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ON THE PROBLEMS OF KARATEPE: THE HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT

By J. D. HAWKINS and A. MORPURGO DAVIES

The great bilingual of Karatepe is one of the best understood inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian, though not all problems have yet been solved. On the one hand some readings remain uncertain, since no full set of photographs is available, and on the other hand the grammatical and semantic interpretation is not always clear in spite of the help provided by the Phoenician version. In this paper we propose to tackle some of the problems still open, taking as a starting point the text and interpretation published by Piero Meriggi in his *Manuale* (II/1, 69 ff.), which at present offers the most complete and up-to-date version of the inscription.

In transliterating we adopt the values listed in *Anatolian Studies* XXV (1975), 153–5, which we also used in our transliteration and discussion of the last part of KARATEPE (*JRAS* 1975/2, 124 ff.).[1] We here use the same section and word numbering as in the latter contribution.

The Appendix offers a translation of the Hieroglyphic text into English, which we hope may prove useful to archaeologists and historians. For purposes of comparison we have also included a translation of the Phoenician text. This has no pretensions to originality, but we have taken the opportunity to discuss the Phoenician version with Dr. Sebastian Brock, whose valuable suggestions have been incorporated. We are most grateful for his co-operation.

I. *Orthographic Problems*

VI, 33: OMNIS-MI-ma. The KARATEPE forms of ma (*HH*, no. 110) occasionally resemble *sà* (*HH*, no. 104) for which the sign was mistaken by Bossert. Meriggi has corrected some of these misapprehensions. Other examples are:

X, 53: OMNIS-MI-ma-zi.

XVIII, 92: (VAS)(*á*-)ta-na-sa-ma-, cf. *Glossar²*, 41 (implicitly corrected in *Manuale* II/1, 77).

L, 281 (Ho.): OMNIS-MI-ni-i-ma-za₄.

For an examination of OMNIS-MI-ma- = tanima-, see *An. St.* XXV (1975), 151, note 18.

X, 53: OMNIS-MI-ma-zi?!. The ending -za would be expected, giving tanima^{n}za, "all, everything" (nom./acc. sing. N.). The two bars of za would appear to have been accidentally omitted. Cf. photograph, *Orientalia* 28 (1959), Tab. LV, Abb. 24.

XII, 62–63 (Hu.): |(TERRA)ta-sà-REL+ra/i |à-ta. An examination of the photograph, *Belleten* 18 (1954), Abb. 4–5, suggests that Bossert's restoration of a further -ta, followed by Meriggi (*Glossar²*, 126; *Manuale* II/1, 74–5), is incorrect. We adopt the above reading, which may be easily understood as a dat. sing.

XIII, 66: Hu. (TERRA)ta-sà-⌐REL+ra/i⌐-ti? / Ho. ("TERRA")ta-sà-REL+ra/i?-ri+i?. These readings are suggested, but must depend on collation. Even if some elements are not confirmed, they must surely be supplied. If the readings are accepted, they do, of course, provide the expected ablative case, but a dative case would not be unthinkable in the context.

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[1] For the abbreviations used cf. J. D. Hawkins, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Günter Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection* (Nachrichten der Ak. der Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1973, nr. 6, pp. 143–197 [*HHL*]) on p. 145, note.

XVIII, 85 (Ho.): *-ha-wa/i-mu-ti-i*. This is the normal and expected order of the pronominal suffixes, and collation would probably confirm that it is as epigraphically acceptable as that adopted by Bossert and followed by Meriggi (*-ti-i-mu*).

XXIII, 122 (Ho.): (CASTRUM) *ha+ra/i-ni-i-sà*. Again this, the expected order, will probably appear to be as epigraphically acceptable as the unexpected Bossert-Meriggi order, *-sà-i*.

XXVIII, 144 (Hu.): (274) *ha-ta-li-i-ha*. Here too we think it possible to read *-li-i-ha* rather than *-li-ha-i*.

XXXIV, 181: (PES₂)*i-u-na*. We suggested this reading (rather than PES₂-*i-na-u*) in *HHL*, 189, note 163.

XXXIX, 207: *á-ta₄-ma-za*《-NI》. The final syllable *ni* offered by Bossert has no known grammatical function and is very hard to explain. Personal inspection on a visit to Karatepe could not locate it, and it may safely be deleted.

L, 278: Hu. *li* = Ho. *lì*. The correct form *lì* and its appearances in Hu. VI, 31, and Hu. XX, 107, have been noted in *An. St.* XXV (1975), 128.

LIX–LXXV. We have discussed a number of variant readings in *JRAS* 1975/2, 124–33.

II. *Points of grammar and interpretation*

IV, 18–20 (Hu.):

|ARHA-*ha-wa/i* |LA+X-*nú-ha* |*á-*TANA-*wa/i-na*(URBS).

"and I caused Adanawa to prosper".

The causative LA+X-*nú-* is written with a sign (*HH*, no. 178; *Glossar*², no. 181) which is conventionally read as LA×ī. This transliteration was based solely on the supposed similarity between the attachment to LA and the lower part of *HH*, no. 377, formerly read *ī*, now *za*. The sign LA+X is also used to write the name of two kings of Gurgum, the founder of the dynasty and his fifth descendant. Unfortunately the purely conventional character of the transliteration LA×ī has been misunderstood and the name now sometimes appears in general works as *Laimas*. Recent evidence (cf. *Iraq* 36 (1974), 73 f.) shows that the Assyrians rendered the name in cuneiform as ᴵ*pa-la-lam*, but unfortunately this does not suggest a ready solution to the problem posed by LA+X.

Here we may try a new approach. Elsewhere (*An. St.* XXV (1975), 119 ff.) we noted that the double bars added to the signs *i*, *zi*, and NEG₃ (*ni*) mark an *-a*-vocalism and distinguish the signs *ia*, *za*, and NEG₂ (*na*). In a forthcoming article (*Annali Pisa*, 1978, 755 ff.) we have followed Gelb in tracing back the double bars to an original writing of *à* (*HH*, no. 450) in ligature with the signs in question. If the same procedure is followed here, we can recognize in LA+X a ligature *la+ra/i+à*. If so, the Karatepe verb could be read as *laranu-*, and we find support for our views in the fact that it can plausibly be associated with a simple, non-causative verb *la+ra/i-*, which we know from at least three passages:

(i) SULTANHAN stele, 2–3 (with the new fragment published in *Anatolia* XV (1971), 122 f. and pl. XII):

|*wa/i-sá* |OM[NIS]-*MI* -*ri+i* [|*sa*]-*na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i* |*á-wa/i-tà-'*
|*wa/i-ti-i* |*pá²+ra/i-wa/i-li-sá-'* [|]("PES")*pa-tà* |ARHA-' |*la+ra/i-ta*
|("VINUM")*wa/i-ia-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-'* |*za-ri+i* |*sa-na-wa/i-ia-ta-'*

"He (Tarhunzas) came with all goodness,
and the *parwalis*(?) *arha lara/i*-ed at the foot,
and the wine was good here."

The second two phrases appear to be parallel and to describe the pleasant results of the arrival of Tarhunzas of the Vineyard. The word *parwalis*(?), though of uncertain reading in the first syllable, must surely denote some under-foot vegetation such as grass. In view

of the other passages cited below, *arha* must probably be taken with the verb. Our task therefore is to suggest a meaning for the reflexive verb (cf. *-ti*) *arha lara/i-*.

(ii) BULGARMADEN, 2:

wa/i-mu-u (DEUS)MONS-*ti-na* |*mu-ti-na* |*pi-ia-ta*

|*wa/i-ma-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za* (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-ha* |*pa+ra/i-na* ARHA |*la+ra/i-'a*

"(I was favourable to my lord Warpalawas),

and he gave to me Mount Muti,

and Tarhunzas and Kupapas *paran arha lara/i*-ed it for me."

Here (*paran*) *arha lara/i-* is clearly transitive and has a good sense.

(iii) AKSARAY, 2 (we are much indebted to Professor Mustafa Kalaç for communicating to us this important new passage—publication forthcoming):

[. . . (DEUS)TONIT]RUS *ni-sà-'* |ARHA |*la-tà-ta*

|*wa/i-ta* ("CAELUM") *ti-pa-sá-*[*ti*] |X [. . .] IN[FRA-*ta*] |"PES"-*tà*

("TERRA")*ta-sà*-REL+*ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* |*ma-na* SUPER+*RA/1* |"PES"-*tà*

". . . Tarhunzas *arha lata*-ed the *nisa*,

and [abundance?] came down [from] the sky

and . . . came up from the earth(?)"

nisa is not known otherwise but is presumably the object and a neuter plural.

ma-na, which may be compared with *ma-na-wa/i-su-na-tà* of SULTANHAN 4, remains obscure. Cf. *man*, "much", in KARATEPE LVI–LVIII (below p. 114).

The uncertainties in this passage are many, but the context is sufficiently similar to passages (i) and (ii) to justify an identification of *arha lata-* with *arha lara-*. If so, *lata-* may be taken as the original form and *lara-* as the rhotacized development of it.

lata-/lara- is thus found twice as a transitive verb and once as a reflexive. In all cases it is preceded by ARHA, and the range of meaning can be fairly precisely determined as an action taken by the gods in favour of the possession of the speaker or, in the case of the reflexive, the reaction of the vegetation to the advent of a god of abundance. Thus generally "enhance", "prosper" (transitive) or "flourish" (reflexive).

Returning now to the KARATEPE causative, we suggested a reading *la+ra/i+à-nú-*, interpreted as *laranu-*. We have indicated above that in our view in the Late Period the à sign (in its stylized form, the double bars) was used in ligature with some signs whose vocalism was ambiguous to mark their *-a-* value. If so, its use in connection with *HH*, no. 383, i.e. with *ra/i*, to distinguish *ra* from *ri* would be particularly appropriate—though we may well wonder why it was confined to these two atypical usages. The meaning of the KARATEPE verb is indicated by the Phoenician which gives as its equivalent a verb generally interpreted as the causative of a simplex *hyh*, "to live"; hence "cause to grow, prosper", a sense which can be attributed to the Hieroglyphic causative, and which fits with the instances of the simplex *lata-/lara-* which we have discussed.

We quoted above the dynastic name of Gurgum, LA+X-*ma-sa*. We may now read it as *la+ra/i+à-ma-sa*, i.e. *Laramas*. If we compare this form with the Assyrian *Palalam*, we have to explain (1) the presence of the initial *pa-* in Assyrian, and (2) the two *l*'s of Assyrian beside the *l — r* of Hieroglyphic. Nothing can be stated with certainty, but while (1) still evades our comprehension, (2) may be due to the assimilation or dissimilation of two liquids (see below p. 106, à propos of *wa/i-li-li-tà-* / *wa/i-li-ri+i-tà-*).

Finally, we may ask whether *lata-* (if this is the earliest form of the verbal root) may be compared with Hittite *lazziya-*, "make good" (act.); "be/become good" (middle). Phonetically no problem arises; we may compare Cun. Luw. *halta/i-*, "to call", and Hitt. *halziya-*, which show the same alternation *t/z* and the same morphological divergence (the *-z-* of Hitt. *halzai-* is secondary). The semantics are not altogether clear but the

contrast between the Hittite active and middle seems to parallel that of the Hieroglyphic active and reflexive.

V, 22–23:

    Hu. |á-TANA-wà/ì-za(URBS) |"TERRA"+x(-)wà/ì+ra/i-za

    Ho. á-TANA-wa/i-za(URBS) "TERRA+LA+LA"(-)wà/ì+ra/i-za

    Phoen. 'rṣ 'mq 'dn, "the land of the plain of 'DN"

    In Hu. TERRA is written ⇌ ; this shape of the logogram (*HH*, no. 201, 2; *Manuale*, no. 233a) is not listed by Laroche as occurring elsewhere, but can now be seen in the BURUNKAYA and KARADAĞ inscriptions (S. Alp, *Anatolian Studies presented to H. G. Güterbock*, Istanbul, 1974, pp. 19, 26, pls. II, IX). Comparison with the Empire Period form suggests that it is an archaism.

    The simple logogram TERRA, without any additions, determines the words *tas*REL*ra/i-*, *takami-* and the postulated **peta^nza*, with the extended form **petanti-* (cf. *JRAS*, 1975/2, 130).

    Here Ho. has the complex logogram TERRA+LA+LA, which elsewhere determines yet another noun attested in the dative plural TERRA+LA+LA(-)wa/i-li-li-tà-za (CARCHEMISH A 11 b 3) or TERRA+LA+LA-tà-za (ibid., A 25 a 3, 1), and in the ablative TERRA+LA+LA(-)wa/i-li-ri+i-tà-ti (ANDAVAL 2); see *Glossar²*, 215, but transpose the sign order from *-tà-li-* to *-li-tà-* as suggested in *An. St.* XXV (1975), 137. Presumably the alternation between *-l-r-* and *-l-l-* is due to some form of assimilation or dissimilation of liquids; it is conceivable that in all instances we are dealing with an *-ant-* noun such as **walil/riyant-*. However, in our passage TERRA+LA+LA determines another form (-)wà/ì+ra/i-za (nom.-acc. sing. neuter), also attested in Hu. XXXVII, 200: TERRA+LA+LA-za. Another case of what is presumably the same word occurs in Ho. XII 62, TERRA+LA+LA(-)wa/i+ra/i-ri+i, where it alternates with the dative (TERRA)ta-sà-REL+ra/i in Hu.; (-)wa/i+ra/i-ri+i may look like an ablative but the context calls for a dative.

    It would be possible to combine all these attestations and argue that there was an original nom.-acc. neuter **wal/ril/ran-za* or the like (the dative is attested in XII, 62), which through haplology or haplography was simplified into (-)*waranza*. If so, the word could have yielded an *-ant-* derivative **walil/riyant-* attested in (-)*wa/i-li-li-tà-za* (dat. pl.) etc. Needless to say this remains tentative.

    á-TANA-wa/i-za (cf. also XXXVII, 199): it is certainly an adjective which agrees with TERRA+LA+LA(-)wà/ì+ra/i-za, but the formation is not altogether clear. It alternates with the expected ethnic *atanawani-*, which is derived through haplology from **atanawa-wani-*. Here the final *-za* seems to be the neuter sing. suffix (cf. the following word); if so, we could think of an adjective *atanawi-*, possibly from **atanaw-ya-*, comparable with e.g. *tatis*, "fatherly" (< **tatiyas*), vs. *tatis*, "father". In that case the correct interpretation ought to be *atanawinza* (cf. below p. 107 à propos of DOMINUS-*ni-za* for the change -*Ciya-* > -*Ci-*).

    An alternative explanation (for which see already Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958), 265 ff.) would compare the word with e.g. the ethnic of Carchemish, *Karkamisiza-*, where -(*i*)*za-* is an ethnic-forming suffix. However, since the context calls for a neuter, we would expect to have either *Karkamisizan* (where the final *-n* ought to have been written), or *Karkamisizan-za* (with the usual *-za* element of the neuters).

VI, 30-40 (Hu.):

    |á-mi-ia-za-há-wa/i ("DIES")ha-lì-za |á-TANA-wà/ì-ia(URBS) |OMNIS-MI-ma |(BONUS)sa-na-wa/i-ia |("CORNU+RA")su+ra/i-sa |112(-)ha-sa-sa-ha |á-sá-ta

    "and in my days there were to Adanawa all good things, plenty and luxury".

The correct readings (see above p. 103 f.) *ha-lì-za* (dat. pl.) and OMNIS-*MI-ma* (neuter plur. nom.-acc. in agreement with *sa-na-wa/i-ia*) clarify grammar and meaning of the sentence.

XII, 60 / XV, 77 (Ho.): ("MALUS") *há-ní-ia-ta-ia*, OMNIS-*MI-ma-ia*.

Such *-aia* neuter plurals (nom.-acc.), which alternate with the normal *-a* ending, have been noted in *HHL*, 172, where we expressed some doubts about the consistence of our evidence. It now seems clear that the type really exists and the comparison with the two Hittite types represented by the neuter plurals *šalla* (from *šalli-*) and *meggaia* (from *mekki-*) is obvious. An explanation is more difficult since at this stage it does not seem easy to make appeal to the old Ablaut patterns.

XIV, 69–71 (Hu.):

|*á-ma-za₄-há-wà/ì-ta* |DOMINUS-*ní-za* |DOMUS-*na-za*
"my lord's house"

The morphological contrast between the nom.-acc. sing. neuter *aman-za* (from *ami-*, "my") and the adjective DOMINUS-*ninza*, "lordly", "of my lord" (rather than *-nanza*) is only apparent. In the first case we have an *-i-* adjective in which the *-i-* is deleted before the neuter ending *-an*, in the second case it seems likely that we have a *-ya-* adjective (built on an *-i-*stem DOMINUS-*ni-*, "lord"), for which we expect a neuter termination *-niyan-za*, which in this instance at least contracted into *-nin-za*. For the uncontracted form, cf. e.g. CAPUT-*tiyanza* in KARATEPE LXI, 335, and *tatiyanza* in BOYBEYPINARI IV 3 B.

XV, 74–80 (Hu.):

|*á-mi-há-wa/i* |DOMINUS-*ní-i* (sic) |(300.*TI*) *ha-su-'* |OMNIS-*MI-ma* (BONUS)*sa-na-wa/i-ia*
|CUM-*na* |*i-zi-i-há*
"and I did all good things for my lord's family"

OMNIS-*MI-ma* (Hu.) / OMNIS-*MI-ma-ia* (Ho.) obviously agree with *sa-na-wa/i-ia* in the acc. neuter plural.

XVI, 81–84 (Ho.):

|*á-pa-sa-há-wa/i-ta-'* |*tá-ti-i* |("THRONUS")*i-sà-tara/i-tí-i* |("SOLIUM")*i-sà-nu-wá/i-há-'*

This sentence must certainly be interpreted as in Friedrich, *Orientalia* 31 (1962), 223 f. (now partially accepted by Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, 91), "and I caused it/them (the posterity of my lord) to sit upon its/their father's throne". *á-pa-sa-* was correctly recognized by Friedrich as the dative of the genetival adjective *apasi-*, against *Glossar²*, 26, "ich selbst". It is now seen to be the typical *-an* dative of the *-asi-* adjectives; interpret *apasan-ha-wa-ata* (cf. *HHL* 170, note 105 with the reference to Mittelberger, *Die Sprache* 9 (1963), 90 f., where, however, this passage is not quoted).

("THRONUS")*i-sà-tara/i-tí-i*. Neither the meaning of this word nor its inflection are disputed. We have here the dat. sing., also attested elsewhere (cf. *Glossar²*, 38), of a neuter noun *i-sà-tara/i-ta-za*, attested in BOYBEYPINARI, passim.

The formation of the word creates problems. It is natural to compare it with that of the numerous abstracts of the type ("BONUS")*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE XVIII, 94, etc.) or (MALUS)*ha-ní-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti* (ibid., LXXII, 377). G. Neumann (*Die Sprache* 11 (1965), 82 ff.) has shown that these abstracts are formed with a suffix equivalent to Hittite *-essar-* / *-esna-*, and the statements in *An. St.* XX (1970), 85 f. and 88 f. must be emended in this sense. It is now clear that the forms quoted and others which share the same features are ablatives in *-astr-ati* where *-a-* corresponds to the *-e-* of Hitt. *-eššar* and *-t-* is an epenthetic consonant arising in the cluster *-sr-*. It is impossible to think in terms of a suffix similar to Hitt. *-tar* because this would leave the *-s-* unexplained. We have only evidence for the indirect cases and the nominative is unknown; we may think—but it is only a guess—of a form like **sanawastran-za* (neuter).

A close analysis reveals that the explanation of *i-sà-tara/i-tí-i* is less easy. The root for "to sit" is **is(a)-*. An abstract noun formed in the same manner as those just discussed would yield in the dative singular **is-astr-i*, i.e. **i-sà-sa-tara/i-i* or the like. This could be reconciled with the form effectively attested only if, (1) **-sà-sa-* had yielded *-sa-* through

haplology or haplography; (2) the word was redetermined with an -*ant*- suffix. The first assumption could be dispensed with if we thought in terms of a different suffix, either the equivalent of Hittite -*tar*- or (according to a verbal suggestion by Calvert Watkins) that of IE *-*trom*. The second remains a necessary assumption in any case. If so, we reach the unexpected—and almost paradoxical—conclusion that an -*ant*- extension can be found not only in nouns of the common gender but in neuters too.

XX, 107:

Hu.'s reading has been noted to be ("X") *u-sa-lì-zi* which gives the Ho. reading as ("217")*u-sa-li*$_x$-*zi*. The noun *usali*- (otherwise unattested) is translated by the Phoenician *b'l 'gddm*, "masters of gangs". It may be analysed as a deverbative formation in -(*a*)*li*- from *usa*-, "to carry", with the meaning of "robbers, plunderers" (cf. N. van Brock, *RHA* XX/71 (1962), 113, type C II for the derivational type).

XXI and XXVI f.: For a recent treatment see Hawkins, *An. St.* XXV (1975), 132.

XXIII, 119: see below p. 113.

XXIII, 120: we have quoted elsewhere (*JRAS* 1975/2, 130) the alternative spellings of Hu. and Ho. as pointing to an -*a*- vocalism of *HH*, no. 319; thus Hu. TERRA-*ta*$_4$-*ta-za-'* / Ho. TERRA-*ta-ta*$_4$-*za*.

XXIV, 128: Ho. SOLIUM+*MI-i* (cf. below Fig. 2,2) / Hu. SOLIUM-*MI-i* (cf. below Fig. 2,3).

A detailed examinations of this recurring logogram permits a suggestion as to its phonetic reading. All its occurrences rendering a verb, as well as a nominal derivative, are listed below, and may be seen to suggest a clear meaning "sit, dwell, live".

(1) XXIV, 125–128 (Hu.):

|*á-TANA-wa/i-sa-wa/i*(URBS) |REL-*ti* |BONUS(-)*wa/i+ra/i-ia-ma-la* |SOLIUM-*MI-i*

"so that Adanawa might dwell peacefully"

cf. Phoen. *l-šbtnm dnnym b-nḫt lbnm*

"for the DNNYM to dwell in the peace of their heart"

(2) XXXVII, 196–200 (Hu.):

|BONUS+*ra/i-ia-ma-la-ha-wa/i* SOLIUM-*MI-ta* |*á-TANA-wa/i-sá*(URBS) |*á-ta-na-wa/i-za-ha*(URBS) |TERRA+*LA*+*LA-za*

"and peacefully dwelt Adanawa and the Adanawean plain"

(The Phoenician does not offer a direct parallel: ". . . and peace of heart to the DNNYM and to all the plain of 'DN".)

(3) LIV, 309–313:

Hu. REL-*pa-wa/i-ta* |REGIO-*ní-ia* REL-*ia á-ta* |SOLIUM+*MI-sa-i*

Ho. |REL-*pa-wà/ì-ta* REGIO-*iá* ⟨REL-*ia*⟩ *à-ta* |(SOLIUM)*i-sa-nú-wa/i-ti*

Phoen. *w-'m z 's yšb bn*

"and this people that dwells in it"

Hu. "and the nations that dwell in (it)"

The order of reading the signs of the verb (-*sa-i*) is as acceptable as that of Bossert and Meriggi (-*i-sa*), and provides a third sing. present ending (cf. *HHL*, 179 f.).

Ho. "and the nations ⟨that⟩ he / they shall cause to dwell in (it)".

The subject must be Azatiwatas or Tarhunzas or the gods.

(4) XXXVI, 188–195 (Hu.):

à-wa/i   *á-mi-ia-za*   (DIES)*há-li-ia-za*   (CORNU+*RA/I*)*su*+*ra/i-sá* |112(-)*ha-sá-sá-ha* *sa-na-wa/i-za-sa-ha* |SOLIUM-*MI-ia-sa* |*sá-ta*

"in my days there was plenty and luxury and good living"

Phoen. *w-kn b-kl ymty šb' w-mn'm w-šbt n'mt*

"and there was in all my days plenty and luxury and good living"

SOLIUM-*MI-ia-sa* is obviously a noun in the nominative derived from the verbal root

represented by SOLIUM-*MI*-. We may compare Hittite formations like *lengaiš*, "oath", gen. *linkiyaš* (cf. the verb *link*-, "to swear"). That in Luwian the Ablaut grade of the indirect cases has been generalized to the nominative does not seem to be an unlikely assumption. A close Luwian parallel is perhaps provided by the noun *tummantiyas* (*tu-um-ma-an-te-ya-aš*) built on the verb *tummantai*-, "to listen"; cf. Laroche, *DLL*, p. 99.

(5) CARCHEMISH A 3, l. 2:

|MAGNUS+*RA*/*I*-*hi-sa₅*+*ra*/*i-ma-sa-wa*/*i-tá*?(URBS) |URBS(-)*hu-tá-ni-i* |REL-*i-zi* |SOLIUM +*MI-ti*

"who dwell in the *village* of Urhisarmas".

So also Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, 56. Further examples of settlements bearing names of persons (their headmen) are to be found in the Kululu lead strips.

(6) ÇİFTLİK, 3–4 (collated, readings assured; see Fig. 1):

zi-wa/*i-ta* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (DEUS)*hi-pa-tà-sa-ha*-' [SOLIUM]-*MI*[-*i* ?]

[*zi-pa-wa*/*i-ta*] (DEUS) *i-ia*-[*sá*] (DEUS) *ku*[-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-ha*] ⌐SOLIUM⌐-*MI*

zi-pa-wa/*i-ta* (DEUS)*sa₅*+*ra*/*i-ru-ma-sá* (DEUS)*á-la-sù-wa*/*i-sa-ha* SOLIUM+*MI-i*

"On the one hand Tarhunzas (and Hebat) [sits],

[and on the other] Eas (and Ku[papas]) [sits],

and on the other Sarrumas (and Alasuwas) sits."

Restored as three parallel statements about three gods with their consorts. The only

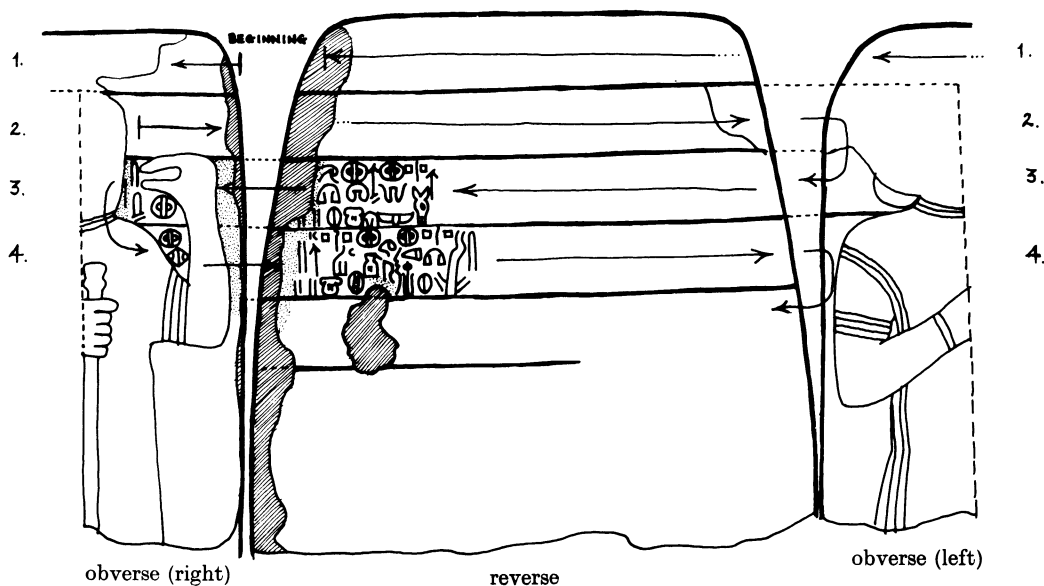1. obverse (right)   reverse   obverse (left)

FIG. 1. ÇİFTLİK (following I. J. Gelb, *HHM* pls. XXX—XXXI) rearranged and collated.

fully preserved example of the verb is 3 sing. present. For another example of "the gods" governing a verb in the singular, cf. SULTANHAN stele, 5.

These passages provide the following paradigm:

3 sing. pres.: SOLIUM+*MI-i* (nos. 1, 6)

SOLIUM+*MI-sa-i* (no. 3)

3 plur. pres.: SOLIUM+*MI-ti* (no. 5)

3 plur. pret.: SOLIUM-*MI-ta* (no. 2)

verbal noun: SOLIUM-*MI-ia-sa* (no. 4).

Given the sense, the phonetic complement -*sa*-, and the alternation in no. 3 between this verb and the causative *isanu*-, "cause to sit", it is natural to conclude that the logographic writings denoted merely the simple verb **is(a)*-, "sit, dwell". The difficulty

of course lies in the apparent MI attached to the logogram SOLIUM. However we may point out that the writing SOLIUM+MI(-)isanu- certainly represents isanu-, "cause to sit" (CARCHEMISH A 1 a 3, listed in Glossar², 37 (†ᴬˢa-s³-nu-wa-ha); HH, no. 299, I b; for the form, see Hawkins, An. St. XXII (1972), 90–91).

Many examples have been noted of the sign MI (HH, no. 391), written in or out of ligature with logograms, where it must be taken as a "phonetic indicator", i.e. it is certainly not a phonetic complement to the logogram. Thus it is found with the logograms standing for the words Sarma- (god), tanimi-, "all", tama-, "build", tumanti-, "hear", etc. (cf. An. St. XXV (1975), 151). In all these examples it can be seen to signal the presence of an m in the stem of the word denoted.

In the case of SOLIUM+MI/-MI-, both Meriggi and Laroche have taken MI as the phonetic complement (Glossar², s.v. AS-mi-, AS-mia-s; HH, no. 299, II a). Since, however, the verb represented is likely to be *is(a)-, we must seek an alternative explanation.

We note that in the Empire period, the monumental form of i (HH, no. 209) has two flanges on either side, which in the more "cursive" form of the seals appear as two pairs of strokes (Fig. 2a, b):
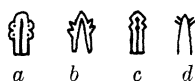

a   b   c   d

Fig. 2

An approximation of the Empire monumental form reappears in the Late Period, e.g. at Hamath (HH, no. 209 (4); Fig. 2c), and the cursive form appears on the archaizing TOPADA inscription (HH, no. 209 (6); Fig. 2d). In this case the TOPADA form can be clearly seen to be a mere graphic variant of the older monumental form and it has never been suggested that a value MI should be attributed to the pair of double strokes.

We suggest that the logogram SOLIUM (= *isa-) presents a similar phenomenon, though the early stages of development are missing. Thus when we find the monumental and cursive forms as in Fig. 3a, b, the paired double strokes do not in fact represent MI but are a mere graphic appendage.
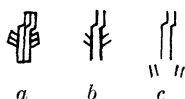

a   b   c

Fig. 3

In Karatepe, however, and perhaps also in ÇIFTLİK, this graphic appendage on occasions became separated out from the logogram and written as if it were a distinct sign (Fig. 3c). Such a dissolution of an originally unitary sign may be paralleled in cuneiform (see Dalley et al., Old Babylonian Texts from Tell al Rimah, p. 43, note by Hawkins on the sign SIMUG). We therefore suggest that SOLIUM+MI/-MI- should be rendered SOLIUM+X/-X-.

In conclusion we may note a further occurrence of the postulated *is(a)- and its causative:

IZGIN B2–B3 (collated, readings assured):
   wa/i-mi-ta mi-i-' |tá-ti THRONUS-tara/i-ti REL SOLIUM-ha
   wa/i-mu-' (DEUS)TONITRUS CUM-ni CRUS-ta
   "when I myself sat on my paternal throne,
   Tarhunzas stood with me."
ibid., B5–C6:
   428-tá-wa/i(URBS) AEDIFICARE-ha
   MAx-LÌ-zi-pa-wa/i(URBS) SOLIUM-wa/i-ha
   "I built the city . . .
   and I caused Melid to dwell (there)."

Our text is based on personal collation which in most cases supports Hrozný's readings (*IHH*, pp. 442–58, pl. XCV–XCIX) rather than the alterations introduced by Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2–3, 39–40).

In the text we seem to have both SOLIUM- (= *is(a)-), "sit" and the causative SOLIUM-*wa/i-* (= *isanu(wa)-*).

XXVIII, 142 (Ho.): REL-*i-*. See below p. 113.

XXXI, 153–158 (Hu.):

REL-*pa-wa/i* |*á-TANA-wa/i-ni-zi*(URBS) |*zi-tà* |*á-pa-ti-i* INFRA-*ta* |(SOLIUM)*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha*

"And I settled Adanaweans down . . . there."

REL-: see below p. 113.

zi-tà á-pa-ti-i (Ho.: *zi-tà á-pa-ri*+*i*) creates problems. It is likely that *apati* is an adverbial formation built on *apas* and means "there" (= Phoen. *šm*), but *zi-tà* remains obscure. It is possible to read it as *zin-ta* and to see in it the adverbial *zin* which normally occurs in repeated sequences (. . . *zin* . . . *zin* . . ., ". . . on the one hand . . . on the other hand . . ."), but occasionally is found by itself as in KARATEPE LXIII, 344 (cf. *JRAS* 1975/2, p. 127), and in SULTANHAN, 4 (. . . *á-pi-i zi-na* . . .). -*ta* could then be compared with the unexpected -*ta* which follows the dat. plur. *amiyanza* in XXX, 151 (*á-mi-ia-za-ta* (FINES)*i*+*ra/i-há-za*). Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, 93, has argued that there we have an example of -*ta* (= Hittite -*kan*) which introduces a phrase rather than a whole clause. It is conceivable that the same -*ta* occurs in *zi-tà*.

An alternative interpretaticn would recognize in *zi-tà* an adverbial formation (obviously based on the same root as *za-*, "this") with the meaning "from here". This would suit the context—Azatiwatas moved the Adanaweans "from here down there"—but cannot be supported by any external evidence.

XXXIII, 171–176 (Hu.):

|*á-pa-ta-za-pa-wa/i-ta* "TERRA"-*ta₄-ta-za-*⟪*ha-pa-wa/i*⟫ |REL-*ia* REL-*sà-ta rú-wa/i-na* |*á-sa-ta*

"and in those places which were formerly feared (?)"

The general meaning is clear and is supported by the Phoenician version, and the repetition of the particle chain is obviously due to mistake. Yet the grammar of the sentence has not been entirely clarified. REL-*sà-ta* looks like a participle in the neuter plural with passive meaning. This is unexpected, since in Hieroglyphic the normal participle is formed with a -*mi-* suffix. For Cun. Luwian, Laroche, *DLL* 142, assumes that the -*nt*-participles belong to intransitive verbs only. Hieroglyphic here seems to have a rare or unique example of what looks like an -*ant*-participle (-*anta* in the neuter plural) built on the stem of an iterative verb (cf. Luw. *kuwaya-*; the context of *kuwayanta* attested in *KUB* XXI, 40, 9 remains obscure). For possible parallels see Mittelberger, *Die Sprache* 9 (1963), 103, and Neumann, *Festschrift Otten*, 1975, 248.

Our translation (which agrees with that of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/1, 80) implies that the neuter plural REL-*ia* agrees in gender with "TERRA"-*ta₄-ta-za* (dat. pl.). Yet if we are right in reading the latter word as *ped-ant-anza* (cf. *JRAS* 1975/2, 130), we are once more confronted by the problem of an -*ant*- derivative which behaves syntactically like a neuter (see above p. 108).

XXXIV, 177–181 (Hu.):

CAPUT-*ti-sa-wa/i*+*ra/i* REL-*i-ta-na* REL-*sà-i-ia* "VIA"-*wa/i-na* "PES₂"(-)*i-u-na*

"where a man fears/feared to walk the road".

We have discussed elsewhere (*HHL*, 189, note 163) the infinitive *iuna*. The main verb REL-*sà-i-ia* is an example of the frequently attested third persons sing. in -*i* or -*ia* (see *HHL*, 179 f.). We have normally taken them as presents, but here the context calls for

a past and probably the same is true of *ta-ia* in XLVIII, 263 (see below). Is it possible that the -*i* forms are present but that some of the -*ia* forms are preterite? At the moment the evidence is not clear, but we hope to discuss the problem elsewhere.

XXXV, 182: REL-, see below, p. 113.

XXXVI, 194: SOLIUM+x-*ia-sa*, XXXVII, 197: SOLIUM+x-*ta*, see above, p. 108 ff.

XXXIX, 206: *á*+x-*za-ti-wa/i-tà-ia-na*(URBS)

For the name of the city, which is derived from the personal name Azatiwatas, see G. Neumann, *Festschrift H. Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 246; and *HHL*, 158 f.

XL, 209–16 (Hu.):

REL-*pa-wa/i-mu* POST-*na* |(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá* (DEUS)*rú-za-sá-há* |*sá-ta za-ti* "CASTRUM"-*si* AEDIFICARE·*MI-na*

"and Tarhunzas and Runzas were after me for this fortress to build (it)"

For the initial REL-, see below, p. 113.

Meriggi, *Glossar*², 52, hesitates in assigning a case to his 196-*sa* (our "CASTRUM"-*si*) and thinks of an accusative. In *Manuale* II/1, 81, this obliges him to translate *za-ti* as an adverb, "here". In fact we have two datives sing. in agreement, "for this fortress", and the sense is that indicated in the translation above. A construction in which the logical object of the infinitive is expressed by the complement of the main verb is known from a number of Indo-European languages (for Vedic, cf. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 89). In Hittite we have instances such as *KUB* XXIV, 7 III 25: *na-aš* DUMU-*li a-da-an-na pa-iš-ki-it-ta*, "and it [the bull] kept going to the child to eat (it)" (see F. Ose, *Supinum und Infinitiv im Hethitischen* (*MVAeG* 47/1; Leipzig, 1944), 60 f., and cf. also ibid., 38).

The verbal forms were discussed in *RHA* XXIX (1971), 130, but the conclusions ought to be emended in view of what was said in *JRAS* 1975/2, 128. AEDIFICARE-*MI-na* can now be understood as a regular infinitive of the -*una* type, provided we realize that the *MI* sign is joined to the logogram as a phonetic indicator and is not part of the ending.

· XLVIII, 262–265 (Hu.):

wa/i-na |*i-zi-sa-tu-na ta-ia* ("AQUA")*há-pa*+*ra/i-sá* |OMNIS-*MI-i-sá* . . .

"and every libation begins/began to honour him . . ."

ta-ia is attested elsewhere as the third person sing. of *ta-*, "to stand", but here must be taken together with the infinitive (*izistuna*) which precedes it. The earlier sentences are missing, but we know from the Phoenician that -*an* in the initial *wa-an* sequence refers to Baal, i.e. Tarhunzas. We may compare this construction of *ta-* + infinitive with the Hittite constructions of *dai-* or *tiya-* + supine in the sense of "beginnen (sich daran machen) etwas zu tun" (Friedrich, *Elementarbuch* I², 137 f., and above all A. Kammenhuber, *MIO* 3 (1955), 31 ff.). The meaning of the clause must be that indicated by our translation, and we are confronted with a recurrent problem about the tense of *ta-ia* (see above, p. 111); a preterite would suit the context better than a present.

We know that in Hittite constructions, the supine determines the syntax of the rest of the sentence (cf. Kammenhuber, op. cit., 52). Here too *i-zi-sa-tu-na* governs the accusative pronoun. We remain with the impression that in Hier. Luwian the -*una* infinitive fulfils the functions both of the Hittite infinitive and the Hittite supine.

haparis, preceded as it is by the logogram for water, may well be connected with the root *hap-* of the word for "water", recently identified in Hittite and discussed by Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 179 ff., and Watkins, *BSL* 62 (1972), 139 ff.

L, 278–282: for a recent discussion of this sentence see *An. St.* XXV (1975), 149.

LI, 291: Hu. LONGUS-*ta₅-ia* / Ho. (LONGUS)*à*+*ra/i-ia*

The contrast in the spellings of Hu. and Ho. is worth noticing because we know the Cun. Luwian equivalent of this adjective: *ara-* / *ari-*, "long". It seems to follow that the

original form had a liquid and that Hu. offers here an instance of reverse spelling with a dental in the place of the expected -*r*-. It may be significant that the sign used is *ta₅*.

LIII, 303–308:

Hu. REL-*pa-wa/i za* ("CASTRUM")*há⟨+ra/i⟩-ní-sà-za i-zi-ia-ru* (DEUS)BONUS-*sa* (DEUS)VINUM-*sá-há*

Ho. |REL-*i-pa-wá/í* |*za-'* [   ] (DEUS)VINUM-*tí-ti-há*

"and let this fortress become (one) of plenty and wine"

In Hier. Luwian we recognize the relative conjunctions REL-*i*, REL-*za* and REL-*ti*(-*i*)/ REL-*ri*+*i*, all of which mark subordinate clauses (unless they are used with an interrogative function), and normally do not occur at the beginning of a sentence. KARATEPE on the other hand has a number of examples of REL-(-*i*)-(*pa-wa/i*) in initial position: cf. XXIII, 119; XXVIII, 142 (Ho. only); XXXI, 153; XXXV, 182; XL, 209; LIV, 309; and the passage quoted above. In his translation of KARATEPE, Meriggi (*Manuale* II/1) tries to introduce everywhere a subordinating particle ("as", "while", "since", etc.), but in *Manuale* I, 101, he states that, though the particle has a basic subordinating force, in some passages this force appears to be absent. Outside KARATEPE, an initial REL(-*i*)-*pa-wa/i* occurs in BOHÇA, 3–4 (see *An. St.* XXV (1975), 139), and four times in SULTANHAN, 3, 4, 7, base.

To interpret REL(-*i*)- we prefer to start from the one unambiguous sentence quoted above; since the verb is an imperative, REL(-*i*)- cannot be a subordinating conjunction; it must be a connective or introductory particle, whose exact value remains obscure, but which can precede the connective -*pa*-. If elsewhere scholars have recognized a subordinating particle, this is because they have been influenced by etymological considerations. In none of the other passages does the context require a subordinating element; in one instance (KARATEPE, LIV, 309) REL- does indeed belong to a relative clause, but this is marked as such not by REL- but by a relative pronoun which occurs, as usual, in third position in the clause. In SULTANHAN, 7, an indefinite pronoun marks the clause-type, and here too the initial REL- need not have any subordinating force; ibid., 3, it looks as if the initial REL-*i*- acted as a correlative to an earlier, subordinating and non-initial REL-*i*-:

|*ta-nu-wa/i-ha-wa/i-na* |REL-*i*
|REL-*i-pa-wa/i* |("TERRA")*ta-sà-*REL+*ra/i* |2 OVIS-*sa* 80 "X" CRUS+*ra/i*
|*wa/i-na-'* |*á-pi-i* |*zi-na* |"AVIS"(-)*ta-wa/i-na-ri*+*i* |("PES")*u-pa-ha*
"When I set him [Tarhunzas] up,
(then ??) in the land 2 sheep "stood" 80 . . .,
and I presented him . . . with a *tawani*-."

In conclusion we can only repeat that there is no passage where we *need* to translate the initial REL(-*i*)- as a subordinating conjunction, while at least in one occurrence (the KARATEPE passage quoted above), such a translation is impossible. At this stage any etymological discussion would be impossible, but it is worthwhile to draw attention to the existence of this particle because it may have some importance for historical and comparative purposes.

LIV, 309: see above.

LIV, 313 (Hu.): see above p. 108 ff.

LVI–LVIII, 320–330 (Hu.):

|*ma-wa/i-za* |*ha-sá-tu-'*
ma-pa-wa/i MAGNUS+*RA/I-nú-wa/i-tu-'*
ma-pa-wa/i (309)*pa*+*ra/i-na-wa/i-tu-u á*+X-*za-ti-wa/i-tà-ia mu-ka-sa-sá-há-'* DOMUS-*ní-i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta*[-*ti*] DEUS-*na-ti-há*
"For us . . . let them beget,
and . . . let them make great,

and ... be in service to Azatiwatas and Muksas' house by Tarhunzas and the gods."

Since we know of no introductory particle *ma-* in Cuneiform or Hieroglyphic Luwian, Meriggi (*Glossar*², 81) has identified the initial *ma-* of these clause with the particle *man*, "ob ... oder", well known from other texts. However, this creates insoluble problems—not least because a hypothetical particle should not occur before an imperative. In *Manuale* II/1, 86, Meriggi translates the first two *ma-* particles as "as" and the last as "thus"—but these are values of *man* which cannot be supported by other texts.

Bossert (*Mnemes Kharin, Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer* [Vienna, 1956], 50) had noticed that in all these clauses the Phoenician had a corresponding *b-rbm*, "by much", but his explanation of *ma-* was hardly satisfactory, and Meriggi argued that *b-rbm* has no equivalent in the Hieroglyphic text.

Some new evidence may clarify the problem. Laroche (*BSL* 58 (1963), 78) has shown that Hitt. *mekki-*, "great", is related to Cun. Luwian *mayašši-*. This is an *-assi-* adjective built on a *mai-* root; if compared with Hittite, Luwian has altered *e* to *a* and lost the velar which preceded the *-i-*. Laroche has also pointed out that in KARATEPE LI, 293, we find evidence for the same root in the phrase *mi-ia-ti-zi-ha* (ANNUS)*u-si-zi* (Hu.), "and many years"; presumably *miyantinzi* (nom.-acc. pl. MF) derives from **may-ant-inzi* (cf. also G. Neumann, *Festschrift H. Otten* [Wiesbaden, 1973], 250). Both *mayašši-* and the Hier. *miyantinzi* derive from the same basic stem. In Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian the exact equivalent of Hitt. *mekkiš* ought to be **mais*; this is not attested, but it seems likely that in the passages quoted above, *ma(n)* is the neuter nom./acc. sing. of this adjective (used in adverbial function and consequently without the *-za* suffix). In an *-i-* stem the deletion of *-i-* before the *-an* ending of the nom.-acc. neuter is expected (cf. *aman-za* from *ami-*, "my", and see above p. 107); if so, from the postulated **mais* we ought to have a neuter **maan*, and it seems plausible that an early contraction altered this form to *man*. The presence of the Phoenician *b-rbm*, "by much", in all three clauses where our supposed *man*, "much", occurs confirms this interpretation. It is interesting to notice that the adverb is in emphatic position at the beginning of each clause.

An obscure form *ma-na* occurs in AKSARAY, 2 (see above p. 105), and conceivably in SULTANHAN stele, 4. It is possible, but far from certain, that there too we have instances of an adverbial *man* with the meaning "much".

LIX–LXXV: For a transliteration, translation and analysis of these sentences see *JRAS* 1975/2, 124–33, with the reference to Steinherr, *MSS* XXXII (1974), 103–148.

APPENDIX

We offer below a complete translation of the Hieroglyphic text (Roman type), with a translation of the Phoenician (Italic) for the sake of comparison (see above p. 103). Italicized words in the Hieroglyphic translation depend for their interpretation solely on their Phoenician equivalents.

I.   [I] (am) Azatiwatas, the Sun-blessed(?) man, Tarhunzas' servant,
     I (am) 'ZTWD, the blessed(?) of Baal, the servant of Baal,

II. whom Awarikus, the Adanawean king, promoted.
     whom 'WRK, the king of the DNNYM, promoted.

III. Tarhunzas made me mother and father to Adanawa,
     Baal made me as father and as mother for the DNNYM,

IV. and I caused Adanawa to prosper,
     I caused the DNNYM to live,

V.   and I *extended* the Adanawa *plain* on the one hand towards the west and on the other hand towards the east,
I extended the land of the plain of 'DN *from the rising of the sun even unto its setting,*

VI.   and in my days there were to Adanawa all good things, *plenty* and *luxury,*
and there were in my days every good to the DNNYM *and plenty and luxury,*

VII.   and I filled the Paharean storehouses(?),
and I filled the storehouses(?) of P'R,

VIII.   and I made horse upon horse,
and I made horse upon horse,

IX.   and I made army upon army,
and shield upon shield,

X.   and I made shield upon shield, all by Tarhunzas and the gods.
and army upon army by the grace(?) of Baal and the gods.

XI.   And I *broke* up the *proud,*
And I broke the proud,

XII.   and the evils, which were in the land, XIII. I [remov]ed out of the land.
and I removed(?) all the evil, which was in the land.

XIV.   And I had my lord's house built in good(ness),
And I erected the house of my lord in good(ness),

XV.   and I did all good things for my lord's family,
and I did good to the root of my lord,

XVI.   and I caused it/them to sit upon its/their father's throne.
and I caused it to sit upon the throne of its father.[2]

XVII.   . . . . . .
And I established peace with every king,

XVIII.   And every king made me father to himself because of my *justice* and my *wisdom* and my goodness.
and also every king made me in fatherhood because of my justice and my wisdom and my goodness of heart.

XIX.   And I built *strong* fortresses [. . .] on the frontiers,
And I built strong walls in all the limits on the frontiers,

XX.   wherein were bad men, robbers,
in places in which there were bad men, masters of gangs,

XXI.   who had not *served* under Muksas' house,
none of whom had served the house of MPŠ,

XXII.   and I Azatiwatas put them under my feet,
and I 'ZTWD *put them under my feet,*

XXIII.   and I built fortresses in those places,
and I built walls in those places,

XXIV.   so that Adanawa might dwell *peacefully.*
for the DNNYM *to dwell in peace of their heart.*

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[2] The exact sense of the Phoenician is in this case established by comparison with the Hieroglyphic.

XXV.   And I smote *strong* fortresses towards the west,
        And I subdued strong lands in the setting of the sun,

XXVI.   which former kings had not smitten,
        which none of the kings had subdued,

XXVII. who were before me.
        who were before me.

XXVIII. And I Azatiwatas smote them,
        And I 'ᴢᴛᴡᴅ subdued them,

XXIX.   and I brought them down,
        and I brought them down,

XXX.   and I settled them down towards the east on my frontiers,
        I settled them in the limits of my frontiers in the rising of the sun,

XXXI.   and I settled Adanaweans down . . . there.
        and I settled ᴅɴɴʏᴍ there.

XXXII. In my days I *extended* the Adanawean frontiers on the one hand towards the
        west and on the other hand towards the east,
        *And they were in my days on all frontiers of the plain of 'ᴅɴ from the rising of
        the sun even unto its setting,*

XXXIII. and in those places which were formerly feared(?),
        and in the places which were formerly feared,

XXXIV. where a man fears/feared to walk the road,
        where people used to fear to walk the road,

XXXV.   in my days even women walked with spindles.
        *in my own days a woman was able . . . spindles, by the grace(?) of Baal and the
        gods.*

XXXVI. In my days there was *plenty* and *luxury* and good living,
        And there was in all my days plenty and luxury and good living,

XXXVII. and peacefully dwelt Adanawa and the Adanawean plain.
        and peace of heart to the ᴅɴɴʏᴍ and to all the plain of 'ᴅɴ.

XXXVIII. I built this fortress,
        And I built this city,

XXXIX. and to it I put the name Azatiwataya,
        and I established its name 'ᴢᴛᴡᴅʏ,

XL.   and Tarhunzas and Runzas were after me for this fortress to build (it).
        since Baal and Rešeph-of-the-goats sent me to build (it).

XLI.   . . .
        *And I built it by the grace(?) of Baal and by the grace(?) of Rešeph-of-the-goats
        in plenty and in luxury and in good living and in peace of heart,*

XLII.   . . .
        for it to be a protection for the plain of 'ᴅɴ and for the house of ᴍᴘš,

XLIII. . . .
        since in my days there was plenty and luxury to the land of the plain of 'ᴅɴ.

XLIV.   ...
    And there was not ever in my days night(?) for the DNNYM.

XLV.   ...
    And I built this city.

XLVI.   ...
    and I established its name 'ZTWDY,

XLVII.   ...
    and I caused to dwell in it Baal KRNTRYŠ,

XLVIII.   and every libation begins/began to honour him, . . . the year an OX, and at the *reaping* a sheep, and at the vintage a sheep.
    and I offered up a sacrifice for every libation(?), a periodic sacrifice of one ox, and at the time of the [plou]ghing one sheep, and at the time of the harvest one sheep.

XLIX.   Let him bless Azatiwatas with *life* and *peace,*
    And may Baal KRNTRYŠ *bless* 'ZTWD *with life and peace,*

L.   and let him be made highly pre-eminent over all kings.
    and strength exceeding over every king,

LI.   And may Tarhunzas the highly-blessed and the gods of this fortress give to him, to Azatiwatas, long days and many years, and (may) a good *old age(?)* (be to him),
    so that Baal KRNTRYŠ *and all the gods of the city give to* 'ZTWD *length of days and multitude of years and a good old age(?),*[3]

LII.   and let them give him all strength over all kings.
    and strength exceeding over every king.

LIII.   And let this fortress become (one) of plenty and wine,
    And may this city be mistress of plenty and wine,

LIV.   (Hu.) and the nations that dwell in (it),
    (Ho.) and the nations ⟨that⟩ he/they shall cause to dwell in (it),
    and this people that dwells in it

LV.   let them become (those) of sheep and oxen, plenty and wine.
    shall be master of oxen and master of sheep and master of plenty and wine.

LVI.   For us much let them beget,
    And by much they shall beget,

LVII.   and much let them make great,
    and by much they shall be mighty,

LVIII.   and much let them be in service to Azatiwatas and to Muksas' house by Tarhunzas and the gods.
    and by much they shall serve 'ZTWD *and the house of* MPŠ *by the grace(?) of Baal and the gods.*

LIX.   If anyone from (among) kings—
    If a king among kings

LX.   or (if) he (is) a man,
    or a prince among princes,

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[3] This translation follows the suggestion of F. Bron, *AION* 35 (1975), 545 f.

LXI.   and to him (there is) a manly name—
       if a man who (is) a man of name,

LXII. proclaims this:
       . . . . .

LXIII. "I shall delete Azatiwatas' name from the gate(s?)
       who shall delete the name of 'ztwd on this gate

LXIV. and I shall incise my name";
       and put his name,

LXV.   or (if) he is covetous towards this fortress,
       if also he shall covet this city,

LXVI. and blocks up(?) these gates,
       and tear out this gate,

LXVII. which Azatiwatas made,
       which 'ztwd made,

LXVIII. and proclaims thus:
        . . .

LXIX. "I shall make the gates my own,
       and shall make it into a strange gate(?)

LXX.   and I shall incise my name for myself";
       and put his name upon it,

LXXI. or (if) from covetousness he shall block them up(?),
       if from covetousness he shall tear (it) out,

LXXII. or from badness or from evil he shall block up(?) these gates,
       if from hatred and from evil he shall tear out this gate,

LXXIII. may Tarhunzas of Heaven, the Sun of Heaven, Ea, and all the gods delete
        that kingdom and that king and that man!
        *then may Baal šmm and El qn 'rṣ and the Eternal Sun and all the assembly of
        the sons of gods delete that kingdom and that king and that man who (is) a man
        of name!*

LXXIV. Hereafter may Azatiwatas' name continue to stand for all ages,
       But the name of 'ztwd shall be for eternity

LXXV. as the Sun's and Moon's name stands.
       like the name of the Sun and Moon.

LIST OF PASSAGES CITED

(Passages in KARATEPE are not listed)

LIST OF MOST IMPORTANT WORDS AND LOGOGRAMS DISCUSSED

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apasan (genit. adj., dat. sing.)	p. 107	*ni-sa-'* (n., N. plur. ?)	p. 105
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LONGUS-*ta₅-ia* (adj., N. plur.)	p. 112 f.	*zi-tà* (?)	p. 111

ADDITIONAL LOGOGRAMS TRANSCRIBED INTO LATIN

AQUA

DIES

LONGUS