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hethitica VIII

Acta Anatolica

E. LAROCHE oblata

Edidit R. LEBRUN

(Colloque anatolien, Paris, 1-5 juillet 1985)



PEETERS
LOUVAIN - PARIS
1987

AVANT-PROPOS

En offrant ces *Acta Anatolica* à Monsieur le Professeur Laroche, les participants au Colloque Anatolien tenu à Paris du 1 au 5 juillet 1985 dans les vénérables locaux du Collège de France désirent exprimer leur profonde gratitude envers l'initiateur de cette rencontre. Ils lui adressent aussi tous leurs remerciements pour tout ce qu'il a fait et continue de réaliser dans le domaine de l'asianisme.

R.L.

D / 1987 / 0602/26

ISBN 90-6831-082-8

© PEETERS
Bondgenotenlaan 153
B-3000 Leuven

et Publications Linguistiques de Louvain
Place Blaise Pascal 1,
B-1348 LOUVAIN-LA-NEÛVE

Printed in Belgium

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DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE

EMMANUEL LAROCHE

Mesdames, Messieurs, chers Collègues,

Les professeurs et l'administration du Collège de France sont heureux d'accueillir à Paris les collègues, français et étrangers, qui leur ont fait l'honneur de répondre à leur invitation.

Le prétexte, l'occasion de ce Colloque anatolien ne sont pas mystérieux. C'est à la suite de plusieurs découvertes exceptionnelles survenues ces dernières années dans le domaine de l'antiquité anatolienne préclassique que certains orientalistes ont ressenti le besoin d'élargir les cadres traditionnels de nos Rencontres Assyriologiques Internationales, afin de les mieux adapter aux circonstances.

Il suffit en effet d'énumérer brièvement quelques-unes de ces acquisitions, dues en général à l'activité de l'archéologie en territoires turc et syrien pour prendre conscience de la nouvelle situation.

A Meskene, sur le Moyen-Euphrate, les fouilles de 1975-1980 ont livré, avec des milliers de tablettes akkadiennes relevant de la pure assyriologie (1), plus de cent cinquante empreintes de sceaux à hiéroglyphes ; leur seule présence signale une colonisation hittite aux 14^{ème} et 13^{ème} siècles. On a affaire à l'expansion culturelle du puissant voisin anatolien que les témoignages, maintenant à demi-séculaires, des fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit ne faisaient même pas entrevoir. La publication prochaine

lycien sont traduits en grec pour affichage. Il en résulte que les deux langues entrent réellement en contact, et qu'on a affaire à de vraies bilingues. Au contraire, dans les "textes de cour" (ci-dessus), la "chronique lycienne" et l'"épigramme grecque", tout en traitant du même sujet, le font de façon indépendante. Au I^{er} siècle, on note une influence, pour la première fois, du lycien sur le grec, faible certes, et qui n'eut pas le temps de se développer, mais réelle (cf. Blomqvist, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 14 (1982), 11-20).

8. Cette étude du plurilinguisme lycien a été menée en considérant la langue écrite comme un document politique et culturel au service d'un état et des couches dominantes de la société. Les limites en sont claires et nullement inattendues : ces textes nous en apprennent beaucoup plus sur les gouvernants que sur les gouvernés. Mais on y perçoit le jeu des influences et de l'acculturation au même titre que sur de grands monuments plus souvent étudiés de ce point de vue, comme les piliers de Xanthos, le Monument des Néréides ou l'hérôon de Limyra.

Adresse de l'auteur : 2, rue Alphonse Daudet
F - 75014 Paris
FRANCE.

BCILL 37 : HETHITICA VIII, 267-295.

THE LATE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN CORPUS : SOME NEW LEXICAL RECOGNITIONS*

A. MORPURGO DAVIES AND J.D. HAWKINS
OXFORD - LONDON

In the mid-1960's a group of interested scholars met regularly in Oxford to read through and discuss the Hittite Hieroglyphic inscriptions. The initiative for the meetings came from the late Professor L.R. Palmer, who had already done some work on the inscriptions ; the other members of the group were Oliver Gurney, Jill Hart, Anna Morpurgo Davies and David Hawkins. Two important publications, Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (1960) and Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* (1962) had recently appeared and provided a solid basis from which to approach the texts. The two books were themselves written after the discovery of the KARATEPE bilingual, when enough of the new information was available and could be incorporated in the work.

Shortly afterwards Meriggi's *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico* (1966, 1967, 1975) started to appear and offered a new, compendious edition of the inscriptions with transliteration, translation and a grammatical sketch. In the meantime, during archaeological work in Turkey, 1965-1969, Hawkins was able to examine most of the Hieroglyphic texts at first hand and became convinced that priority had to be given to establishing reliable texts and making them available in accurate copies accompanied by photographs on the model of Gelb's *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments* (1939).

A major development in the reading and interpretation of the texts was permitted by Tahsin Özgüç's discovery at Altintepe of pithoi inscribed with words in Hieroglyphic (1) ; these were identified with known measures written in Cuneiform found on Urartian pithoi from other sites (2). The Hieroglyphic-Cuneiform correspondences so gained included that of the supposed vocalic sign Hieroglyphic \uparrow with cuneiform si , which enabled Anna Morpurgo Davies and David Hawkins, in collaboration with Günter Neumann, to revive, revise and extend an earlier proposal by H.T. Bossert concerning the two pairs of signs \uparrow \uparrow and \uparrow \uparrow . The previous readings were i/\bar{i} and a/\bar{a} but it now became possible to establish the new readings zi/za and i/ia (3). It was also shown, following an earlier suggestion by Gelb, that for the two pairs of signs, which replaced earlier undifferentiated signs with the value zi/a and $i(a)$, the a -vocalization was indicated by the addition of the double bars (a stylized form of the sign \bar{a}) across the base of the original signs (4). The correctness of the values attributed to the earlier forms of the signs has since been substantially corroborated by the newly found digraphic seals from Meskene (5), where Hieroglyphic zi/a consistently corresponds to Cuneiform zi and za and Hieroglyphic $i(a)$ to Cuneiform i , (e) and ia (but not to a , which is consistently written with the Hieroglyphic signs \bar{a} and \bar{a}). For the later period it also became clear that the reading of \uparrow as i (not a) could be usefully integrated with the modified vocalic values previously attributed to some signs (ni , si , wa/i etc.) by Hermann Mittelberger (6).

Predictably the new readings considerably altered our understanding of Hieroglyphic phonology and grammar : from this point of view Hieroglyphic was now seen to be much closer to Cuneiform Luwian than had been suspected. They also permitted a large number of new lexical identifications between the two groups, and new ones still continue to emerge. Associated with the earlier readings, but also based on independent new evidence, was Hawkins' identification of the factual negative na (as against the prohibitive negative ni), which was of some importance in the interpretation of the texts (7). Also very fruit-

ful was the later correspondence between Hawkins and Frank Starke, who had been doing similar work on the Cuneiform Luwian texts, culminating in the recent publication of his *Die Keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (1985).

These new developments, in connection with his progress in the revision of the inscriptions, suggested to Hawkins that the time was ripe to accompany the publications of the texts with new transliterations and translations, commentary and bibliography. The projected corpus is planned to include, in the first instance at any rate, only the inscriptions of the Early Iron Age, the "Neo-Hittite" period. These form a chronologically and geographically coherent group, emanating as they do from SE Anatolia and NW Syria within the period c. 1000-700 B.C., and the group is generally homogeneous, with recognizable local variations. It comprises some 150 inscriptions of varying lengths and states of preservation, ranging from the complete to the fragmentary, and from the clear to the illegible. When adequately preserved, these inscriptions can now be translated with a fair degree of confidence. Within this corpus we find a range of some 150 logograms, of which a fair proportion are rare or *hapax legomena*, and a regular syllabary of about 60 signs with additional rare variants, a total sign repertory of about 250 signs.

A Hieroglyphic corpus so defined excludes two major groups, the stone inscriptions of the Empire period (c. 1400-1200 B.C.), and the seals, themselves also largely dating to that period. The stone inscriptions of the Hittite Empire are excluded on several grounds, practical and theoretical. They are much fewer, shorter, less well preserved and less well understood than the later group. The large majority of them are epigraphs of few, sometimes single words, usually proper names and titles identifying sculptures. Of the few longer inscriptions hardly any are well enough preserved to be freely legible, and those that are show the comparatively undeveloped nature of the script, heavily logographic with few syllabic writings, and with sign forms often difficult to identify. In addition, one of the longest and most important examples of this group is unpublished

and seems likely to remain so (the inscribed blocks from ILGIN). The group undoubtedly deserves a proper up to date treatment, but this would be fraught with difficulties and it is perhaps premature to undertake it. Certainly a treatment of the late group should not be made to wait on it.

As for the seals, these present substantial difficulties of their own. They comprise a very large, ever expanding number of one or two word inscriptions, proper names with titles, often poorly preserved. The sign repertory only partly overlaps with that of the other two groups and contains in addition a very large number of doubtful and unidentifiable signs, which generally offer little hope of penetration. Again it is best to keep the seals on their own to form their own corpus, and in fact this is already in the capable hands of a number of specialists.

The preparation of the corpus of Late Hittite, "Hieroglyphic Luwian" inscriptions by Hawkins is now far advanced, and it is hoped that it will be placed in the hands of printers in the course of 1987. During this work a number of interesting new recognitions of lexical items have been made, which should be of interest to scholars beyond the somewhat narrow bounds of Hieroglyphic Luwian itself. It was thought appropriate to offer a presentation of some of these to the Colloque Anatolien in honour of Professor Emmanuel Laroche, who has himself over many years contributed so substantially to the sum of such understandings.

1. ("FLUMEN") *hapari-*, "river land" (KARATEPE, 264).

The identification of the Cun. Hitt. logogram ÍD, "river", with the phonetic writing *ha-pa-* was made by Otten (8). Laroche extended the identification by comparing Cun. Luw. *ha-a-pí-*, Hier. FLUMEN-*pí-* (9), and following Mittelberger (10), the Hier. derived forms (FLUMEN.REGIO)*ha-pa-tā* (KARKAMIS A 11c, ll. 3-4)// FLUMEN-*pa-ti-* (KARKAMIS A 12, l.3) ; this in turn permitted the identification of Hitt. *hapati-* as the phonetic rendering of

Cun. KUR.ÍD, "river-land", the exact correspondence of Hier. FLUMEN.REGIO. Mittelberger's recognitions included the HAMA writings now read FLUMEN.REGIO-*ta-i-sa* (nom. sing. MF), (HAMA 1/2/3, l.2 ; also HAMA 7, unpublished), which set beside *hapati-* give an extended form *hapatai-*. He also included ("FLUMEN") *há-pa+ra/i-* // FLUMEN-PRAE-*i-* (KARATEPE, 264, new readings, i.e. *hapari-*), as did Laroche in a tentative fashion (11). The implications of this last identification for the understanding of the KARATEPE passage have not been further explored, and it is timely to do so here.

Earlier the interpretation of KARATEPE's *hapari-* was thought to be sufficiently obscure to relegate it to dependence on the Phoen. *h-mskt*, itself highly problematic (12), and in addressing themselves to the problem of *mskt* Semitists have stated, correctly until the present identification, that the Hier. equivalent casts no light on the Phoen. word. In fact the lead given by Mittelberger and Laroche provides a sufficiently secure basis to demand that the Phoen. *mskt* be interpreted by reference to it. To recapitulate the stages of argument, the Hier. logogram FLUMEN (so transcribed because of these identifications) can be seen to be used (1°) to determine a river-name ("FLUMEN+RA/I") *sā-ku+ra/i-*, "(mod.) river Sajur" (KARKAMIS A 11c, l.3) ; (2°) to write the word for "river", FLUMEN-*pí-*, = Cun. Luw. *ha-a-pí-*, Hitt. *ha-pa-* (KARKAMIS A 15b, l.2) ; (3°) to determine with or without the addition of REGIO, the derived forms *hapati-* and *hapatai-*, "river-land" (see above). There is no good reason for dissociating KARATEPE's ("FLUMEN")*hapari-* from these writings ; it is simply a rhotacized form of the attested Hier. FLUMEN-*pa-ti-*, Hitt. *hapati-*. The KARATEPE passage (261-265) may thus be confidently translated (13) :

(Hu.) *wa/i-na i-zi-sa-tu-na ta-ia* ("FLUMEN")*há-pa+ra/i-sa*
OMNIS-MI-*i-sa*, "and every river-land will begin to honour him..."

This well-founded interpretation of the Hier. text necessitates a revision of views on the Phoen. text, which will need a fuller examination elsewhere. Here the following should be noted:
Phoen. A ii 19-iii 1 : *w-ylk zbh l kl h-mskt*

"and all the MSKT will cause to come a sacrifice to him ...".

The parallelism is now clear. The subject is *kl h-mskt* (= *haparis tanimis*), "all the river-lands". Hier. "will begin to honour" // Phoen. "will cause to come a sacrifice", show different but parallel phrasing. Hier. "him" (direct object) demands the interpretation of Phoen. *l* as "to him" (indirect object) (14), which can be further supported by a comparison of the parallel passage from the statue (Phoen. text C), though this is damaged and difficult (15). It is no longer possible to read, as has always been done, *l-kl h-mskt*, "to all the MSKT". As to the identification *hapari-* = *mskt*, "river-land(s)", it poses a tantalizing problem for Semitists. Had the two middle letters of the latter word been lost, the understanding of the Hier. passage would at once have prompted a restoration *m[š]q[š]*, since the root attested in Heb. *mšqh*, Akk. *mašqātu/mašqû*, would have provided the obvious translation for the Hier. As it is the obstinate appearance of *-sk-* instead of *-šq-* must give rise to suspicions of a mistaken representation of the Semitic phonemes by a non-Semitic speaking scribe. It may however be that an alternative and satisfactory explanation will be found.

2. Hier. *tamihisa* (KARATEPE, 296) = Hitt. *tam(m)etar*, "abundance"

KARATEPE, LI, 283-296 (Hu.).

pi-ia-tu-ha-wa/i-tu-u (DEUS) TONITRUS-hu-za-sa ARHA *u-sa-nu-wa/i-mi-sá za-si-ha* ("CASTRUM") *há+na/i-na-sá-si* DEUS-nl-zí (LITUUS+) *á-za-ti-wa/i-tá-ia* "LONGUS"-*ta₅-ia* (DIES) *há-li-ia mi-ia-ti-zi-ha* (ANNUS) *u-si-zi sa-na-wa/i-sá-ha-wa/i tá-mi-hi-sá* (So also Ho.).

"and may Tarhunzas the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, to Azatiwatas, long days and many years and also good *tamihisa* !".

Phoen. A iii 4-6 : *l-tty b'el krntryš w-kl 'ln qnt l-'ztwd 'nk ymm w-nb šnt w-nš't n'mt*

"So that Baal KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city may give to Azatiwad length of days and multitude of years and good *nš't*".

Both sides of the equation Hier. *ta-mi-hi-sa* = Phoen. *nš't* have given problems. The Hier. word has been identified together with its qualifying *sa-na-wa/i-sa* as nom. sing. MF, which has necessitated taking the end of § LI as a separate clause introduced by the particles *-ha-wa/i*: "and (may) good *tamihis(a)* (be to him) !", a rather strained supplementation of the sense (16). Also in the absence of any independent evidence for the interpretation of *tamihis(a)* this has been drawn entirely from the Phoen. equation.

Phoen. *nš't* has been interpreted by reference to Akk. *našû*, "possess, acquire", and the cognate Aram. root, and translated "possession, authority etc." (17), but this was discarded by Bron in favour of an association with an Ethiopic root *naš'a*, "be old", and thus translated "old age" (18). This proposal seems to have gained general acceptance (19). Again Semitists often expressly state that the Hier. equivalent cannot be used to determine the meaning of the Phoen. root.

If however we look at the Hier. context with a view to translating more naturally, we would expect *tá-mi-hi-sá* to be acc. not nom., the third object of the verb in a series linked by *-ha(wa)*. This would suggest an identification not as nom. sing. MF but as (nom.) acc. sing. N of an abstract form in *-hi(+sa)*, a possibility which may be supported by the plausible comparison with Hitt. *tam(m)etar*, "prosperity" (or the like). The latter is one of a regular pair *iyatar tammetar* "growth (and) abundance" (20), of which the first has a probable Cun. Luw. correspondence in *iunahi(sa)*, formed on the basis of the inf. *iuna*, "to go" (attested in Hier.) + *ahi(+sa)* abstract suffix with particle of nom./acc. sing. N (21). The identification of Hier. *tamihisa* with Hitt. *tam(m)etar* would provide a Luw. correspondence for the second element of the pair too (22).

A difficulty to interpreting *tamihisa* as acc. sing. N is the qualifying *sa-na-wa/i-sá* (Ho. (BONUS) *sa-na-wa/i-sa*), "good", which seems to be nom. sing. MF, and would be expected to have nom./acc. sing. N ending in *-Ca-za*, i.e. *-an+sa* (23). Yet an examination of the existing paradigm of *sanawl-*, "good", indicates

both that the only other attestation of the form (BONUS) *sa-na-wa/i-sa* is also almost certainly acc. sing. N (24), and that the only certainly identifiable form of the nom. sing. MF is *sa-na-wa/i-za-sa* (*sanawizas*) (25). From this one must suppose that *sa-na-wa/i-sa* as (nom.) acc. sing. N represents *sanawi+sa*, i.e. stem + particle without the usual nom./acc. N ending *-an* which would give **sanawanza*, or perhaps *sanawiyanza* (latter probably attested, see footnote 23). Such neuter forms with the *-sa* particle attached to the bare stem are being increasingly recognized (26).

This analysis of the adjective then makes it possible to treat *sa-na-wa/i-sá tá-mi-hi-sá* as accusative neuter singulars and to recognize in *tá-mi-hi-sá* a *-hi-* abstract, corresponding to Hitt. *tam(m)eta(n)* and thus interpreted as "prosperity, abundance". The identification of the Hittite and Luwian words is also supported by some linguistic facts. Hitt. *tam(m)eta(n)* is practically unique in showing an *-etar* rather than *-atar* termination (27). In Luwian the functional equivalent of Hitt. *-(a)tar* is the *-hi(t)-* suffix, but in Luwian too the suffix is always preceded by *-a-*; Hier. *tamihisa*, if taken as a neuter abstract, is wholly exceptional. Obviously the two "irregularities" ought to be considered together and support the identification of the two words, but a further problem arises: since normally Luwian has *-a-* where Hittite has *-e-*, what would explain the *-i-* of our word? Opinions on the etymology of Hittite *tam(m)eta(n)* diverge (28), but Puhvel follows Watkins in recognizing in the word a verbal noun built on an *ē*-stative. If we similarly assume that *tamihisa* is built on an *ē*-stative, we can at the same time explain the absence of *-a-* before the *-hi-* suffix and the apparent irregularity of the correspondence Hitt. *-e-*, Luw. *-i-*. An inherited **ē* is continued as *i* in Luwian (29), and, if so, the *-i-* of our word is the expected continuation of the *ē*-stative suffix. The point may have more consequences than it seems at first sight. The sequence which we must reconstruct for the Common Luwian or Common Anatolian antecedent of our word is presumably **-ēh-* where *-h-* continues the second laryngeal. If so we have some new Luwian evidence for a sequence in which

a long *e*-vowel has not been altered by the following second laryngeal. The example supports Eichner's interpretation of Hitt. *mēhur*, *sēhur* etc. as from **mēh₂-*, **sēh₂-* etc. (30), though in those words the vowel's length is due to Ablaut while it is possible that the stative suffix goes back to **-eh₁-* (31).

Whatever the conclusion about this final point the correspondence Hier. *tamihisa*, Hitt. *tam(m)eta(n)* is now sufficiently well grounded to request that Semitists look again at *ṣṣ't* and seek association with a root which allows an interpretation such as "abundance, prosperity".

A remarkable passage on the SULTANHAN stele provides three further words for examination in the present paper.

SULTANHAN stele, ll. 5-6 :

- (i) | *ā-wa/i* | TONITRUS-hu-za-sa | *za-'* | *tu-wa/i+na/i-sā-za*
| *ma-sa-ha-ni-i-ti*
- (ii) | *ā-wa/i* | *wa/i-ia-ni-i-sa* | PUGNUS-*ri+i-ti-i*
- (iii) | *tana/i-sa-zi-pa-wa/i* | *ia+na/i-ti-i*
- (iv) | *ā-wa/i* MILLE *ti-wa/i-ta-li-na* | *ā-ia-ti-i*
- (v) | *wa/i-tu-u* | BOS (ANIMAL) 9 CENTUM-ha *ma-tu-sā*
- (vi) | POST+RA/I-*ta-pa-wa/i ā-ta* | *sa₅+na/i-wa/i-ia*
- (vii) | *wa/i-tu-u-ta* | *ti-na-ta-za* POST+RA/I-*ta*
- (viii) | *u-sa-li-pa-wa/i-tu-u* | 2 OVIS (ANIMAL)-*zi*

- (i) Tarhunzas makes this vineyard grow,
(ii) and the vine arises,
(iii) it puts forth(?) leaves,
(iv) and it makes 1000 measures (of wine),
(v) and to him (there is) 9 oxen and 100 (measures of) wine.*
(vi) But in future it will increase (??),
(vii) and to him (there will be) a tithe in future,
(viii) and (as) annual (sacrifices) to him 2 sheep.

Other problems of the passage are dealt with elsewhere (32). The words which will concern us are *aia-*, "make" (§ iv); *matu-sa*, "wine" (§ v); *tinata(n)za*, "tithe" (§ vii).

*[See Addendum 1, p. 295].

3, Hier. $\acute{a}(-ia)-$, "make, do" = Cun. Luw. $a-(a/i-ia)-$.

The new readings i/ia and zi/za for former a/\bar{a} and i/\bar{i} had as one effect the elimination of the reading $a-i-a/\bar{a}-$ for the Hier. verb "make, do". This is now to be reread as $i-zi-i(a)-$, for which alternative etymological links may be proposed (33). The change has caused difficulties for some scholars (34), yet it has gradually become clear that parallel to the verb $iziya-$, "make, do", there is also a verb $\acute{a}(-ia)-$ (in the new readings), with the same meaning, which fills the gap as the form corresponding to the attested Cun. Luw. word. Attention has been drawn piecemeal to the attestations of this root as they emerged (35), but it seems appropriate to review them together in the context of this paper.

(a) SULTANHAN stele, 1.6 (see above, p. 275, § iv)

The passage provides a clear example of a verb $\acute{a}ia-$, for which the translation "make" is contextually appropriate: i.e. the vine ($wiyani-$) "makes" so many measures ($tiwatali-$) of wine ($matu-$). For the combination $tiwatalis matusa$ see below, 4 (a-c).

(b, i) SULTANHAN stele, 1.4 :

|REL₂-pa-wa/i |sa₅+na/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i+na/i-ia-' ...
|TONITRUS-hu-za-sa |za-ä-zi |wa/i+na/i-ia-zi-' |CUM-ni
|á-tä-'

"But when Tarhunzas made these assistances for Sarwatiwaras ...".

(b, ii) KARATEPE, § XV :

|á-mi-ha-wa/i |DOMINUS-ni-i |(NEPOS) ha-su-' |OMNIS-MI-
ma (BONUS) sa-na-wa/i-ia |CUM-na |i-zi-i-há

"and I made all good things for my lord's family".

Citation b, i shows a clear verb $\acute{a}-$, object $wariyanzi$, "assistances" (see below, following citation). Citation b, ii shows a parallel sense of "making good things for someone", where the verb $i-zi-i-$ parallels the noted $\acute{a}-$.

(c) SULTANHAN base (upper surface, 1.2) :

|ä-wa/i-tä |á-pi-i |sa₅+na/-wa/i-ti-wa/i+na/i-sd |á-tä
|wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-sa-ä-ni+i |wa/i+na/i-ia-ni+i
"but Sarwatiwaras made it with Wasusarmas's assistance ...".

Again the verb $\acute{a}-$ with a contextually appropriate sense of "make, do" (36).

With these three SULTANHAN attestations of $\acute{a}(-ia)-$, it should be noted that $iziya-$, "make", is not found in this inscription.

(d) HISARCIK 1, 11.1-3 (see fig. 1) :

(i) ä-wa/i-mi |MONS-ti-na |ha+na/i-ha+na/i-na NOVEM-ta
(GAZELLA) i+na/i-wa/i-ti-i |á-ha
(ii) NOVEM-ti-sa-ha-wa/i-ti-'i² ANNUS-sa₄-si-sá-' |REL-ti
|ta-i
(iii) |wa/i-tu-u NOVEM-ta i+na/i-wa/i-ti |? á²-ha
(iv) ä-wa/i |á-wa/i-' |ha-tu+na/i-la-' PUGNUS.PUGNUS-la
|tu-wa/i-na |si-sä+na/i-li-na |ku+na/i-ti-sá mi-ta₅-na

(i) "I celebrated (lit. did, made) Mount Argaeus nine times(?) with an *irwa*-gazelle,

(ii) and when(?) the year's ninth comes,

(iii) (as) I celebrated you nine times(?) with an *irwa*-gazelle,

(iv) I shall make your SISARLA Kurtis's servant ...".

The readings, based on a latex squeeze and collations by Hawkins, differ slightly from the recent edition of Poetto (37); more substantial differences occur in word and clause division and in interpretation. Fuller discussion must await Hawkins' forthcoming corpus; for the present the following relevant points should be noted.

§ i. The introductory particle $-mi$ demands a verb 1 sing.; only $\acute{a}-ha$ can provide this.

§ ii. Literal translation; cf. below, footnote 61.

§ iii. This can be seen to be closely parallel to § i; the verb seems to have been accidentally omitted, and later written in to the right of the line marking the right edge of the

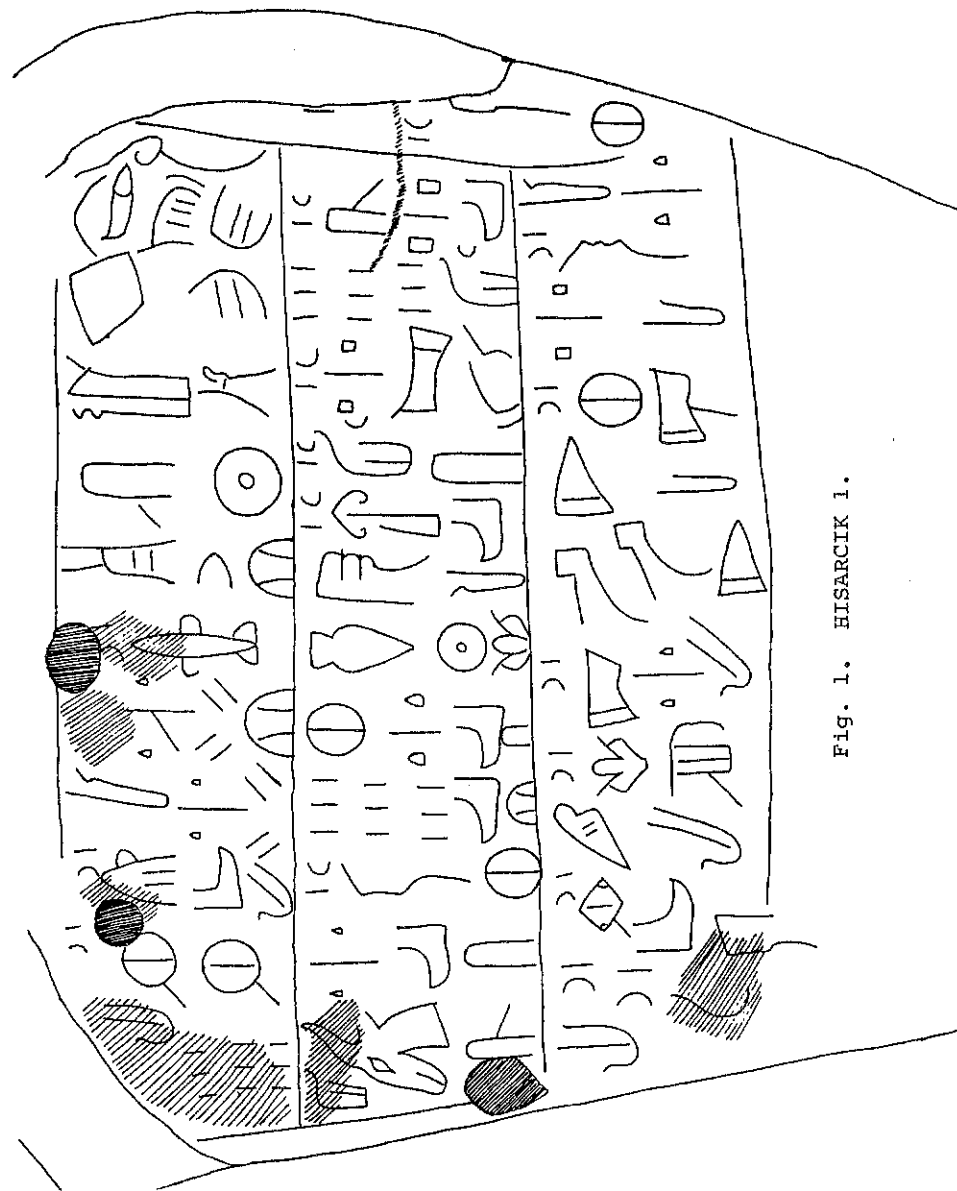


Fig. 1. HISARCİK 1.

inscription. The proposed reading *á-ha* deserves further collation. [See Addendum 2, p. 295].

§ *iv*. Obscure sense, but readings agreed. The presence of *tuwin*, "thy", implies that the mountain is being addressed and that *-tu* introducing the previous clause is also 2 sing.

The three clauses *i*, *iii* and *iv* each provide an attestation of the verb *á-*, twice 1 sing. pret., once 1 sing. pres. The context seems sufficiently clear to indicate that *á-*, "make, do", is being used as is Hitt. *iya-*; cf. Goetze, *Hitt.* ii 82, p. 89.

{*e*, *i*} MARAŞ 2, 1.2 :

¹*á-zí-ni-sa-'pa'-wa/i-mu-ta x-x-pa-ha á-mi-na BONUS-sa-la-ti CUM¹-ni á-ā+na/i*

"but Azinis made also my ... for me with goodness".

{*e*, *ii*} EĞREK, 1.2 :

[...-w]a/i[...] *á+na/i*², "[...] made".

Citation *e*, *i*, is from a text recently re-edited simultaneously by Poetto and Hawkins (38), whose readings of this clause differ. Examination of photographs and a latex squeeze support the present reading against that of Poetto. The context is that of a woman who did not erect her own funerary monument but her husband *did* it for her. A similar context seems to be represented in the broken passage of EĞREK, citation *e*, *ii*, to be treated in detail in Hawkins' corpus.

{*f*} KAYSERİ, 1.6 :

... ("PES₂")*i-ta*
|*ā-wa/i* |*za_x* | "LOQUI"-*tā-za_x'* |*á-'ia²-ta²'*
"... he went,
and made (?) this curse".

Reading uncertain, requires collation; if established, it would provide a further example of the longer form *aia-*. An occurrence of the verb in KAYSERİ, like SULTANHAN an inscription of a servant of Wasusarmas, is not perhaps surprising. [See Addendum 3, p. 295].

4, Hier. (^(u)VINUM^(u))*ma-tu(-sà)*, "wine", Cun. Luw. *maddu*.

(a) AKSARAY, 1.3 (39) :

[x *ti*]-*wa/i-ta-li-sa* (VINUM)*ma-tú-sà*

This passage, as shown elsewhere (40), lists numeral + measure + commodity in the context of a statement of prices, which is to be understood as a literary topos describing ideal prosperity. The use of the determinative VINUM before our word is particularly significant in that elsewhere it is used only to determine words connected with the vine, namely : (1°) *wiyani-* "vine" (for this interpretation, see below) ; (2°) *tuwarsa-*, "vineyard" ; (3°) (DEUS)*tipariya-*, Vine-God ; (4°) (-)*hara/i-*, "vintage" ; (5°) *sarlata -*, "libation". We may thus safely assume that *ma-tu-sà* is a commodity connected with the vine (41).

(b) BOR, 1.8 (see above footnote 32) :

[... *ti-wa/i*]-*ta-li-sa ma-tu-sa*

The context is similar to that of (a), a broken list of numeral + measure (*tiwatali-*) + commodity, which apparently indicates the produce of a vineyard, of which the stele is the dedication.

(c) SULTANHAN, 1.6 (see above, p. 275 with footnote 32)

In this passage the combination numeral + measure (*tiwatali-*) + commodity (*ma-tu-sà*) recurs, but not so obviously as in (a) and (b). The phrase of § *iv*, MILLE *tiwatalin* (sc. *matusa*), parallels that of § *v*, CENTUM-*ha* (sc. *tiwatalis*) *matusa* ; i.e. in § *iv* the commodity is omitted, in § *v* the measure. Thus the vine makes 1000 measures (of *matusa*) and the god receives 100 (measures of) *matusa*. It follows that *matusa*, which, as we have seen, is a commodity connected with the vine, is actually the produce of the vine.

(d) TULEIL 2, 11.2-3 (see fig. 2) (42) :

("[VINUM?])*ma-tu-sà-pa-wa/i-tu-ta* PRAE-*na* BIBERE-*ha*
"and I drank *matusa* before him".

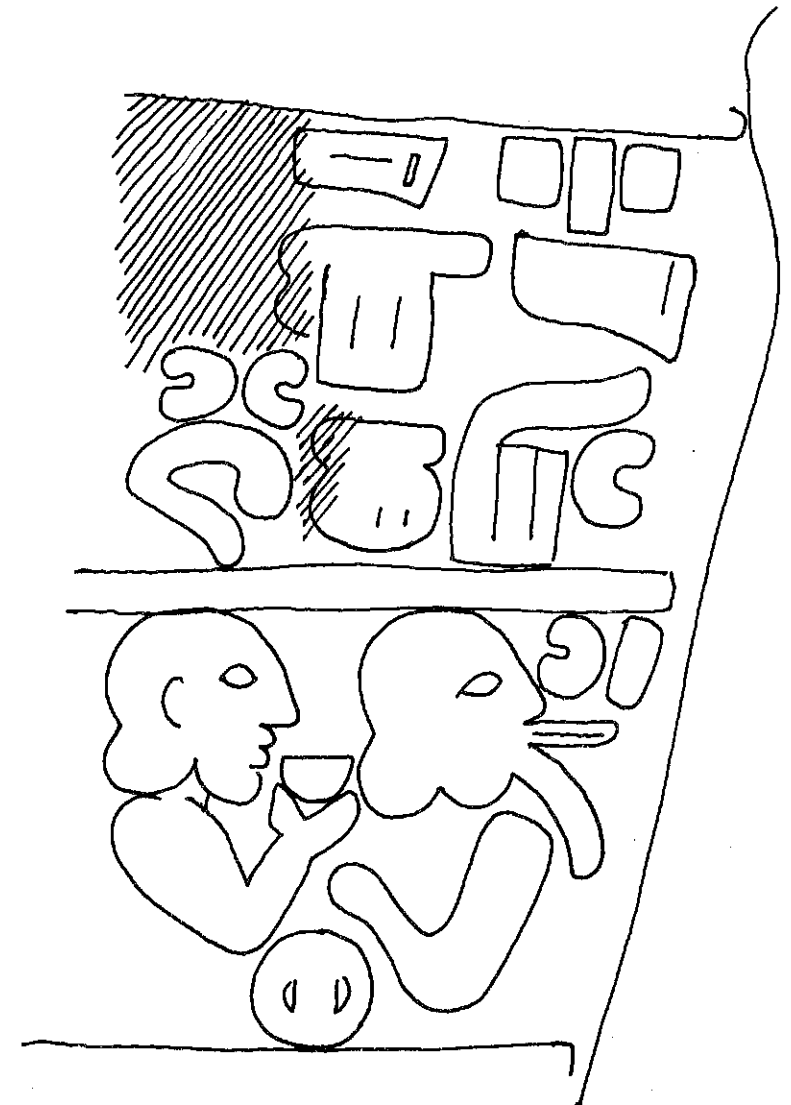


Fig. 2. TULEIL 2, 11.2-3.

This passage is conclusive both on the nature and the morphology of *ma-tu-sā*. It establishes that *matusa*, which, as we have argued, is a commodity, the produce of the vine, may be drunk; consequently *matusa* must be (a type of) wine. Also, while elsewhere *ma-tu/tū-sā* could be taken as a nominative, here it is clearly an accusative; in other words the form is a nom.-acc. singular N, formed by a neuter *u*-stem *matu* + the usual particle *-sa*.

(e) TELL TAYINAT VII, frag. 1, 1.2 :

|*wa/i-[n]a* ARHA |*tā-ha* (PANIS)*tu+na/i-pi-zi* ANNUS+ANNUS-*la/i/u-zi* | ("VINUM["])*mi-t[u ...*

"I took it away, annual breads [and ?] wine (?) [...]."

In view of what was noted above about the restricted use of the logogram VINUM, it is difficult to dissociate ("VINUM["])*mi-t[u ...]* from ("VINUM")*ma-tu-*, particularly since a mention of wine in connection with bread is appropriate. Yet the syntax of the sentence is not altogether clear, and both the use of the plural *turpinzi* instead of the normal singular *turpin* and the word order (the adjective follows the noun) are also unexpected. Since the *i*-vocalism of *mi-t[u ...]* makes difficulties, it is possible that we are not dealing with a form of *matu* but with a derivative or an associated word. In the absence of a full context the problem cannot be solved.

The Hittite and Luwian words for "wine" are known: Hitt. GEŠTIN, to be read *wiyana-* (43), and Luw. *winiyant-* (< *wi(ya)ni-* + *-ant-*) (44). Both forms are obviously closely related to the Hier. *wa/i-ia-ni-* (= *wiyani-*) (45). Yet the Hier. *wiyani-* in all its attestations (SULTANHAN, stele, ll. 2, 4, 6, and possibly base, upper surface, 1.1; also probably KULULU 1, 1.3) seems to mean "vine" (Hitt. GIS.GEŠTIN, = GIS¹*ippiya-*) rather than "wine"; thus its existence is no impediment to a translation of *matusa* as "wine".

The Cun. Luwian *maddu-* indicates something with which the mother may purify the house (in a similar passage urine is used). Starke, following Meriggi (46), takes it to be a sweet drink. He also points out that in a different text the adjectives *ma-*

a[d-du-u-]in-zi ma-al-li-ti-in-zi da-a-i-ni-in-zi clearly correspond to the substances named earlier in the same text, GEŠTIN LĀL Ī.GIS¹-*ia*, "wine, honey and oil" (47), which suggests that *maddu* is a phonetic rendering of GEŠTIN.

All the evidence leads to the attribution of the meaning "wine" both to Cun. Luw. *maddu* and to Hier. *matu-* and obviously to the identification of the two words. If so, the derivation from IE **medhu*, suggested for the Cuneiform word by Meriggi and implicitly accepted by Starke (loc. cit.), seems inescapable, in spite of the cautious remarks by Weitenberg (48). In Luwian the word is used to indicate "wine" just like its Greek counterpart μέθυ, which, in poetry at least, is synonymous with οἶνος (49). Phonologically the derivation of Cun. Luw. *maddu*, Hier. *matu-* from **mēdhu* creates no problems, except for the double consonant of the Cuneiform form where we might expect a simple consonant corresponding to an inherited voiced dental. However, the word may now be listed as a further example of Čop's rule: in Cun. Luwian the sibilants, liquids, nasals and voiced aspirate stops are represented by a geminate consonant when they follow an inherited *-e-* which carries the accent (50). While the evidence offered in support of the rule is satisfactory for the liquids and nasals, the only unassailable example listed by Čop for the aspirated stops is Cun. Luw. *tappašša*, "sky" < **nēbhos*; now that *maddu* can be added the rule acquires greater validity.

5. (ARGENTUM.DARE)*ti-na-ta-*, "tithe".

(a) SULTANHAN, stele 1.6 (see above, p. 275, § vii)

The context seems to be the following:

Tarhunzas makes the *vineyard* grow (§ i), and the *vine* springs up (§ ii), putting forth leaves (§ iii), and makes 1000 measures (of *wine*) (§ iv), so that the god receives 9 oxen and 100 (measures of) *wine*, (§ v) (thus an animal sacrifice and one-tenth of the produce). For the future (POST+RA/I-ta, §§ vi-vii), something will happen, and the god will receive *ti-na-ta-za*, and (§ viii) there will be an annual animal offering.

(b) ANCOZ 1, 1.1 (51) :

[...]pi-ia[...]tá PURUS-mi-ia | za-à-ti (MENSA) wa/i-si
 PONERE-wa/i-ti
 à-wa/i (ARGENTUM.DARE)ti-na-tá (LIBARE)sa₅+na/i-la-i-ti ...

"pure gifts(?) on the table they will put,
 and they will offer TINATA (to the gods Runza and Kubaba)".

The context is sufficiently similar to that of (a) to identify *ti-na-ta-za* and *ti-na-tá*, i.e. the first being nom. (acc.) sing. N, the second (nom.) acc. plur. N. In the second case the determinative is very significant : the logogram "silver(?)" (thus ARGENTUM(?)) is identified from context and shown in combination with DARE, the "giving hand", to determine *piya-*, "(give), sell" (BULGARMADEN, 1.4) (52) and perhaps to write the word "price" (KARKAMIS A 11 a, 11. 3, 5). This seems to mark *ti-na-ta* as some kind of payment (53), and in both the foregoing contexts it is one which is made to a god.

(c) BOYBEYPINARI 1, side C :

wa/i-tá pa-sa-na 'ti[?]-na-ti-i PONERE-wa/i-ha
 "(This throne and this table I ... put.
 (He) who (is) the Sukitean river-lord,
 I put them for his TINATA".

There is some doubt about the reading of the first syllable of the relevant word (54), but the traces support the reading, as does the context.

Each attestation shows *tinata-* to be an offering, perhaps payment, to a god. In (a) in a preceding pair of clauses (§§ iv-v), the ratio of the offering seemed to be 100 (measures of) wine for 1000 measures (of wine), thus one-tenth of the produce, a tithe. The practice of tithing was widespread in antiquity, attested for example among the Hebrews and Phoenicians (55), Greeks (56), and in Cuneiform sources (57). Its appearance on the SULTANHAN stele need cause no surprise. These two clauses concern the present, when the produce of the vineyard is apparently known and thus the amount of the tithe also. The next pair of clauses, §§ vi-vii, refer to the indefinite future, when as a result of some-

thing happening (guessed as an increase in productivity), the god is promised a *tinata-* offering. It seems plausible to recognize in this word the term for the type of proportional offering of one-tenth seen in the previous two clauses.

If the neuter sing. *ti-na-ta-za* and the neuter plur. *ti-na-ta* can be contextually shown to mean "tithe", it is tempting to associate the word with the numeral "ten". In a number of not necessarily related languages the ordinal in the feminine or in other gender fulfills this function, cf. Gr. δέκατη, Lat. *decima*, Gaulish *dekanten* (58), Akk. *ešū*, etc. We might expect a similar form for Luwian but the analysis of *tinata-* is not easy, largely because we have so little evidence about the Anatolian numerals. The form *tinata-* cannot be read as *tinta-* or the like because in that case the *-n-* would not have been written ; so the suffix must be *-atan* or *-antan* and it seems plausible that it is added to a root *tin-*. Could *tin-* stand for "ten" ? On the assumption - so far not confirmed by other evidence - that Anatolian preserved the IE cardinal for "ten" we ought to start from either **dekmt* or **dekm*. The former ought to have yielded an ordinal **dekmtō-*. In our form problems are caused (a) by the absence of the velar ; (b) by the vowel *-i-* instead of the expected *-a-*, which in Luwian continues inherited *e* ; (c) by the *-n-* instead of *-m-* (final *-m* changes to *-n* in Anatolian but here the *-n-* is not final). We are in almost total ignorance about the treatment of the palatal velars in intervocalic position, but we may speculate that *-VhV-* yielded *-VyV-*. If so, **deyantās* (< **dekmtōs*) would have yielded **diyantos* > **dinto-*. We would then need to add a further hypothesis, viz. that **dinto-* was remodelled into *dinato-* perhaps on the basis of those ordinals that were built on cardinals which ended in a vowel. We may compare the Gaulish ordinals which all end in *-etos* (*pinpetos*, "5th" ; *nametos*, "9th" ; *dekametos*, "10th" etc.). An alternative possibility is that **dekntō-* replaced the expected **dekmtō-* (assimilation ?) and was then remodelled into *deknata-* at an early stage. If so, we could think of a development similar to that of Latin *dignus* < **dek-nos* : in Luwian the *-k-* would have been voiced and then could have been lost or palatalized while

fronting the previous vowel and yielding a *tinata-* form (59). We have no Anatolian evidence for or against *-at-* rather than *-t-* ordinals, but it is certain that the ordinals could be formed with a *-t-* suffix, even if the logographic writing prevents us from knowing whether the dental was preceded by a vowel or not. The best established Hittite ordinal is 9-*ti*, "ninth" (dat. sing.) (60), while Hieroglyphic Luwian too seems to have had ordinals in *-ti-* (MF) (61), which would yield *-tan* in the nom.-acc. sing. N.

What precedes is obviously speculative. Nothing has been proved, but, even if the details are far from clear, it is difficult not to yield the temptation of assuming that Hieroglyphic Luwian, first among the Anatolian languages, has given us a word derived from the Indo-European numeral "ten" (62).

6. Hier. ("*314")*ka-tú-na-sa*, ("*382")*tara/i-pu-na-sa* ;
cf. Hitt. *kattawatar*, "cause for, object of, vengeance",
terípp-, "plough" (63).

In KARKAMIS A 6, 11.4-5 the regent Yararis describes his magnanimous behaviour towards the crown prince Kamanis and the other royal children and the way in which he set up the monument on which the inscription is written. The text is best read and interpreted as follows (64) :

KARKAMIS A 6, 11.4-5 :

- (i) CUM-*ni-pa-wa/i-tú-ta-'* | *á-pa-sa* | FRATER-*la-zi-i* | *i-zi-i-ha*
(ii) | *á-wa/i REL-i-zi* | ("*314")*ka-tú-na-sa*
(iii) | *i-zi-i-sa-ta+na/i-wa/i-ma-za* | *zi-la* | ("*314")*ka-tú-ni-zi* | (MANUS)*i-sä-tara/i-i* ("PONERE")*tú-wa/i-há*
(iv) REL-*zi-pa-wa/i-ma-za-'* | ("*382")*tara/i-pu-na-sá*
(v) | *i-zi-i-sa-ta+na/i-wa/i-ma-za* | *zi-la* | ("*382")*tara/i-pu-na-zi-i* | (MANUS)*i-sä-ta-na/i-i* "PONERE"-*wa/i-ha-'*
- (i) "And with him I made his brothers,
(ii) and (those) who (are) of KATUNA-

- (iii) with honour to them then I put KATUNI's in the hand.
(iv) But (those) who <for them> (are) of TARAPUNA-,
(v) with honour to them then I put TARAPUNA's- in the hand".

KATUNAS and TARAPUNAS are probably genitives of verbal nouns or infinitives ; KATUNI(N)ZI and TARAPUNA(N)ZI may be derivatives of the same verbal roots. What do these words mean ? It has been argued that the text refers to the reliefs where the royal children are represented playing games (probably knucklebones and tops) and that the words refer to these games. But why should such a monumental inscription take the trouble to record for posterity that the regent gave to each child the toy he preferred ? A closer look at the words may lead to different conclusions. KATUNAS is determined by the logogram *314 which elsewhere determines words like "enemy, violence, force", etc. A passage in SULTANHAN, stele top + base, offers four occurrences of a noun KATI- which contextually means "harm, damage". If *katis* and *katunas* are related (which in view of the logogram is likely) we may think that the children were children of "fighting" or of "weapons" ; the regent gave weapons to those of the royal children who were meant to become warriors. Within a general context of hostility the connection with Hitt. *kattawatar*, Cun. Luw. *kattawatnallinza*, "enemy" vel simm. is more than plausible. But what is TARAP- ? Just as beside *katunas* we have a phrase *kati ta-*, "stand for damage/harm", we find beside TARAPUNAS a phrase TARAPI/A *ta-*, "to stand for TARAPI", used to indicate what an evil man can do to a god, a stele or another man, or what the god can do to the evil-doer (cf. e.g. TILSEVET 3 : "he who stands for TARAPI to this stele, against him may the gods be angry"). The datives TARAPI or TARAPA are determined by the logograms CORNU, "horn", or SCALPRUM, probably "stone", or PES₂.PES. In similar contexts a verb TARAPI- or TARAPA- also occurs ; it mostly refers to damaging actions done by human beings or by gods against individuals, houses or cities (e.g. KARKAMIS A 2, 1.6 (part of a curse) : "May Tarhunzas of Karkamis anda TARAPI to his paternal houses with his KIPUTI"). In one or two contexts, however, the verb seems to have a neutral or positive rather than a negative meaning. The logogram which

determines the verb is PES₂.PES, i.e. a composite logogram which probably indicates coming (PES) and going (PES₂). The meaning "trample" often attributed to the verb would explain the logogram and fit most of the contexts, though not the neutral ones; it does not account, however, for the logograms CORNU and SCALPRUM used for the noun TARAPI/A or for the meaning of TARAPUNAS. The activity which most typically involves "coming and going" is that of ploughing. Ploughing on cities or monuments is a devastating action which is referred to in contemporary curses. The "horn" of the plough is mentioned in an Assyrian text of the period and stone plough-shares are found in Syria – on this interpretation the two logograms CORNU and SCALPRUM which determine TARAPI/A would also find an explanation. Above all, if the children were in fact "children of ploughing", the whole passage of A 6 would be seen to be far more significant than at first envisaged; of the royal children the first, the heir to the throne, is presented to the goddess by the benevolent regent, while the others are destined to war and to agriculture respectively. On this interpretation TARAP- may be compared with Hittite *teripp-*, "plough". In its turn the Hittite verb may well be derived from a **terp-* root with an original value such as "turn" and it is conceivable that traces of this original meaning are still present in some of the passages examined. Yet in all instances the phrase TARAPI/A *ta-* and the verb TARAPI/A- could mean "stand for ploughing" and "plough" respectively. "Ploughing" would then have acquired an idiomatic value which appears with a negative connotation in particular contexts, while in others it would have retained its basic meaning.

FOOTNOTES

* At the Colloque Anatolien, David Hawkins and Anna Morpurgo Davies read separate papers, the former covering §§ 1-5 and the latter § 6. Since however both contributed to both parts, it was decided to combine them in a single publication.

- (1) Tahsin Özgüç, *Altintepe II* (Turk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi; Ankara, 1969), 35 ff./76 f., pls. LIII-LIV.
- (2) E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes d'Altintepe, Anadolu 15* (1971, publ. 1973), 55-61, pls. I-IV; Jeffrey J. Klein, *Unartian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Altintepe, An. St. 24* (1974), 77-94.
- (3) J.D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1973, Nr. 6).
- (4) A. Morpurgo Davies and J.D. Hawkins, *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa III/VIII* (1978), 779-781.
- (5) E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes de Meskene-Emar et le style "Syro-Hittite, Akkadica 22* (1981), 5-14; id., *Documents hittites et hourrites*, in D. Beyer (ed.), *Meskene-Emar: dix ans de travaux 1972-1982*, Paris, 1982, 53-60; id., *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites de Meskene-Emar: un emprunt d'écriture*, CRAIBL 1983, 12-23.
- (6) H. Mittelberger, *Die Sprache 8* (1962), 277, 280; 9 (1963), 81 (§ 19), 72 ff.; 10 (1964), 52 (§ 4).
- (7) J.D. Hawkins, *The negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, An. St. 25* (1975), 119-156.
- (8) H. Otten, *OlZ 50* (1955), 393 n.4.
- (9) E. Laroche, *Fleuve et Ordealie en Asie Mineure Hittite, Festschrift H. Otten*, Wiesbaden 1973, 179-184.
- (10) H. Mittelberger, *Die Sprache 8* (1962), 285.
- (11) Laroche, loc. cit. (FS Otten), 183, n.12.
- (12) F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*, Paris, 1979, 96-98, with previous references.
- (13) See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St. 28* (1978), 112 (the interpretation of *hapari-* was not pursued here).
- (14) To be interpreted as *lh* (**lōhū*) > **lū*, written *l* without notation of long vowel; cf. *šm* (= **šimū*), "his name", KARATEPE, Phoen. A iii 14, 16. See the remarks of H.L. Ginsberg, *JANES 5* (1973), 140 and nn. 36, 40; 142, 144.
- (15) Text C iv 2-4, to be reconstructed and restored as:
*w-zbh ḫ y[llk ... l-h]-*lm z kl h-mskt'z*

"and the sacrifice which all the *mskt* cause [to come to] this god (is) this ...".

The phrase *kl h-mskt z* was first accidentally omitted after *'lm z* because of the two *z*'s, and then inserted between ll. 2 and 4. Cf. Bron, *Karatepe*, 21 f., 94 f.; J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 3, Oxford 1983, 53, 64. The phrase [*l-h*]-*'lm z*, "to this god" (written actually on the statue of the god) confirms that *l* must be understood as "to him" (i.e. Baal KRNTRYŠ, "this god").

- (16) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, 85, fr. LI (b); Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), 117. The repetition of *-wa* after the second *-ha* (copula) is regular in the case of the third element in linked items and need not indicate a new clause; cf. KARATEPE, LXXIII, 391 (Ho. only), 397.
- (17) Bron, *Karatepe*, 105 f., with references to Honeyman, Alt, Gordon, Obermann, O'Callaghan and Röllig.
- (18) Bron, *AION* 35 (1975), 545 f.; repeated, *id.*, *Karatepe*, 106.
- (19) See Gibson, *Textbook*, 51, 62. Further support from an Akkadian parallel was offered by M.L. Barré, *A note on nš't in the Karatepe Inscription*, *JANES* 13 (1981), 1-3.
- (20) See J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary (HED)*, vol. 2 (1984), s.v. *iyatar* (p. 350).
- (21) See Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, 47, n.163; Puhvel, *HED*, 329.
- (22) It is pleasant to record that the same identification has been made independently by Günter Neumann (personal communication).
- (23) Cf. the form *sa-na-wa/i-la-za* (SULTANHAN stele, 1.5), which could be either (nom.) acc. sing. N or dat. plur., depending on the verb, for which see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 136 cit. 16.
- (24) TELL TAYINAT VII frag. 1 A, 1.1, which can be interpreted in the light of a close parallel on TOPADA.
TELL TAYINAT VII frag. 1 A, 1.1 :
|á-ta₅-ha-wa/i-mu | wa/i+na/i-la-za (BONUS)
sa-na-wa/i-sa i-zi-i-tā (DEUS) PES₂-sa REX-ti-i-sa

"And ATA, the god ... the King, made good(ness) my own".

TOPADA, 1.7 :

á-ta₄-ha-wa/i-mu wa/i+na/i-là-na MAGNUS+RA/I-zi-na
*273.VIS-na [i-zi-i(?)]-ti

"and ATA (the god Tarhunzas) will [make?] great power my own".

i.e. the phrase *wa/i+na/i-la-za* (BONUS) *sa-na-wa/i-sa* is shown by the parallel to be the object of the clause, thus *sanawisa* must represent acc. sing. N; for *waralli-*, "own, proper", in Hier., see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975/2, 129; and in Cun. Luw. Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), 79.

- (25) KARATEPE, 193; cf. only certainly attested form of acc. sing. MF, *sa-na-wa/i-zi-na*, ASSUR letters d, iii; e, iii.
- (26) Cf. below, *matu(sa)*; á-zá-li-sa // á-zá-li-za CEKKE, rev. 1.4; cf. KARKAMIS A4a, 11.1-2; and Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, in *Serta Indogermanica*, FS. G. Neumann, Innsbruck, 1982, 97 f.
- (27) H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der heth. Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1961-1966, 291-297.
- (28) Cf. C. Watkins, in E. Neu and W. Meid (eds), *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch*, Innsbruck, 1979, 282 f.; and J. Puhvel, *AJPh* 104 (1983), 216 f.
- (29) *HHL*, p. [46]; cf. N. Oettinger, *Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbuns*, Nürnberg, 1979, 535 f.
- (30) *MSS* 31 (1973), 53 ff., especially 72.
- (31) Watkins, in H. Rix (ed.), *Flexion und Wortbildung*, Wiesbaden, 1975, 358 ff., has argued that the Luwian *-ahit-* is a remodelling of the inherited **-eh₂-* which marked collectives and feminines. Here it is superfluous to discuss how the suffix would have been joined to a stative stem in *-ē-* (possibly from **-eh₁-*), but our word may be relevant to this problem too.
- (32) The passage is cited and treated in Hawkins, *Royal Statements of ideal price: Assyrian, Babylonian and Hittite*, *Festschrift for Machteld Mellink*, University of Wisconsin Press, forthcoming, appendix. [See Addendum 4, p. 295].

- (33) See Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, *HHL*, pp. [16], [44] f. The form may be attested in Cun. Hitt. *iz-zi-at-ta-ni* (VBoT 133, obv. 7 ; see Neu, *StBoT* 5, 79 ; and for interpretation "appears, materializes" (i.e. "is made"), see Melchert (below, note 59), footnote 27).
- (34) Accepted by Meriggi, *Schizzo Grammaticale dell'Anatolico, Memorie, Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Ser. VIII, vol. XXIV, fasc. 3*, Rome, 1980, 391, with references (cf. 249) ; but cf. Puhvel, *HEO*, 344 f., who follows Meriggi's discarded readings.
- (35) See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975/2, 128 ; Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), 141 cit. 44(iii) ; id., in *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster ; Copenhagen, 1980), 218 ; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *FS. Neumann*, 101 f. n.13.
- (36) See Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), 141 citation 44.
- (37) M. Poetto, *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica CIH 2 XLVIII, Orientalia* 47 (1978), 252-262, Tav. XXXIX.
- (38) M. Poetto, *Orientalia* 49 (1980), 257 f. ; J.D. Hawkins, in *Death in Mesopotamia*, 217 and pl. VII.
- (39) Published by M. Kalaç, *Ein Stelenbruchstück mit luwischen Hieroglyphen in Aksaray bei Nigde*, *KZ* 92 (1978), 117-125 ; see also M. Poetto, *Osservazioni sull' iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Aksaray*, *FS. Neumann*, 275-284.
- (40) Argued in Hawkins' forthcoming article in *Festschrift Mellink*, see above, note 32.
- (41) The etymology by Greppin (*KZ* 94 (1980), 119-121) is not based on a full analysis of the available evidence.
- (42) Difficult text, collated by Hawkins in Oriental Institute Chicago. The cited clause is the only one which can be certainly read in ll.2-3, and is indeed fairly legible in the published photograph (Gelb, *HMM*, pl. XCIV).
- (43) Inferred from the alternating writings *GEŠTIN-aš* and *GEŠTIN-ia-na-aš* (Bo. 2621 ii 18 and iii 16// ii 5 (all gen. sing.; cf. *GEŠTIN-na-an*, acc. sing. MF, *ibid.* iii 2), together with the Hitt. acrophonic syllabic value *GEŠTIN = wí*, which permits the reading *wí-ia-na-aš* ; see von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschreibungen*, 53 f. The place name ^{URU} *GEŠTIN/wí-ia-na-u-wa-an-ta* (etc.) and the identification (etymological rather

- than geographical) with Greek *Oenoanda* provides further circumstantial evidence.
- (44) Laroche, *DLL*, s.v. ; see now Starke, *KTU*, 347 f. (iii 17, 19 ; iv 4, 6), who notes : "Das Wort ist wohl k.-luw. Herkunft, jedoch die Ausdrucksformen hethitisch". Since indeed all the closely parallel attestations are in passages of Hitt., there is actually no indication that this is a Luw. form.
- (45) Mittelberger, *Die Sprache* 9 (1963), 80 ; Kalaç, *Bulleten* 32 (1968), 329 ; Neumann, *FS. Otten*, 248 (d).
- (46) Starke, *KZ* 94 (1980), 79 n.23.
- (47) KUB IX, 6+, i 23 ff. // i 6 f., 9 f., 17 f. ; Starke, *Stamm-bildung, Stammklassen I.2.e.γ* (§ 111) - personal communication.
- (48) J.J.S. Weitenberg, *Die heth. u-Stämme*, Amsterdam, 1984, § 790. Dr. Weitenberg now agrees that the additional evidence supports the identification (personal communication).
- (49) Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique du Grec*, s.v. μέθυ.
- (50) B. Čop, *IF* 75 (1971), 85-96.
- (51) See recently Hawkins, *An. St.* 31 (1981), 168, cit. 24.
- (52) Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *FS. Neumann*, 95-97.
- (53) *Ibid.*, n.3.
- (54) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), 75 f.
- (55) See *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Tithe. Greenfield, *IEJ* 35 (1985), 129-134.
- (56) See Pauly - Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV/2, s.v. Δευτήρη. Cf. Szemerényi (footnote 58).
- (57) See CAD E, s.v. ešrētu, ešrū (A), ma'šaru "tithe". E. Salomon, *Über den Zehnten im alten Mesopotamien*, *Studia Orientalia* 43/4, 1972, 1-65. We may note here Ugarit attestations, PRU III (RS.16.276, 1.8 (written ZAG.10) ; RS. 16.244, 1.7 ; RS. 16.153, 1.11) ; and a Hitt. lexical entry [ZAG.10] = [E]Š-RA-A-DU = 10-an-kí, *Izi Bogh.* A 250.
- (58) O. Szemerényi, *KZ* 88 (1974), 265 ff.
- (59) For the treatment of the velars in Luwian, see the forthcoming article by H.C. Melchert, in *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill*, and our forthcoming note on "A Luwian Heart" in the *Studies in honour of G. Pugliese Carratelli*.

- (60) Attested in the context 9 MU^{HI.A}-as kappuwantas ... 9-ti [...] MU-ti, "for nine reckoned years ... in the ninth year" (KUB XXXII 120 +, i 12, 18). A series of forms in -anna identified as ordinals by Sommer (AU, 272 and n.1) is very uncertain; in the contexts in which they occur (KBo V 2 ii 57 ff.; KUB XVII, 1 ii 4-11; also KBo III, 16 rev. 1-3, with dupl. 18, rev. 5-7) interpretation as multiplicatives is possible, and perhaps preferable. At any rate it is worth noticing that here too the suffix seems to include an -a-vowel for all forms - whatever is the cardinal from which they are derived.
- (61) The best example is NOVEM-ti-sa, joined to ANNUS-sa₄-si-sa-', which may well mean "the ninth (month) of the year", see above 3d, § ii (HISARCIK 1). On the other hand in the same text NOVEM-ta, "nine times (?)" gives pause, since one would expect a formal difference between ordinal and multiplicative adverb. The cardinal is found in Cun. Luwian (see Laroche, DLL, 125) in the form 9-un-za (agreeing with an acc. plur. MF). Hier. Luwian (where the sign for '9' has also the value ná) has twice "NOVEM"-wa/i-i-za (KARKAMIS A 13 d, 11.3, 4) and twice "NOVEM"-za (KARKAMIS A 1 a, 1.2) which refers to something given to gods. It is possible to read the Cun. Luw. form as nun- < *newn-, conceivably with an added ending of acc. plural. The Hier. Luwian form is more likely to be a derivative of "nine" in the nom.-acc. sing. N with the -za element. We could read it as nuwin-za, thinking of an earlier nuwyan-za, but we are not able to say what it means - "ninth share" (but if so, why such a different formation from tinatanza and above all from NOVEM-ti-sa ?); or "that of nine" (perhaps a particular type of sacrifice) ?
- (62) We are grateful to Calvert Watkins with whom we have discussed some of these forms, but who is obviously not responsible for what is said here.
- (63) This is a summary of a much lengthier discussion to be published by A. Morpurgo Davies, in the *Festschrift E. Risch*, forthcoming.

- (64) For the reading and sentence division of Morpurgo Davies, KZ 96 (1982-83), 264, note 42; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies *Festschrift Güterbock*, to appear. [See Addendum 5, p. 295].

ADDENDA

Addendum 1. This interpretation differs from that recently favoured by Hawkins in the Mellink *Festschrift* (see Addendum 4), p. 98 f., (v), but it is probably to be preferred.

Addendum 2. Hawkins has now collated the passage in Istanbul Museum, and doubts whether the proposed reading can in fact be maintained; a different but uncertain verb seems more likely.

Addendum 3. Hawkins has also collated this passage in Ankara Museum, and established the reading of the verb as á-sa₅-za-ta, "he pronounced"; this supposed example therefore drops out.

Addendum 4. Just published as *Ancient Anatolia. Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honour of Machteld J. Mellink*, edited by J.V. Canby, E. Porada, B.S. Ridgeway and T. Stech (University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

Addendum 5. Just published as *Kanissuwan - a Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock*, edited by H.A. Hoffner, Jr., and G.M. Beckman (AS 23; University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Adresse de l'auteur : A. Morpurgo Davies
Somerville College
Oxford

J.D. Hawkins
School of Oriental & African Studies
University of London
Londres