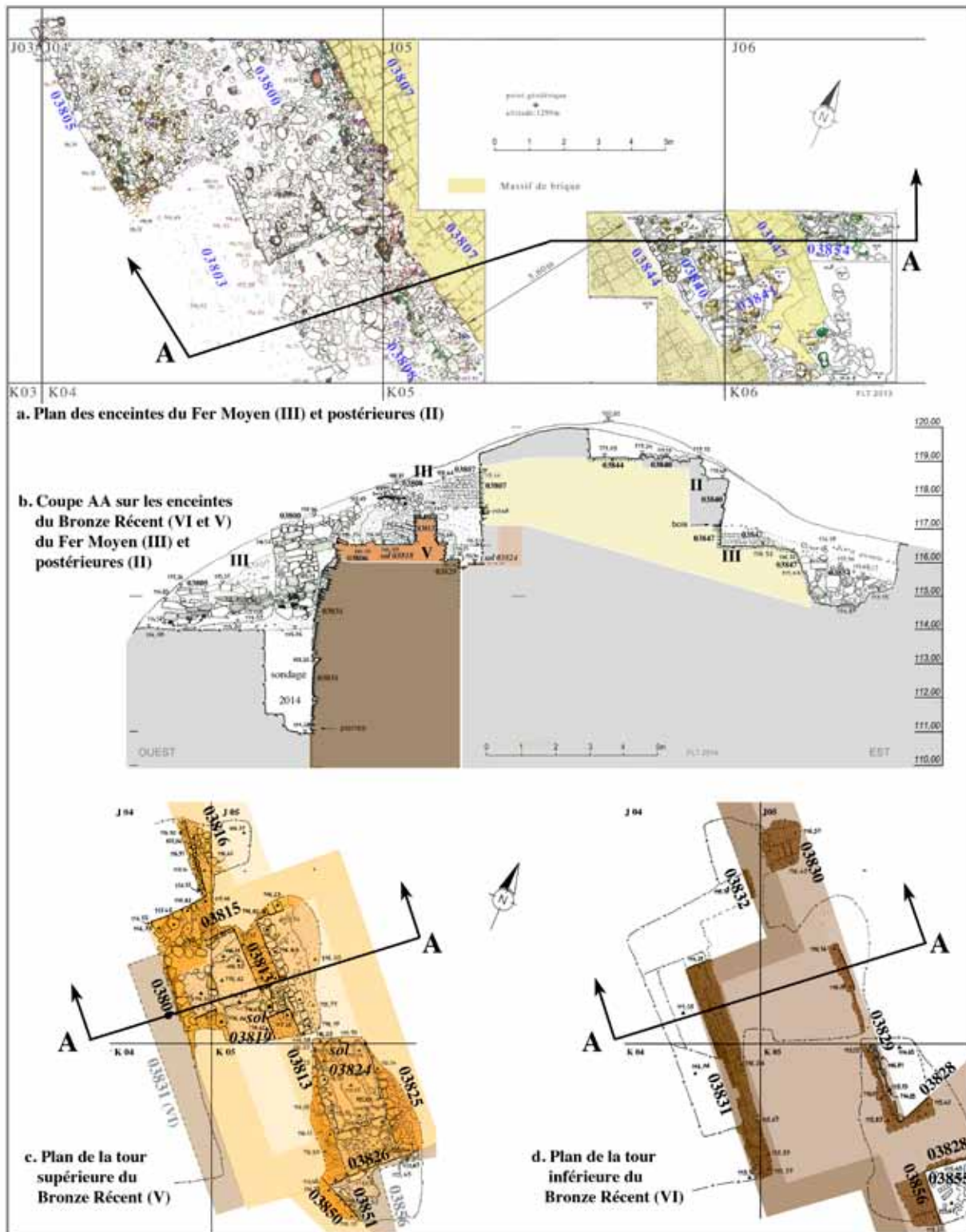


Fig. 10 : Chantier II Sud : Coupe sur les enceintes superposées et plans des niveaux supérieurs (phases II et III) et du Bronze Récent (phases V et VI).

Le site de Zeyve-höyük-Porsuk aux époques hittite et néo-hittite. Remarques sur la succession des systèmes défensifs



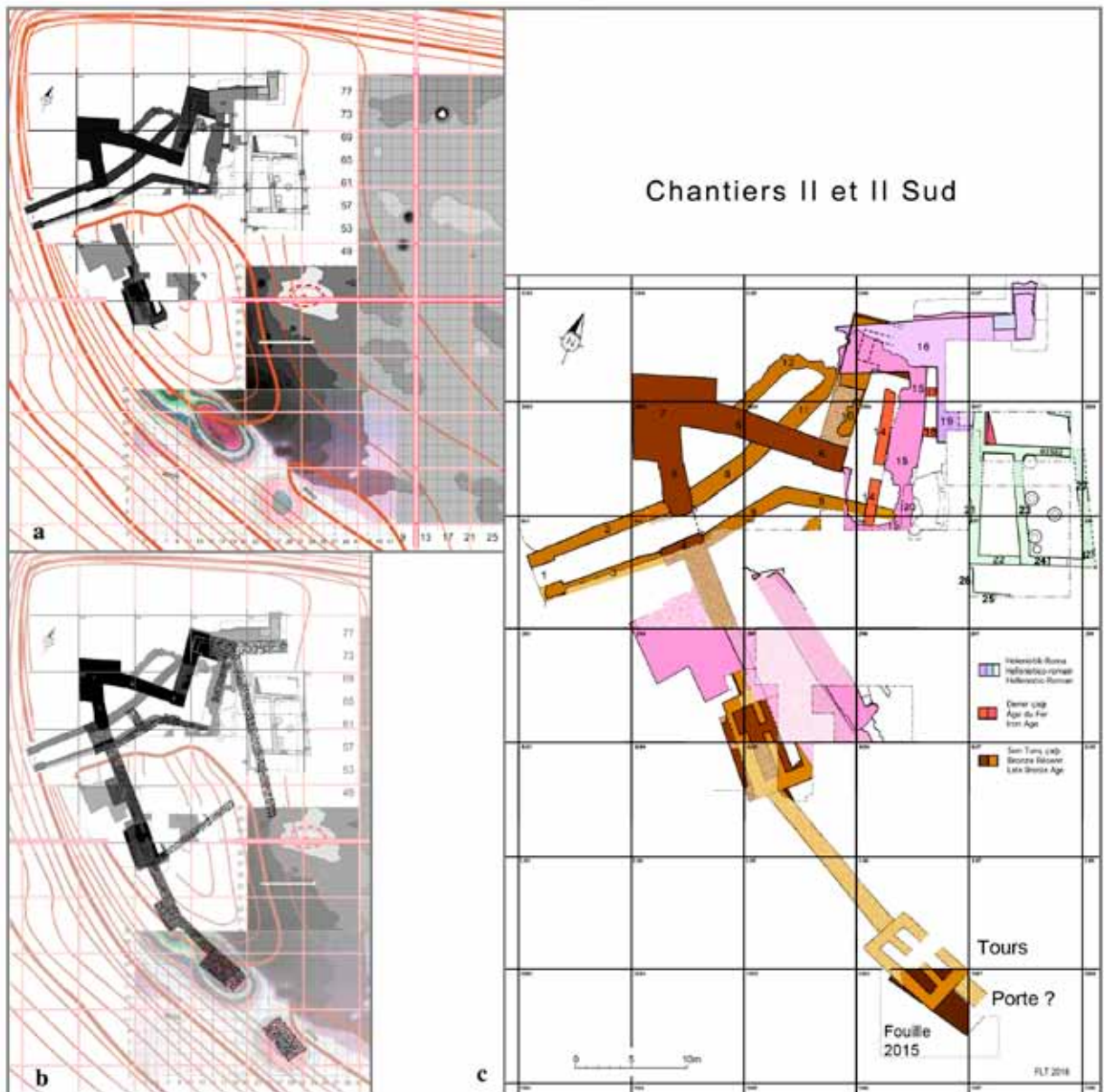


Fig. 11 : Plans de la partie occidentale du site : a. Murs existants et prospections géomagnétiques en 2014 ; b. Restitution hypothétique des premières fortifications hittites ; c. Plan schématique après les fouilles de 2015.

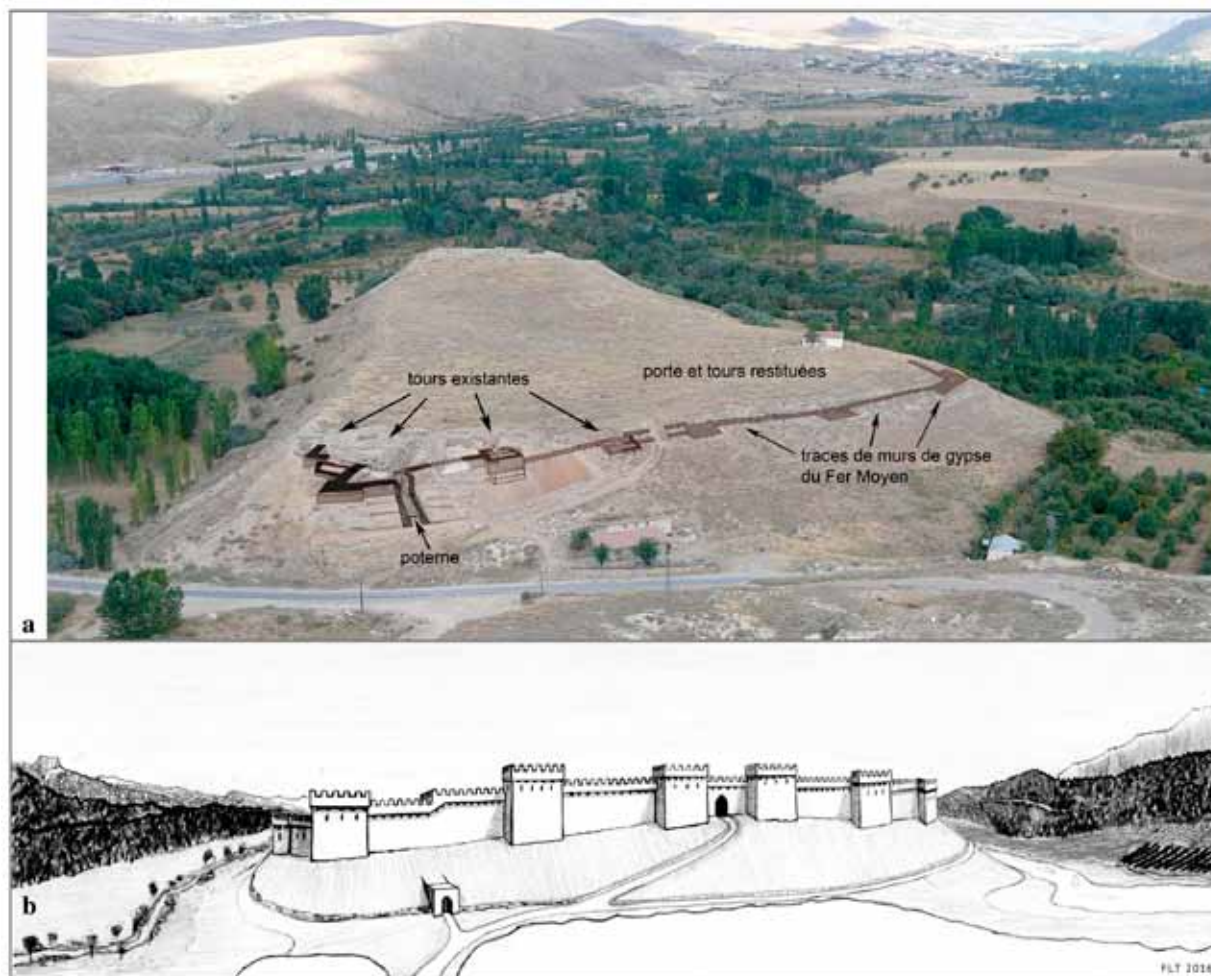


Fig. 12 : Les fortifications hittites à l'ouest du site : a. Plan des tours et courtines visibles ou restituées sur une vue du site prise du haut de la carrière de gypse (cliché D. Beyer 2012) ; b. Restitution de l'aspect de la façade à l'époque du Bronze Récent (phase V).



## V. HISTORIOGRAPHIE



# LAROCHE AND THE SEALS OF MESKENE-EMAR

J. David Hawkins  
SOAS, London

## Introduction

An international colloquium “Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d’Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement, 1930-2010” was held in December 2010 in the *Collège de France* and the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and the *Actes de colloque* have recently appeared (Bordreuil et al. 2014 (éds.)). When invited to give a paper, I felt it appropriate to speak on “The digraphic seals of Ugarit: Emmanuel Laroche and the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian”. In this paper, I reviewed Laroche’s distinctive contribution to decipherment with his commentary on the Ugarit digraphs (Laroche 1956), and his use of this material in his signary *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (Laroche 1960). About 1970, new evidence became available, permitting the “new readings” of four crucial Hieroglyphic signs, which radically transformed the understanding of the language of the Hieroglyphs, revealing it as almost identical to the Luwian written in cuneiform in the archives of Boğazköy-Hattuša (Hawkins/Morpurgo Davies/Neumann 1974).

## I. Digraphic seals from Meskene

Meanwhile excavations at the Syrian site of Meskene-Emar by a French archaeological mission, 1972-76, recovered some 1000 cuneiform tablets providing among other things a new and larger group of digraphs. These too were entrusted to Laroche for publication, and he announced the discovery at the XXIII<sup>rd</sup> *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* held in Birmingham in July 1976, providing a satisfactory selection of representative examples of the new material. I reported these developments too in my paper, bringing the story up to Laroche’s three preliminary publications (Laroche 1981, 1982 and 1983). I concluded with noting that Laroche did produce a draft manuscript for the final publication but that sadly he was prevented, by ill-health and death in 1991, from carrying this through to completion. I was fortunate in receiving from him a copy of this draft manuscript.

It will, I hope, be thought appropriate in the context of this colloquium and in honour of Laroche’s memory that I should put on record his contribution on the information from Meskene-Emar, in which I can include much unpublished material. This was the period in which I enjoyed a detailed correspondence with him relating to my own work on the hieroglyphs, and it well reflects his generosity in sharing this new information with me. It is also important to note

where new perceptions suggest the correction of some of his preliminary conclusions, and of course this in no way detracts from the scale of his achievement.

Laroche's draft manuscript is entitled "Documents hittites : première partie, empreintes de sceaux hiéroglyphiques", and it was intended to appear as *Emar V* in the programme of publication, though as noted, he was never able to revise it to a state suitable for publication. The text is largely intellectually complete, and the revision required was more editorial in character, cross-referencing and ironing out of inconsistencies, etc. I will hereafter refer to it as *Emar V* ms.

Of his three preliminary publications, Laroche 1981 is the most detailed, consisting first of a concise summary of the material and its character, followed by a provisional list of fifty-five names given in normalized form, then cuneiform and hieroglyphic writings, and titles where provided, ending with key equivalents of syllabograms and ideograms (titles), and graphic variants.

In his second preliminary publication, Laroche 1982, he gives as examples twelve impressions (cylinder, signet and stamp) of names written digraphically: seals with names in hieroglyphs identified by cuneiform epigraphs <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB 'PN... "Seal of So-and-so". Here six are illustrated by photographs and one by a drawing by Beyer.<sup>1</sup> In the third preliminary article further names are presented in photograph (Laroche 1983), some repeated, with further exposition.

## II. Meskene-Emar publication

Meanwhile the epigraphic material from the Meskene excavations was being published: the tablets by D. Arnaud as *Emar VI/1-4* (Arnaud 1985 and 1987), as cuneiform copies including the seal epigraphs, transliterations and translations; and the seals by D. Beyer as *Emar IV, Les sceaux* (Beyer 2001), including those with inscription divided into cylinder, signet and stamp seals. It was Laroche's *Emar V* which was intended to bridge the gap by uniting the cuneiform epigraphs with their hieroglyphic impressions and illustrating them with detailed photographs, also providing elucidatory comment.

As it was, Beyer was able to use Laroche's *Emar V* ms. for the readings, and he also published a number of photographs but by no means a comprehensive collection which remains a desideratum. It is always unfortunate when the illustrations of the seals become separated by publication from the tablets on which they were impressed with the identifying epigraphs, though one can see that this was probably inevitable when publication was divided between three scholars each with their own area of expertise.

## III. Further material from illegal excavations

Up to this point we have been concerned with the tablets excavated by the *Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Emar* under the direction of Jean-Claude Margueron in the years 1972-76. Both during and after that time massive illegal excavations recovered hundreds of tablets which have flooded on the antiquities market and come to rest in the hands of private individuals including some big collectors, Borowski, Rosen, Hirayama and others.

These tablets are being published either as substantial collections or piecemeal by ones and twos: see especially Arnaud 1991-Gonnet 1991; Tsukimoto 1990, 1991, 1992; Beckman 1996; Goodnick Westenholz 2000-Singer 2000. Of these the first and the last did the best job by publishing the seal impressions along with the tablets bearing them. Of this additional material Laroche was only able to use some of the items from the first cited.

<sup>1</sup> In an adjoining article by Beyer, three names are further illustrated: one by photograph and drawing and two by his drawings.

## IV. Correspondence J. David Hawkins – Emmanuel Laroche

As I have noted, I corresponded with Laroche in the early 1980s, most importantly on the digraphic values, cuneiform – hieroglyphic, established by the Meskene documents, and I think that some of this is worth putting on record. I have already recorded that after his first presentation of the Meskene digraphs at the XXIII<sup>rd</sup> R.A.I. in Birmingham in 1976, he gave me the two transparencies which he had used to illustrate his talk, one showing cuneiform correspondencies of hieroglyphic signs, the other some examples of the personal names in digraphic writings. These I published in Hawkins 2013,<sup>2</sup> noting that the hieroglyphic rendering of the name *Ahi-Dagan* was incorrect. A further error must also be corrected: the hieroglyphic rendering of cuneiform *ip* in the name *Ipki*-<sup>P</sup>KUR is also wrong. For these two names, see below *Emar V* ms. no. 50 and 67 (Fig. 3b and 3c).

When Laroche published his “Liste (provisoire) des noms émarites écrits en hiéroglyphes hittites”,<sup>3</sup> it was important for me to establish the exact cuneiform-hieroglyphic equivalences, since certain inconsistencies in the hieroglyphic transliterations were observable. So I wrote to him, asking for clarification on a number of points, to which he graciously responded with comprehensive answers, adding also several new pieces of evidence.

I sent my queries in the form of a photo-copy of his “Liste provisoire” with my queries marked on it, which he returned with his answers and other comments. I reproduce here his covering letter dated 15 November 1981 (Fig. 1) and the photo-copy of the “Liste provisoire” (my queries in black, his answers in red: Fig. 2a-d).

As will be seen, the important points for me were the exact correspondences for hieroglyph L.209 (*i(a)* for me), L.450 (*a*), L.19 (*á*), and L.376 (*zi/a*); also the range of L.100 (*ta*), L.29 (*tá*), L.41 (*tà*); the forms of L.413 (*hi*) as against L.415 (*sa*), of L.434 (*ka*) and of L.214 (*ni*).

## V. Emmanuel Laroche’s “Liste provisoire” (Fig. 2a-d)

I now add comments where necessary, following the numeration of the “Liste provisoire”.

2. *‘Abd-ili*: Laroche was already noting at Meskene the graphic practice later described as initial-*a*-final: see VI.3 no. 30 below.
- 5-6. *Adad-qarrad* and *Adad-rapih*: For the writing *Ada(d)* (<sup>P</sup>U) with hieroglyphic *i(a)*-*tá*, see Laroche’s full response below in Excursus 2.
7. *Ahi-Dagan*: The hieroglyphic name identified with this cuneiform epigraph is actually a different one, written *i(a)*-*ka(+ra/i’)*-*tá*-*ti*. Correction to be noted to transparency 1.
- 14 bis. *Ba’alat-Aštarte*: Note Laroche’s addition of this significant use of L.376 (*zi/a*) for *-t(a)s-*, commented also in his covering letter (Fig. 1).
- 22-25. *Ebri-Tešub*, *Ehli-kuša*, *Elli*, *Ehliya*: all render cuneiform *e* with hieroglyph L.209 (*i(a)*).
27. *Hešmi-Tešub*: Laroche notes the difficulty of distinguishing L.413 (*hi*) from L.415 (*sa*) though actually the first sign here is L.215 (*ha*) as he later recognized: see below *Emar V* ms. no. 6 (Fig. 3a).
- 28, 31. *Ibniya* and *Ilanu*: Here hieroglyph L.209 (*i(a)*) actually renders cuneiform *i*, not *e*.
32. *Iliya-Dagan*: The hieroglyphic reading of this name is erroneous. Laroche later abandons it.
33. *Imlik-Dagan*: The hieroglyphic reading is actually *i(a)*-*á*-*mi*-..., thus cuneiform *Imlik-Dagan* = hieroglyphic *Yamlík*-...
35. *Ipki-Dagan*: Misreading caused by seal jumping during impression leaving misleading double image. See below VI.3 no. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins 2013: 87 fig. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Laroche 1981: 10-12.

38. *Mati*<sup>DI</sup>M: Mistake for cuneiform *ma-di*<sup>D</sup>KUR, hieroglyphic *ma-ti-tà-[ka]*, as Laroche later recognized, see VI.3 no. 38.
40. *Maziya*: Apparently not published. Laroche later reads hieroglyphic *ma-zi-á-x-á*.
- 44 bis. *Punu*: See addition by Laroche at foot of Fig. 2b.
46. \*SIN-*abu*: Laroche solves the problem by reading *sà-ga-ara-á-bu* and identifying *sagar* a palmyrene Moon-God (bottom of Fig. 2c).
47. *Sei-Dagan*: This gives a equivalence hieroglyph L.209 (*i(a)*) = cuneiform *i* (not *e*).
- 48 bis. *Tilae*: Laroche was puzzled at the apparent hieroglyphic *á* (L.19) = cuneiform *ti*.<sup>4</sup> Later he had solved this by identifying the sign rather as the same as that corresponding to *te* in the DN *Hutena* (YAZILIKAYA no. 47). This has recently been confirmed by the recurrence of the sign on a seal in the NIŞANTEPE archive (Hawkins 2005: 431-432) read *tè* with new number L.526.
49. \**Tadi-Dagan*: Apparently unpublished, reading discarded?
52. *Wasti*: Laroche confirms writings with both *sa* and *sà*.
56. *Burakum*: Added. The hieroglyphic writing puzzled Laroche with a different name which he read as HI/SA<sup>?</sup>-ZITI. The problem has been solved by the publication of the group *M(oyen) E(uphrate)* (Arnaud 1991 and Gonnet 1991), where *Burakum* used the same seal on tablets nos. 36 and 91, but on no.76(a) it has the epigraph <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB *'hi-il-la-ri-zi*, indicating the hieroglyphic reading *hi-la+ra-zi*, the name of the original owner of the seal.

## VI. Emmanuel Laroche's *Emar V* ms. (Fig. 3a-c)

Laroche's draft manuscript (*Emar V* ms.) was as noted above, never revised and edited into publishable form. It did however serve Beyer in his massive edition of the Meskene seals, *Emar IV*, to provide the readings of the inscribed seals with their cuneiform epigraphs (see Beyer 2001: XV). He was not of course in a position to control this material fully, so has transmitted a number of incorrect or misleading readings, especially where the hieroglyphic names and the cuneiform epigraphs differ.

Here seems an appropriate place to make such corrections as are possible. The cuneiform epigraphs can all be checked by cross-reference to Arnaud's copies in *Emar VI/1-4*. The hieroglyphic name readings can be partially checked where Beyer gives usable photographs, but this is not the case for all.<sup>5</sup>

I conclude this tribute to Laroche's memory with reproducing his list of names from *Emar V* ms. (Fig. 3a-d), which is divided into four sections: I. rois et princes (nos. 1-11); II. devins, prêtres, scribes, dignitaires (nos. 12-22); III. témoins (cun. IGI <sup>m</sup>x, nos. 23-63); IV. divers (nos. 64-76). This list represents a further stage of the "Liste provisoire" from Laroche 1981, with additions, a few subtractions, and corrections.

I have cross-referenced the number of these names with those of the "Liste provisoire". I also give, as far as possible, references to Beyer's treatment of each seal according to his classifications (A. cylinder seals; B. signet rings; C. stamp seals). I accompany this with such comments as may be necessary on the individual entries.

My hope is that this information may serve to advance our access to the Meskene evidence pending a final full publication of the material.

### VI.1. *Emar V* ms. I. Rois et princes (Fig. 3a)

- 3-4. *Talmi-Tešub* and \**Ku(n)zi-Tešub*: Earlier in 1981, photographs were sent by an antiquities dealer to the British Museum, where I was shown them: 1) a cuneiform tablet sealed by a number of impressions of a circular stamp seal, hieroglyphic legend *ku-ti-TONITRUS REX.FILIUS*, cuneiform epigraph <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB *'ku-un-ti*<sup>D</sup>U-ub DUMU *'tal-mi*<sup>DI</sup>M LUGAL *Kar-ga-miš*;<sup>6</sup> 2) the upper half of a

<sup>4</sup> See also the covering letter (Fig. 1).

<sup>5</sup> As noted above, Laroche's *Emar V* would have united these two strands of evidence with his own readings.

<sup>6</sup> This is now in the Hirayama collection, HCCT E16, see Tsukimoto 1984: 68 and 70.



circular stamp impression showing the Storm-God. Behind him the name and title (hieroglyphic) of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš, in front the name and title of Kuzi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš.<sup>7</sup> In my letter to Laroche thanking him for his response to my queries on the “Liste provisoire” (dated 19 November 1981), I communicated these two documents to him, which he incorporated in his *Emar V* ms., and the Rosen impression passed from there to Beyer 2001: C.2. In 1986, complete impressions of the same seal were excavated at Lidar Höyük: see Sürenhagen 1986 and Hawkins 1988.

6. *Hešmi-Tešub*: By the time of *Emar V* ms., Laroche had corrected the initial hieroglyphic sign from L.413 (*hi*) to L.215 (*ha*).
11. \**Panasa*? This reading can now be seen to be erroneous: see below Excursus 1.

## VI.2. *Emar V* ms. II. Devins, prêtres, scribes, dignitaries (Fig. 3a)

16. *Belu-kabar* “hérald”: Laroche took hieroglyphic L.254 (the “barred rectangle”) as the equivalent of cuneiform <sup>LÚ</sup>Ú.TU: seal epigraph <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB 'EN.GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>[...].<sup>8</sup> He took <sup>LÚ</sup>Ú.TU as <sup>LÚ</sup>(GA+U=)ÍL, *nāgīru*, “herald”. But the reading of L.254 has been corrected: Hawkins 2005: 303 no. 15, and shown to correspond to *ša rēši*, “eunuch”.<sup>9</sup> It does not seem that the reading *nāgīru* can be maintained.
17. *Ehli-Kuša*: Laroche explains the logographic writing cun. KAR.<sup>D</sup>30 from the lexical evidence KAR = Hurrian *ehl*.<sup>10</sup>
19. \**Sagar-abu*: See “Liste provisoire” no. 46 for Laroche’s solution of the reading and identification of the Moon-God Sagar (Fig. 2c).

## VI.3. *Emar V* ms. III. Témoins (Fig. 3b)

- 23, 29. *Amzahi* and *Ehliya*: Particularly important seal, unusual in including patronym. Both names give important digraphs, and both were already so presented by Laroche in 1976 at the XXIII<sup>d</sup> R.A.I.: see his table of syllabic equivalents (Hawkins 2013: 87 fig. 11), which give L.376 = cun. *za* (formerly read *i*), and L.209 = cun. *e* and *ia* (formerly read *a*).
30. \**Atar-abi*: Cun. <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB 'at-ra-bi = hier. *tara/i-pi*-\**a* (initial-*a*-final). For this reading Laroche suggests Semitic \**Atar-abi*. Beyer reads *Adrabu*.
32. *Mudri-Tešub*: Laroche knew three seals (two signets, one stamp) of this important official, the <sup>LÚ</sup>UGULA.KALAMMA, as listed by Beyer. In addition a further seal is known impressed on tablets Msk 74.144 (no. 290: Beyer 2001: B.49) and Hirayama HCCT E2-2-2 (three impressions). I saw the latter in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in 1983. The cuneiform epigraph reads <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB 'mu-ud-ri-<sup>D</sup>IM = hieroglyphic legend *mu* (i.e. BOS<sub>2</sub> <MI>)-*tara/i*-TEŠUP-*pa*.
33. *Ba'al-malik*: The name EN-*ma-lik* is borne by two different individuals: 1) DUMU *za-al-mi* (written *pa-á-li-ma-li*) and 2) DUMU *ba-a* (written *pa-li-ma-li*). The use of hieroglyph *á* (L.19) intervocally to represent Semitic *'* is noteworthy.
34. *Ba'alat-starti*: Noted above under “Liste provisoire” no. 14 bis (Fig. 2a). The cuneiform epigraph reads [<sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>D</sup>aš]-*tar-tu-li-it* DUMU *ha-ri* to the seals hieroglyphic legend *ba-la-za-tar-ti*. Laroche explains cun. *Astartu-lit* as “Astarté est victorieuse/suprême”, equating with hier. *Ba'alat-(a)starte* “Astarte est la Dame”. He comments on the use of *-za-* to represent (-)t-s(-): “la consonne affriquée *z* = *t* + *s*”.
38. *Madi-Dagan*: This entry corrects “Liste provisoire” no. 38 (Fig. 2b), (DUMU) *mati*-<sup>D</sup>IM to *ma-di*-<sup>D</sup>KUR = *ma-ti-tà*-[*ka*].

7 This is now in the Rosen collection, see *CHLI* 1/2: 574-575.

8 See line 31, IGI 'EN.GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>Ú.TU: *Emar VI*/1: 171 and *Emar VI*/3 no. 205. However the two are not certainly the same man.

9 See Hawkins 2002: 225-226 with n. 64.

10 Laroche 1980: 75-76.

39. *Dagan-kabar* (<sup>m</sup>D.KUR.GAL): Two individuals have seals with this name, the sons of *Beli* (signet) and *Nukra* (cylinder). Both write their name *ta-ka-pa+ra/i*. Laroche notes the haplography in *Dag(an)kabar*.
40. *Dagan-talih*: The three bearers of this name are sons of 1) *Tura-Daga*; 2) *Yašur-Dagan*; and 3) *Huzamu*. Nos. 1 and 3 write the name *ta-ka-TALA-i(a)*, no. 2 *ta-ka-ta-li* (reading given in “Liste provisoire” no. 20 – Fig. 2a).
41. *Dagan-tarih*: Laroche reports a final hieroglyphic syllable *-ha* (L.215), but to judge from Beyer’s drawing this is not present (no photograph available).
42. *Elli*: Good example as Laroche notes of cun. *e(l)* = hier. *i(a)* (L.209). *Elli*’s patronym is of interest, GEŠTIN.ŠEŠ: *Emar VI/2*: 713, *Emar VI/3*: 125 no. 118 l. 12. Yakubovich 2010: 91-92, following van den Hout 2003: 304, argues “on semantic grounds against interpreting the name *Maddunāni* as a Luwian compound ‘brother of the vine’”, preferring an alternative explanation. The present attestation would seem to invalidate this argument: cuneiform epigraph GEŠTIN.ŠEŠ = hieroglyphic seal legend VITIS-*na-ni* (read in reverse, hier. VITIS = *wiyani-* “vine”, and *maddu-* “wine”); thus the reading should be *Maddunani*.
44. *Yadi-Ba’al*: In the name (cun.) *ZU-ba-la*, *zu* may be read as phonetic, giving the common name *Zu-Ba’al*, “he of Ba’al”; or logographically *ZU* = *īdu*, “know”, as here, indicated by its hieroglyphic equivalent, noted by Laroche, reading *ia-ti-pa-li*, “Ba’al knows”. He also noted but did not explain the pair of flanking signs, which occur frequently on seals and may now be recognized as PITHOS (L.336) marking the profession of the seal bearer (Hawkins 2005: 305-306).
45. *Yadi-Dagan*: Laroche knew three impressions of this seal and notes “pas de cunéiforme”, reading *i-a-ti-tà-ga* (i.e. *i(a)-á-ti-tà-ka*), *Yadi-Dagan*. In fact tablet no. 217 in *Emar VI/2*: 756 and *Emar VI/3*: 231-232 does have the epigraph <sup>NA</sup>KIŠIB <sup>l</sup>*ia-ti-<sup>D</sup>KUR DUMU GUR.<sup>D</sup>KUR* (photo: Beyer 2001: pl. 28b; A.69 incorrect for A.70!). The digraph cun. *ia-ti-* = hier. *i(a)-á-ti-* is important.
46. *Imlik-Dagan*: Laroche’s more accurate reading hier. *i-a-mi-li-k(i)-dà-ga* (i.e. *i(a)-á-mi-li-ki-tà-ka*) gives valuable digraph cun. *im-* = hier. *i(a)-á-mi-*. Thus cun. writes Akkadian *imlik-*, hier. the West Semitic *yamlik-*.
50. *Ipki-Dagan*: As noted above, “Liste provisoire” no. 35, this seal has jumped while being impressed resulting in a confusing double image, which misled Laroche into identifying L.336 as part of the name with value *i<sub>4</sub>* (*i<sub>5</sub>*). Beyer, disentangling the double impression, noted this “important dérapage”. Below the arm of the right-facing god the signs *-ki-tà-ka* though appearing twice, are adequately clear. Above however the god’s head with PITHOS (L.336) in front of it also appears twice, misleading Laroche into reading L.336-L.334-L.336 (*i<sub>5</sub> pa i<sub>5</sub>*) as rendering of cun. *ip-*. In fact the signs rendering *ip-* must have stood to the right of the profession designation PITHOS, probably *i(a)-pa/pi-*. Thus no value *i<sub>5</sub>* (L.336.II, 1, 3) exists: the “new readings” show it to alternate with *zi*, not *i*.
51. *Matkali-Dagan*: Hier. reading *matkali-* for cun. NIR elucidated by Laroche from vocabulary S<sup>a</sup> (KBo 1.43 obv. 4, 5), giving NIR = *du-gul-du/ta-kal-du* (*tukultu*), thus “Dagan est ma confiance”.
52. *Maziya*: Laroche now reads hier. *ma-zi-á-x-á* (no published photograph to check).
53. *Pe(n)ti-Tešub*: Laroche so interprets hier. *pi-ti-TEŠUP<sup>pa</sup>*, doubtless correctly. The cuneiform epigraph is damaged and uncertain, but cannot correspond.
57. *Tur-Dagan*: Cun. <sup>l</sup>GUR.<sup>D</sup>KUR = hier. *tu+ra/i-tà-ka*. Laroche correctly reads GUR as *Tur-* from the hieroglyphs; Arnaud and Beyer, incorrectly *Itur-*.
61. *Zu-Astarti*: Common name, many bearers, always written cun. *Zu-aš-tar-ti*. Son of *Huhuma* (A.93) writes his name *zu-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti*; son of *Zimri-Ba’al* (LI.EN, A.79, B.29 – correct the reading of patronym in Beyer 2001) writes *á-sa-tara/i-ti* on both cylinder and signet (contra Laroche).
63. *Isbi-Dagan*: Laroche notes the unusual use of L.327 (*sa<sub>5</sub>*) for *s(a)*, giving *i(a)-sa<sub>5</sub>-pi-tà-ka*.

## VI.4. Emar V ms. VI. Divers (Fig. 3c)

64. [le dieu] Dagan?: Laroche's doubts about sign DEUS are probably unnecessary: it may just be poorly impressed. Beyer discusses the unusual graphic identification of the divine figure.
65. *Abi-Dagan*: The cylinder impression (A.6) has cun. <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>UTU-*da-i*, hier. *i(a)-pi-tá-ka*, i.e. seal user and seal owner are different; signet impression (B.11) has cun. <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>*a-bi-<sup>D</sup>[...]*, hier. *a-pi-t[á<sup>2</sup>]-k[á<sup>2</sup>]* (reading dextroverse), where the two might correspond. The hier. *i(a)-pi-ta-ka* should not represent *Abi-Dagan* – initial *a-* is elsewhere written hier. *á*, not *a* (initial-*a*-final), see discussion Excursus 2.
66. *Abi-<sup>D</sup>UTU*: Cun. reads <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>*a-bi-<sup>D</sup>UTU LÚ (KUR) ha-ti*; hier. SOL.LEO<sup>2</sup> (unrecognized by Laroche – see his sketch on “Liste provisoire” no. 3, Fig. 2a). The reading should be Hittite *Tiwata-walwi*, thus different from epigraph.
67. *Ahi-Dagan*: As Laroche notes (“Liste provisoire” no. 7, Fig. 2a), “another name”, apparently reading *i(a)-ka(+ra/i<sup>2</sup>)-tá-ti*.
68. *Ari-x*: Cun. reads <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB [...]-*ri EN a-bu-si* which may very probably correspond to hier. *x-x-ara/i*. Collation might identify *x-x*.
69. *Aziya*: Cun. reads <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>*a-zi-ia*. Laroche remained uncertain about hier., where H. Gonnet reads *á-zi-à*, correctly identifying the signs; but perhaps read *\*a-zi-á* (with initial-*a*-final).
70. *Itik<sup>2</sup>-Dagan*: Cuneiform epigraph largely lost: [<sup>N</sup>A<sup>4</sup>K[IŠ]B <sup>L.D</sup>x[...]] but clearly does not correspond to the relatively clear hier. *i(a)-ti-ka-tá-[ka]* read by Laroche.
71. *Gurteli<sup>2</sup>*: Cun. has <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>*gur-te-[...]*, which corresponds well enough with Laroche's tentative hier. *ku+ra/i<sup>2</sup>-ti-li*, but he also notes an apparent *a* (L.450) to the right of the name, which is difficult to accommodate.
72. *Laya-Dagan*: Cun. <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>*pa-na-a DUMU na-na*, different man from hier. *la-i(a)-tá-ka*. Curiously Laroche does not note that this is the same name as on the seal RS 17.28B (Laroche 1956: 145-147), where the seal inscription gives the reading as *La-at-<sup>D</sup>KUR*. One might be tempted to emend *-at-* to *-ia-* in line with the hier., but the name recurs in the text line 28.
73. *Puraku(m)<sup>2</sup>*: This man used the seal of *Hillarizi* several times: as established by Arnaud 1991-Gonnet 1991. See above, V. no. 56.
74. *Tilae*: Hier. initial *ti-*, apparently *á*, identified by Laroche: see “Liste provisoire” no. 48 bis (Fig. 2c).
- 75, 76. <sup>D</sup>U-*rapih* and <sup>D</sup>U.UR.SAG: See Excursus 2.

## Excursus 1: L.303 SARA/I

\**Panasa*<sup>2</sup>: Read *SARA/I-sà*, *Sarisa* (toponym and personal name). Laroche included these two seals, Beyer 2001: C.18 and C.19, from the *ME* collection, but lacked at that date evidence for the reading. The cuneiform epigraph <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>L.D</sup>*mar-ia-an-ni DUMU <sup>L.D</sup>U-ma-na-ad-du* showed that a different man was using the seal, *Marianni*, who impressed it on two tablets relating to his affairs.

Laroche very tentatively read *Panasa*: *pa<sup>2</sup>*(above horn)-*na*(below horn)-*sà*(the gazelle), and this reading has passed into the literature (Beyer 2001: C.18 and C.19).

Decisive evidence came from the excavations of Kuşaklı-Sarissa in 1993 and 2001 with the discovery of two seal impressions on jars, reading respectively *SARA/I-sà* REX and *SARA/I-sà*<sup>(URBS)</sup> REX, “king of (the city of) *Sarisa*”. The sign *SARA/I* (L.303 – but the sign is misdrawn) had already been correctly identified by Laroche in hier. *SARA/I-ku* = cun. hitt. *šarku-* (Laroche 1958: 256). His analysis of *SARA/I* as *sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i* was only half-correct: see below. Further occurrences of the sign were gradually recognized, especially in the combination *SARA/I-sà* (*Sarisa*), seen to be not only a toponym but also a personal name, and it was possible to show that the two *ME* seals were further examples of this: Hawkins 2010. Since this article I have recognized a further example of the personal name on the seal *SBo II 36* (Fig. 4).

The occurrences of the sign SARA/I may be collected under L.303 (in spite of the misdrawing). That the sign is made up of the “seal” (L.327)+x was recognized by Laroche, who took x as *ra/i* (L.383). The new examples show clearly that this is not the case: rather it is the “leg” (L.82). The value of L.327+L.82 as SARA/I was established, and an explanation is now suggested by M. Weeden: the “leg” as a logogram for Hitt.-Luw. *ar-*, “stand”, is here used as a rebus, thus *sa<sub>3</sub>+ar(a/i)* represents *sara/i*.

## Excursus 2: Usage of *i(a)* (L.209), the Meskene evidence

As noted above, one of my main interests in the Meskene digraphs following the “new readings” of 1973-74 were the cuneiform equivalents of L.209. The “new readings” had established for the Late Period the values L.376, L.377 as *zi*, *za* and L.209, L.210 as *i*, *ia*, and for the undifferentiated Empire forms as *zi/za* and *i/ia* (*zi/a* and *i(a)*). Already by 1976 the name *Amzahi* provided digraphic evidence for the *za* value (see above, VI.3. no. 23 and Hawkins 2013: 87 fig. 11).

What of L.209? Laroche’s Birmingham slide 1 showed that he accepted the equivalents cun. *i* and *e*, but also claimed cun. *a*, where more exactly the equivalent was *ia*. My question was (and remains): are there any unequivocal equations L.209 = cun. *a*? *Ahi-Dagan* as given on the Birmingham slide turned out to have no hieroglyphic correspondence (“Liste provisoire” no. 7, Fig. 2a).

In the names, initial *a-* (cun.) is written normally hier. *a* (L.450; initial-*a*-final): *Amzahi*, *Abi-lalu*, *Alal-abu*, *Ahi-malik*, *Abunnu*, *Adrabi*, *Abdili*, *Aziya*<sup>2</sup>, *Abdu*; occasionally *á-* (L.19): *Abi-lali*, *Ame*, *Aya-damiq*, *Alal-abu*.

Note the writings of *ZU-bala* (*i(a)-ti-pa-li* (*Yadi-Ba'al*)); *Yadi-Dagan* (*i(a)-á-ti-tà-ka*); *Imlik-Dagan* (*i(a)-á-mi-li-ki-tà-ka* i.e. *Yamlik-*).

Note also A6, used by <sup>1.D</sup>UTU-*da-i*: seal of *i(a)-pi-tá-ka*; no evidence to read *Abi-* for *i(a)-pi-*, which could represent *ib/pi-* or *iab/pi-*. Beyer’s *Abi-Dagan* is not correct. Beyer 2001: A.7 *Abi-damiq* uses the seal of *i(a)-pi-ni-i(a)* (*Ibniya*).

The only possible correspondences cun. *a* = hier. L.209 are the two names (Beyer 2001: B.23 and B.24) <sup>1.D</sup>U.UR.SAG and <sup>1.D</sup>U-*rapih*, written *i(a)-tá-ka+ra/i-tá* and *i(a)-tá+ra/i-pi-i(a)*, where Laroche identifying the theophoric element as *Ada(d)*, reads *a-ta* (“Liste provisoire” nos. 5 and 6; Fig. 2a). It may be noted however that this as a problem for the “new readings” is the same as that encountered in the Late Period, where the toponyms *Hamath* and *Halab* are found written phonetically *imatu* and *ilapa* (initial *i-* L.209). The explanation is probably the same too: a Semitic name beginning with a Semitic velar + unstressed short vowel represented in the borrowed script as *e/i*, this *Hádad* > *Idda* (*Edda*): cf. Hawkins/Morpurgo Davies/Neumann 1974: 157-158.

In any case, I would not accept these two writings as evidence for L.209 corresponding to cun. *a*, thus having a possible *a*-value, in the face of all the contrary evidence. It must be preferable to seek an alternative explanation, as above, that keeps L.209 within its well established range of correspondences, cun. *i* (*e*) and *ia*.

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COLLÈGE  
DE  
FRANCE


CHAIRE DE LANGUES ET  
CIVILISATION  
DE L'ASIE MINÉURE

Paris, le 15 novembre 1981

Cher Monsieur Hawkins,

Je vous renvoie les tirés à part, que vous m'avez  
déjà donnés.

Voici ma réponse à vos questions. Excusez la forme,  
j'ai utilisé votre photocopie. Vous verrez que j'ai  
complété la liste d'Atkadica et pu quelques  
suppléments. Le plus embarrassant pour moi est  
la graphie de Tilae (N° 48 bis) (comment éviter

 = ti, et non a (SIGHT-SIGN very  
similar) ?

La fleche ↑ pour -t-(a)s- est intéressante,  
n'est-ce pas ?

Cordialement votre

Laroche

Fig. 1: Emmanuel Laroche's covering letter to J. David Hawkins (15 November 1981).

Liste (provisoire) des noms émarïotes écrits en hiéroglyphes hittites

Normalisé	Cunéiforme	Hiéroglyphes	Titres
1. Aa-damiq	<sup>m</sup> d <sub>A</sub> -a-SIG <sub>5</sub>	A <sub>2</sub> -tá-mi-ki	
2. ʿAbd-ili	<sup>m</sup> ERUM.DINGIR <sup>meš</sup>	ʿ-ba-di-li	
3. Abi-Šamaš	<sup>m</sup> A-bi- <sup>d</sup> UTU	SOLEIL-??	
4. Abunu	gén. <sup>m</sup> A-bu-un-ni	A <sub>3</sub> -bu-nu	
5. Adad-qarrad ?	<sup>m</sup> d <sub>U</sub> -UR.SAG	A-tá-kar?-dá	
6. Adad-rapih	<sup>m</sup> d <sub>U</sub> -ra-pi-ih	A-ta-ra-pi-ya	
7. Ahi-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> A-ḫi- <sup>d</sup> KUR	<i>ah-tha? name</i>	
8. Ahi-malik	<sup>m</sup> A-ḫi-ma-l[ik]	hi-ma-a <sub>3</sub> -li	
9. Alal-abu	<sup>m</sup> A-lál-a-bu	A <sub>3</sub> -la-la-bu	
10. Amzahi	gén. <sup>m</sup> Am-za-ḫi	{Ma-za- <sup>a<sub>3</sub></sup> -ḫi Ma-za-ḫi- <sup>a<sub>3</sub></sup> }	
11. Ari-Sarruma	<sup>m</sup> SUM- <sup>d</sup> LUGAL-ma	Ar-Sarruma	
12. Arma-nani	<sup>m</sup> d <sup>d</sup> SIN-ŠEŠ	LUNE-FRÈRES	
13. Balaṭu	<sup>m</sup> Ba-la-ti/ṭu	Ba-la-[x]	
14. Baʿal-kabru <i>14 bis Baʿal-kabru</i>	<sup>m</sup> EN-GAL	Ba-lu-[[k]a-pa[ra]	<sup>lú</sup> IL-HÉRAUT
15. Baʿal-malik	<sup>m</sup> EN-ma-lik	Ba-a-li-ma-li	
16. Bêlu	gén. <sup>m</sup> Be-li	Bi-lu	
17. Bêlu-qarrad	<sup>m</sup> EN-UR.SAG	Ba-lu-kar?-dá	
18. Benti-Tešub	—	Bi-ti-Tešub <sup>ba</sup>	
19. Dagan-bêli	<sup>m</sup> d <sup>d</sup> KUR-EN	Da-ga-ba-li	
20. Dagan-taliḫ	<sup>m</sup> d <sup>d</sup> KUR-ta-li-ih	Da-ga-ta-li	
21. Dagan-tariḫ	<sup>m</sup> d <sup>d</sup> KUR-ta-ri-ih	Da-ga-ta-ra-ha	

*14 bis (hauveem) Ba-lat-Astante : Ba-la-ta-ta-ṭu : ↑ = t-s ! Ba-lat-s(á)ṭanti*

Fig. 2a: “Liste provisoire” no. 1-21. Black annotations: J. David Hawkins’ questions. Red annotations: Emmanuel Laroche’s answers.

AKKADICA 22

22. Ebri-Tešub	<sup>m</sup> EN- <sup>d</sup> IM	E-b(a)r-Tešub <sup>ba</sup>	lu HAL-DEVIN
23. Ehli-kušā	<sup>m</sup> KAR- <sup>d</sup> SIN	<i>idem</i> E-h(a)l-ku-sā	lu QA.ŠU.DU <sup>8A</sup> ECHANSON
24. Elli	gēn. <sup>m</sup> EI-li	<i>idem</i> E-li	
25. Ehliya	DUMU Eh-li-ya	<i>idem</i> E-hi-li-x	FILS
26. Habu	<sup>m</sup> HAB-ú	Há-bu	
27. Hešmi-Tešub	<sup>m</sup> Hi-iš-mi- <sup>d</sup> U-u[b]	Hi-s(a)-mi-W	FILS (de) ROI
28. Ibniya	gēn. <sup>m</sup> Ib-ni-ya	E-bi-ni-ya	C <i>ahni:</i>
29. Ibni-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> Ib-ni- <sup>d</sup> KUR	I-bi-ni-da-ga	C
30. Yadi-Ba'al	<sup>m</sup> ZU-ba-la	Ya-di-ba-li	<i>roui-</i>
31. Ilanu	gēn. <sup>m</sup> I-la-ni	E-la-nu	
32. Iliya-Dagan	—	I <sub>4</sub> -li-ya-da-ga	
(su. 46) C16 33. Imlik-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> Im-lik- <sup>d</sup> KUR	A-x-mi-li-ki-da-ga	?
34. Ini-Tešub	<sup>m</sup> Ini- <sup>d</sup> U	E <sub>4</sub> ni { <sup>W</sup> Tešub-ba	C ROI
35. Ipki-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> Ip-ki- <sup>d</sup> KUR	I <sub>4</sub> -pa-ki-da-ga	
36. Kabi-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> Ka-bi- <sup>d</sup> KUR	Ka-bi-da-ga	<sup>lu</sup> HAL-DEVIN
37. Kili-Sarruma	<sup>m</sup> Ki-li- <sup>d</sup> LUGAL-ma	Ki-li-Sarruma	
38. Mati- <sup>d</sup> IM	DUMU <sup>m</sup> Ma-ti- <sup>d</sup> IM	Ma-ti-tā- [ ]	
39. Matkali-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> NIR- <sup>d</sup> KUR	Ma-ta-ka-li-da-ga	
40. Maziya	<sup>m</sup> Ma-zi-ya	Ma-? á-x?	? <i>! Day, the!   temp for ma</i>
41. Mudri-Tešub	<sup>m</sup> Mu-ud-ri- <sup>d</sup> IM	Mu-t(a)r-W	
42. Nani	gēn. <sup>m</sup> Na-ni	Na-ni	<i>ou:</i> C
43. Piha-muwa	<sup>m</sup> Pi-ha-muwa	[P]i-ha-[muwa]	PRINCE
44. Piha- <sup>d</sup> IM	<sup>m</sup> Pi-[ha]- <sup>d</sup> IM	Pi-ha-W	PRINCE
45. Pushuru ?	<sup>m</sup> Pu-us- <sup>h</sup> u-ru	Pi-sa- [ ]	PRETRE
46. <sup>h</sup> SIN-abu	gēn. <sup>m</sup> d <sub>30</sub> -a-bi	Sā-ga-ra-a-bu	
47. Sei-Dagan	<sup>m</sup> Še-i- <sup>d</sup> KUR	Sā-e-da-ga	
48. Ta'e	<sup>m</sup> Ta-a <sup>h</sup> -e	Tá-e	SCRIBE

*Signes prégnants i Akkadica interdistingual*

*44 bis Pihau*

*44 bis (muwa): Pihau gēn. m Pihau*

*à very nice*

*|| ||*

*v. page suivante*

Fig. 2b: "Liste provisoire" no. 22-48. Black annotations: J. David Hawkins' questions. Red annotations: Emmanuel Laroche's answers.

AKKADICA 22 - 12 -

48 bis - Tilae

49. Tadi-Dagan?	---	Ta-[ ]-ti-da-ga	
50. Tur(i)-Dagan	---	Tur-da-ga	
51. Turi	gén. <sup>m</sup> Tu-ri	Tu-ra/ri	
52. Wasti (femme)	f Wa-aš-ti	{ Wa-sa-ti Wa-sā-ti	FEMME } oui
53. Zu-Astarte	gén. <sup>m</sup> Zu-Aš-tar-ti	Zu-wa-sa-tar-[ti]	
54. Zulana	gén. <sup>m</sup> Zu-la-an-na	Zu-la-na	grand scribe
55. Dieu Dagan	---	<sup>d</sup> Da-ga	

*ce revers*

is Dagan invariably ? | Non -

is ka always or does appear? : NON; jamais

is ni always or does appear?

distribution of ?

très fantaisiste:

Daga(u) : parfois

parfois

parfois

parfois

toujours mais variantes de formes: exemple !

Le ri, signe n'est pas arrondi; toujours ou

looks like ? or

Sagar-abu: nouvelle matrice plus longue = <sup>d</sup>SIN/30 - abu

Sagar: moon-god at Palmyra -

T. si ara ga Sa

Fig. 2c: "Liste provisoire" no. 48 bis-55. Black annotations: J. David Hawkins' questions. Red annotations: Emmanuel Laroche's answers.

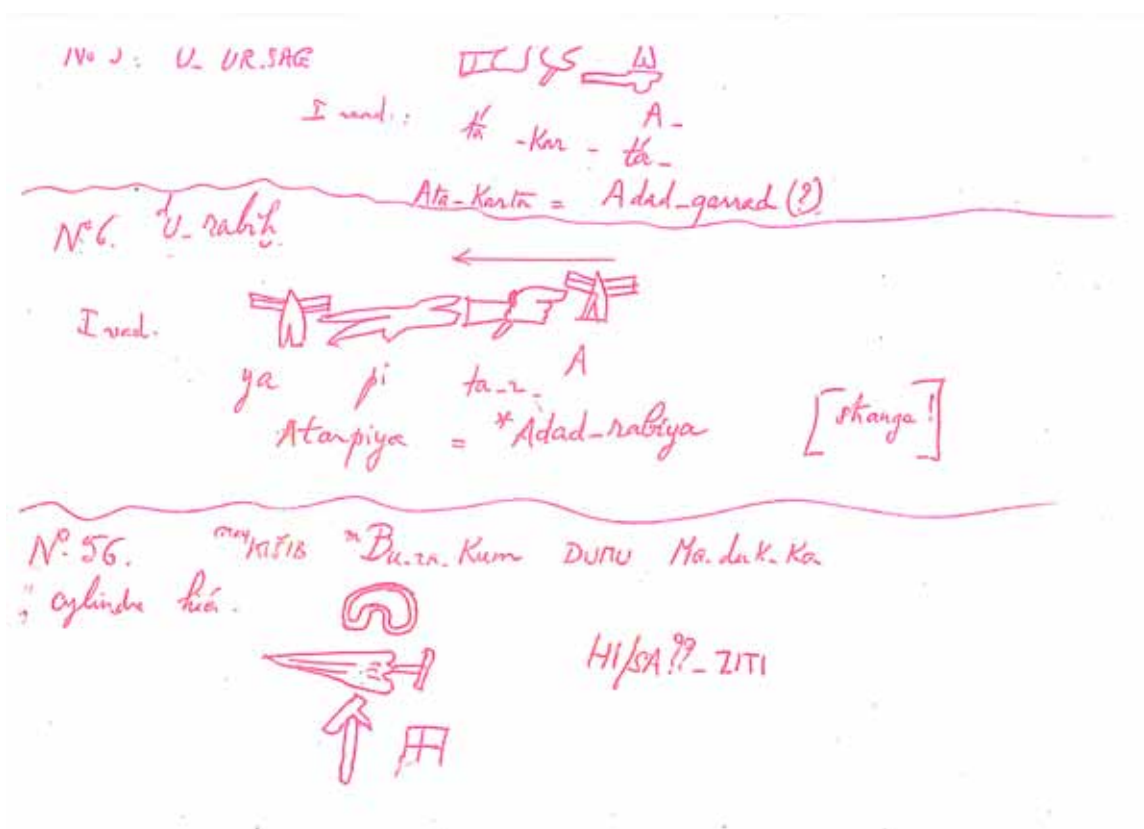


Fig. 2d: "Liste provisoire": comments on no. 5, 6 and 56. All red annotations by Emmanuel Laroche.



I. ROIS ET PRINCES. n<sup>OS</sup> 1 - 11

	"Liste provisoire"	Bayer
1. Šahuruwa, roi de Kargamis.	—	A1
2. Ini-Tešub, roi de Kargamis.	34	A2-3, C1
3. Talmi-Tešub, roi de Kargamis.	—	C2
4. *Ku(n)zi-Tešub, roi de Kargamis.	—	A104
5. *Arma-nani, prince hittite.	12	A4a-b
6. Hešmi-Tešub, prince hittite.	27	A17
7. Laheya, prince.	—	A109
8. Piha-muwa, prince.	43	A75
9. Piha <sup>d</sup> IM, prince.	44	C18
10. W-tami, prince hittite.	—	C19
11. *Panasa?, princesse?	—	

II. DEVINS, PRÊTRES, SCRIBES, DIGNITAIRES; n<sup>OS</sup> 12-22

	"Liste provisoire"	
12. Kapi-Dagan, devin/prêtre.	36	A32, A33, B56
13. Pushuru, prêtre.	45	B55
14. Ebri-Tešub, prêtre.	22	A14
15. Belu-qarrad, devin.	17	B4, B21.
16. Belu-kabar.	14	C21
17. Ešli-Kuša, échanson.	23	A59
18. Zulanna, chef-scribe	54	A29
19. *Sagar-abu, chef des chars.	46	B6, B25, B10
20. Ibniya, scribe.	28	B46, (A7)
21. Ta'e, scribe.	48	A102
22. Lala, scribe.	—	C14

Fig. 3a: Emar V ms. no. 1-22. All annotations in black by J. David Hawkins.



III. TĒMOINS (cun. IGI <sup>m</sup> X); n <sup>os</sup> 23-63		
	"Liste provisoire"	Bayer
23. Amzahi	10	B1
24. Abilalu	—	J20
25. Alal-abu	9	C10, B3, A90
26. Ahi-malik	8	B7, B13
27. Abunnu	4	A26
28. Ari-Sarruma	11	B53
29. Eḥliya	15	(B1)
30.* Atar-abi	—	B17
31. Aa-damiq	1	B37
32. Mudri-Tešub	41	B46, B52, B49
33. Ba'al-malik	15	B2, B12
34. Ba'lat-starti	14 bis	—
35. Balatu	13	A24
36. Bēlu	16	B57
37. Dagan-bēli	19	A12, B13, B41
38. Madi-Dagan	36(!)	C13, (B47)
39. Dagan-kabar	—	A13, B50
40. Dagan-talih	20	A83, B42, B15
41. Dagan-tarih	21	B36
42. Elli	24	B39
43. Habu	26	A100
44. Yadi-Ba'al	30	A63
45. Yadi-Dagan	—	A70
46. Yamlik-Dagan	33	C16
47. Ibni-Dagan	29	A37, B9
48. Ilanu	31	A105, B5
49. Kili-Sarruma	37	B83, B63
50. Ipki-Dagan	35	A42
51. Matkali-Dagan	39	A35
52. Maziya	10	—
53. Nani	42	B40
54. Pe(n)ti-Tešub	—	B8
55. Punu	44 bis	B47
56. Sei-Dagan	47	B66
57. Tur-Dagan	50	A65, A76
58. Turi	51	B22
59. Turiya	—	B35
60. Dame Wasti	52	A75, C22
61. Zu-Astarti	53	A93, A79, B29
62. 'Abdili	2	A23
63. Ispi-Dagan	—	B67

Fig. 3b: Emar V ms. no. 23-63. All annotations in black by J. David Hawkins.

IV DIVERS; n<sup>OS</sup> 64-76

Sous cette rubrique ont été réunies toutes les empreintes de sceaux qui, pour quelque raison, présentent une matière équivoque: signes illisibles ou non identifiés, lecture cunéiforme douteuse ou absente, discordance entre les deux écritures, etc.

	"Liste provisoire"	Beyer
64. [le dieu] Dagan?	<b>55</b>	A85
65. Abi-Dagan	—	B11
66. Abi- <sup>d</sup> UTU	3	A88
67. Ahi-Dagan	7	A53
68. Ari-X-	—	B54
69. Aziya	—	B19
70. Itik <sup>?</sup> -Dagan	—	B27
71. Gurteli?	—	A85
72. Laya-Dagan	—	B58
73. Puraku(m)?	<b>56</b>	A15
74. Tilae	48 G's	B28
75. <sup>d</sup> U-rapih	6	B24
76. <sup>d</sup> U-UR-SAG	5	B23, B32

Fig. 3c: Emar V ms. no. 64-76. All annotations in black by J. David Hawkins.

TAB. XXI

J. D. Hawkins, *Sarissa*. Toponym and Personal Name

TAB. XX

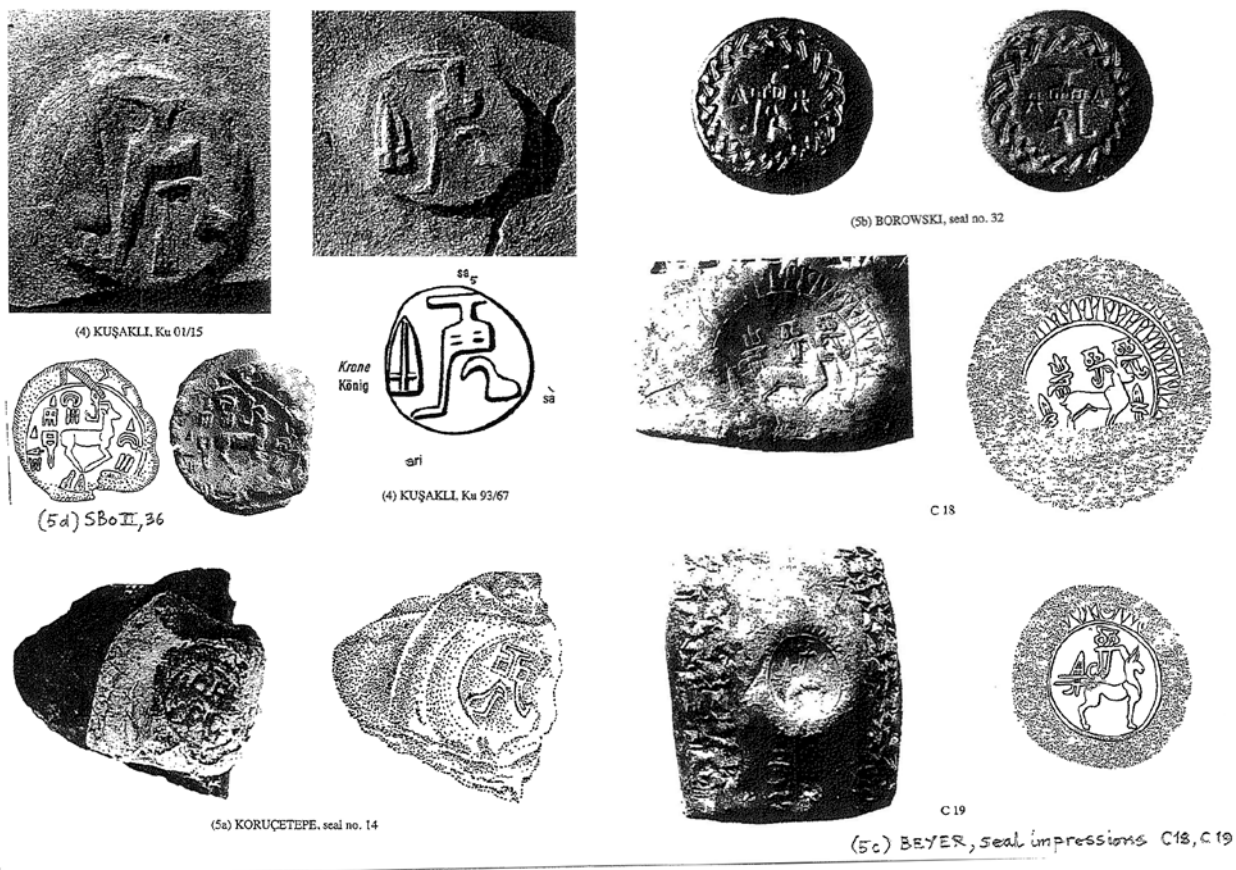


Fig. 4: SARA/I-sà (from Hawkins 2010).



# "WHAT DO WE UNDERSTAND IN HURRIAN?"

Susanne Görke  
Mainz University\*

Among the numerous articles Emmanuel Laroche published on Anatolian Studies, there are a number that provide major insight into the understanding of the Hurrian language and texts. One could cite his “Glossaire de la langue hourrite” (Laroche 1976-77) as his most important *oeuvre* concerning the understanding of Hurrian, as he not only gives – wherever possible – translations, but he also analyzes words and therewith discusses grammatical features.

Moreover, Laroche published Hurrian texts from outside Anatolia, in particular from Ugarit (Laroche 1968). Most of them are rather small and it is often difficult to determine the content or context of a fragment. Of special interest are the alphabetic cuneiform texts found in Ugarit, and also published by Laroche (Laroche 1968: 497-518). These provide a lot of information on the phonological system of Hurrian.

Nevertheless, Laroche did not have access to the publications of important Hurrian texts that have come to light during the last decades, among others the well-known bilingual (KBo 32; Neu 1996), the trilingual Sumerian – Akkadian – Hurrian vocabulary from Ugarit (André-Salvini/Salvini 1998), and some texts from Ortaköy/Šapinuwa (Wilhelm/Süel 2013; de Martino/Süel 2015). These have helped especially to enlarge the Hurrian thesaurus, but also to shed light on grammatical features like the so-called “Old Hurrian” verbal system.

After the appearance of two grammatical sketches (Giorgieri 2000 and Wegner 2000 and 2007),<sup>1</sup> a study on the non-indicative verbal forms (Campbell 2015), and two glossaries (de Martino/Giorgieri 2008; Richter 2012), Hurrian studies nowadays find themselves seemingly with a decent base of philological work. In this article, three examples of text passages from Hattuša/Boğazköy will show the *status quo* of Hurrian studies. The first one, part of Šalašu’s ritual, offers a Hittite counterpart and has already been discussed by Laroche; the second one, a Hurrian ritual for the royal couple, offers Hurrian sections that

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\* I would like to thank Dr. Th. Richter for various comments. List of grammatical abbreviations: A = agent; ABL = ablative; ABS = absolutive; ABSTR = abstract; ACT = active; ADJ = adjective; ‘ART’ = article; ASS = associative; BEL = belonging; CONN = connective; DAT = dative; DER = derivational suffix; DIR = directive; ENCL = enclitic; EPENTH = epenthic; ERG = ergative; ESS = essive; GEN = genitive; IMP = imperative; IND = indicative; INSTR = instrumental; INTRANS = intransitive; NEG = negation; OPT = optative; PAT = patient; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; POT = potential; PURP = purposive; RELAT = relator; SG = singular; SUFF = suffix; TRANS = transitive; V = vowel.

<sup>1</sup> See also Fournet 2013a and Fournet 2013b.

have partially been discussed recently; the third, part of Ummaya's ritual, has, to my knowledge, not yet been discussed elsewhere.

## I. Šalašu's ritual

In 1970 Emmanuel Laroche discussed in an article parts of Hurrian-Hittite rituals, among them "Šalašu's Ritual".<sup>2</sup> Only the eighth tablet of this ritual to cure a bewitched person is partly preserved in KBo 19.145, depicting ritual actions in Hittite and accompanying recitations in both Hurrian and Hittite.

It starts with the following part, obverse 1-5: "I am waving a *ḫup[uw]ai*-vessel o[ve]r him an[d speak in Hurrian as follows]:"<sup>3</sup>

### Hurrian:

<i>ḫub(=o)=l=ēž</i>	<i>ḫūbuw[a]=šše=ni=nn(i)=a</i>	<i>tīe=ø<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>sul=ōbade=ø</i>	
<i>break(+PAT)+I+OPT</i>	<i>ḫ.-vessel+DER+'ART' SG+ASS</i>	<i>word+ABS</i>	<i>bind+DER+ABS</i>	
<i>āri=ø</i>	<i>ne[r](i)=ubāde=ø</i>	<i>āri=ø</i>	<i>kad=ugar=ni=ø</i>	<i>kōri=ø</i>
<i>evil+ABS</i>	<i>good+NEG DER+ABS</i>	<i>evil+ABS</i>	<i>dispute+ABS</i>	<i>anger+ABS</i>
<i>kōrgorē=ø=mā</i>	<i>ēn(i)=n(a)=āž=(v)[e]</i>	<i>ḫub(=o)=l=ēž</i>	<i>ḫūbuwa=šše=ni=[nn(i)=a]<sup>5</sup></i>	
<i>rage+ABS+CONN</i>	<i>god+'ART' PL+PL+GEN</i>	<i>break(+PAT)+I+OPT</i>	<i>ḫ.-vessel+DER+'ART' SG+ASS</i>	

"It shall break like a *ḫubuw[a]šše*-vessel, the (evil) word, the bound evil,<sup>6</sup> the dispute, the anger and rage of the gods, it shall break [like] a *ḫubuwašše*-vessel."

The Hittite counterpart expresses largely the same:

### Hittite:

<sup>DUG</sup>*ḫup[uwayaš=at iwar duwarnattaru] idāl[u Uḫ<sub>7</sub>-tar š/ḫullatar DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš ḫatu]gaš kardim[iyaz ... ]-raš*  
<sup>DUG</sup>*ḫupuw[ayaš iwar duw]arnattaru<sup>7</sup>*

"[Like a] *ḫup[uwai]*-vessel [shall break] the ev[il sorcery, dispute, terr]ible ang[er of the gods, ... ] ... shall [bre]ak [like a] *ḫupuw[ai]*-vessel."

In the following lines the description of ritual actions in Hittite starts as follows: "I [h]i[t the *ḫupuwai*-vessel with?] a stone and [break] it."<sup>8</sup>

Laroche already recognized the structure of the sentence and equated Hittite <sup>DUG</sup>*ḫupuwai*- with Hurrian *ḫubuwa=šše=ni=nna* (with incorrect analysis "celui des *ḫupuwai*-"). He moreover analyzed *ḫuplieš* as "forme verbale d'optatif-impératif" corresponding to the only partially preserved Hittite *ḫx-nattaru* at the end of the recitation, without daring to restore it fully to *duw]arnattaru*.<sup>9</sup> In any case, it becomes clear that the recitation is closely related to the ritual action described in the first and following lines.

<sup>2</sup> Laroche 1970: 58-63.

<sup>3</sup> KBo 19.145 (ChS I/5 Nr. 40) obv. i-ii 1: [nu-]uš-ši-kán <sup>DUG</sup>ḫu-u-p[u-wa-]a-i š[e-e]r ar-ḫa wa-aḫ-nu-mi na-aš-t[a ḫur-li-li ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫi] §. See for the interpretation and analysis of these lines Giorgieri 1998.

<sup>4</sup> See (slightly different) Campbell 2015: 142 example 6.73.

<sup>5</sup> KBo 19.145 (ChS I/5 Nr. 40) obv. i 2-5: (2) ḫu-ub-le-e-eš ḫu-ú-pu-w[a-a]š-šē<sup>1</sup>-ni-en-na ti-i-e (3) zu-lu-u-pa-<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup> a-a-ri ni-[r]u-pa-a-<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup> a-a-ri ga-du-kàr-ni (4) ku-u-ri ku-u-ur-ku-re-e-m[a]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[e]n-<sup>1</sup>na-a-<sup>1</sup>š[e] ḫu-ub-le-e-eš (5) ḫu-ú-pu-wa-aš-šē-ni-e[n-na] §. Reading according to Giorgieri 1998: 72. Even if a distinction between the vowels o and u by using the signs u and ú is basically valid only for the Mittani letter, I will here differentiate between plene writings with u (given as ö) and ú (given as ü).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Görke 2010: 78.

<sup>7</sup> KBo 19.145 (ChS I/5 Nr. 40) obv. ii 2-5: (2) <sup>DUG</sup>ḫu-p[u-wa-ia-aš-at i-wa-ar du-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ru] (3) i-da-a-l[u Uḫ<sub>7</sub>-tar š/ḫu-ul-la-tar DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš ḫa-tu]-ga-aš (4) kar-di-m[i-ia-az ... ] x x x-<sup>1</sup>ra-aš<sup>1</sup> (5) <sup>DUG</sup>ḫu-pu-w[a-ia-aš i-wa-ar du-w]a-<sup>1</sup>ar-na-<sup>1</sup>at-ta-ru §. Reconstruction according to Giorgieri 1998: 73.

<sup>8</sup> Reading and translation according to Giorgieri 1998: 73.

<sup>9</sup> Laroche 1970: 59.



On the reverse 41'-49' both Hurrian and Hittite parts of a recitation are almost completely preserved. They follow a broken Hittite section describing offerings into a pit<sup>10</sup> and a fragmentary paragraph with Hurrian recitations (KBo 19.145 rev. iv 30'-40').

#### Hurrian:

kašša=vā=dil gate+DAT+1. PL ABS	arārē[=ni sorcery+ABL	ašt(e)=a] woman+ESS	firfir=išt=i=b <sup>11</sup> release+DER+ACT+b	
kašša=v[ā=di] gate+DAT+1. PL ABS	arārē=ni sorcery+ABL	tag(e)=a' man+ESS	firfir=išt=i=b release+DER+ACT+b	
ā[i <sup>2</sup> = ... -i=f(fa) <sup>2</sup> if+ ... +2. PL ABS	ušš=ēva go+POT	faž=a=ffa enter+IMP INTRANS+2. PL ABS	pargi=d[a <sup>2</sup> ] courtyard+DIR	
[ ... -š]a ...	pedar(i)=re(<ne)=va(<e)=f(fa) bull+'ART' SG+GEN+2. PL ABS	hā=i <sup>13</sup> take+IMP TRANS	abra and[u ... ] ... ..	
[ ... ]-a=f(fa) ... +2. PL ABS	hērē=ni <sup>2</sup> wood <sup>2</sup> +ABL	hērb(e)=ā=l binding <sup>2</sup> +ESS+3. PL ABS	hē[r=ibād]i=ø wood+DER+ABS	hē[rb=ud]=i=(e)ž bind <sup>2</sup> +DER NEG+ACT+OPT
zōl(e)=a tie+ESS	zull=ūd=i=(e)ž <sup>14</sup> tie+DER NEG+ACT+OPT			
ka[šša=vā=dil] gate+DAT+1. PL ABS	arārē=ni sorcery+ABL	ašt(e)=a woman+ESS	firfir[r=išt=i=b] release+DER+ACT+b	
kašša=vā=dil gate+DAT+1. PL ABS	arārē[=ni] sorcery+ABL	tag(e)=[a man+ESS	firfir=išt=i=b] <sup>15</sup> release+DER+ACT+b	

“We released [the woman from] sorcery at the gate, [w]e released the man from sorcery [a]t the gate.<sup>16</sup> I[f<sup>2</sup> ... ] you (PL) want to go,<sup>17</sup> enter (PL) in[to] the courtyard! Take the [...] of the bull ... May you (PL) unbind the bound ones (from) the bindings from the wood! May you (PL) untie the ties! [We] relea[se]d the woman from sorcery [at the] g[ate], [we released] the man [from] sorcery at the gate.”

#### Hittite:

āški=kan and[a=m]a alwanzahhandan MUNUS-an lānun āšk[i=ka]n anda alwanzahhandan LÚ-an lānu[n m]ān iyadduma n=ašta hē[il]i itten nu GU<sub>4</sub>-aš šuwantiyan dāttēn ki[tp]andalaz išhiyandan [I]āttēn LÚ GIŠ[-ruwa]ndan=ma=kan GIŠ-ruwaz [arh]a' tarnat[ten āšk]i=kan anda [alwanz]a[h]h[anda]n MUNUS-an lāttēn [āški=kan anda alwanz]ahhandan LÚ-an 'arḥa' [tarnatt]en<sup>18</sup>

10 KBo 19.145 (ChS I/5 Nr. 40) rev. iii-iv 25': [...-]x a-a-pí-in ki-i-nu-zi “he opens the pit”. See also Haas/Thiel 1978: 302-303.

11 Cf. Campbell 2015: 117-118 with examples 6.14 and 6.15. Compare footnote 53 below.

12 Cf. Campbell 2015: 46 (example 4.15) and Wegner 2001: 445-447.

13 Cf. Campbell 2015: 115 example 6.10 and Wegner 2001: 445-447.

14 Cf. Campbell 2015: 116 example 6.11.

15 KBo 19.145 (ChS I/5 Nr. 40) rev. iv 41'-49': (41') ka-aš-ša-pa-a-ti-il a-ra-a-re-e[-ni aš-ta] (42') wi-ir-wi-ri-iš-ti-ib ka-aš-ša-p[a-a-ti-i]l a-ra-a-re-e-ni (43') da-aḥ-e wi-ir-wi-ri-iš-ti-ib 'a'[-a-i ... -i]b' (44') uš-še-e-éw-wa<sub>3</sub> wa<sub>3</sub>-ša-áw-wa<sub>3</sub> pár-hi-d[ā' ... -š]a (45') pé-tar-ri-wa<sub>3</sub>-ab ḥa-a-i-ab-ra-an-d[u ... ]x-ab (46') hē-e-re-e-ne hē-e-er-pa-a-al hē[-ri-ba-a-d]i 'he'-e[r-bu-di]-iš (47') zu-u-ul-a zu-ul-lu-ú-ti-iš k[a-aš-ša-pa-a-ti-il ] (48') a-ra-a-<re->e-ni aš-ta wi-ir-wi-ri-iš-ti-ib ] (49') ka-aš-ša-pa-a-ti-il a-'ra-a-re'[-e-ni] 'da-aḥ'[-a wi-ir-wi-ri-iš-ti-ib] š.

16 See Campbell 2007: 79.

17 According to Wegner 2001: 447. See already Haas/Thiel 1978: 310-311.

18 KUB 19.145 (ChS I/5 Nr. 40) rev. iv 41'-50': (41') a-aš-ki-kán an-d[a-m]a al-wa-an-za-aḥ-ḥa-an-da-an MUNUS-an (42') la-a-nu-un a-aš-k[i-ká]n an-da al-wa-an-za-aḥ-ḥa-an-da-an (43') LÚ-an la-a-nu-u[n m]a-a-an i-a-ad-du-ma (44') na-aš-ta ḥi-i-e[-l]i i-it-tēn nu GU<sub>4</sub>-aš šu-wa-an-ti-la-an (45') da-a-at-tēn

“[B]ut a[t] the gate I released the bewitched woman (from the spell), [at] the gate [I] released the bewitched man (from the spell). [W]hen you (PL) go, go (PL) to the cou[rty]ard. Take (PL) the *šuwantiya*-<sup>19</sup> of an ox. From this mo[men]t, [un]bind (PL) the bound one, relea[se] (PL) the st[ak]ed man [fro]m the stakes!<sup>20</sup> At the [ga]te release (PL) / you (PL) released the [bewi]t[ched] woman, [at the gate releas]e (PL) / you (PL) [releas]ed the [bewi]tched man!”<sup>21</sup>

As far as one is able to analyze the Hurrian text and compare it to the Hittite one, which also reveals some semantic difficulties, one can state that the Hurrian text is quite close to its Hittite counterpart. Nevertheless, the use of a verbal first person singular in Hittite (“I released”) versus a first person plural in Hurrian (“we released”) or first person in Hurrian (“we released”) versus a second person in Hittite (“release!/you (PL) released”) also reveal major differences. With regard to contents, this section seems to emphasize the aim of the ritual, namely the healing of a bewitched person.

## II. A Hurrian Ritual for the Royal Couple

The “Hurrian Ritual for the Royal couple” KUB 27.42 is an approximately half-preserved, one-columned tablet that basically contains a Hurrian text, interrupted by short Hittite sentences introducing direct speech.<sup>22</sup> Its beginning is missing and the only partly preserved colophon was restored by I. Yakubovich as follows:

(rev. 27') DUB 1.KAM QA-TI ṛšar<sup>2</sup>-ra<sup>2</sup>-aš<sup>2</sup>-ši-ia-aš<sup>21</sup>-š[a<sup>2</sup>-aš i]š-ga-u-wa-aš (28') x x L<sup>U</sup>SANGA DUMU.LUGAL  
“One tablet, (ritual) finished, of the [a]nointment [for] kingshi[p<sup>2</sup>]. ... the priest, son of the king.”<sup>23</sup>

The repeated mention of Hurrian *ḥāžari* “oil” on the rather badly preserved obverse supports Yakubovich’s assumption that this part is dedicated to the preparation of oil.<sup>24</sup> He interprets the expression *du-i-du-ma ḥa-a-ša-a-ri* as “and they prepared<sup>2</sup> oil” (that is *tu=id=o=ma* (*prepare*<sup>2</sup>+3. PL A+TRANS+CONN) *ḥāžari=ø* (*oil*+ABS)).<sup>25</sup> This expression occurs in obv. 17, 24 (broken context), 25 (broken context), 26, 27, 28, 29:

<i>ḥāžari=da</i>	<i>ištani=ø</i>	<i>tu=id=o=m</i> <sup>26</sup>	
<i>oil</i> +DIR	<i>middle</i> +ABS	<i>prepare</i> <sup>2</sup> +3. PL A+TRANS+CONN	
“and they prepared <sup>2</sup> the middle for the oil”			
<i>tu=id=o=ma</i>	<i>ḥāžari=ø</i>	<i>evri=ži=ğ(e)=āi</i> <sup>27</sup>	
<i>prepare</i> <sup>2</sup> +3. PL A+TRANS+CONN	<i>oil</i> +ABS	<i>lord</i> +DER+DER+INSTR	
“and they prepared the oil lordshiplike / with one of lordship” <sup>28</sup>			

*ki-i[t-pa]-an-da-la-az iš-ḥi-ia-an-da-an* (46') [I]a-a-at-tén LÚ GIŠ[-ru-wa-a]n-da-an-ma-kán GIŠ-ru-wa-az (47') [ar-ḥ]a<sup>1</sup> tar-na-a[t-tén a-aš-k]i-kán an-da (48') [al-wa-an-z]a-a[h]ḥ[a-an-da-a]n MUNUS-an la-a-at-tén (49') [a-aš-ki-kán an-da al-wa-an-z]a-aḥ-ḥa-an-da-an LÚ-an (50') ṛar-ḥa<sup>1</sup> [tar-na-at-te]-en.

19 See HEG Š: 1231; Campbell 2015: 115 n. 40: “fullness”.

20 Campbell 2015: 116 n. 44.

21 Cf. Haas/Thiel 1978: 304-311.

22 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) obv. 27, 28, 29: [ ... ]x *ki-iš-ša-an te-<sup>1</sup>ez<sup>1</sup>-zi* “... speaks as follows” followed by Hurrian words; obv. 36 [nu A-N]A LUGAL *te-ez-zi*<sup>1</sup> “he speaks [t]o the king” (follows Hurrian) A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL-ma *te-ez-zi* “he speaks to the queen” (follows Hurrian); rev. 7' *at-ta-aš-ma-za* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš *ki-iš-ša-an ir-ḥa-a-iz-zi* “he makes sacrifices in a round for the gods of the father as follows”; rev. 10' ŠA ṛ<sup>h</sup>*é-bat-ma-za ki-iš-ša-an ir-ḥa-a-iz-zi* “he makes sacrifices in a round for (the gods of the father of) Hebat”; rev. 20' *nam-ma* A-NA LUGAL *te-ez-zi* “moreover, he speaks to the king”; rev. 21' A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL-ma *te-ez-zi* “he speaks to the queen”.

23 Yakubovich 2006: 125, with discussion of older readings by Haas 1984: 119.

24 Yakubovich 2006: 125.

25 Yakubovich 2006: 125 n. 58; Röseler 1999: 399, understands the verbal root *tu-* as “to cook”. For this verbal form see Giorgieri 2000: 227, 244; Campbell 2015: 17.

26 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) obv. 17: ... *ḥa-a-ša-ri-ta iš-ta-ni du-<sup>1</sup>i-d[u]-um* ... .

27 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) obv. 26: ... *du-i-du-ma ṛḥa-a-ša<sup>1</sup>-a-ri e-bi-<sup>1</sup>ir-š<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ḥa-<sup>1</sup>a-<sup>1</sup>i* ... .

28 See Yakubovich 2006: 125 n. 58.

tu=id=o=ma <i>prepare</i> <sup>2</sup> +3. PL A+TRANS+CONN	ḥāžāri=ø <i>oil</i> +ABS	allā=ž(e)=āe <i>mistress</i> +DER+INSTR	šēgn(i)=āe <sup>29</sup> ?+INSTR	
“and they prepared <sup>2</sup> oil with ... queenship/ladyship” <sup>31</sup>				
tu=id=o=ma <i>prepare</i> <sup>2</sup> +3. PL A+TRANS+CONN	ḥāžāri=ø <i>oil</i> +ABS	tag(i)=a=ž(e)=āe <i>man</i> +EPENTH+DER+INSTR	tūd(i)=o=ž(e)=āe <sup>32</sup> ?+DER+INSTR	
“and they prepared <sup>2</sup> oil with ... maleness”				
tu=id=o=ma <i>prepare</i> <sup>2</sup> +3. PL A+TRANS+CONN	ḥāžāri=ø <i>oil</i> +ABS	tād(i)=āe <i>love</i> +INSTR	šādāri=ø ?+ABS	tad(i)=āe <sup>33</sup> <i>love</i> +INSTR
“and they prepared <sup>2</sup> oil with love, ... with love”				

On the reverse Hurrian recitations accompanying sacrifices to various gods are written down. As the end of the tablet is rather well preserved, parts of it are “understandable”:

ḥaziz[z]i=b=a=l(la) <i>wisdom</i> +2. SG POSS ABS+EPENTH+3. PL ENCL	šalg=ōl=i=(e)ž <i>hear</i> +DER+ACT+OPT			
nui=v=a=lla <i>ear</i> +2. SG POSS ABS+EPENTH+3. PL ENCL	ḥaž=āž=[i=l=e]ž <i>hear</i> +DER <sup>35</sup> +ACT+I+OPT			
Rev. 12': “May they hear your wisdom! [May] your ears hear (it)!” <sup>36</sup>				
...				
āri=ffə <i>evil</i> +1. SG POSS ABS	ān=āl=i=(ē)ž <i>delight</i> +DER+ACT+OPT	irdi=ø <i>tongue</i> +ABS	urg(i)=a <i>true</i> +ESS	
tij(e)=a <i>word</i> +ESS	kad=i=l=ē[ž] <i>speaking</i> +ACT+I+OPT	[t]ij(e)=a <i>word</i> +ESS	pāži=da <i>mouth</i> +DIR	šindi=a=šše <i>seven</i> +ABSTR?+ABS?
ḥinz=ōr=i=l=ēž <i>suppress</i> <sup>37</sup> +DER+ACT+I+OPT	en(i)=n(a)=až=už <i>god</i> +PL+ERG+PL			
šarr(i)=a=[šš](e)=i=ge=ni=ve=n(a)=až=už <i>king</i> +EPENTH+ABSTR+EPENTH+SUFF BEL+'ART' SG+GEN+RELAT PL+ERG+PL				
ēvr(i)=e=šš(e)=i=ge=ni=ve=n(a)=až=už <i>lord</i> +EPENTH+ABSTR+EPENTH+SUFF BEL+'ART' SG+GEN+RELAT PL+ERG+PL				

29 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) obv. 27: (... speaks as follows (compare footnote 22):) [d]u-<sup>1</sup>i-du-ma<sup>1</sup> ḥa-a-ša-a-ri al-<sup>1</sup>la-a<sup>1</sup>-ša-a-e še-eḥ-na-<sup>1</sup>a-e<sup>1</sup>.

30 Another form of a noun šēgnī of unknown meaning might be attested in KBo 19.144+ rev. iv 4' še-e-eḥ-na-ša (šēgn(i)=aža DAT PL); see Görke 2010: 137, where this form is seen as ESS SG of an extended form šēgn=a=že.

31 See Yakubovich 2006: 125 n. 58 (without šēḥnāe).

32 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 40) obv. 28: (... speaks as follows:) du-i-du-ma<sup>1</sup> ḥa-a-ša-a-ri<sup>1</sup> ta-ḥa-ša-a-e du-<sup>1</sup>u-<sup>1</sup>du-<sup>1</sup>ša-a-e.

33 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) obv. 29: (... speaks as follows:) du-<sup>1</sup>i-du-ma<sup>1</sup> ḥa-a-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-a-ri ta-a-ta-a-e ša-a-ta-a-ri<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>1</sup>-a-e<sup>1</sup>.

34 Maybe connected to šad- “replace, compensate” (Richter 2012: 362) with DER -ar-: šād=ār-i.

35 See Giorgieri 2000: 396; Wegner 2007: 88; Richter 2012: 136.

36 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) rev. 12': ḥa-zī-iz-[z]i-pal šal-ḥu-u-le-eš nu-i-wa<sub>2</sub>-al-la ḥa-ša-a-š[i-li-i]; see Campbell 2015: 136 example 6.60b, who tends to understand this phrase, in comparison with similar phrases, as result of mistakes on part of the scribe; see the discussion in Campbell 2015: 136-137. Although I, on the whole, agree with his objections, I try to give here the translation the closest to the preserved text. For the verbal analysis see also Campbell 2015: 111. Differently Wilhelm 1995: 9: “Dein Sinn möge sie vernehmen, dein Ohr möge sie hören!”

37 For ḥe/inz- “to be in trouble (INTRANS); to suppress (TRANS)”. See Richter 2012: 151; Campbell 2015: 228, proposes “to bind”.

ħinz=ur=uga(ri>)n=na      ħōr(i)=i=až=a      ħ[ō]ž=inn=and=i  
*suppress*<sup>2</sup>+DER+DER+ABS PL      *lap*+3. POSS+PL+DAT      *bind*+?+and+ACT

Rev. 17'-19' "May I delight<sup>38</sup> the evil! Ma[y] the tongue speak the true word! May the seventh *suppress*<sup>2</sup> the [w]ord to the mouth!<sup>39</sup> The gods of the belonging to kingship and lordship shall b[in]d the *suppressions*<sup>2</sup> to their lap."<sup>40</sup>

kabōži=ni=v      eni=v(e)=āi      ħežm(i)=ir=ž[i=n]i=v(e)=āi<sup>41</sup>  
 ?+IND SUFF+2. SG POSS      *god*+GEN+INSTR<sup>42</sup>      *bright*+DER+DER+'ART'+GEN+INSTR

ħažar(i)=āi      ħāž=o=l=ēž      ...      kabuži=v      en[i=v(e)]=āi  
*oil*+INSTR      *anoint*+PAT+I+OPT      ...      ?+2. SG POSS      *god*+GEN+INSTR

ħežm(i)=ir=ži=ni=v(e)=āi      ħažar(i)=āi      ħāž=o=l=ēž      pušši=ø  
*bright*+DER+DER+'ART'+GEN+INSTR      *oil*+INSTR      *anoint*+PAT+I+OPT      ?+ABS

ħōmar(i)=o=ħħe=ø      kērāži=ø<sup>43</sup>      še[ġu]rni=ve=n(e)=a      tuppi=n(e)=a  
 ?+EPENTH+SUFF BEL+ABS      *long*+ABS      *life*+GEN+RELAT+ESS      *tablet*+'ART'+ESS

niv=ōž=inn=āi=n  
 ?+?+PURP?+3. SG ABS

fandi=b      tōr=o=ħħ(e)=āi      tulb=ur=(i)=āi      tag=o=l=[e]ž<sup>44</sup>  
*right*+2. SG POSS      *male*+EPENTH+ADJ+INSTR      *prosper*<sup>45</sup>+DER+INSTR      *to be shining*<sup>46</sup>+PAT+I+OPT

[š]aphaldi=b      ašt(i)=o=ħħ(e)=āi      tulb=ur=(i)=āi      tag=o=l=ež  
*left*+2. SG POSS      *woman*+EPENTH+ADJ+INSTR      *prosper*+DER+INSTR      *to be shining*+PAT+I+OPT

ši=ia      tag=o=l=e[ž]      ħōbri=b=ā=l      ošš=o=l=ēž  
*eye*+3. SG POSS      *to be shining*+PAT+I+OPT      ?+2. SG POSS+EPENTH+3. PL ABS      *go/take*+PAT+I+OPT

ħōd=ol=a=b      Teššob=ve      šarr(i)=a=šš(e)=i=ġe=ne=ve  
*pray*+DER+INTRANS+b      *Teššob*+GEN SG      *king*+EPENTH+ABSTR+EPENTH+SUFF BEL+'ART' SG+GEN

ēvr(i)=i=šš(e)=i=ġe=ne=ve      uwām      ūi      faġr=u=ma      fōri  
*lord*+EPENTH+ABSTR+EPENTH+SUFF BEL+'ART' SG+GEN      ...      ...      *good*+INTRANS+CONN      *look*

38 Cf. Wilhelm 1995: 11 n. 8, who proposes a possible derivation from an- "to rejoice", often with DER -aġ-, -ašt-, -an-, see Richter 2012: 27. Campbell does not discuss this verbal form that seems to show a plene e-writing for =i=(e)ž (cf. Campbell 2015: 111-112).

39 See Campbell 2015: 129-130 example 6.42 and 6.43 with discussion.

40 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) rev. 17'-19': § (17') a-a-ri-ip-pa a-a-na-a-le-e-eš ir-ti 'ur-ħa' 'ti' [i]a 'qa-ti' le-e-e[š t]i-ia pa-a-ši-ta (18') ši-in-ti-ia-aš-ši ħi-in-zu-u-ri-'le-e-eš' 'DINGIR<sup>MS</sup>.na-šu' uš šar-ra-a[š-š]i-ħi-ni-bi-na-šu-uš (19') e-ep-re-eš-ši-ħi-<ni->bi-na-šu-uš ħi-in-zu-ru-ga-an-na ħu-u-ri-ia-ša ħ[u-u]š-ši-in-na-an-ti §. See for a slightly different analysis of the second part Campbell 2015: 228-229 with example 10.7 (with a mixed up verbal form; it should be read as in example 10.6) and discussion. His suggested translation reads as: "The gods of kingship and lordship shall bind it (the word) to their lap like a binding."

41 See for this analysis Wilhelm 1995: 12, and Wilhelm 1998: 180. The translation "brightness" is my proposal.

42 See for this analysis Wilhelm 1998.

43 See for this emendation already Laroche 1968: 506. See the discussion in Richter 2012: 211, and Campbell 2015: 231-232 example (10.12).

44 For the omission of the word šije see Wilhelm 1995: 13, and Campbell 2015: 231 n. 50.

45 See Richter 2012: 467

46 See Richter 2012: 428-429 and Wilhelm 2010, 375.

Rev. 20'-26' (Moreover (s)he speaks to the king:) "May your kapuži be anointed with the oil of the god (and) of *brightne[s]s*!"<sup>47</sup> ((S)he speaks to the queen:) "May your kapuži be anointed with the oil [of the g]od and of *brightness*, (so that<sup>2</sup>) the ḥomaroḥḥi and long pušši in the tablet of li[*f*]e might/should ...<sup>48</sup> M[a]y your right side be shining through the male *prosperity*! May your [l]eft side be shining through the female *prosperity*!<sup>49</sup> Ma[y] your<sup>1</sup> (text: his) eye be shining. May your ḥōbri-s go away.<sup>50</sup> He prayed ... of Teššob of kingship and lordship ... And the look is good."<sup>51</sup>

Even if the meaning of a lot of words is still unknown and even if recitations are on the whole difficult to understand, it is nevertheless possible to get an impression of what those recitations are about. One can surmise that the practitioner asks for the royal couple's honesty and sincerity and the gods' help in this respect. By anointing the king and queen, namely, some of their body parts, they shall become pure and bright, obviously without bad things around.

### III. Ummaya's ritual

This last example is part of Ummaya's only fragmentarily preserved ritual KUB 7.58 to regain success in war. After a Hittite section mentioning the burying of something close to a wall, a Hurrian recitation starts as follows:

KUB 7.58 (ChS I/5 Nr. 47) obv. ii

(6') ka-aš-šap-ta-am <sup>o</sup>U-up

(7') ta-an-ti-na-am ka-aš-šap-ta-am

(8') mu'(text: ši)-uš-ta-a-am da-an-ti

(9') an-ti-na mu-uš-ta'(text: ša)-am i-ki a-ku-uš-ta

(10') ḥa'(text: a)-pu-ru-un-ni šar-ru mu-uš-ta'(text: ša)-an i-ki

(11') a-ku-uš-ta ḥa-pur-ni-wi

The shortness of the lines and the repetition of words lead me to the assumption that these lines might be "easily" understandable. Nevertheless, the following analysis is highly tentative and only gives one out of several possibilities of interpretation.

kaššap=t=a=m(ma)

conjure+DER+INTRANS+2. SG ABS

Teššob=ø

Teššob+ABS

tandi=n(i)=a=m

act<sup>2</sup>+ART' SG+ESS+2. SG ABS

kaššap=t=a=m

conjure+DER+INTRANS+2. SG ABS

47 Slightly different Yakubovich 2006: 131: "Let your k. be anointed with the divine oil of ḥ.". Wilhelm 1995: 12: "Dein kabūži(ni) möge um deines ene und deines ḥežmirži willen mit Öl gesalbt sein!"; Wilhelm 1998: 180: "Dein k. sei mit dem Öl der Gottheit (und) des/der ḥ. gesalbt."

48 See the discussion of this phrase in Campbell 2015: 232 with example 10.12. The verb seems to be rather corrupt as one would not expect an -in- infix without following -and- (see Campbell 2015: 228-230).

49 Slightly different Campbell 2015: 231 example 10.11. See also Haas 2010: 167 n. 16.

50 See for suggested interpretations as body part or smoke and others Richter 2012: 166, with literature. As the verbal form seems to present a patient-focusing optative (see in short Campbell 2015: 265-266), the enclitic personal pronoun -l is taken as a pluralisator (Wegner 2007: 77; Giorgieri 2000: 220) and the intransitive verb meaning of ušš- "go (INTRANS); take away (TRANS)" is chosen (see for this word Richter 2012: 502-503). A translation "May your ḥōbris be taken away!" is also possible. Haas/Wegner 2010: 99 understand only ušš- (written ú-uš-šV or uš-šV-) as "go", but notice that uš-šu-le-e(-eš) in KBo 29.8 iii 51 (ChS I/1 Nr. 9) might run parallel to the here cited passage, written u-uš-šu-le-e-eš (Haas/Wegner 2010: 100); differently with discussion Campbell 2015, 176-177.

51 KUB 27.42 (ChS I/1 Nr. 11) rev. 20'-26': § (20') nam-ma A-NA LUGAL te-ez-zi ka-pu-u-ši-ni-ip e-ne-pa-a-i ḥe-eš-mi-ir-š[i-n]i-pa-a-i ḥa-ša-ra-a-i (21') ha-šu-le-e-eš A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL-ma te-ez-zi ka-pu-ši-ip e-n[e-pa]-a-i ḥe-eš-me-er-š[i-ni-pa-ša-a-i (22') ḥa-ša-ra-a-i ḥa-šu-le-e-eš pu-uš-ši ḥu-u-ma-ru-uḥ-ḥi ge-e-*ra*->a-ši še-[ḥu-u]r-ni-bi-na tub-bi-na ni-pu-u-ši-in-na-a-in (23') pa-an-ti-ip tu-u-ru-uḥ-ḥa-a-i túl-pu-ra-a-i ta-ku-l[i-i]š š[i-i]a [š]a-ap-ḥa-al-ti-ip aš-tu-uḥ-ḥa-a-i (24') túl-pu-ra-a-i ta-ku-le-eš š[i-i]a ta-ku-le-e-e[š] ḥu-u-up-ri-pa-a-al u-uš-šu-le-e-eš (25') ḥu-u-tu-la-ap <sup>o</sup>U-ub-bi šar-ra-aš-ši-ḥi-ni-bi e-eb-ri-iš-ši-ḥi-ni-bi 'ú'-wa-a-am ú-ú-i (26') pa-aḥ-ru-ma pu-u-ri §§; see also Campbell 2015: 177-178 with example 7.53, with a slightly different interpretation of the last two words: "you, namely, (your) eye(s) is/are beautiful."

muš=t=ā=m right+DER+INTRANS+CONN		tandi act <sup>2</sup> +ABS		
andi=n(i)=a this+'ART' SG+ESS	muš=t=a=m right+DER+INTRANS+2. SG ABS	egi=∅ spring/inside+ABS	ag=oš=t=a rise+DER+DER+INTRANS	
havor(ni=ni>)onni heaven+INSTR	šarru=∅ king+ABS	muš=t=a=n right+DER+INTRANS+3. SG ABS	egi=∅ spring/inside+ABS	
ag=oš=t=a rise+DER+DER+INTRANS		havorni=vi heaven+GEN SG		

"You conjure, Teššob, you conjure (in) an act, and the act is right. In this you are right. The spring/inside rose from heaven, the king is right, the spring/inside of heaven rose."

#### Commentary:

This analysis and translation gives only a potential interpretation. The meaning of kaššap- is still under debate;<sup>52</sup> Haas' proposal of a relationship of kaššapti- with Akkadian kaššaptu "witch" has been refuted. An equation of Hurrian kaššap(a)t- and Hittite aška- "gate" or BĀD-eššar "wall" (Haas/Thiel 1978: 307-309) was basically confirmed by Wilhelm 2001: 453 n. 9, who votes for kaššapV- "gate" and a second word kaššapte of unknown meaning. Campbell 2015: 117, understands Hurrian kašša as "gate" (without further literature).<sup>53</sup> Here a verb with a transitive meaning "to bewitch" (cf. Görke 2010: 80) and intransitive "to witch, conjure" better fits the context.<sup>54</sup>

For the meaning of muž- see Giorgieri 2000: 400; Wegner 2007: 267; and Richter 2012: 254 (the writing mu-ú- is attested once; see also Wilhelm/Süel 2013: 160). My proposal of correcting all three verbal forms remains difficult.<sup>55</sup>

The interpretation of tandi as "act" from tan- "to do" with -(a)di as suffix for the formation of nouns (Giorgieri 2000: 200; Wegner 2007: 59) is my proposal.

For egi "spring" and "inside", see Richter 2012: 77-79 s.v. egi I and egi II.

For ag- "carry, raise (trans.); rise (intrans.)", see de Martino/Giorgieri 2008: 29-31; Richter 2012: 4-5; here it is understood with the derivational suffixes -oš- and -t-, marking past tense and intransitivity (see for them: Giorgieri 2000: 225-226).<sup>56</sup>

The beginning of this recitation in the translation presented here seems to refer to the Storm-god who guarantees the correctness of the ritual's actions and to the relationship between Storm-god and king, as the king seems to receive his strength also from heaven through the Storm-god.

The three Hurrian text examples presented here are all parts of recitations that *per se* are difficult to understand. Those in Šalašu's ritual are comprehensible, also thanks to their Hittite counterparts. Good wishes for the king and queen are presumably expressed in the second example, the ritual for the royal couple. The lack of a corresponding Hittite section leaves open various questions. The translation of a part of Ummaya's ritual is highly hypothetical, but refers, as far as it is understood here, to a strong relationship between god and king. In any case it becomes clear that the poor understanding of certain

52 See Görke 2010: 80, for discussion.

53 See Šalašu's example above, where kašša=va is interpreted as DAT SG. This equation fits with the Hittite counterpart, but leaves some questions open, for example why would "gate" end on -a, normally attested with gods' names and kinship expressions (cf. Wegner 2007: 52, Giorgieri 2000: 199; but see also Richter 2013: 18-19, who votes for a broader distribution of a-stem nouns). Moreover, the dative normally does not answer the question "where?" but "whom?" or "whereto?".

54 In any case, the Hittite lines before this Hurrian incantation mention a sacrifice at a wall: "I prepare (it) [(at the wall)] and [ ... ] and I take stones and bury them down the earth and I conjure as follows" – see ChS I/5: 241 Nr. 47.

55 The parallel text KBo 15.1 (ChS I/5 Nr. 46) rev. iv 6' shows the writing mu-uš-a-am for the second form (the other two are not preserved), that can be interpreted as muž=a=m without -t- infix (for this see Giorgieri 2000: 200 n. 78, or 226 for the one marking intransitivity in combination with -oš- or -et-; cf. Wegner 2007: 89). The second parallel text KUB 45.20 (ChS I/5 Nr. 48), though, also shows mu-uš-ša-am in rev. iii 9' and mu-uš-ša-an in rev. iii 10'.

56 Also possible is an analysis ag=oš=t=a with a DER -Všt-; cf. Giorgieri 2000: 224 with n. 156.



words in combination with our ignorance of various grammatical features still poses major difficulties in the understanding of Hurrian texts.

The field of Hurrian studies thus is still wide-open and provides many possibilities for research. New text discoveries might be necessary to provide more material on semantics or grammatical specifications. Today, Laroche's oeuvre is still outstanding and serves as the base of Hurrian studies.

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# EIN PHILOLOGISCH-SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICHER BLICK AUF DEN FORTGANG DER LYKISCHEN STUDIEN SEIT EMMANUEL LAROCHE

Heiner Eichner  
Vienna Universität

## 0. Persönliches

Mein<sup>1</sup> Dank gilt den Veranstaltern für die Einladung zu diesem Kolloquium, auf dem es mir zugekommen ist, über Emmanuel Laroche im Zusammenhang mit dem Lykischen zu sprechen. Begeistert vom Studium des Hethitischen habe ich als junger Student überlegt, ob ich nicht ein Jahr bei E. Laroche studieren sollte, und habe – etwa im Jahr 1965 – auch versucht, bei der Durchreise in Paris mit ihm Kontakt aufzunehmen. Aber bei dem kurzen Besuch im Mai zu Semesteranfang hat man mir an der *Salle d'Assyriologie* knapp beschieden „revez dans quinze jours“. Nur auf dem *Boulevard St. Jacques* habe ich E. Laroche von ferne spazieren gesehen. Aber später konnte ich – um das Jahr 1978 – zusammen mit M. Meier-Brügger wenigstens einmal an einem zweistündigen Seminar von E. Laroche zum Hethitischen teilnehmen. Thema waren Staatsverträge der Hethiter, speziell die Flüchtlingsklauseln. Die Gründlichkeit seiner Textanalyse sowie die Brillanz seines Vortragsstils haben mich damals sehr beeindruckt.

Vor allem bin ich aber seinen Schriften verpflichtet. Weder auf dem Gebiet des Hethitischen noch auf dem Luvischen und der postluvischen Sprachen sind E. Laroches – oft geradezu enzyklopädische – Bücher und Aufsätze wegzudenken. Sie haben entscheidend zur Orientierung, Übersicht und Konsolidierung der Altanatolistik beigetragen und sind auch jetzt noch unentbehrliche Hilfsmittel. Ihr hervorstechendster Zug scheint mir mit dem französischen Prädikat *clarté* ‚Klarheit‘ am besten zu charakterisieren.

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1 Der Titel des Referats auf der Tagung lautete „Der Fortgang der lykischen Studien nach Emmanuel Laroche: Einige instruktive Beispiele (sprachwissenschaftlich betrachtet)“. Die damals ausführlich diskutierte These zu „Termilen und Lykiern“ ist mittlerweile anderweitig erschienen (Eichner 2016). Die Ausarbeitung des nun etwas enger gefassten Themas ist KollegInnen verpflichtet, aus deren Zahl ich Birgit Christiansen, Paola Dardano, Marion Vernet Pons, Emma Rix, Diether Schürr für Hinweise, Hilfe bei der Literaturbeschaffung und Einblick in ihre unpublizierten Schriften besonders danken möchte.

## I. Bibliographie

Ein erster Überblick über E. Laroche's Produktion zum Lykischen findet sich in der ihm gewidmeten Festschrift *Florilegium Anatolicum*<sup>2</sup>. Seine weiteren Arbeiten – ebenso wie diejenigen anderer Forscher – verzeichnet die *Indogermanische Chronik (IC)* in *Die Sprache*<sup>3</sup> sowie die *Keilschriftbibliographie (KeiBi)* in *Orientalia*<sup>4</sup>, weiter die *epigraphischen Mitteilungen (EpMitt)* in *Kadmos*<sup>5</sup>. Auch die *Hethitische Bibliographie* des Mainzer Internet-Hethitologieportals<sup>6</sup> berücksichtigt das Lykische mit. Eine allgemeine *Lykienbibliographie* hat R. Jacobek<sup>7</sup> publiziert, eine Fortsetzung aus der Feder von M. Pesditschek ist in Vorbereitung. Besonders reiche bibliographische Angaben enthält G. Neumanns *Glossar* (Neumann 2007)<sup>8</sup>.

## II. Lykische Sprachdenkmäler

### II.1. 1901-2001

Denkmäler der lykischen Sprache werden seit der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erforscht. Der erste Reisende, der die Abzeichnung einer lykischen Inschrift veröffentlicht hat, war der spätere Begründer der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Josef von Hammer<sup>9</sup>. Weitere Inschriftenpublikationen folgten von Ch. Fellows und A. Schönborn, letztere schon in Form eines *Corpus*, besorgt durch den als Hesychherausgeber prominenten Klassischen Philologen Moriz Schmidt<sup>10</sup>. Seit den achtziger Jahren initiierte O. Benndorf von Wien aus epigraphische Forschungsreisen nach Kleinasien.

Die Forschungen des 19. Jahrhunderts zum Lykischen sind durch die monumentale *Corpus*-Ausgabe des Österreicherers E. Kalinka und seines Teams abgeschlossen worden: *Tituli Lyciae lingua lycia conscripti*<sup>11</sup> (Kalinka 1901). Eine darauf basierende vielbenutzte Ausgabe in Transliteration hat J. Friedrich besorgt<sup>12</sup>. Einen *Ergänzungsband* hierzu mit zahlreichen Nachträgen und Neufunden hat G. Neumann vorgelegt<sup>13</sup>. Auch die Münzlegenden hat G. Neumann<sup>14</sup> gesammelt, wozu auch spätere Publikationen von N. Vismara<sup>15</sup> zu vergleichen sind.

In lockerer Folge sind im 20. Jahrhundert neue Lesungen altbekannter Inschriften<sup>16</sup> sowie Neufunde<sup>17</sup> publiziert worden. Anno 1999 hat dann J. Borchhardt<sup>18</sup> ein Unternehmen zur Aufnahme aller Denkmäler mit lykischer Schrift initiiert. In Zusammenarbeit von Archäologie und Sprachwissenschaft wird ein neues *Corpus* erarbeitet, das ausser den Texten selbst nebst ihrer Interpretation (nach dem aktuellen Stand der Entzifferung) auch den archäologischen Denkmalkontext ausführlich dokumentiert. Die Ergänzung

2 Anonym 1979: 1-7, speziell Nr. 83-84, 86-94.

3 In den Bänden 13 (1967) - 39 (1997 [2002]) = IC 16-35, darin II. [oder: B] Anatolisch, von H. Kronasser (IC 13-14, 1967-1968), H. Mittelberger (IC 15-19a, 1969-1973), H. Eichner (IC 19a -35, 1973-1989/90 [1991]).

4 Seit dem Jahr 1940; jetzt mit Suchmaske im Internet URL <http://vergil.uni-tuebingen.de/keibi>.

5 Seit Band 20,2, 1982 (W.C. Bryce / O. Masson, G. Neumann; seit *Kadmos* 44, 2005 von M. Egetmeyer, zuletzt *EpMitt* 53, 2014).

6 URL: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.html>. (Letzte Abfrage Februar 2016).

7 Jacobek 1993.

8 Zu Laroche s. Neumann 2007: XLIII-XLIV. Die dem vorliegenden Beitrag beigegebene Bibliographie soll informativ und aktualitätsbezogen sein, gleichzeitig ist sie aber subjektiv und selektiv. Nichterwähnung wichtiger Arbeiten möge man mir nachsehen.

9 von Hammer 1821.

10 Schmidt 1868.

11 Kalinka 1901.

12 Friedrich 1932.

13 Neumann 1979, mit Nachträgen zu TL 44, 46, 74 und Neufunden N 300-323.

14 Mørkholm/Neumann 1978.

15 Vismara 1989, 1996, 1999.

16 Zum Beispiel TL 29 Tlos (Tekoğlu 2006); TL 42 Xanthos (Adiego 2014), TL 55 (Schürr 2005), TL 72 Kyaneai (Neumann/Zimmermann 2003, mit neuer bilinguistischer Gleichung griech. *theoi agoraioi* = lyk. *mahāi nelezi*, 'Götter der Agora'), TL 80 Dereagızı (Neumann 1993; letztes Wort *hrixuwama* statt Kalinkas *eriju[p]ama*), N 309 (Eichner 1993a). Die Trilingue N 320 wird oben gesondert behandelt.

17 Kurze Übersicht mit Angaben zur Art der Denkmäler bei Rix 2015: 2-3 (zu N 329-351). Veröffentlicht (bzw. im Druck befindlich) sind u.a. N 327-329 (Bousquet 1975 und 1992), N 331 Korba und N 332 Afşar Tepesi (beide Neumann 2000), N 333-335 (Tlos und Asartaş; Tekoğlu 2002-2003), N 336 (Pinara; Kogler/Seyer 2007); N 337 (Limyra; Christiansen 2012); N 351 (Beikonak bei Kumluca, Seyer/Tekoğlu 2009).

18 Borchardt et al. 1999.

der Münzlegenden durch Koray Konuk ist in Aussicht genommen<sup>19</sup>. Die Text- und Denkmalaufnahme ist abgeschlossen, und ein erster Band für den Bereich Ostlykien ist in Vorbereitung zur Publikation. Seit 2001 steht schließlich ein kritisch überarbeitetes und durch Neufunde ergänztes Transliterationscorpus von H.C. Melchert (Melchert 2001) im Internet.

## II.2. Laroche's Arbeiten zu den lykischen Texten und deren Wiederhall bzw. Fortsetzung

Seit dem Jahr 1950 sind in Xanthos französische Ausgrabungen durchgeführt worden, und zwar sowohl im Gebiet der Stadt als auch im etwa vier Kilometer entfernten Heiligtum der Leto. Sie werden neuerdings von türkischer Seite fortgesetzt. E. Laroche hat sich dadurch die Gelegenheit geboten, die lykischen Texte von Xanthos in privilegierter Weise zu studieren, zu edieren und zu entziffern.

## II.3. Grabinschriften von Xanthos

E. Laroche (1974) hat in *Fouilles de Xanthos V* eine ausführliche Behandlung aller lykischen Grabinschriften von Xanthos geboten. Sie bringt einen großen Fortschritt in der Entzifferungsgeschichte, da nun ein geschlossenes Lokalkorpus in vollständiger Interpretation zur Verfügung steht. Für anderweitige Dossiers von Übersetzungen kann auf Houwink ten Cate (1961)<sup>20</sup>, Bryce (1986)<sup>21</sup> und Neumann (2012)<sup>22</sup> verwiesen werden. Als Exemplum für das aktuelle Ringen um die Interpretation lykischer Grabtexte werden wir unten die beiden Inschriften TL 48 und 49 ausführlich besprechen.

## II.4. Der Inschriftenfeiler TL 44

Als Ch. Fellows 1838-1842 in Xanthos arbeitete, war der Inschriftenfeiler schon zerbrochen. Fellows ließ Abgüsse der vier Seiten anfertigen und verbrachte solche Fragmente, die ihm lohnend erschienen, nach London in das Britische Museum. Aufgrund der Abgüsse angefertigte Textkopien wurden in England an Interessenten verkauft. Ein Teil der Fragmente ist zunächst in die Abgüsse eingesetzt, später aber wieder ausgelöst worden. Heute befinden sie sich zum Teil in der vorderasiatischen Abteilung, zum anderen Teil im Department für klassische Altertümer des British Museum. In Kalinkas *Tituli Lyciae* konnten die meisten Fellowschen Fragmente bereits ihrer ursprünglichen Stelle zugeordnet werden. Weitere Anschlüsse sucht und findet D. Schürr<sup>23</sup>.

### II.4.1. Neufunde

Bei den seit 1950 in Xanthos-Stadt von französischen Archäologen durchgeführten Ausgrabungen konnten etliche kleine, von Fellows vielleicht schon vorgefundene, aber für den Abtransport verschmähte Fragmente gesichert werden, die E. Laroche gesondert publiziert hat<sup>24</sup>. Bei der Fortsetzung der Grabungen von türkischer Seite ist ein weiteres, besonders großes Eckstück (Fragment Varkivanç) gefunden worden, dessen Publikation zur Zeit im Druck ist<sup>25</sup>.

19 Cf. Website <http://www-ausionius.u-bordeaux3.fr/index.php/membres?chercheur=8>, Koray Konuk, *Scientific Collaborations and Research Projects*, 2007: „In charge of compiling a corpus of Lycian inscriptions on coins“.

20 „A selection of Lycian texts“, 61-100 (TL 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 23, 25a, 25b, 27, 36, 37, 39, 43, 49, 52, 56, 57, 59, 63, 75, 87, 88, 89, 91, 101, 107, 110, 121, 124, 139, 143, 149, 150; davon Xanthos TL 36 usw., bis 50).

21 Bryce 1986: 71-98 mit sepulchralen TL 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 36, 37, 39, 49, 52, 56, 57, 61, 75, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 101, 102, 106, 107, 111, 114, 117, 118, 121, 124, 131, 138, 139, 143, 149, N 306, 310, 322, nichtsepulchrale TL 25, 27, N 320, N 311.

22 Mit Übersetzung aller ihm vorliegenden Inschriften von Limyra 98-148 mit N 316-317. Für N 337 s. Christiansen 2012.

23 Schürr 2007, 2009.

24 Laroche 1953 und *apud* Demargne 1958: 103-105, mit planche XLIV, cf. Laroche 1974: 143-148 und Neumann 1979: 9-10.

25 Dönmez/Schürr 2016. Die Ergänzungen betreffen die Südseite (Zeilenenden) 44b 32-37 und die Ostseite (Zeilenanfänge) 44c 32-36. Cf. bereits Schürr 2007 und 2009.

## II.4.2. Erbauer des Inschriftenpfeilers

Immer noch umstritten ist die Frage, wer den Pfeiler um 400 v. Chr. hat errichten lassen und wem der darauf eingravierte Text gewidmet ist. E. Laroche<sup>26</sup> hat sich zuerst mit der Rekonstruktion des Textanfangs intensiv beschäftigt, und sowohl J. Bousquet<sup>27</sup> als auch H. Eichner<sup>28</sup> sind auf die Frage zurückgekommen. In Betracht kommen die Dynasten (Enkel des *Kuprlli* und Söhne des *Harpagos*) *Xerēi* und sein Bruder *Xeriga*, auch dass ein jüngerer Bruder *Merehi* an der Errichtung beteiligt ist, wird angenommen.

Das in 37 Strophen gegliederte große Gedicht in Lykisch B auf der Nord- und Westseite des Pfeilers hat H. Eichner in Verszeilen zerlegt<sup>29</sup>. D. Schürr zerlegt es außerdem noch in ein Nord- und ein Westgedicht. Da der, abgesehen von TL 55, völlig isolierte Text in der Tradition luvischer Dichtung der Bronzezeit stehen kann, verdient er auch künftig hohe Aufmerksamkeit.

Auf die Interpretation einzelner Stellen kann hier nicht eingegangen werden. Aus den zahlreichen Vorschlägen möchte ich lediglich auf den besonders gelungenen von Melchert hinweisen, mit Entdeckung der medialen Verbalform 44c 4 *emu axagã maraza* „ich fungierte als Schiedsrichter“<sup>30</sup>.

## II.5. Trilingue vom Letôon bei Xanthos (N 320)

Der bedeutendste lykische Textfund des 20. Jahrhunderts ist Ende August des Jahres 1973 gemacht worden, als bei den französischen Grabungen im Letôon bei Xanthos eine lykisch-griechisch-aramäische Trilingue zum Vorschein gekommen ist. Die drei Texte sind unverzüglich publiziert worden, zuerst provisorisch und danach in dem monumentalen Sonderband *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, in dem E. Laroche (1979a) den lykischen Text bearbeitet hat<sup>31</sup>. Nachdem so eine Grundlage geschaffen war, hat sich sofort eine lebhaft Diskussions mit zahlreichen internationalen Beiträgen entwickelt<sup>32</sup>. Eine gewissenhafte neue Übersetzung aller drei Versionen auf aktuellem Stand bieten Hajnal und Kottsieper<sup>33</sup>.

Zum lykischen Wortlaut ist noch auf die verbesserte Lesung in Zeile 30 *hbi* > *hri*<sup>34</sup> hinzuweisen. Die griechische Version hat Blomqvist (1982) besprochen.

Laroche hat die Trilingue auch schon in paläographischer Hinsicht einzuordnen versucht (Laroche 1979a: 54-56). An seine Pionierarbeit knüpfen Untersuchungen jüngerer ForscherInnen an<sup>35</sup>.

## III. Lykische Sprache

Gleich nach der Veröffentlichung eines Corpus keilschriftluvischer Texte von anderer Seite hat sich Laroche intensiv mit dem Sprachvergleich von Luvisch und Lykisch befasst, in drei Folgen von Zeitschriftenaufsätzen<sup>36</sup>, die auch heute noch zum Standard der lykischen Forschungen gehören.

In der nachfolgenden Forschung konnten schon zwei Wörterbücher<sup>37</sup> von hohem Niveau geschaffen werden. Eine repräsentative Darstellung der Grammatik steht noch aus, doch liegen viele Detailuntersuchungen vor, aus deren Zahl ich die Dissertation von M. Serangeli<sup>38</sup> nenne. Für die historische Lautlehre erweist sich Melchert 1994 als unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel. Speziell der Vokalismus ist von Hajnal

26 Laroche 1974: 142-148 (Zeichnung 144).

27 Bousquet 1992.

28 Eichner 1993b und 2007.

29 Eichner 1993b, mit Annahme von fünf Zeilen pro Strophe.

30 Melchert 1993b.

31 Details hierzu bei Eichner 1983.

32 Man kann sie bequem in den Bibliographien verfolgen, insbesondere in der *Indogermanischen Chronik* (wie oben Fn. 3).

33 Hajnal/Kottsieper 2001.

34 Adiego 2012.

35 In laufenden Arbeiten im Zusammenhang des vom Borchhardt initiierten neuen Inschriftencorpus, insbesondere jetzt B. Christiansen. Eine detaillierte Untersuchung liefert bereits Rix 2015. Eine von Gernot Lang privat angefertigte Übersicht über die zahlreichen Zeichenvarianten (samt Belegen) erweist sich als dienlich.

36 Laroche 1958, 1960, 1967.

37 Melchert 2004 und Neumann 2007.

38 Serangeli 2014.



in einer Monographie untersucht<sup>39</sup>. Ein besonders reiches Feld bietet die lykische Onomastik, wiederum auf der Grundlage von E. Laroche's Pionierarbeiten. Auch auf sie will ich hier nicht im Detail eingehen.

## IV. Das Exemplum Xanthos TL 48-49

Als Beispiel für Laroche's Arbeit und die auf ihr basierende Weiterarbeit greife ich das Grab des Priesters *Padrāma* mit TL 48a,b und 49 in der Akropolisnekropole von Xanthos heraus. Hier gibt es überraschender Weise gleich drei Inschriften, nämlich zwei aussen am Grab (TL 48a,b) und eine weitere im Inneren über der Kline (TL 49). Laroche konstatiert:

„Kein Interpret hat unseres Wissens eine fortlaufende Interpretation dieser rätselhaften Texte gewagt<sup>40</sup>.“

### IV.1. TL 48, 1-3

Auf der (vom Betrachter aus gesehen) rechten Aussenwand des Felsgrabs steht zunächst TL 48, 1-3 (= 48a) *ebēñnē xupā mē=tj prñnawatē Padrāma hrppi nere se tuhe*

Laroche: „Dieses Grab, (es) hat sich erbaut Padrama, für (seine) *neri* und (seine) Neffen<sup>41</sup>.“

Es handelt sich um eine vollständige Inschrift, und zwar des Typs, der einen einzigen gewöhnlichen<sup>42</sup> Satz umfasst. Die Satzgrenze bildet hier sozusagen die undurchdringliche Schallmauer. Solche Einsatzinschriften kommen Lykien nicht selten vor.<sup>43</sup>

Die Wort-für-Wort-Interpretation von TL 48 aus heutiger Sicht deckt sich in lexikalischer Hinsicht größtenteils mit Laroche, in der Einschätzung von Syntax und Stil gestaltet sie sich jedoch kontrovers. Wir wollen sie zur Veranschaulichung sprachwissenschaftlich-philologischer Interpretationsprobleme auf aktuellem Stand ziemlich ausführlich vorführen.

#### IV.1.1. *ebēñnē*

Sg. Akk. comm. ‚diesen‘ (bilinguistisch = griech. ΤΟΥΤΟ) vom gesamtanatolischen deiktischen<sup>44</sup> Pronomen<sup>45</sup> *aba*-<sup>46</sup> mit allgemeiner Bedeutung im Lykischen ‚diese(r), der/die da; er, sie‘.

39 Hajnal 1995.

40 Laroche 1974: 132: „Aucun interprète, à notre connaissance, n'a risqué une traduction suivie de ces textes énigmatiques.“

41 Laroche 1974: 132: „Ce tombeau, se l'est construit Padrama, pour (ses) *neri* et (ses) neveux.“

42 Das heisst „einen nicht im Telegrammstil verfassten Satz“. Es gibt auch blosser Namenformeln wie TL 129 *Hlah*: „des *Hla*“ und TL 130 *Ddepñnneweh*: „des *Ddepñneweh*“ oder kurze Formelfolgen im Telegrammstil wie N 312 *ñtemuxlida Kerbe[s]eh Zemuris Ertemi xruwata* „Demokleides, des *Kerbesi* [sc. Sohn], der *Artemis*, die *Weihgaben*“.

43 TL 1, 12, 13, 14, 19, 23, 27, 37, 53 etc.

44 Der luvische Gegensatz *kluv./hluv. za* ‚dieser‘ uersus *apa-* ‚jener‘ scheint im Lykischen aufgegeben. Für *za*- kommt ausser TL 65,17 *za* (unklar) nur eine Belegstelle in Betracht, N 320, 14-15 *zā* ‚das betreffende‘ (Neumann 2007: 427, mit Hinweisen auf Carruba, Lebrun, Tischler), wo aber auch ‚Zuteilung‘ (Melchert 2004: 87 ‚allotment, portion?‘) und sogar ‚den Acker‘ = griech. ΑΓΡΟΝ (als bilinguistische Entsprechung N 320b, 12-13) in Frage kommen. Zu ‚Acker‘ wäre das ieu. Wort für ‚Erde‘ zu vergleichen (ved. Sg. Akk. avest. *zqm*), das aber *kluv. tiiammi*- lautet.

45 Sieh ausser dem Lykischen AB *ebe-* (Melchert 2004: 10-11 und 114; Neumann 2007: 45-46) noch heth. *apā-*, palaisch *apa-*, *kluv. apa-*, *apā-* (Laroche 1959: 28; Melchert 1993a: 20), *hluv. apa-/api-* (Hawkins 2000: 371-372, 625), *sidet.* (große Strategeninschrift), *ab*, *er*, Nom.-Akk. Pl. Ntr. *abasa* ‚seine‘; etwas abweichend *lyd. bi-* ‚er‘ mit *bil(i)-* ‚sein‘; karisch noch unbezeugt.

46 Hrozný 1916-17: 137; Pedersen 1938: 50-51 und 1945: 19, § 29. Pedersen hebt zu Recht hervor: „nun ist das hittitische */apās/* keineswegs ein alterbtes Pronomen; eine Entsprechung findet sich in keinem ieu. Sprachzweig. Es wird [...] aus einem ieu. Adverbium (hitt. *a-pi-ja*, lat. *ibi*) entwickelt sein [...]“; anders Laroche 1960: 180 mit Fn. 2 (willkürliche Annahme einer Partikel *-ba* in *aba-*). Meines Erachtens (cf. Eichner 2015: 67) liegt dem Adverb eine Ablautform ieu. *\*e-b<sup>h</sup>i* (~ lat. *i-bi*) zugrunde, deren *\*e* im Schwachton zu anatolischem *\*a* (oder *\*ā*?) entwickelt ist, und das am Ende durch Antritt eines partikelhaften Adverbs (vielleicht ieu. *\*o-h*, ‚da; hin‘, ved. *ā*) zu heth. *apiia* ‚da, dort‘ (lyk. aber noch *ebi*, *ebei* ‚hier, da‘ Laroche 1960: 179 [*ebei* ist nachträglich aus *ebi* durch Einkreuzung des Stammes *ebe-* erzeugt, H.E.]) verdeutlicht worden ist. Die Länge des *ā* von *abā-* in mehreren anatol. Sprachen ist von *kā-* ‚dieser, diese‘ (etwa Lokativ *\*k'oi* + *\*oh*, > heth. *kā* ‚hier‘, mit motivierter Länge, davon dann das Pronomen *kā-* ‚dieser‘, mit Neutrum *\*k'ēi* > heth. *ki-i*, ‚dieses‘) übernommen. Der in der Fachliteratur neuerdings beliebte Ansatz *\*ob<sup>h</sup>o-s* ist nur als mechanisches Transponat zu werten, als realistisches Rekonstrukt wäre er aus der Luft gegriffen.

Die Akkusativform erklärt sich aus älteren \**aba-na*<sup>47</sup> + *n*<sup>48</sup>, woraus sich mit Synkope lyk. *ebññē*<sup>49</sup>, ihn, sie<sup>4</sup> ergibt, und mit Restitution des stammauslautenden Vokal in *ebé-* dann *ebeññē*, *ebēññē*.

Nicht überzeugen kann die anderslautende Annahme von Kloekhorst<sup>50</sup>, derzufolge *ebēññē* nicht die Akkusativform des Demonstrativpronomens ‚this‘ sei, sondern die Akkusativform eines davon mittels des Formans A -*ñn(i)*- / B -*wñn(i)*- mit (angeblicher) Zugehörigkeitsbedeutung abgeleiteten Adjektivs ‚belonging to this‘. Die deiktische Einleitungsformel *ebēññē xupā* (oder *prññawā*) würde also bedeuten ‚the *xupa* belonging to this monument<sup>51</sup>‘.

Aber daran ist so gut wie nichts unbestreitbar:

- die Bedeutung als einfaches Demonstrativum ‚dieser, das da‘ ist bilingualistisch<sup>52</sup> gesichert;
- das Suffix A -*ñni*- / B -*wñni*- bildet nur Ethnika<sup>53</sup> und nicht Zugehörigkeitsadjektiva im allgemeinen;
- das Auslaut-*i* der Variante *ebēñni* entsteht durch den Lautwandel *ē* > *i*, parallel<sup>54</sup> zu *ō* > *u* und darf nicht mit dem *ῑ* des Ethnikonsuffixes<sup>55</sup> identifiziert werden<sup>56</sup>;
- das zu erwartende -*w*- fehlt in Lykisch B<sup>57</sup>;
- die so erzielte lykische Formulierung ist unangemessen<sup>58</sup> und passt auch schlecht zu den Denkmälern<sup>59</sup>.

47 Der an das Akkusativ-*n* angefügte „paragogische“ Stützvokal *ῑ* entspricht lyk. *-ne* ‚ihn, sie‘ (Melchert 2004: 19 und 43) und ist wohl vom Neutrum *-ada* übertragen, wo er das vom Schwund bedrohte auslautende *\*-d* schützen musste. Zum gesamtlyvischen Neutrum kluv. = hluv. *-ada* s. Melchert LuvLex: 2, lyk. *-ede* s. Melchert 2004: 12.

48 Der Akkusativ wird durch den Antritt der Endung *-n* nochmals deutlich charakterisiert, danach entsteht im Auslaut der Naselvokal *ῑ*, cf. Laroche 1960: 181 mit Fn. 3: *\*aban-an* („certainement une réfection“) > *ebēñē* (TL 41 und 124; aber TL 139 hat eine Korrektur *ē* > *ñ*, beabsichtigt ist wohl die übliche Form *+ebēññē*), *ebeññē* (TL 70, 80, 136), *ebēññē* (so am häufigsten), m.E. aber eher *\*aba-na* + *-n* statt *aban-* + *-an*, s. die vorhergehende Fußnote. Eine auf ähnliche Weise entstandene Endungsverdoppelung zeigt sich auch im heth. Präteritum Sg. *ia-n* + *-un* ‚ich machte‘. Zu lyk. *ñn* in *ebeññē*, *ebēññē* s. die folgende Fußnote. Auf die abweichende Form *ebē prññawā* in Phellos TL 61,1 hat Laroche 1960: 181 unter Gleichsetzung mit kluv. *a-pa-an* gebührend hingewiesen. Hinzuzufügen ist noch der Akzentsitz auf der zweiten Silbe *\*abán*, der für die Entwicklung zu *ebē* verantwortlich ist, denn ansonsten wäre *\*ában* > lyk. *\*ebñ* zu erwarten, cf. heth. = kluv. *a-ap-pa-an* ‚zurück, hinten‘ mit Pleneschreibung bei Anfangsakzent zu lyk. *epñ*, aber heth. *an-da* ‚in, hinein‘ ohne Pleneschreibung bei (Schwachton oder) Endakzent *\*a)ndá* > lyk. *ñte*, wie Laroche 1979b: 347 hervorhebt.

49 Belegt im Gebrauch als Personalpronomen ‚ihn, sie‘ TL 84,3; 111,2; 131,1, als attributives Demonstrativpronomen ‚dieses‘ TL 52 und 139. Wie A. Garrett gezeigt hat, hat sich die synkopierte Form insbesondere in der Verwendung als offenbar tonschwächeres Pronomen ‚ihn, sie‘ festgesetzt (s. Melchert 2004: 11), also bei nichtattributivem Gebrauch. Die Nasalverdoppelung zu *ñn* hinter Konsonant ist lautgesetzlich. Sie bleibt erhalten, wenn davor ein Vokal neu eingefügt wird, also *ebññē* > *\*ebēññē* > *ebeññē*, *ebēññē* beim Gebrauch als Demonstrativpronomen, ausnahmsweise steht daneben auch synkopierte attributives *ebññē* (TL 52 und 139). Parallel entwickelt sich auch Dativplural *\*ebete* > *\*ebte* > *\*ebtte* (indirekt erhalten in possessivem *ebttehi*, *epttehi*, ‚their‘ Melchert 2004: 15), und nun mit Einkreuzung des stammauslautvokals von *ebé-* dann das bezeugte *ebette*.

50 Kloekhorst 2008b: 127-137.

51 Kloekhorst 2008b: speziell 136.

52 *ebēññē* ... = griech. TOYTO (TO MNHMA): TL 6, 56, 117.

53 Das Suffix bildet Nisben, oder wie man auch sagt, „Ethnika“, von Toponymen und Ortsbezeichnungen: *Xbidēñni* ‚Kaunisch‘ von *Xbide* ‚Kaunos‘, *Pillēñni* ‚aus Pınara‘, *wedrēñni* ‚zur Stadt / zum Stadtland gehörig‘ (TL 101, 5) bzw. ‚zu Rhodiapolis [Toponym im Plural *Wedrēi*] gehörig‘ (TL 150,7 *Maliya Wedrēñni*, ‚Athena von Rhodiapolis‘ [Melchert 2004: 79]), *tlāñna* ‚Tloer, [bilingualistisch griech.] ΤΛΟΕΥΣ (hier ist der *i*-Stamm zu *a*-Stamm nach dem Vorbild von Personennamen umgebildet, Grundform *\*Tlawawñni*), *Pñtrēñni* von unbekanntem Toponym *\*Pñtri*- laut Laroche 1960: 173. Bezeichnet werden so Personen oder Götter, nie Sachen.

54 Cf. TL 36-37 (und öfter) *ebēññē prññawā* / *xupā* gegenüber TL 47 und 57 etc. *ebēññē xupu*, TL 38 und 39 etc., *ebēññē prññawu*. Es handelt sich anscheinend bei *ē* > *i* wie bei *ā* > *u* um einen nicht lokalisierbaren und im 4. Jh. sporadisch auftretenden Lautwandel, den zwar Neumann im Fall von *ē* > *i* nicht anerkannt hat (Lykisch: 375, § 12 nur für *ā* > *u*; 385, § 25,2 „unklar bleibt der Ausgang von *ebēññē*“), s. aber Melchert 1994: 324. Ausser *ebēññē* ist weiterer Kandidat für *ē* > *i* der Personennamen griech. *Endyomis*, lyk. (mit altem *ndw* > lyk. A (k)kw bzw. Kompromissform *kuw*) *Ēkuwēmi* (N 313d: *Ēkuwe*[mi]), M 24, M 123: *Ēkuwēmi*: *Ēkuw*), ein Knabe *lkwēmi* (TL 321 1, mit bilingualistischer Gleichung = griech. ENΔΥΟΜΙΣ TL 321 2), s. Laroche 1967: 46.

55 Kloekhorst 2008b: 136, setzt das Ethnikonsuffix, das er „appurtenance suffix“ nennt, allerdings nur als A -*ñn* und B -*wñn* an, worin ich ihm jedoch nicht Folge leisten kann.

56 Kloekhorst 2008b: 133-136 bemängelt im Hinblick auf *ebēñni* (133) „Thirdly, beside *ebēññē* we find a variant *ebēñni* [ ...]. To my knowledge, this fact has not been used in the discussion of *ebēññē* before.“

57 TL 55,1 (*\*ebāññ(ā)u*) oder (*\*abāññ(ā)u*) ‚dieses‘ Melchert 2004: 114, oder eher [*a/e*]baññ[x], schwer lesbar, aber doch plausibel, und jedenfalls ohne -*w*-. Cf. Schürr 2005: 123.

58 Es bleibt unerfindlich, warum der Erbauer einer Grabanlage so oft nicht den Bau der Anlage überhaupt, sondern nur den eines Teils derselben inschriftlich berichten sollte.

59 Wie könnte Kloekhorsts Auffassung von *ebēññē prññawā* im Fall von frei im Gelände stehenden Sarkophagen wie bei TL 11 (*Ddapsñma* für *Ureibillaha*) oder TL 36 (*Ahqqadi*) möglich sein?

### IV.1.2. *xupā*

Akkusativ *xupā* (auch > *xupu*), mit Nominativ *xupa* und Dativ-Lokativ *xupa*. Das Wort ist über 70 mal belegt und scheint ‚Felsgrab, Grab, Grabmal, Grabhaus‘ zu bedeuten. Im Bereich der funeren Quasi-Synonymie erscheinen noch die Wörter *prñnawa-* ‚Werk‘ oder ‚Bau, Gebäude‘ (für Gräber und Sarkophage verwendet) mit dem Verbum *prñnawa-* ‚erschaffen, herstellen‘ oder ‚erbauen‘, *tezi* (tezi) ‚Sarkophag‘, *ñtata-* ‚Einlage, Depot‘, *isbazi* ‚Kline‘, *arawazi-\** ‚Herðon (?)‘ (aber TL 117 bilingualistisch = griech. MNHMA ‚Grabmal‘). Eine systematische Untersuchung in linguistisch-archäologischer Zusammenarbeit steht meines Wissens noch aus. Das Wort *xupa* ist spezifisch lykisch und hier nur in Lykisch A gut bezeugt. Aus Lykisch B darf vielleicht TL 44 d59 *xupelijā\** (Akk. *xupelijū*) hinzugenommen werden, s. Melchert 2004: 86 und 136. Ausserlykische anatolische Verwandte sind bislang nicht nachgewiesen. Anklingendes heth. *huppar* ‚Schale, Terrine‘ passt semantisch nicht<sup>60</sup>. Nachdem sich Melchert dankenswerterweise der verschiedenen hethitischen Verben *hupp(ai)*-<sup>61</sup> angenommen hat, besteht eine plausible Anschlussmöglichkeit. Im Hethitischen bedeutet eines der vier von Melchert herausgearbeiteten Verben *hūpp*-<sup>62</sup> ‚schütten, aufhäufen‘ oder *hūppai-* ‚auf einen Haufen legen, aufhäufen‘. Von besonderem Interesse ist hier die von Melchert beigebrachte Wendung:

VBoT 24 II 20-21 *ma-ah-ha-an-ma-at pa-ra-a a-ra-an-zi nu ku-wa-pi an-da hu-u-up-pa-an-du-uš NA<sub>4</sub><sup>H1A</sup> ú-e-mi-ia-an-zi ...* ‚Wenn sie aber hinauskommen, wo sie (da) aufgehäufte Steine finden, (da brechen sie zwei Dickbrote, die sie (dabei) haben<sup>63</sup>).‘

Der Grund für das Brechen der Dickbrote wird nicht angedeutet, aber man empfängt den Eindruck, dass es sich um eine symbolische Kulthandlung an einem Steinhäufen handelt, der ein Steinmal ist. Wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls hat man hier ein Zeugnis, dass dieses eine aus den vier von Melchert unterschiedenen Verben *hupp-*, *hūppai-* auch vom Aufhäufen oder Aufschütten von Steinen gebraucht wird. Nun ist das Setzen von Steinmalen und Tumulusgräbern eine zwar kaum in Lykien selbst, wohl aber eine in Altanatolien (besonders im Westen, Troas, Lydien, Phrygien) bekannte Sitte. Bei Homer werden mehrere Heroen (u.a. Patroklos, Achilleus) durch Aufschütten (χέω, χεῦαι) von Steinmalen geehrt, und in *Ilias* Π (16. Buch) 654-657 (wiederholt 671-675) wird vom Lykierfürsten Sarpedon berichtet, dass er mit einem Grabhügel und einer Stele (τύμβωι και στήλῃ) bedacht werden soll. Das so geläufige lykische Wort *xupa* ‚Grabmal‘ weist also über die seit ca. 450 v. Chr. bezeugten<sup>64</sup> Felsgräber Lykiens hinaus, zurück in Zeiten, als herumziehende Kriegshäufen ihren Gefallenen noch Steinmale setzten bzw. Tumuli errichteten<sup>65</sup>.

### IV.1.3. *mētiā*

Auf die durch ‚Nach-links-Versetzung‘ (engl. left dislocation) an die Satzspitze gestellte Bezeichnung des Akkustivobjekts folgt die lykische weiterführende Satzpartikel AB *me(-)* (Melchert 2004: 37-38 + 121; Neumann 2007: 198-199) zur Einleitung eines neuen Teilsatzes, an dessen Spitze sie steht und den sie ‚apodotisch‘ an das Vorausgehende anschliesst. Man kann sie mit heth. *-ma* lautlich und teilweise auch funktionell<sup>66</sup> vergleichen. Aber während heth. *-ma* (CHD L-N: 91-99) enklitisch am Satzanfang in den Positionen von Wackernagelschen Enklitika steht, steht lyk. *me-* in Spitzenstellung und ist selbst Träger

60 Wegen der vermutlich flachen Form von *huppar* wird man auch nicht an die anatolischen Pithosgräber anschließen wollen. Der Verlust des *ʔ* im Luvischen wäre denkbar, cf. heth. *hapessar* ‚Glieder‘ ~ kluv. a-Stamm *hapissa(-)* ‚Glieder‘ Melchert 1993a: 56.

61 Cf. *katta huwappai-*, *hupp-* ‚nach unten werfen‘, (*anda*) *huppa(i)-* ‚to heap up‘ (auch von ‚Steinen‘ gesagt) von *huppa-* ‚heap, pile‘, etc., cf. Melchert 2007.

62 Ein kürzeres Verb *hūpp-* ‚schütten, aufschütten‘ (wozu auch das Wort *huppar* ‚Schale, Terrine‘ gehören könnte) mit Partizip *hūppant-* ‚aufgehäuft‘ samt vom Verbum abgeleitetem Substantiv *huppa-* ‚Haufen‘ und Denominativ *hūppammi* ‚häufe auf‘, *hūppāzzi* ‚häuft auf‘ ergibt eine Dreierkonstellation wie in heth. *parš-* ‚brechen‘ (altheth. *pār-aš-ha* ‚ich breche‘) neben *parša-* ‚Brocken, Brotkrümel‘ mit Denominativ *paršaizzi* ‚zerbröckelt, zerkrümelt‘. Die aus dem Kontext nicht leicht ersichtliche genaue Semantik von *hūppāi-* wird durch die Wortbildung klarer.

63 Ritual der *Anniwiiani*, s. die letzte Edition von D. Bawanypeck, hethiter.net: CTH 393, § 13.

64 Archaisches Grab des *Ñturigaxā* unter der Herrschaft des *Arppaxu* = *Harpagos* mit Inschrift TL 77 in Çindam, Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts BC.

65 Das Wort *xupa* ‚Grabmal‘ kann bei dieser etymologischen Deutung als ‚Steinmal, Tumulusgrab‘ dem ‚lykischen (wölfischen)‘ Traditionsstrang der lykisch-termilischen Kultur angehören, im Sinne von Eichner 2016: 64-66.

66 Laroche 1979a: 68 zu N 320, 14: hier ist es ‚conjonction d'apposition‘, und nicht wie sonst oft ‚la marque d'apodose‘.

von direkt folgenden Enklitika. Da in beiden lykischen Sprachen A und B auslautendes -s postvokalisch geschwunden ist<sup>67</sup>, muss auch Rückführung auf \**mas* und Zusammenhang mit der apodotischen Partikel in Satzspitzenstellung des Palaischen *maš*<sup>68</sup> berücksichtigt werden. Möglicherweise liegt eine „étymologie croisée“ vor, also nachträglicher Zusammenfluss zweier vorher getrennter Entitäten \**ma* und \**mas*- zu lyk. *me*.

#### IV.1.3.1 *mē*- neben *me*- in *mēti*

Die Nasalierung in *mēti* kann man auf ein eingeschobenes virtuelles Pronomen der dritten Singular ‚ihn/sie, es‘ zurückführen, das man lediglich als Hinzufügung von ‚Nasalität‘ oder auch durch Annahme einer Grundform *ē* und Kontraktion *me+ē* > *mē*- erklären kann. Das Pronomen verweist auf das an der Textspitze stehende Akkusativobjekt zurück, das nun doppelt bezeichnet ist, einmal durch *xupā* und ein zweites Mal durch das Enklitikum \**ē* in *mē*-, weshalb man auch von ‚clitic doubling‘<sup>69</sup> spricht.

Nun kommt neben *mēti* in gleichen Kontexten des öfteren auch unnasalieretes *meti* vor, z.B. TL 42 und TL 56<sup>70</sup>. Garrett<sup>71</sup> hat dies plausibel auf Entnasalierung speziell vor /t/ zurückgeführt.

#### IV.1.3.2 *mēti* und *meti* im Wechsel mit *mēne* und *mene*

In gleichem Kontext wechselt auch *mēti* (*meti*) mit *mēne* (*mene*), sodass sich Vertauschungspaare der folgenden Art ergeben:

- TL 48 *ebēññē xupā mē=ti prñnawatē Padrāma ...*
- TL 3 *ebēññē xupā mē=ti prñnawatē Tewinezēi ...*
- TL 7 *ebēññē xupā mene prñnawatē Trijētezi ...*
- TL 37 *ebēññē xupā mēne prñnawatē Mede*
- TL 53 *ebēññē xupā mēne prñnawatē Hanadaza*

Dabei stehen *me/mē* und *mene/mēne* in komplementärer Distribution. Sobald die weitere Partikel -*ti* antritt, steht vorne das „kurze“ *mē*, fehlt sie, so kommt das „lange“ *mēne* zum Vorschein<sup>72</sup>. Eine dritte Variante \**mēneti* gibt es nicht.

Während andere Forscher, darunter auch der Verfasser, *ē* für die kürzere und *mē=ne* für die längere Variante der Akkusativform des Pronomens halten, analysiert neuerdings Kloekhorst *m=ēn=e* als Folge von Akkusativ *ēn* und Nominativ *e*. Doch im Vergleich mit Ausserlykischem fällt es schwer, sich an die Abfolge Akkusativ (heth. -*an*) und Nominativ (heth. -*aš*) zu gewöhnen (kein heth. \**n=an=aš* ‚nun ihn er!‘), und auch die Verbindung eines Nominativs -*aš* mit einem transitiven Verbum wie ‚bauen‘ ist nach ‚Watkins‘ und Garretts Regel<sup>73</sup> ausgeschlossen, denn heth. -*aš* steht nur mit Intransitiva wie *n=aš ... uizzi* ‚er kommt‘. Da eine Alternation ° *ē* ~ ° *ēne* auch in dem völlig anders gelagerten Fall N 320, 2 *pddēhadē* ~ *pddēnehm̄mis* ‚praefecit praefectos‘<sup>74</sup> auftritt, wo sie rein lautlich bedingt sein dürfte, kann man auf Kloekhorsts Kunstgriff

67 Dieses aus der Morphologie (z.B. den Nominativausgängen) klar hervorgehende Lautgesetz wird anscheinend zu wenig beachtet. Die Sachlage ist bei lyk. *me*- ähnlich wie bei der lyk. Prohibitivpartikel *nī* ‚nicht‘ = *kluv.* (prohibitiv) *niš* (Melchert 1993a: 159), während palaisch *nī* ‚nicht‘ (Carruba 1970: 65) gewöhnliche (nichtprohibitive) Negation ist. Die lautliche Doppeldeutigkeit des Lykischen lässt uns hier im Zweifel.

68 Carruba 1970: 64, samt ausdrücklichem Vergleich von pal. *maš*- mit lyk. *me*. Belegt sind die Folgen pal. *maš=pa=šī* ‚nun aber sich‘ und *maš=ta*.

69 Im Fall des Lykischen ist aber auf die Teilsatzgrenze zu achten, wodurch auch die Auffassung als gewöhnliches anaphorisches Pronomen nahe liegt, also z.B. ‚Dieses Grabmal, nun es hat sich erbaut der Soundso‘. Stutzig wird man erst bei der nochmaligen Bezeichnung des Akkusativs am Verbum *prñnawate* + *ē*.

70 Aufzählung beider Varianten s. Neumann 2007: 199.

71 Garrett 1992: 203 (mit Verweis auf Verbalausgänge Pl. 3 °*ati*, °*eti* für ° *āti*, °*ēti*), zustimmend Melchert 2004: 38 und Kloekhorst 2011: 13 n. 2. Ich stimme mit Hinblick auf die etlichen weiteren von Hajnal 1995: 221 beobachteten Fälle wie TL 149,10 *tesēti* ‚strafende Eide / Eidgötter‘ (heth. *linkiiantes*) > TL 135,2 *teseti* ebenfalls zu. Andernfalls müsste man optionales Auftreten dieser Art von *clitic doubling* annehmen.

72 Kloekhorst 2011: 13-14, auch mit Hinweis auf das Fehlen von \**meneti*.

73 Garrett 1990.

74 Laroche 1979a: 61 mit Fn. 9 ‚figure étymologique‘. Damit ist klar, dass die Varianz lautlich bedingt ist, mit der Distributionsratio *pddēne-h-m̄mi* ~ *pddē-ha*, in der eine virtuelle Grundform \**pddēneha*- + ... (-*dē* oder -*mmis*) einmal in der dritten Silbe (\**pddēnehadē* > *pddēhadē*) und das andere Mal

einer morphologischen Differenzierung in Einwortausdruck \**an* > *ẽ* uersus Zweiwortkette \**an* + \**as* > *ẽn-e* verzichten<sup>75</sup>.

#### IV.1.3.3. -*ti* in *mēti*

Für das in dieser Formel in Wackernagelscher Position aufscheinende (lykisch A -*ti* hatte schon Wilhelm Thomsen die Geltung eines Relativpronomens angenommen<sup>76</sup>. Gegenwärtig sieht man im Anschluss an Laroche<sup>77</sup> in *ti* zumeist zwei verschiedene Wörtchen, nämlich (a) die Reflexivpartikel -*ti* ~ *kluv*. -*ti* (Melchert 1993a: 226; anders *hluv -ti* nur bei der zweiten und dritten Person?), heth. -*z*, -*za*. Die beiden Darstellungen Melchert 2004: 65 und Neumann 2007: 356-358 stimmen in der Aufteilung auf die Belegstellen sehr oft überein, und die Argumente für die Entscheidung erscheinen auf den ersten Blick wohlbegründet. Beide Werke klassifizieren -*ti* in TL 48,1 als Reflexivpronomen.

So könnte man meinen, die Sachlage sei *communis opinio* und völlig unproblematisch. Aber der Verfasser<sup>78</sup> hat vorgeschlagen, im Fall von lyk. A -*ti* überall das Relativpronomen anzunehmen und auf reflexives lyk. -*ti* – es fehlt auch zur Gänze in Lykisch B – überhaupt zu verzichten. Es handele sich um „Hervorhebung des Subjekts, das den Graberbauer bezeichnet, durch die Einbettung in eine Relativsatzkonstruktion“. Diese abweichende Lehre wird neuerdings von Kloekhorst aufgegriffen und in detaillierter Untersuchung überzeugend bekräftigt. Zu den Argumenten gehört, dass sich die Bedeutung ‚für sich‘ für den Gesamtbefund aller Textstellen gar nicht aufdrängt<sup>79</sup>, obschon sie andererseits, speziell an den Stellen mit -*ti* in Wackernagelposition, nicht gerade ausgeschlossen ist. Auch die aus dem Hethitischen bekannte enge Assoziation des Reflexivums -*za* in Verbindung mit bestimmten Verben (wie -*za šakk-* ‚anerkennen‘) findet sich im Lykischen nicht, bemängelt Kloekhorst zu Recht. Hinzuzufügen ist noch, dass die beiden von Neumann und Melchert angenommenen -*ti* (1. Relativpronomen, 2. Reflexivpartikel) niemals zusammen in demselben Satz auftreten, während im Hethitischen *kuiš* ‚welcher‘ und -*za* ‚sich‘ ohne weiteres kombinierbar sind<sup>80</sup>.

Ich akzeptiere, dass es sich bei TL 48 um eine zweistufige Emphasisierung handelt, wie es Kloekhorst sieht. Die normale unauffällige Serialisierung der Wortfolge sieht man auf dem Sarkophag des Pajawa:

TL 40a = 40b Pajawa: *Manaxine: prñnawate: prñnawā: ebẽññẽ*

Hier hat man die gewöhnliche „neutrale“ lykische Wortstellung SVO mit Subjektsausdruck an der Satzspitze Pajawa *Manaxine* ‚Pajawa, ‚das Gesicht(?)‘<sup>81</sup>, hat geschaffen dieses Werk.“

Wenn man aber dem Objekt Aufmerksamkeit verschaffen will, dann kann man seine Bezeichnung nach links an die Satzspitze versetzen, also:

TL 9 *ebẽññẽ: prñnawā: mene: prñnawatẽ: Wesepije:*

„Dieses Werk, nun es hat geschaffen Wesepije.“

in der vierten Silbe (\**pddēnehami* > *pddēnehñmi*-) synkopiert ist. Trotzdem versucht man selbst hier ohne Rücksicht auf die *figura etymologica* eine morphologische Differenz zu konstruieren, s. Melchert 2004: 48 (mit einem Substantiv *pddē* = heth. Nominativ-Akkusativ Singular *pedan* ‚Ort, Stelle‘, aber *pddēne* Dativ-Lokativ Plural eines *n*-Stamms). Aber \**pddēne* ~ *pddē* ist sicherlich kein Nomen, sondern Praeposition und Praeverb wie latein. *prae* und gehört zu griech. (dial.) *πεδά*.

75 Recht unpassend erscheint sie mir auch im Fall N 311,1 [Erb] *bina=j=ẽne ubete xruwata Ertẽmi* ‚Erbbina, sie (*ẽn*- in sekundärer Funktion als Pl.Akk. Ntr., -*j*- kann Hiattilger sein) er (-*e*) hat sie gestiftet, die Agalmata, der Artemis.“

76 Laut Neumann 2007: 199 setzte Thomsen an: *me-ti* ‚is qui‘.

77 Laroche 1958: 169-172.

78 In Borchhardt et al. 1999: 62-63.

79 Des öfteren findet sich -*ti* in Fällen, wo der Grabherr das Grab ausdrücklich allein anderen Personen widmet, wie *Ddapsrñma* TL 11 (Sarkophag für den Klienten *Urebillaha*), nach Melchert 2004: 65 und Neumann 2007: 356 reflexiv.

80 Zum Beispiel KUB 21.27 IV 44 *nu=za ... kue*.

81 Nach N. Oettinger (*per litteras*) bedeutet *kluv. manahu(wa)nni* ‚Gesicht‘, cf. bereits Melchert 1993a: 136 mit der Angabe ‚part of the face‘. Es bleibt also bei der Annahme eines Beinamens wie schon bei Neumann 2007: 194 (nach Imberts Vorgang), doch war die Anknüpfung an griech. ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ‚einziges Kind‘ verfehlt. Die Annahme von Assimilation \**manahuni* > \**manahini* und Umbildung zum *e*-Stamm *Manaxine* (cf. oben Fn. 53 den Metaplasmus bei \**Tlawawñni* > *Tlāñna*, ‚Tloer‘ als Namenbestandteil) geht glatt auf. Die semantische Spezifikation (‚scharfsichtig‘?, ‚Bleichgesicht‘?, ‚Fratze‘?) entgeht uns vorerst noch.



Charakteristisch für diese Art von Satzbau ist ausser der Spitzenstellung des Objekts auch noch die „Inversion“ von Prädikat und Subjekt: Das Verbum steht jetzt immer vor dem Subjekt.

Will man dagegen das Subjekt hervorheben, so wählt man eine Relativsatzkonstruktion:

TL 29 *Ikuwe=ti : prñnawate : ... ñtatu* „Ikuwe ist es, der die Grablege gemacht hat.“

TL 98 *Pizzi=ti : prñnawate : Ddepñneweh : tideimi : hrppi | ladi : ehbi : se tideime*  
„Pizzi ist (es), der (es) gemacht hat, des Ddepñnewe Sohn, für seine Gemahlin und Kinder.“

TL 99 *Purihimeti=ti : prñnawate : Masasah : tideimi xupã : eběññě*  
„Purihimeti (ist es), der gemacht hat, des Masasa Sohn, dieses Grabmal.“

Will man aber beide Strategien kombinieren, so erhält man das linksversetzte Objekt und danach „apodotisch“ den das Subjekt hervorhebende Relativsatz:

TL 11 *eběññě prñnawã : m=ě=ti=prñnawatě : Ddapssmãma : Padrãmãh tid[eimi] hrppi prñnezi : ehbi : Urebillaha*

„Dieses Werk, nun wer es gemacht hat, (das ist) Ddapssmãma, des Padrãmã Sohn, für seinen Erfolgsmann Urebillaha.“

Und das ist nun auch die von Kloekhorst erarbeitete Lösung für unsere Inschrift von Xanthos:

TL 48a TL 48a *eběññě xupã mě=ti prñnawatě Padrãmã hrppi nere se tuhe*  
„Dieses Grabmal, nun wer es gemacht hat, (das ist) Padrãmã, für seine Brüder (?) und Neffen.“

Bei dieser Lösung ist *ti* als Relativpronomen voll motiviert, alles hat seine Richtigkeit. Man beachte insbesondere noch die Voranstellung des Verbuns in Bezug auf das Subjektswort: „... wer es gebaut hat, (das ist) *Padrãmã*.“

Bei der anderen Deutung „Dieses Grabmal, nun es hat sich gemacht *Padrãmã*, für die Brüder (?) und Neffen“ wäre die Reflexivpartikel bloß fakultativ gesetzt. Aber natürlich ist bloße fakultative Setzung eines Reflexivpronomens *-ti* nicht völlig auszuschließen<sup>82</sup>. Die bilinguistische Evidenz ist in sich nicht einheitlich<sup>83</sup>, der Gebrauch des Mediums herrscht in den älteren griechischen Grabinschriften Lykiens ohnehin vor<sup>84</sup> und lässt keine klaren Schlüsse auf die strittige Frage der lykischen Syntax zu. Die Frage bleibt deshalb noch offen, obgleich die Summierung der Argumente sehr dafür spricht, dass in Lykisch A *-ti* lediglich das Relativpronomen vorliegt.

Wenn ein Lykier hervorheben will, dass er etwas für sich selbst (und eventuell auch noch darüber hinaus für andere) errichtet hat, dann verwendet er das Substantiv (im Dativ) *atli*, dem Selbst<sup>85</sup> oder sogar, unseres Erachtens infolge griechischen Einflusses<sup>86</sup>, das noch deutlichere Syntagma *atli ehbi*<sup>87</sup>, seinem (eigenen) Selbst‘.

82 Im Hethitischen kommt *-za* mit Verben des Bauens gelegentlich vor, z.B. KBo 12.70 Vs. 10 (CTH 316) *at-ti-me É-ir-za ú-e-te-it ...* „Mein Vater! Ein Haus hast du dir gebaut ...“. Ich verfüge über keine Sammlung des einschlägigen Materials.

83 Alle drei Bilinguen TL 6, 23 und 117 weisen im Griechischen das Medium auf (6 ΕΡΑΣΑΝΤΟ, 23 ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΤΟ, 117 ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ), doch steht lyk. *-ti* nur zweimal, es fehlt in TL 6).

84 Man sehe die Evidenz bei Wörrle 1995 und Schweyer 2002.

85 Das Substantiv lyk. *A atla-, atra-* ‚person, self‘ (Melchert 2004: 6 + 113; Neumann 2007: 29) wird auch in Bezug auf Statuen gebraucht, so deutlich in der bilinguen Statuenweiheung TL 25 des Krupssi\* von Tlos (Neumann 2007: 30), wo zuerst Plural Akkusativ *ebeis tukedris* ‚diese Statuen‘ dasteht, und danach die Explikation folgt, nämlich Singular Akkusativ *atru ehbi* ‚sein eigenes Abbild‘ = ‚sich selbst‘ (griech. ΕΑΥΤΟΝ) und *ladu ehbi* ‚seine Gemahlin‘. Laroche 1979a: 71 übersetzt N 324 [X]ēti atrā pude Erb[ina] ‚dessus Erbbina a gravé/sculpté son image‘. Zugehörig ist *hluv. atr-* (VAS-tari), ‚Form, Figur, Bild, Person‘, das, wie Hawkins mehrfach überzeugend vorgetragen hat (man sehe die Zitatchweise Neumann 2007: 31) auch weiter zu heth. *ešri-, eššari-* ‚Gestalt, Bild, Statue‘ zu stellen ist. Der weitere Anschluss an ieu. \*h<sub>2</sub>es ‚sein‘ (Kloekhorst 2008a: 261) bleibt *cura posterior*.

86 Zu *atli ehbi* als Entsprechung zu und Nachahmung von griech. ΕΑΥΤΟΝ s. Seyer 2006a: 726-727.

87 Mit einmaliger Plural-Variante (bezogen auf Mann und Frau) TL 121 *atla ebette*, wobei das scheinbare Personalpronomen Pl. Dativ *eptte* als lautlich weiterentwickelte Form des Possessivums (*eptthe*) zu verstehen ist, Melchert 2004: 15.



#### IV.1.4. *prñawatē*

Die gewöhnlich mit ‚bauen‘ (‚build, construct‘ Melchert 2004: 51; ‚bauen, anlegen‘ Neumann 2007: 284) wiedergegebene Bedeutung des Verbums ist problematisch. Zunächst wollen wir aber noch auf die Endung *-tē* achten.

##### IV.1.4.1. *-tē* in *prñawatē*

Die Nasalierung ist als eine Folge der Suffigierung eines Pronomens der dritten Person im Akkusativ *\*ē* erkannt. Die genauen Bedingungen hat Andrew Garrett<sup>88</sup> ermittelt. Die Faustregel lautet, dass bei voranstehendem Akkusativobjekt (in unserem Fall ist es *ebēñnē xupā*) das Verbum nasalisiert wird, bei nachstehendem aber nicht. Das Phänomen der „Nasalierung“ erklärt sich durch Hinzufügung eines „virtuellen partikelhaften Pronomens *\*an* (indeklinabel)“, das dem Phänomen des „clitic doubling“ zuzurechnen ist, also das Akkusativobjekt zusätzlich kennzeichnet. Diese Art von Nasalierung ist nach bisherigem Forschungsstand auf das Lykische beschränkt. O. Carruba’s Versuch<sup>89</sup>, eine vergleichbare Nasalierung auch im Hieroglyphenluvischen aufzuspüren, ist nicht auf Akzeptanz gestoßen.

##### IV.1.4.2. *prñawa-* ‚bauen‘ oder ‚schaffen‘?

Der epigraphische und bauliche Kontext weist für die Bedeutung des Verbums *prñawa-* entweder auf (a) ‚bauen, errichten‘ oder auf (b) ‚herstellen, machen‘, und diese Alternative wird auch durch bilinguistische Evidenz<sup>90</sup> nicht auf Anhieb entschieden. Auf den ersten Blick scheint natürlich ‚bauen‘ vorzuliegen, denn der etymologische Bezug zu heth. (etc.) *per, parnaš*, hlav. *parna-* (Neutrum) ‚Haus‘ ist deutlich, und sachlich imitieren viele lykische Grabbauten offensichtlich den profanen oder auch sakralen Holzbaustil. Aber es könnte sich auch um ein Verbum mit allgemeiner Bedeutung ‚machen, herstellen, schaffen‘ handeln, und das zugehörige Substantiv<sup>91</sup> *prñawa-* kann einfach ‚Werk, Gegenstand, Produkt‘ bedeuten.

Die auffällige Bildweise des Verbums samt seiner Bedeutung und inneranatolischen Verankerung hat bereits E. Laroche<sup>92</sup> beobachtet. Wie er ausdrücklich angibt, ist ein ähnlich aussehendes Verbum einmal im Hethitischen als *ški*-Verb *parnawaiški-*, *parnawiški-* (Datierung auf Hattušili III und Puduhepa) belegt. Im Hethitischen bedeutet es nach neuerer Auffassung laut CHD P: 177b „to make into the property of the royal house“<sup>93</sup>, also soviel wie „als königliches Krongut in Beschlag nehmen“ und „Tiere und unfreie Personen in die Palastwirtschaft übernehmen“<sup>94</sup>. Dabei handelt sich offensichtlich um ein luvisches Lehnwort im Hethitischen, und F. Starke<sup>95</sup> setzt sicherlich zu Recht ein luvisches Verb *\*parnawa-* (-*tti*-Konjugation) an, das auch in hlav. *parnawa-* (+ unlenierte Endung) vorliegt:

Imperativ Pl. 3. (Karatepe 325 = LVIII<sup>96</sup>) (hu)<sup>DOMUS.CRUX</sup>*pa-ra/i-na-wa-tu<sub>4</sub>* / (ho)<sup>CRUX</sup>*pa-ra/i-na-wa-tu-u* als Entsprechung zu phönik. J<sup>BD</sup> ‚sie sollen dienen‘ eine genaue Entsprechung hat:

„and much let them be in service to Azitawatas and Muksas’ house“<sup>97</sup>

88 Garrett 1991.

89 Carruba 1984.

90 TL 6, 23 und 117, referiert in Neumann 2007: 284 s.v.

91 Das Substantiv *prñawa-* kann auch eine Rückbildung zum Verb sein, wie das latein. retrograde *pugna* ‚Kampf‘ zu *pugnare* ‚kämpfen‘. (denominatives Verb zu *pugnus* ‚Faust‘). Es tritt des öfteren sogar in einer *figura etymologica prñawā ... prñawatē* auf (TL 4, 9, 11 etc.). Oft kann man *prñawa-* einfach mit ‚Grab‘ übersetzen.

92 Laroche 1958: 171, Fn. 2 weist sowohl auf heth. *parnawaiški(i)-* als auch auf hlav. *parnawa-* (Karatepe 325) hin, allerdings ohne noch auf das Problem der Bedeutung einzugehen. In der Fortsetzung Laroche 1960: 177 übersetzt er TL 109 und 110 *tise tise prñawati* überraschend mit „et quiconque (y) élira domicile“.

93 Das ist der Beleg aus der „Apologie“ des Hattušili III., den man früher als *parnawaiškit* ‚gründete‘ aufgefasst hatte. Das Objekt des Verbs ist hier die Stadt Tarhuntašša, und das Subjekt der Großkönig Muwatalli.

94 Dieser zweite Beleg stammt aus der Korrespondenz der Königin Puduhepa mit Ramses II., Objekt sind hier Kolonen, Rinder und Schafe, die in die Wirtschaft des ägyptischen Königspalastes übernommen werden sollen.

95 Starke 1990: 538, Fn. 1986-1988. Allerdings gibt Starke ein sehr breites und vages Bedeutungsspektrum für das Verbum an: „zum Wohnsitz machen, unterbringen, versorgen, dienen, (als Hausgrab) bauen“, hierzu sei griech. ΟΙΚΙΖΩ zu vergleichen, dieses bedeutet ‚(Haus) bauen, (Städte) gründen, ansiedeln, wohnen‘.

96 Çambel 1999 (= CHLI II): 88 (Konkordanz), phönik. p. 52-53 (W. Röllig) Phu A III 10 Y<sup>BD</sup> „may they .... serve Azitawada and the house of Mopsos“.

97 Hawkins/Morpurgo Davies 1978: 113-114 + 117.

Beim Hethitischen (bzw. Luwischen) der Bronzezeit liegt eine mit der Palastwirtschaft und der bronzezeitlichen Sozialstruktur zusammenhängende Bedeutungsentwicklung vor, die wohl auch noch um 700 v. Chr. in hluv. Karatepe weiterwirkt. Im Lykischen kann sich die Bedeutung von ‚im Palastdienst frönen‘ über ‚dienen, arbeiten‘ zu ‚schaffen, herstellen‘ entwickelt haben.

Beim Lykischen kommt auf den ersten Blick auch das gewöhnliche ‚Bauwesen‘ als Bedeutungsbereich von *prñnawa-* in Betracht, doch ist die unspezifische Verwendung von Substantiv und Verb *prñnawa-* (für *xupa* ‚Felsgrab, Grabmal‘ TL 1,3 etc., *ñtata* ‚Grablege‘ TL 23 etc., Sarkophage TL 11) auffällig. Auch ist zu bedenken, dass die Sippe des luwischen Verbums hluv. *tama-* ‚bauen‘ (ieu. *v\*dem* ‚zimmern‘) ja auch im Lykischen vorhanden ist, als Verbum oder Substantivum *tāmade*<sup>98</sup> und als Substantiv *tama-* ‚building‘. Das einzige lykische Relikt des kürzeren anatolischen Hausworts liegt vor in *prñnezi-* ‚Hausstand, Klientel‘ mit Ableitung *prñnezijehi* ‚Mitglied des Hausstands, familiaris, Klient, Gefolgsmann‘ (bilinguistisch = griech. ΟΙΚΕΙΟΣ, TL 6).

Die Übereinstimmung in der auffälligen Bildweise als „innerluwische“ Gleichung heth.-luv. *parnawai-\**, hluv. *parnawa-* ‚(dem Herrscherhaus) dienen‘ (+ unlenierte Endung), lyk. *prñnawa-* (+ unlenierte Endung) provoziert den Gedanken, dass hier doch ein direkter Zusammenhang besteht. Es kann eine Bedeutungsentwicklung wie beim deutschen ‚arbeiten‘ (got. *arbaidjan* ‚dulden, arbeiten‘) oder russ. *rabotat’* ‚arbeiten‘<sup>99</sup> stattgehabt haben. Da der Zusammenhang lykischer Siedlungen mit der Bronzezeit seit einiger Zeit gesichert ist, verdient diese Möglichkeit nunmehr erhöhte Beachtung<sup>100</sup>. Dieser Auffassung zufolge hat also das Verb lyk. *prñnawa-* niemals ausschließlich ‚bauen‘ bedeutet. Die Bedeutung hat sich von ‚zum Frondienst in der Palastwirtschaft verpflichten‘ über ‚dem Herrscher dienen‘ und ‚arbeiten, ΕΡΓΑΖΕΣΘΑΙ‘ zu ‚herstellen, erzeugen, ΚΑΤΕΡΓΑΖΕΣΘΑΙ‘ entwickelt.

Das der Wortsippe zugrunde liegende Substantiv heth. *per*, Gen. *parnaš*<sup>101</sup> ‚Haus (etc.)‘, hluv. *parna-* (neutrum) vermutet Neumann 2007: 283, auch im Namen der nahe bei Limyra liegenden Ortschaft ΠΕΡΝΙΣ (Bewohner ΠΕΡΝΙΤΑΙ). Der anlautende Labial erscheint hier also wie generell im Lykischen als stimmlos bzw. *fortis*. Die ursprüngliche Qualität lässt sich lediglich im Lydischen erkennen, wo das Wort als *bira-* ‚Haus‘<sup>102</sup> erscheint.

#### IV.1.5. *Padrāma*

Der Name des Grabherrn kommt sonst nur noch einmal in Pinara TL 11 im Genetiv *Padrñmah* vor und hat auch keinen außerlykischen Anschluss. Der Ausgang *°āma*, *°ama* ist jedoch geläufig: *Ddawahāma*, *Hñpṛāma*<sup>103</sup>, *Hñtīhāma*, *Prijabuhāma*, [*W?*] *azzāma* oder *Azzāma*<sup>104</sup>, *Zahama* (Akk. *Zahāmā*), *Zizahāma*; fernzuhalten ist der persische Name *Arssāma*, vielleicht auch *Apññātama*. Auch Namen mit möglicher Synkope sind zu vergleichen: *Ddapsṛma*, *Hrixṛma*, *Pixṛma*, *Ssṛma*, *Xatṛma*.

98 In der Passage TL 44b 1-3 scheint mit nach (e)stte ‚er bewirkte‘ eine zweite Verbalform gut möglich: *tere tere : tāmade : zxxazije* ‚... allenthalben baute er an den Kampfesstätten‘. Die lenierte Endung *-de* in *tāmade* stimmt mit hluv. *\*-di* (> *ri* in *AEDIFICARE+MI-ri-i* ‚er baut‘) und *-tā = -da* (in *ta-ma-tā = /tamada/* ‚baute‘) bei diesem Verbum überein.

99 Altkirchenslav. *rabota* ‚ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ (Knechtschaft)‘ (Codex Suprasliensis), altruss. *robota* ‚Arbeit, Sklaverei, Unfreiheit‘.

100 Heute versteht man, dass gewisse etwa unter Arnuwamda I. handelnde Episoden des Madduwatta-Textes auch Lykien betroffen haben: Madduwatta nahm der heth. Majestät gehörige Länder – darunter *Attarimma* – weg, ließ deren Boten, Truppen und Tribute nicht mehr vor die Majestät kommen, und Pferde der Majestät, die dort waren (wohl Streitwagenpferde), spannte er vor den Pflug (Madduwatta § 27, Götzte 1928: 27). Eine Intrige des Madduwatta besteht darin, dass er vorgibt, die Leute der Stadt Dalauwa (Tlos) im Xanthostal angreifen zu wollen, die so der östlichen Nachbarstadt Hinduwa (Kandyba) nicht zu Hilfe kommen können. Der hethitische General Kišnapili könne Hinduwa (Kandyba) erobern, schreibt ihm Madduwatta. Gleichzeitig schreibt Madduwatta aber auch an die Leute von Dalauwa (Tlos), dass sie den Kišnapili überfallen sollen. Dies geschieht, und Kišnapili wird getötet. Daraufhin macht Madduwatta die Leute von Dalauwa (Tlos) dem Land Hatti abspenstig, und auf Beschluss ihrer Ältesten unterwerfen sie sich dem Madduwatta (Madduwatta §§ 12-15, Götzte 1928: 12-19).

101 Die ausschließliche Schreibung mit dem KVK-Zeichen PAR (und nie: PA-AR) der Hethiter kann meines Erachtens auf einen Schwa-Vokal oder eine *Liquida sonans* hindeuten, die mit der vokallosen Schreibung der lykischen Alphabetschrift *-r-* in lyk. *prñnawa-* übereinstimmt.

102 Ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass der lydische Buchstabe <b> als stimmlos zu werten ist, bleibt das Zeugnis von Interesse, weil ein anderer Labial als lyd. *f-* auftritt. Vielleicht gilt ieu. *\*b* > lyd. *b* und ieu. *\*p* > lyd. *f*. Die mögliche Verbindung der Sippe von heth. (etc.) *per* ‚Haus‘ mit lat. *paries* ‚Wand‘ wäre in diesem Fall wohl hinfällig. Es handelt sich jedenfalls um eine exklusive Übereinstimmung des Hethitischen, Luwischen, Lykischen und Lydischen. Auffällig, aber nicht verwertbar, ist die Ähnlichkeit mit hattisch *fel* ‚Haus‘ und ägypt. *pr* ‚Haus‘.

103 = griech. Εἰβρομος.

104 N 322 nach Lesung von M. Serangeli und M. Vernet Pons (mündlich).

Da a-stämmige Namen häufig durch Metaplasmus (Umbildung des Stammes) aus i-Stämmen entstanden sind<sup>105</sup>, kann man weiter noch vergleichen *Unuwēmi*, *Uwēmi*, *Ēkuwemi*, *Sedeplmmi*, wie auch die e-stämmigen *Ehetēme*, *Eppleme*.

In der Deklination scheint Akzentwechsel aufgetreten zu sein, weshalb eine volle Form Nom. TL 48,2 *Padrāma* neben einer synkopierten Gen. (2 Mal) TL 11,1 *Padrñmah*, TL 48,6 *Padrñmahe* und Dativ 48,8 *Padrñma* vorkommt. In TL 49 wird der Name im Nominativ sogar *Padrñma*<sup>106</sup> geschrieben.

Es kommt ein *ma*-Suffix oder der Ursprung aus einem Partizip in Betracht. Ein passendes Verbum ist in lyk. B TL 44c 50 *padre-te* zu finden, doch bleibt dessen Bedeutung noch unbekannt.

#### IV.1.6. *hrppi* ‚für‘, ‚auf‘

Diese Präposition (auch als Präverb) steht fast immer vor dem Dativ der begünstigten Person. Sie setzt luv. *šarri* (Melchert 1993a: 190) fort und entspricht funktional der heth. Postposition *šer* ‚für‘. Auch kürzeres lyk. *hri-* kommt als Präverb und Kompositionsvorderglied vor. Die Entsprechung in lyk. B wird *\*sri > zri-* sein, cf. die wahrscheinliche Gleichung *A hriqla-* : *B zrigali*, *zriqali* Melchert 2004: 138.

Zur Verstärkung ist *\*epi*, *\*api* angetreten, cf. kluv. *appi* (?), hluv. *api* (Melchert 1993a: 22); Neumann 2007: 103 nimmt eine heth. Entsprechung *šer-apa* ‚darüber, diesbezüglich‘ (?) an.

#### IV.1.7. *nerē* ‚den Brüdern‘ (?)

Die Lesung des stark verwitterten anlautenden N (so Friedrich 1932: 70, nach P. Meriggi) ist nach der Zeichnung bei Kalinka TL 48 deutlich und auch am Foto nachvollziehbar; die bereits von Kalinka stark bezweifelte Lesung Arkwrights mit *p* als *pere* kann entfallen.

Die lykischen Verwandtschaftsnamen hat Laroche (1958: 186-193) gründlich behandelt. Für Plural Dativ *nerē* hat er fragend eine dissimilatorische Nebenform von *nēni*, *neni* ‚Bruder‘ in Betracht gezogen (Laroche 1974: 133). Hingegen hält Carruba *neri-\** für das lykische Wort ‚Schwester‘, als Entsprechung von kluv. *nanašri-\**<sup>107</sup> ‚Schwester‘, und diese Auffassung vertritt auch Neumann 2007: 240-241 entschieden, während Melchert 2004: 44 die Frage offen lässt. Neumann (1996: 11) argumentiert zugunsten von ‚Schwester‘ mit Hinweis auf den weiblichen Personennamen (u.a. in Olympos) *Naris*, doch kann man als Gegenargument den männlichen Personennamen TL 137 *Ēñhineri* (Melchert 2004: 94; Name eines Ehemanns) anführen. Dass der Sexus des Namenträgers nicht ausschlaggebend ist, lehrt schon Laroche<sup>108</sup>.

Von besonderem Interesse ist noch die Beziehung zu heth. *negna-* ‚Bruder‘<sup>109</sup>. Dieses Wort ist auch im Kompositum *pappanegna-* ‚Bruder vom gleichen Vater, paternal brother‘<sup>110</sup> verbaut. Wenn dieses Wort auch dem Personennamen *Papanegri*<sup>111</sup> zugrundeliegen würde, könnte dieser ebenfalls die Dissimilation *n-n > n-r* aufweisen und Laroche's Vermutung stützen.

Wenn in TL 48 *nerē* ‚den Brüdern‘ bedeuten würde, dann hätte man inhaltlich dieselbe Formel der Benefiziaten wie bei TL 7 (Karmylessos) *nēne ehbije se tuhe* ‚für seine Brüder und Neffen‘. Dort hat der

105 Besonders deutlich ist dies bei Namen auf *°aha* statt *°ehi* wie *Urebillaha* (*\*Ura-* + *\*Pinalahi-*).

106 Da die mit *ñ* und *ṁ* transliterierten lyk. Buchstaben meines Erachtens uvulare Nasale repräsentieren, die lediglich durch Senkung des Gaumensegels gebildet werden, ist die Vertauschbarkeit leicht verständlich. Eine Schwierigkeit liegt eher darin, dass beim uvularen Nasal überhaupt eine dentale (*ñ*) und eine labiale (*ṁ*) Variante in der lykischen Schrift unterschieden werden.

107 Melchert 1993a: 154 *nanašri(ya)-* ‚of a sister‘ von ib. *nāni(ya)-* ‚of a brother‘. Die feminine Ableitung hat im Vorderglied noch den älteren *a*-Stamm *\*nana-*, der dann im Grundwort durch die sogenannte *i*-Mutation zu *nani-* verändert erscheint. Dass ‚Schwester‘ als Motionsfemininum von ‚Bruder‘ abgeleitet wird, ist unindoeuropäisch und beruht auf vorderasiatischen Vorbildern (z.B. akkad. *ahu* ‚Bruder‘ ~ *ahatu* ‚Schwester‘). Das anatolische Suffix *-šar-*/*-šr-* geht aber wahrscheinlich auf ein ieu. Wort zurück, das man bislang nur in den Ableitungen kluv. *\*ašrahit-* ‚femininity, womanhood‘ und *ašrul(i)-* ‚female‘ (Melchert 1993a: 37) zu fassen bekommen hatte. Neuerdings ist auch das Wort selbst als Luvismus *aššarā-* in reizvollem hethitischem Kontext zutage gekommen, s. Lorenz/Rieken 2007: 468-469, Bo 2004/1 (= KBo 62.5) i 11-12 *ši-wa-ma-li-ta-aš a-a-aš-ša-an-da-aš ma-a-wa-a-aš a-aš-ša-ra-a-aš* ‚(Quelle) der vier Frauen mit Mündern von sauerem / bitterem Honig‘ (cf. griech. ΓΑΥΚΥΠΙΚΡΟΣ ‚bittersüß‘). Luvisch ist hier auch *a-a-aš-s°* ‚Mund‘ (Melchert 1993a: 34): heth. *aiš-* ‚Mund‘ sowie das erste *a* von *mawa-* ‚vier‘ (Melchert 1993a: 145): heth. *meur*, *mew-*.

108 Laroche 1958: 193 Fn. 4 mit Hinweis auf den kappadokischen Frauennamen in altassyrisch. *Mu-a-na-ni* = *Muwanani-* ‚(die Kraft des Bruders)‘.

109 CHD L-N: 428-431. Die Etymologie diskutiert Neumann 1996: 8-9 (als: *\*ne*, *ni*, *hinein* + *√g'enh*, ‚erzeugen‘).

110 CHD L-N: 430 und vor allem CHD P: 97.

111 Priester aus Kummanni und Autor des Geburtshilferituals CTH 476. Ob der Name hurritischen Ursprungs ist, kann ich momentan nicht beurteilen.

Grabherr *Trijētezi* zwei Gräber errichtet, das zweite mit TL 8 widmet er „(vermutlich: sich und) der Gemahlin und den Kindern“.

Zu erwähnen ist noch, dass man das Wort *neri\** auch in Lyk. B TL 55, 2 Pl. D. *nere* vermuten kann. Die betreffende Annahme von Schürr<sup>112</sup> wird von Melchert 2004: 123 allerdings skeptisch beurteilt.

#### IV.1.8. *se* ‚und‘ ist wort- und satzverbindend (Melchert 2004: 56-57 + 128, Neumann 2007: 311-312)

Die Verbindung mit der Partikel *-be* als *sebe*, *seb* ist in lyk B besonders häufig und hat in kar. *sb* ‚und‘ eine Entsprechung. Die Rückführung auf ieu. *\*k'e* bei Adiego 2007: 411 ist lautlich in Ordnung. Unklar bleibt, ob auch das enklitische lyd. *-k*, *-g* ‚und‘ mit Kentumvertretung und phryg. *ke* hierher gestellt werden können.

#### IV.1.9. *tuhe* ‚den Neffen /Nichten‘, ‚den Geschwisterkindern‘ Melchert 2004: 72, Neumann 2007: 384-385

Die Deklination ist aus einem <sup>o</sup>e-Stamm und einem daraus erweitereten <sup>o</sup>es-Stamm gemischt, der e-Stamm liegt noch in Ablativ *tuhedi* vor. Den s-Stamm fasse ich als auf dem sigmatischen Nominativ *\*<sup>o</sup>nts* einer *nt*-Erweiterung beruhend auf, wie sie bei anatolischen Verwandtschaftsnamen geläufig ist. Die Bedeutung ist bilingualistisch durch TL 6 gesichert.

Nach gegenwärtigem Kenntnisstand handelt es sich um ein ausschließlich im Lykischen bezeugtes Wort ohne ieu. Anschluss.

**IV.1.10. Fazit:** Wir gelangen also im Anschluss an Laroche und auf seinen Auffassungen weiterbauend zu der Interpretation TL 48a „Dieses Werk, nun wer es geschaffen hat, (ist) *Padrāma*, für seine Brüder (?) und Neffen“

## IV.2. TL 49

Im Grabinneren befindet sich eine Vorrichtung zur Fixierung einer Steinplatte, welche die Kline des Priesters von der übrigen Grabkammer abschliesst<sup>113</sup>. Die Inschrift steht über dem Separé des Priesters in rot eingefärbten Buchstaben. Wir können sie schon summarisch behandeln und glatt übersetzen:

TL 49 *ebehi: isbazi: mi=iije=sijēni: Padrñma: kumaza: me=iije ne=pe*<sup>114</sup> *mati*<sup>115</sup> *tike: kbi hrppi=ttāne:*

112 Schürr 1997: 137 ‚Schwester‘ (würde sich auf die in Zeile 1 erwähnten Nymphen beziehen).

113 Seyer 2006b: 168, mit Verweis auf die Parallele im Grab des *Masasi* (sprechender Personennamenname „Gottesmann“, vermutlich eines Priesters) in Limyra TL 134.

114 AB *-pe* ist die lyk. Verstärkungspartikel (Melchert 2004: 48, zu kluv. *-ppa*), A *nepē* ‚ja nicht‘ = B *nepē* TL 44c 56.

115 So u.a. mit Pedersen 1945: 56; Neumann 2007: 169; während Laroche 1958: 179 mit *nepemati* ‚il ne permet pas‘ die Entscheidung zwischen *ma-* und *pema-* (cf. Melchert 2004: 49) offen gelassen hat. Die Verbalform lyk. *mati* ‚wagt, darf‘ gehört natürlich zu heth. *mazzi* (CHD L-N: 566; Kloekhorst 2008a: 566 mit anderer Herleitung) und weiter zu ieu. *\*mad* (oder *\*mah,d*, kaum aber *\*med*) mit dem germanischen Präteritopräsens *got. gamot*, dt. *muss*, engl. *must*. Aufgrund der Sandhprobleme mit dem auslautenden Dental ist dieser im Lykischen durch Metanalyse beseitigt, deshalb lyk. *ma-ti*, cf. heth. *ma-az-za-az-zi* und *ma-az-zi* (= *maz-* + *-zi*) gleichsam *\*mazz-i*, cf. auch *e-iz-za-az-zi*, sekundär *e-iz-za-i*, ‚ißt‘. Vielleicht ist auch eine Form der hi-Konjugation lyk. *\*madi* (= *mad-i*) zu *mati* (jetzt gleichsam *ma-* + *ti*) umgestaltet worden.

„Auf dieser Kline<sup>116</sup>, nun da<sup>117</sup> liegt *Padrñma*, der Priester, und ja nicht<sup>118</sup> wird er<sup>119</sup> (man ?) es wagen, da (oder: ihm) jemanden<sup>120</sup> anderen<sup>121</sup> daraufzulegen.“

### IV.3.

Am Grabäußeren befindet sich noch eine zweite Inschrift TL 48b (= TL 48, 4-8), die aus paläographischen Gründen später als TL 48a (= TL 48, 1-4) mit der Inschrift über der Kline des *Padrñma* TL 49 in den gleichen Zeithorizont zu datieren ist. Ausser durch die Paläographie sind TL 48b und TL 49 in sehr auffälliger Weise durch eine synkopierte Variante des Personennamens verbunden. Während der bestattete Priester sich selbst in der – vielleicht lange vor seinem Tod abgefassten – „Bauinschrift“ TL 48a *Padrñma* genannt hat, schreiben diejenigen, die im Zusammenhang seines Todes agieren, seinen Namen nun übereinstimmend als *Padrñma* oder *Padrñma*.

#### IV.3.1. TL 48b (= TL 48, Zeilen 4-8)

<sup>4</sup>*ebēññē: xupā: mēti: ijetē* <sup>5</sup>*Qarñnaxa: Pssureh: tidei*<sup>6</sup>*mi: se tideimi: Padrñmahe*  
<sup>7</sup>*Xudiwazade: epenētijatte* <sup>8</sup>*Padrñma*

An diesen Satz hat sich schon Melchert<sup>122</sup> herangewagt, nachdem mittlerweile die Bedeutung des Verbum *ije-* durch seine neuerkannte Entsprechung im Hieroglyphenluvischen als ‚kaufen‘ klar geworden war. Melcherts Interpretation lautet (in meiner raffenden Wiedergabe):

„Dieses Grabmal, nun es hat sich gekauft *Qarñnaxa*, des *Pssure* Sohn<sup>123</sup>, und *Xudiwazade*, der Sohn des *Padrñma*, hat den Verkauf als Makler für *Padrñma* gemanaged<sup>124</sup>.“

An dieser mutigen Interpretation werden wir im folgenden weiter feilen. Denn dass sie sachlich und sprachlich noch nicht ganz ins Schwarze trifft, liegt auf der Hand. Wieso hätte der Sohn eines Priesters die Pietätlosigkeit aufgebracht, das von seinem Vater errichtete Grab *samt dessen Leichnam* zu verkaufen? Und wieso hätte der Käufer kein leeres, sondern ein belegtes Grab *samt dem darin zu bestattendem* oder

116 Melchert 2004: 29 und Neumann 2007: 154. Die Bedeutung ‚Kline, Bank‘ (‚lectus, banquette‘ Laroche 1960: 176, anders Laroche 1974: 134) ist hier wie auch sonst durch den Sachbefund klar; zum Sonderfall von Tyberissos TL 76 cf. Seyer 2009: 57. Es lässt sich das Suffix *-zije-* (aus *\*-tyo-*) abtrennen, das auch hethitische Entsprechungen hat (vor allem in *\*uzzi*), aber der Rest *isba-* bleibt vorerst ohne Anschluss.

117 *ije*, ‚da‘ (engl. ‚therein, thereon‘) vergleicht sich im Ausgang *\*ije* mit heth. *apiia*, ‚da‘; auf das Problem der Geltung als Dativ des Personalpronomens, dessen Form mit dem heth. Dativausgang *\*iia* bei substantivischen *i*-Stämmen vergleichbar ist, gehe ich hier nicht ein; s. Melchert 2004: 28 und für die Doxographie Neumann 2007: 149.

118 Lvk. AB ne ‚nicht‘, die Negation im Aussagensatz (Melchert 2004: 43, Neumann 2007: 237), verwandt mit hluv. *na* (Hawkins 2000: 628b) und *na-wa* ‚nicht‘, kluv. *na-a-ú-wa, na-a-wa, na-ú-wa, na-u-wa, na-wa* ‚nicht‘. Im Hethitischen gibt es *\*na* nur verbaut in *na-at-ta* ‚nicht‘ und *nāwi* ‚noch nicht‘ (*\*ne h,yewi*). Das heth. *a* aus ieu. *\*e* (in ieu. *\*né, \*ne* ‚nicht‘) ist im Schwachton entstanden (aber natürlich nicht aus ieu. *\*no*, wie z.B. Hajnal 1995: 102 Anm. 68 vermutet), das luv. *a* ist doppeldeutig (wegen ieu. *\*e > luv. a*). Die Schwundstufe *n sonans* ist nach Laroche, Čop, Carruba und Eichner (s. Neumann 2007: 14 und Kloekhorst 2008a: 171) komponiert in lvk. *ammāma* (<*\*an-may-a-mi-*), ‚unerwachsene, junge, unberührte‘ (Rinder als Opfertiere) – heth. *um(m)iiant-* (?), *am(m)iiant-* ‚klein‘. Neumanns Einwand, „es wäre pietätlos, ausdrücklich zu sagen, dass kleine Tiere geopfert werden sollen“ beruht auf einem Missverständnis und verkennt, dass es sich um unberührte Jungtiere handelt (cf. griech. *θεῖα στείρα* als Opfertier). Neumanns Erklärung als Lehnwort aus griech. *ἄμωμος* ‚untadelig‘ ist lautlich schwierig; lvk. *m̄m* und der Vokalismus widerstreiten ihr.

119 Ich erwäge, die dritte Singularperson in solchen Fällen auf den für die Bestattung verantwortlichen Erben zu beziehen. Die dritte Pluralperson von anderem Gebrauch (z.B. mit der Prohibitivnegation *ni* [< *\*ni-s*, hluv. *nis* [Hawkins 2000: 628b], kluv. *nīš* [Laroche 1959: 159] plus Imperativ ‚nicht sollen sie ....‘) wird auf das Bestattungs-Personal zu beziehen sein.

120 Die konkurrierenden Formen *A tise* (~ *B kize?* Melchert 2004: 118), glatt herleitbar aus <*\*k<sup>u</sup>is-ha* (alter Nominativ wie kluv. Laroche 1959: 119 *ku-is-ha* ‚some, anyone‘) und *A tike* (~ *B kike?*) < *\*k<sup>u</sup>in-ha* (wie kluv. *ku-i-en-ha*, mit Wechsel *h ~ k* wie in *exburahi ~ ekebura*, Melchert 2004: 13?), Verschlussbildung war in *tike* durch den Nasal gefördert, cf. weiter *āka* ‚wie‘, *ēke* ‚als‘ – kluv. *a-ah-ha* nach Laroche 1958: 180, zur lvk. Nasalierung cf. heth. *māhhanta ~ mánhanda* ‚wie, als‘, CHD L-N: 111) haben sich nach Nominativ und Akkusativ sekundär vermischt.

121 *A kbi* = *B tbi* ‚zweiter, anderer‘ beruht als ursprüngliches Ordinale auf einem verschütteten *ja*-Stamm, der in *kbijehi-*, *Kbijētezi* wieder zum Vorschein kommt.

122 Melchert 1989: 42-45, unter expliziter Anknüpfung an Laroche 1974: 132-133.

123 Melchert 1989: 43 „*Qarñnaxa*, son of *Pssura*, bought this tomb.“ Für die reflexive Geltung von *-ti* sehe man Melchert 2004: 65; der Personennamenname ist bei Melchert 2004: 102 als *Pssure* angesetzt, könnte aber auch einen *i*-Nominativ *Pssuri\** haben.

124 Melchert 1989: 44 „And the son of *Padrama*, *Xudiwazade*, acted as sales agent“; Melchert 1989: 43 „if the tomb was bought, someone had to authorize the sale“; *epenētijatte* „must mean either ‚authorized the sale‘ or ‚represented‘“.



bereits bestatteten Leichnam eines Priesters erwerben sollen? Die von Melchert sehr richtig erkannte Transaktion muss wohl etwas anders verlaufen sein.

Auch die sprachliche Seite bedarf der weiteren Politur: Der Name des Sohnes ist selbstverständlich *Xudiwaza*<sup>125</sup>, das daran angehängte *-de* ist eine enklitische Partikel<sup>126</sup>, oder eventuell die Pronominalform des Neutrums *-de*. Dass dieses Enklitikum hier nicht gleich am Satzbeginn steht, in der uns so vertrauten Wackernagelschen Position, sondern weiter hinten im Satzinneren<sup>127</sup>, ist der Grund dafür, dass man *-de* bislang verkannt hat. Und die Form *epenētiyatte* als präteritales Aktiv mit unerklärlichem *-tt*<sup>128</sup> kann nun als Form des Mediums des Verbums *ija-, ije-* ‚kaufen‘ bestimmt werden. Die Medialendung *-tte* ist aus *\*-tade* synkopiert<sup>129</sup>, wobei das auslautende *°e* auf Angleichung des aus dem Hethitischen geläufigen Ausgangs der Sg. 3. Prät. Medium *-ttat* und *-ttati* an die anderen Präteritalausgänge beruht. ebenso wie vielleicht:

40d 2 (Sarkophag des Pajawa)<sup>130</sup> *ebeija* : [xr]uwata : *meije pijetē* : *Wat[aprd]ata* : *xssadrapa* : *Pa[rz]a* : *ppdē* : *telēzi* : *epatte* : *Trm̄milise* : *Ma[naxine(?)]*

Wörtlich: „Diese Gaben(?), nun (sie) hat hier ihm/ihnen gegeben Autophradates, der persische Satrap. Vor der Gefolgschaft, ist empfangen worden, den Termilern, *Man[axine(?)]*.“

Die Form Sg. 3. Prät. Medium *epatte* vergleicht sich mit heth. *ap-pa-at-ta-at*, (ein Orakel wurde nicht empfangen<sup>131</sup>. Mir scheint auch in TL 29, 9 *epptte=teri* > *+epa'tte=teri* eine solche Medialform vorzuliegen:

*hlrm̄mide* : *Alaxsañtra* : *erite=teri* : *Trm̄misñ* : *ñtepi* : *xñtawata* : *+apa'tte=teri* : ...  
„als zudem Alexander sich erhob (und) sich Lykien unter seine Königsherrschaft nahm ...“

Geschrieben steht<sup>132</sup> zwar *apptte*, doch ist das *-pp-* falsch und paläographisch sehr leicht in *pa* zu korrigieren, wonach sich auch der a-Umlaut (TL 40d 2, Datierung gegen 400 v. Chr.) *epatte* > (TL 29,7, Datierung nach 333 v. Chr.) *apatte* glatt verstehen lässt. Zur Wahl der Diathesen ist zu sagen, dass *hluv. iyasa-, isa-* ‚kaufen‘ bisher nur im Aktiv belegt ist, aber bei der geringen Anzahl der Vorkommen ist das kein starkes Indiz dafür, dass das Medium bei diesem Verbum völlig ungebräuchlich gewesen wäre.

Nun findet sich bei Neumann 2007: 150 in Bezug auf TL 78<sup>133</sup> die Vermutung „dann ist *epñn ije-* vielleicht zurückkaufen“. Mir scheint dieser Vorschlag auch für TL 48b verwertbar. Hier findet sich der Komplex *epenētijatte*, den ich als Adverb *epenēti* ‚hinterher, zurück‘ + mediale Verbalform *ijatte* auffasse ‚hat sich

125 Einer der häufigen Namen mit dem Ausgang *°aza* (Suffix der Nomina agentis und ähnlich) wie *Apuwaza\**, *Hanadaza*, *Epñtibaza*, *Izraza*, *Murāza*, *Pumaza*, *Sbikaza*, *Sppñtaza*, *Zānaza*. Namen, die auf *°azade* ausgehen, gibt es im Lykischen nicht.

126 Zur Partikel *-de* cf. Laroche 1979a: 119 und 124, Melchert 2004: 8 (sei Entsprechung von heth. *-ššan*) und Neumann 2007: 42 und 137, wo schon die Ablösung von *xudiwazade* erwogen, aber der Personennamen nicht als solcher (an)erkannt wird.

127 Die Satzbindestellung ist meines Erachtens ein erhaltener Archaismus in Fällen, wo sich die heth. Partikel aus älteren wortbezogenen Postpositionen des Typs lat. *nobis-cum* ‚mit uns‘ und umbr. *ueris-co* ‚an den Toren‘ entwickelt hat. Ich bin bereits in einem Vortrag (24.9.1994) auf dem Delbrück-Gedenksymposium in Madrid auf das Phänomen eingegangen und zitiere aus dem damaligen Handout KUB 15.34 II 8 ... *URU<sup>ta</sup>-ta-ri-ša=kán*, KUB 15.34 II 20 ... *iš-tar-na-kán*, KUB 2.3 II 15 ... *lu-ú-li-kán*, KUB 26.17 I 6 ... *ÉRIN<sup>ME5</sup> a-ša-an-du-la-an-na-aš=kán*, KUB 25.23 I 36 ... *ŠA É<sup>4U</sup> U.SAL-LI=kán*, KBo 21.34 II 28 ... *I-NA<sup>GIS</sup>TIR=kán*.

128 Melcherts Auffassung wird von Hajnal 1995: 185 dahingehend verbessert, dass das Verbum nun als *epenētijat(t)-* angesetzt wird, das als Zusammenrückung (synthetische Verbalform) aus einem Substantiv *\*epenantija(-)* ‚Geschäft‘ und einer synkopierten Verbalform *\*tate* > *-tte* ‚er stellte, machte (einen Verkauf)‘ erklärt wird. Aber diese Notlösung ist völlig *ad hoc*.

129 Zur Angleichung der beiden Dentale in synopiertem *\*-tde* > *-tte* kann verglichen werden der Dativ des Relativums *\*k<sup>w</sup>edi* (~ heth. Nebenform *ku-e-ti*) > lyk. *tdi* (TL 58,3; 75,2 N 324,27, mit Melchert 2004: 65; s. auch Dativ TL 112,4 *td[i]ke*) > (*se=de=*)*tti* in TL 111,6 [X] *tise tise* : *prñnawati se-de-tti epirijeti* ‚...Wenn irgendjemand irgendetwas anbaut oder es irgendjemandem (-tti) verkauft.“ Dass in der ersten Singularperson nur die unsynkopierte Variante *°xagá* vorkommt (~heth. *-hha-ha*), wird durch euphonische Rücksichten bedingt sein.

130 Der Text steht über einer Audienzszene, bei welcher der Satrap eine lykische Delegation empfängt. Cf. Laroche 1974: 139.

131 Neu 1968: 24.

132 Tekoğlu 2006: 1704-1705.

133 TL 78 (Tyssa) ist mir wegen des im Text nicht angegebenen Zusammenhangs der erwähnten Personen noch unverständlich. Klar scheint nur, dass es sich um einen nach der Errichtung des Grabes durch den Grabherrn *Xuprija* um einen Grabkauf seitens der Nachkommenschaft eines Mannes namens *Maxa* handelt.



zurück gekauft', Das Adverb \**epenēti* vergleicht sich mit heth. *a-ap-pa-an-an-da* ‚hinterher‘<sup>134</sup>. Die sonstige genaue Entsprechung heth. *anda* ~ lyk. *ñte* wird hier durch die seltene Alternative lyk. *ēti*<sup>135</sup> substituiert.

Nicht zielführend scheint mir hingegen die direkt auf Laroche fußende Annahme Melcherts, *epenētijatte* sei eine Verbalform, die mit heth. *happenant-* ‚begütert, reich‘ zusammenhängt. Es handle sich um eine Denominativum auf *-a-* (als Äquivalent von heth. *°ahh*), dessen Struktur man durch das heth. Transponat \**happantiyahh-* veranschaulichen könne. Weil heth. *happenant-* zwar ‚reich‘ bedeutet, aber dieser Bedeutung eine andere vorausliege ‚provided with sales‘, sei es leicht zu verstehen, dass darunter ‚sales agent, merchant‘ falle.

Das Verbum \**happantiyahh-* könne deshalb leicht ‚act as sales agent, merchandize‘ bedeuten. Aber dass es in Lykien überhaupt eine solche Institution ‚sales agent‘ geben hätte, und dass der Vorgang überdies auch noch in der kurzen Inschrift ausdrücklich berichtet worden wäre, mutet seltsam an. Die kulturgeschichtliche Adäquatheit von Melcherts Vorschlag unterliegt deshalb starkem Zweifel.

Auch ist die lautliche Seite nicht einfach, denn das hethitische *h* schwankt zwar im Keilschriftluvischen, ist aber im Lykischen fest. Die einzige, freilich recht überzeugend wirkende Ausnahme ist die schon von Laroche<sup>136</sup> vorgeschlagene Verbindung von lyk. *epirije-* ‚kaufen(?)‘ oder ‚verkaufen(?)‘ mit heth. *-za happarija- / happarai-* ‚Handel treiben, verkaufen‘.

### IV.3.2. Als Ergebnis unserer Studie zu diesem Inschriftenkomplex TL 48-49 können wir nun festhalten

TL 48b (Zeilen 4-6) <sup>4</sup>*ebēññē: xupā: mē=ti: ijetē* <sup>5</sup>*Qarñnaxa: Pssureh: tidei* <sup>6</sup>*mi: se tideimi: Padrñmahe* <sup>7</sup>*Xudiwaza=de: epenētijatte* <sup>8</sup>*Padrñma*

„Dieses Grab, nun wer es gekauft hat, (der ist) Qarñnaxa, der Sohn des Pssure/i, und der Sohn des Padrñma (namens) Xudiwaza hat es sich hinterher für Padrñma (zurück-)gekauft.“

Das Ensemble von drei zusammengehörigen Inschriften erklärt sich also so, dass in den ersten drei Zeilen von TL 48 eine gewöhnliche Grabstiftungsinschrift des *Padrñma* für seine Brüder(?) und Neffen vorliegt. Aber aus finanziellen Gründen hat *Padrñma* daraufhin das Grab an einen Fremden namens *Qarñnaxa* verkauft, wobei in Frage kommt, dass dieser es daraufhin sofort selbst als Familiengrab genutzt hat. Wahrscheinlich ist *Padrñma* dann gestorben, bevor er eine andere Grablege für sich selbst errichten konnte. Der nun für die Bestattung seines Vaters *Padrñma* zuständige Sohn *Xudiwaza* hat daraufhin das von *Padrñma* gestiftete und verkaufte Grab zurückgekauft. Vielleicht hat der Rückkauf nicht das Grab als ganzes betroffen, sondern nur eine einzelne Grablege. Die Kline des *Padrñma* ist jedenfalls vom übrigen Grab separiert und in ganz aussergewöhnlicher Weise mit einer eigenen Inschrift TL 49 versehen worden, durch welche die Exklusivität dieser Bestattung eines Priesters gewährleistet werden sollte.

Die voranstehenden Zeilen unseres § 4 sollen dartun, dass die Lösung des seinerzeit von Laroche noch offen gelassenen Rätsels mittlerweile als möglich erscheint. Aber für das, was sich jetzt so einfach anhört, ist ein recht langer Weg der Forschung erforderlich gewesen.

Addendum zu IV.1.2.: Hülten 2011: 497: „Recent research has made it increasingly clear that the tumulus was a common grave type in the highlands of Central Lycia from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.“

<sup>134</sup> Otten/Souček 1969: 93 und 110.

<sup>135</sup> Als Variante der Formel *ēñē °ehe xñtawata* ‚unter der Königsherrschaft des Soundso‘ begegnet in N 314a 7 (Kızılca) [ē]ti, s. weiter Melchert 2004: 21 und Neumann 2007: 85-86.

<sup>136</sup> Laroche 1958: 172, cf. Melchert 2004: 15 (‚sell‘, + Reflexivpartikel ti), Neumann 2007: 60-61; ablehnend Kloekhorst 2008a: 296.

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Il y a 100 ans, Emmanuel Laroche voyait le jour. Savant à la fois passionné de linguistique indo-européenne et d'Antiquité, il marqua durablement l'hittitologie par ses nombreuses contributions dans des domaines aussi variés que l'histoire des religions proche-orientales, la philologie cunéiforme ou encore la grammaire du hittite, du louvite et du hurrite. Ce colloque organisé en l'honneur de son centenaire a été l'occasion de faire le point sur les avancées de l'hittitologie actuelle, avancées auxquelles il participa tout au long de sa vie et qui se poursuivent après lui. Les axes thématiques qui sont abordés dans ce volume sont ceux qu'Emmanuel Laroche développa de son vivant, à savoir la linguistique des langues anatoliennes, la philologie et l'épigraphie cunéiforme et hiéroglyphique, les religions de l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite, l'histoire et la géographie historique, mais aussi l'archéologie proche-orientale, domaine qu'Emmanuel Laroche côtoya de près. Ajoutons à ces domaines celui de l'historiographie qui illustre, entre autres choses, l'impact des travaux d'Emmanuel Laroche dans l'hittitologie d'aujourd'hui.

100 years ago, Emmanuel Laroche was born. As a scholar who was fascinated both by Indo-European Linguistics and Ancient Near Eastern and Classical Studies, he had a durable impact on Hittitology through his numerous contributions. His publications dealt with History of Near Eastern Religions, Cuneiform Philology, and Hittite, Luwian, and Hurrian grammar, among many other topics. This conference was organized in honor of his 100<sup>th</sup> birthday. Its aim was to discuss the recent developments in Hittitology, the ones to whom Emmanuel Laroche contributed and the ones which occurred after his time. The following themes are dealt with in this volume: Anatolian Linguistics, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Philology and Epigraphy, Religions of Bronze and Early Iron Age Anatolia, History and Historical Geography of Asia Minor, but also Near Eastern Archaeology, as Emmanuel Laroche was also very close to this discipline. Let us add to those fields Historiography which illustrates, among other things, the impact of Emmanuel Laroche's work on today's Hittitology.



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